

# | Quarrier's Homes: 1930s to 1990s

**Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry**

**Lynn Abrams**

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**October 2019**

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## Overview

The Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry (SCAI) commissioned us to review the records pertaining to Aberlour, Quarrier's Homes and Barnardo's, in order to assess the extent to which the providers' records indicate the existence or otherwise of systems or processes for the period c.1930-1990 in respect of: staff recruitment, induction, qualifications and training; discipline and punishment; the handling of complaints; internal and external monitoring; reviews of placements; and aftercare in the period between 1930 and 1990.

The research for all three providers was carried out in a period of three months between September and December 2018. The limited time and resources available to conduct the research imposed some constraints on the extent and range of the records that could reasonably be consulted. Thus, the research focused overwhelmingly on records provided to the Inquiry by the providers, supplemented by some additional sources located by the authors elsewhere (records held by the National Records of Scotland and material located in a number of newspapers).

We should note that some records have been destroyed by the providers under the auspices of the Data Protection Act. It is also likely that some records have been lost or destroyed at some time in the past. We note that any records relating to staff meetings have not been recovered.

## Records Consulted

The documents reviewed included:

### **1. Children's admission forms and case files**

These comprise admission forms and Case Files supplied by Quarrier's to the Inquiry as a sample. All the admission forms and case files supplied were viewed for the period 1930-50. Thereafter, owing to the volume of material, we sampled case files and admission forms for 1950-90 (digitised). The quality and quantity of these files are variable indicating varying levels of recording. From the mid-1960s the files are fuller indicating improved record keeping.

### **2. Executive Minutes**

These comprise minutes of the Council of Management (1920s) and Executive Committee Meetings (1926-1986) (digitised).

### **3. Annual Reports**

These comprise Reports from 1966 to 2015.

### **4. Quarrier's Narrative of Facts**

Quarrier's in-house publication produced for external readership from 1929 to 1966.

### **5. Quarrier's Miscellaneous Records**

These comprise examples of an in-house newsletter (1953-64); a copy of Quarrier's 'Standing Instructions' in relation to discipline; some staff registers; and a variety of other in-house policy documents and reports dating from the 1980s.

### **6. Inspection reports**

These comprise reports undertaken by officials of the Scottish Office (Scottish Education Department) following official inspections. These records are held by the National Records of Scotland. We must note here that we are fully aware that the written reports that recorded the observations of inspectors were not shared with the management or staff of institutions.

### **7. Newspapers**

We carried out an online search of selected newspapers in order to identify advertisements seeking to recruit staff and other news items in respect of the activities of this organisation. This search was not comprehensive given constraints on time and was restricted to those newspapers digitised and searchable via the online portal *The British Newspaper Archive*.

## **Access**

We or the Inquiry met or corresponded with gatekeepers to ensure they understood the remit of the research and the report and to satisfy their concerns about confidentiality.

Records relating to Quarrier's are voluminous. Whilst staff at Quarrier's were cooperative in explaining how their archive is stored, it transpired that many of their records are stored offsite and were relatively inaccessible in the time available to us.



Digitised and scanned materials may be produced in such a way that make reading the materials on screen extremely difficult. Documents within case files have often not been placed in chronological order before scanning making it impossible to read a child's journey through the institution on screen especially when some cases consist of over 100 pages. The confidentiality of the materials meant printing was not advisable.

It is important to emphasise here the constraints and limitations of historical records. Historical records are not finite, but neither are they comprehensive owing to past decisions taken regarding records management (retention, weeding, storage). The time and resource restraints pertaining to this research meant that we could not consult *all* records that may exist. Where it was difficult to identify from the records available whether a system or process existed, we endeavoured to find evidence that there was a consistent or generally understood approach to an issue. Where systems were identified we endeavoured to assess whether the records indicate they were implemented.

## Question 1: Staff Recruitment, Qualifications, And In-Service Training Initiatives

### Overview

Quarrier's was Scotland's largest, voluntary childcare establishment. In 1930, the child population at Quarrier's hovered at just over 1,100.<sup>1</sup> By 1940, this number remained stable; the annual report states that there were '1,104 children and young people resident in the Homes' at the time of publication in the autumn of that year.<sup>2</sup> This number increased during the war years: in 1946 it was reported that the Homes had 1,208 children in residence. Over time, there was a gradual reduction in the overall population and in 1949 there were over 900 children as follows: '621 boys and 365 girls with an additional 15 boys in the Glasgow home.'<sup>3</sup> The population then continued to fluctuate so that in 1950, there were 949 child residents.<sup>4</sup>

In an establishment this size, staff recruitment was constant due to deaths in service, retirements, and resignations amongst a large staff. As well as using informal methods of recruitment, evidence from within the Scottish press suggests that across the period 1930-1980, Quarrier's Homes advertised prolifically for staff, particularly for houseparents and staff roles with responsibility for overseeing children's welfare. However, some shifts in this pattern are evident over time. These changes reflect changes in policy, as well as employment opportunities in the childcare field and wider aspects of Scottish society.

At the start of this timeframe, the Orphan Homes of Scotland, as Quarrier's Village was then called, was made up of several departments: the cottage homes (during 1930-1950 there were around 43 of these), a nursery for pre-school children, the consumption sanatoria for adults and children (established in 1894 and made up of three pavilions, employment in these transferred to the national health service in 1948), the colony for epileptics (established in 1906) and a residential home for boys employed in a nearby poultry farm (one of two farms operated over the period) run by and for the benefit of Quarrier's. The village also maintained its own hospital

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<sup>1</sup> A Narrative of Facts Relative to Work Done For Christ: The Orphan Homes of Scotland For The Sixty-Ninth year Ending 31st October 1930 [Hereafter, A Narrative of Facts], p. 4 [QAR.001.001.2596].

<sup>2</sup> A Narrative of Facts, year ending 31st October 1940, p. 4 [QAR.001.001.3070].

<sup>3</sup> 'Orphan Homes Bridge of Weir', The Scotsman 30 December 1949, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A Narrative of Facts, year ending 31st October 1950, p. 5 [QAR.001.001.3481].

(Elise) for children who required medical and nursing care; and had its own school (managed by Renfrewshire Council) that in 1930 had 855 pupils made up of 'infant, junior, senior, or advanced divisions, and 20 in the special class.'<sup>5</sup> The number of teachers employed at this time has not been recovered, but we do know that Renfrewshire Council made the appointments to the school during this period. These personnel were therefore employed by the local authority, although Quarrier's was involved in their selection and in the earlier decades of this period, some—if not most—teachers lived within the Village in staff accommodation owned by Quarrier's due to the remote site of the school. This size of institution required clerical and administrative staff and specialist employees attended to children's leisure activities and/or employment training for older children.

Typically, at the start of the timeframe, cottage homes would contain around 30 children and these residences were segregated by sex. During the 1950s, and following inspection in 1953, there was a gradual move towards cottage homes that housed children of both sexes in line with contemporary advice on children's homes, though some exclusively for boys remained and the numbers in each cottage were reduced.

By the early 1960s, when more preventative measures were used by Children's Departments to promote children remaining with their families, there were around 500 children resident in Quarrier's Village and the average length of stay for children was four and a half years. This reduction in the overall numbers and the length of residence for many children allowed a decrease in the number of cottages in use and the number of children in residence within each fell to 15 or fewer per cottage. In 1961, 34 cottages, including three used for babies and toddlers, were in use.<sup>6</sup>

Earlier in the period each cottage had either a married couple acting as houseparents, or a single housemother—the latter usually assigned to a girls' cottage. Increasingly, especially from the 1950s onwards, cottages also had other aides in post: assistant housemothers and domestic staff. Other departments, including the children's hospital, the nursery, the sanatoria, and epilepsy colony were staffed with medical and nursing personnel, auxiliary nursing assistants and nursery nurses (including trainees). It should be noted as well that the epilepsy colony had child and adult 'patients'; and this facility had its own workshop that provided

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<sup>5</sup> A Narrative of Facts, year ending 31st October 1930, p. 45 [QAR.001.001.2619].

<sup>6</sup> NRS ED11/618/2: Voluntary Homes: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report, 1961 [QAR.001.004.5629-40].

occupational therapy for a shifting population of adult residents and employed supervisors and instructors to oversee the manufacturing done by the patients.

With a large site, the institution needed its own gardeners, farm workers, drivers, porters, storekeepers, laundry workers and tradesmen, such as electricians and joiners. For married couples placed in charge of boys' cottages (and from the 1950s mixed-sex cottages), husbands often took on other such employment positions in addition to their duties as 'heads' of cottage households, while wives had full-time care of resident children. With few exceptions, these kinds of staff were also resident within the perimeters of Quarrier's Village—exemptions might be domestic or auxiliary trade staff who lived locally.

In addition to the main Village near Bridge of Weir, the institution ran a city home in Glasgow. This closed in 1938 when Quarrier's purchased a large villa in Dumbreck (a suburb south of the river Clyde) for use by working age boys (it also sometimes operated as reception place for children ahead of their transfer to Bridge of Weir). Both the city home and the new villa—called Overbridge—were staffed with houseparents, their assistants, and domestic workers. This facility was added to with the purchase of another nearby villa catering for girls in 1944, known as 'Earnscliff'. This was not a residential establishment but operated more as a 'welfare centre' for young women who had left Quarrier's to take up employment in and around Glasgow, though it did have facilities for overnight stays for girls coming from further afield to visit the city.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the evidence reviewed suggests that Quarrier's made use of children to perform work that might otherwise have been done by employed staff—a not uncommon practice among childcare providers, including at Aberlour Orphanage.<sup>8</sup> Once children had left school they were expected to do some form of work within the Village until formal employment was found for them. Boys might spend time doing farm work as a preparation for being sent out to farm labouring jobs across Scotland, whilst girls were sometimes encouraged to assist within the baby homes before making a decision about future employment. At least until the 1970s,

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<sup>7</sup> 'Welfare Centre and Home for Working Girls', *The Scotsman* 13 September 1944, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspection Reports; Report of Inspection 1965. In the report inspectors indicate that they were 'of the opinion that some of the cleaning tasks performed by some of the children should be carried out by the daily domestic.' [SGV.001.005.0021] and the recommendations issued following the 1965 inspection refers to 'Excessive and unsuitable housework done by children' [SGV.001.005.0114]. See also associated Aberlour Report.

however, Quarrier's allowed children who had been in their charge to become employees.

Volunteer workers were also a regular feature of life in Quarrier's Village. Although many voluntary posts—such as Church offices and leaders of the plethora of youth groups encouraged by the institution—were filled by personnel in employment at Quarrier's, some volunteers came from outside organisations. We know, for example, that student helpers, some from overseas, regularly spent time in the Homes often working as assistants within cottages. In 1966, for example, the annual *Narrative of Facts* comments on this:

As in former years we have had three girls from an American College working for a short time in the Baby and Toddler Homes. We have always a number of Assistants either in the Toddler and Baby Homes or Cottages who come from the Continent-Switzerland, Denmark and Holland.<sup>9</sup>

From the information made available to us it is unclear whether volunteers were required to make a formal application to work at Quarrier's or if they were accepted on trust.

During the 1960s Quarrier's also employed professional staff including an educational psychologist and a number of social workers and it increasingly began to take more children referred by local authorities. This pattern continued until the late 1970s when the child population fell progressively within the Village and many staff were either re-allocated to other types of services then provided by Quarrier's (intermediate care, services for adults with learning disabilities, residential care for elderly, and respite care for physically and mentally disabled adults and children) or made redundant.<sup>10</sup>

Recruitment of new teachers was also a constant feature until the eventual closure of the school around 1980, when most of the children were sent out to local schools in Renfrewshire.

Staff therefore were multiple in types, and might perform more than one role within the Homes; the total number employed at any one time must have run into many

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<sup>9</sup> A Narrative of Facts, year ending 31<sup>st</sup> October 1966, pp. 8-9 [QAR.001.001.4098].

<sup>10</sup> Quarrier's Village, Homes & Epilepsy Centre: Annual Report, 1982-83, p. 15; this states that close to 100 staff, including child care workers had been made redundant [QAR.001.001.4927].

hundreds, and it should be noted that most would have had some contact with children, if not direct daily contact.

By the mid-1950s there is evidence that Quarrier's provided some forms of in-service training for its staff, including lectures delivered by senior members of staff at Quarrier's and by other external professionals. The content of some of this was questioned by Scottish Office inspectors, particularly in terms of its relevance to untrained and, or, inexperienced staff.<sup>11</sup> In addition, in terms of available documentation, the regularity of in-service training programmes begun in the 1950s cannot be assuredly demonstrated. Later inspection reports indicate that educational opportunities were not universally taken up by staff.<sup>12</sup> During the 1970s, some efforts were made to recruit houseparents with qualifications; however, the evidence reviewed suggests this was not a precondition for all staff. With diversification of its services into specialisms, by the 1980s there was more emphasis on training and qualifications for some staff and there was limited provision made for training secondments.

## **Staff recruitment**

c.1930-1950

A variety of recruitment methods were used at Quarrier's Homes across most of this period—advertisement, word of mouth, and internal appointment—depending on the type of vacancy. Although we have no documentary evidence, in this period it would not have been irregular within institutions such as Quarrier's for new employees to be taken on through personal recommendation made by existing staff members. Advertising cost money, and as a charitable organisation, Quarrier's likely only advertised for senior or key posts during the 1930s—such as houseparents—and could depend on other methods for much of their needs.

Generally, before the Second World War, there appears to have been comparatively fewer press advertisements for staff at Quarrier's Village than occurred later—although it must be stressed that this assessment is based upon research within

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<sup>11</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report, 1965; main report, section 11 [QAR.001.001.1353] and Appendix F [QAR.001.001.1398].

<sup>12</sup> See for example NRS ED11/618/2: Voluntary Homes: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report, 1961, p. 8 [QAR.001.001.1294].

online newspaper archives that are far from comprehensive. This would suggest either more stability in the staff complement pre-Second World War, or that other methods of recruitment were more commonly used. The interwar state of economic depression and high levels of unemployment in Scotland may have meant that institutions such as Quarrier's experienced lower levels of staff turnover and/or found it easier to recruit staff without resorting to nationwide advertisement. Since staff records from this time have not been preserved we have no way of being certain.

Some recruitment was necessary, as might be expected. Typical 1930s advertisements which have been recovered present as follows, in respect of houseparents:

Christian Man and Wife Wanted for Boys' Home. Both must have definite Christian experience and a real sincere desire for this work; tradesman preferred; no family. Apply in writing, giving full particulars, to the Superintendent...<sup>13</sup>

Orphan Homes of Scotland, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire.—Two Christian couples wanted (man and wife), without family, to take charge of Boys' cottages. Electrician and motor driver, able to do repairs, preferred. Wife must be domesticated, able to take charge of house and cooking of meals. Both must have a love of growing boys and be non-smokers. Apply with references, &c., to the Superintendent.<sup>14</sup>

In respect of a specialist role:

Sports Master wanted for the Orphan Homes of Scotland, Bridge of Weir: Man of good education and high Christian character; keenly interested in boys, and able to train a choir. Applications, giving full particulars as to previous experience, &c., to be sent to the Chairman, Orphan Homes of Scotland, Bridge of Weir.<sup>15</sup>

In the case of advertisements for houseparents, it can clearly be seen that other types of skills and attributes were given as much, if not more prominence in advertisements during the 1930s than childcare experience. Of special note is the 'definite Christian experience' demanded of prospective staff.<sup>16</sup> The need to recruit committed Christians (from Protestant denominations) was paramount

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<sup>13</sup> Aberdeen Press and Journal 26 December 1934, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Dundee Courier 10 December 1937, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Dundee Courier 2 June 1939, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Advertisement, Aberdeen Press and Journal 26 December 1934, p. 1.

and reflected the Presbyterian principles being applied to all aspects of daily life that had been a feature of this institution from its inception.<sup>17</sup>

Other records, such as minutes of meetings of the executive committee, add to our knowledge about the recruitment and retention of staff. From the selective record of minutes that has been made available to the Inquiry, we can see that over the period 1936-1940, houseparents do not leave with great regularity. In April 1936, for example, one housemother 'had had to leave to go home' and so resigned; and another couple were found to be unsuitable after a period of employment (no details given as to why).<sup>18</sup> The material reviewed for the purpose of this report do not record any further losses of houseparents that year.

On the other hand, there appears to have been a brisker turnover of medical and nursing staff. Nursing positions become vacant regularly, but no advertisements for junior nurses during the 1930s have been recovered.<sup>19</sup> We have also been unable to recover any advertisements for junior medical posts. It is possible, however, that these were advertised in local hospitals or in professional journals, or that such personnel were recruited through personal recommendations. Professionally qualified personnel would have enjoyed wider opportunities in employment; for some doctors it is likely that periods of employment in Quarrier's formed part of their medical training and were relatively short.

Note is also made of the comings and goings of auxiliary staff not directly involved with child care, though we cannot be sure that such detail about the widest range of staff was always included in minutes. For example, in September 1937 a note was made of the departure of a gardener who was replaced only three days later with someone who was 'without gardening experience' suggesting that this appointment was a personal recommendation.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, earlier in the year a singing master had been appointed 'on the instruction of the committee'.<sup>21</sup> We have no further details as to whether or not references were taken up.

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<sup>17</sup> Abrams, Lynn (1998) *The Orphan Country. Children of Scotland's Broken Homes from 1845 to the Present Day*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.

<sup>18</sup> Minute of Executive Meeting, 2 April 1936 [QAR.001.003.1907].

<sup>19</sup> Vacancies and staff turnover were reported in the Executive Minutes, for example see Executive Committee Minutes, 22 Jan. 1947 [QAR.001.003.2320].

<sup>20</sup> Minute of Executive Meeting, 16 September 1936 [QAR.001.003.1933].

<sup>21</sup> Minute of Executive Meeting, 9 March 1937 [QAR.001.003.1951].



During the 1940s the demands of wartime created greater staff shortages at Quarrier's, as the following passage indicates:

The number of very young children is steadily growing—a fact which adds to the difficulties of the work and increases the strain on the workers. Indeed, staffing problems were never more acute, and workers of the right kind are urgently required in all departments.<sup>22</sup>

Problems with recruitment likely compelled wider broadcasting of vacancies. A typical war-time advertisement for houseparents demonstrates some continuity with the previous decade in seeking Christian married couples.

ORPHAN HOMES OF SCOTLAND—Christian couple required to take charge of Boys' Cottage; the husband to be employed in the GARDENS or in one of the WORKSHOPS, e.g., as shoemaker or joiner, or at other trade according to experience. Applicants must be abstainers and non-smokers. No family. Applicants stating ages, qualifications, etc., and accompanied by a Minister's reference, should be sent to The Superintendent...<sup>23</sup>

Of note here is that whilst in previous advertisements it might be an advantage for the husband to be a qualified tradesman, in this period there is a real need for such skills. In this example the nationwide shortage of male workers because of wartime demands is reflected in the stress placed on housefathers having skills to offer, while there is no mention of what specific skills or experience the housemother might possess. The above advertisement also contains more detail about the types of candidates required (abstainers as well as non-smokers) and specifically requests a personal endorsement by a church minister.

If any such requested references were in fact obtained, their scope would have been limited, because they were to be provided by a minister rather than from a previous employer. We have no way of knowing if any further enquiries were made in respect of applicants during this period.

A further example from 1944 suggests wider staff shortages and, perhaps in a departure from what had gone before, vacancies particularly for female ancillary staff.

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<sup>22</sup> Narrative of Facts, year ending 31 October 1946, p.4 [QAR.001.001.3309].

<sup>23</sup> Situations Vacant, The Daily Record, 5 March 1942, p. 7.

THE ORPHAN HOMES OF SCOTLAND have Vacancies... and invite applications from Women of Christian character and with the necessary experience:--COOKS for Baby and Toddler Homes, DRESSMAKERS accustomed to Children's Work and Alterations: LAUNDRESSES: ASSISTANTS for Cottage Homes for Boys and Girls. Applicants should give full particulars and enclose copy references, one of which should be from a minister. Salary according to qualifications and experience. Apply Matron...<sup>24</sup>

Here we see more specific qualities being named in advertisements: 'full particulars' are requested as well as personal references, including one from a church minister. Further advertisements up to 1947, specifically asking for women employees, have been recovered. For example, these include a call in 1946 for young women to train as children's nurses in the home for babies and toddlers, again indicating that it *may* have been difficult to recruit women, especially young women, at this time.<sup>25</sup> One reason for this is likely the availability of war work for women. This also reflects the effect that war had on the organisation of the Homes. By 1944, the Homes were receiving increased applications on behalf of babies and young children, and accordingly changes were made:

Dr. Kelly [chairman] reported the reorganization of nine Homes which had the effect of increasing the number of Baby Homes from one to two and the number of Toddler Homes from two to four. This had become necessary owing to the increased number of applications for the admission of babies and young children and the re-arrangement would give increased accommodation for seventy-three children up to four years. The Baby and Toddler Homes would now be graded according to age.<sup>26</sup>

By 1947, advertisements indicate that the need for staff became more acute [emphasis added]:

...for the following urgent vacancies: --

(a) COUPLES (no children) for their Cottage Home for Boys; wife to supervise domestic welfare of the boys, plain cooking; husband to follow his own trade in their workshops and be able to exercise discipline and control.

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<sup>24</sup> Situations Vacant, Aberdeen Press and Journal, 17 November 1944, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Situations Vacant, Aberdeen Press and Journal, 19 January 1946, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 7 February 1944 [QAR.001.003.2255].

(b) "MOTHERS" (single ladies or widows) for their Cottage Homes for Girls or Boys; thoroughly domesticated; plain cooking; able to exercise discipline.

(c) ASSISTANTS for "Mothers" in Cottage Homes for Boys and Girls; able to supervise and control in the absence of "Mother".

*Applicants for these posts must have a genuine love for children, and be of a definite Christian character. Apply to Superintendent...with full particulars as to age, previous employment, enclosing references, one of which should be from a minister.<sup>27</sup>*

Whilst this suggests some continuity from previous recruitment calls there are also some significant changes. Applicants are now required to have 'a genuine love for children' and to be able to exercise discipline and control. They are also required to provide references, including one from a minister. The small amount of evidence available suggests that further formal checks, beyond the information submitted by applicants, were not routinely part of the recruitment process in the interwar and immediate post-war periods.

During wartime in facilities such as the Epilepsy Colony, which at that time catered for more adults than children, there were shortages of staff. In 1942, the executive minutes reveal that three 'former patients' had been given staff roles in the workshop; and that this meant there were seven people in such roles.<sup>28</sup> By 1944, this number had dropped to two and the minutes acknowledge the difficulty of recruiting to these positions.<sup>29</sup>

There were also acute shortages of teachers for the school. In 1945 for example, the nursery school was closed for several months because they were unable to recruit teachers and the nursery teacher was made to cover for these shortages within other departments of the school.<sup>30</sup> The issue was raised at an executive meeting in 1946:

Mr Galletly [the headteacher] gave a resume of his statement to the Education Sub-Committee and also gave his reasons for the difficulty in attracting Staff to the Orphan Homes School.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Situations Vacant, Aberdeen Press and Journal, 16 May 1947, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 8 January 1942 [QAR.001.003.2187].

<sup>29</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 6 April 1944 [QAR.001.003.2265].

<sup>30</sup> Minute of Executive Meeting, 8 March 1945 [QAR.001.003.2286].

<sup>31</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 14 March 1946 [QAR.001.003.2308].

Shortages of teachers had repercussions for the children's education and may also have carried consequences for their general care. Children may have had to spend longer parts of the day under the supervision of cottage housemothers and attendants in toddler homes, which placed more stress on these staff.<sup>32</sup>

There were also difficulties in recruiting senior staff. In 1943, the post of head teacher became vacant; the outgoing master had been in post for 16 years.<sup>33</sup> Regarding his replacement, the following is noted in executive minutes:

Dr. Kelly reported the position to date and intimated that a leet of three candidates had been submitted by the county Education Committee for consideration. The candidates had been requested to attend for interview and were as follows:

Arthur Andrews, M.A.: (57). Principal teacher of English and first assistant in the High School, Johnstone.

Charles H. Galletly, B.Sc.: (46). Principal teacher of Science, Greenock High School,

Arthur G. Lang, B.Sc.: (53). Principal teacher of Science and second master Renfrew High School.

After interviewing each candidate and considering their respective testimonials, the Committee, while agreed that the leet was not outstanding, thought Mr Galletly was the most suitable. It was left with Dr. Kelly to have a conversation with Mr. Anderson concerning the Committee's opinions and in the event of no better candidate being suggested by Mr Anderson it was agreed to suggest the appointment of Mr Galletly to the Education Committee.<sup>34</sup>

This suggests that Quarrier's may have been forced to compromise in this instance because of recognised difficulties in attracting suitably qualified and experienced professional staff. While the local authority was responsible for recruitment, it is likely that the remote location of the school and the enclosed nature of the Village

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<sup>32</sup> See for example Minute of Executive Meeting, 8 March 1945 [QAR.001.003.2286].

<sup>33</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 28 October 1943 [QAR.001.003.2248].

<sup>34</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 14 September 1943 [QAR.001.003.2245].

made it difficult for them to attract a wide array of suitable candidates who were willing to take on the challenge of working in this educational facility.<sup>35</sup>

During wartime, when staff shortages were more acute, evidence suggests that children took on more work that might have been done by employed staff. For example, the 1941 annual *Narrative of Facts* records with some pride:

...the service rendered by our children over twelve who willingly gave their services during almost the whole period the School was closed to work in the Homes gardens and on the farms. These young people have done their part in "Digging for Victory."<sup>36</sup>

Not celebrated here, however, but just as essential to the running of the homes, was domestic employment: with a shortage of female staff it is likely that older girls were given more domestic duties in the cottages and laundries. Later inspection reports confirm that girls were regularly overburdened with domestic work.<sup>37</sup>

Also of note here is the 'House Boy and Girl' system that operated into the 1950s. It is unclear what these roles entailed but it might be assumed that older children had to be on call to assist houseparents as this Newsletter report from 1957 suggests:

House boys and girls have no right to think that they can and should be off duty every afternoon and every evening. They must understand that time-off is at the discretion of parents, just as it is known that parents will see to it that the boys and girls have reasonable time-off.<sup>38</sup>

We have no information about whether such children received any kind of payment for their labour. The system was condemned during a 1953 Scottish Office Inspection and this was noted in executive minutes when the issue was 'deferred for future consideration'.<sup>39</sup> From the available evidence it is unclear what the concerns of the inspector were, or whether further consideration to these were given. As the extract above illustrates, however, the system persisted at least until 1957.

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<sup>35</sup> Difficulties in recruiting suitable candidates for the school are alluded to in various documents. See for example Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 14 March 1946 [QAR.001.003.2308] and Minutes of Executive Committee Meetings: 'Report of Meeting held with Sub-Committee of the County Education Committee, at 11 a.m. on Monday, October 5, 1953' [QAR.001.003.2408-10].

<sup>36</sup> *Narrative of Facts*, year ending 31st October 1941, p.8 [QAR.001.001.3113].

<sup>37</sup> See NRS ED11/618/2: Voluntary Homes: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report, 1961, p. 7 where remarks are made about this matter [SGV.001.004.5635].

<sup>38</sup> Newsletter dated 18 September 1957 [QAR.001.001.1278].

<sup>39</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 12 February 1953 [QAR.001.003.2399].

There is evidence that many longstanding staff members remained in service throughout the war. In 1945, Quarrier's said farewell to 'Mr & Mrs Thomson of Cottage 43' who retired 'after over thirty-one years of service. It was agreed to pay a retiring allowance of £60 per annum.'<sup>40</sup> Similarly in 1946, Mr and Mrs Patrick left the Homes after 20 years' service and were also paid a pension.<sup>41</sup> The long-serving Matron in charge of the cottages retired in 1947 after 'rendering yeoman service during the long period of twenty-eight years.'<sup>42</sup>

Notwithstanding that some staff provided years of service, there can be no doubt that Quarrier's began to experience more problems with staffing from the 1940s. Wartime and post-war conditions contributed to this but were not the only reason. Care of young children generally fell to women in this period and it became more difficult to recruit and retain young women to this type of residential employment—a situation experienced across the board for childcare providers in Scotland—but more especially for places such as Quarrier's that were in relatively remote locations and where high demands were made of staff by such live-in employment.

The publication of the Clyde Report in 1946, which was critical of the culture pertaining in large residential facilities for children, and the enactment of legislation in 1948, resulted in new challenges for providers such as Quarrier's. Clyde recommended the boarding out of children over residential care, staff increases for those children's homes that were still needed, and more importantly, placed stress on homes being staffed by people who had received specialist training.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the effects of legislation meant that providers of residential facilities for children were to become subject to advice from central government that directed that children should not spend lengthy amounts of their day engaged in domestic and other work.<sup>44</sup> Inevitably, this meant Quarrier's had to make increases in staffing at a time when all providers—statutory and voluntary—were struggling to recruit and retain committed staff.

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<sup>40</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 9 February 1945 [QAR.001.003.2284].

<sup>41</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 11 October 1946 [QAR.001.003.2317].

<sup>42</sup> Narrative of Facts, year ending 31st October 1947, p.10 [QAR.001.001.3355].

<sup>43</sup> BPP., Report of the Committee on Homeless Children (Scotland) 1946 (Clyde Report), Cmd.6911. Hereafter 'Clyde Report', pp. 14-15, 26, 32-3 (Recommendations 3, 15, 16) [LEG.001.001.8694-5; 8705 and 8711-12].

<sup>44</sup> NRS, GD 534/12/5/2: Report of the Homes Committee of the Scottish Advisory Council on Child Care (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 9 and p. 14 [NRS.001.001.2049 and 2052].

c.1950-1970

In the post-war years, regulations and advice given via central government placed greater emphasis on the qualifications and experience of staff who had charge of deprived children.<sup>45</sup> However, advertisements for staff required by Quarrier's demonstrate that although some stern admonitions about smoking and drinking preferences had disappeared, initially there was considerable continuity with what had gone before, as in these examples:

Couple required to take charge of Boys' Cottage. Husband to be employed in one of the workshops. Applicants must be of definite Christian character with a genuine love of children. Childless couple preferred. Applications giving full particulars and enclosing references, one of which should be from a Minister, to be sent to the Superintendent...<sup>46</sup>

And:

Applications are invited for the undernoted vacancies:--

(a) COUPLE required to take charge of Boys' Cottage. Husband to be employed in one of the workshops or gardens. Applicants must be of definite Christian character, with a genuine love of children. Only childless couples will be considered.

(b) COTTAGE MOTHERS and ASSISTANTS required for Girls' Cottages. Posts would suit two friends, or Mother and Daughter, or Sisters.

(c) NURSERY TEACHER, with some experience, required.

Good conditions. Superannuation Scheme. Interviews by appointment. Applications, giving full particulars and enclosing references, one of which should be from a Minister...<sup>47</sup>

The ideal of a couple to take charge of homes for boys remained for at least part of the 1950s, with the husband able to take up other employment within the Village. Some greater imagination given to the prospect of female friends or relatives prepared to take charge of the girls' cottages can be seen. However, childless couples were still preferred and, despite increasing difficulties with recruitment, there

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<sup>45</sup> For instance, see NRS, GD 534/12/5/2: Report of the Homes Committee of the Scottish Advisory Council on Child Care (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 9, pp. 21-2. [NRS.001.001.2055-6].

<sup>46</sup> Situations, Motherwell Times, 29 June 1951, p. 18.

<sup>47</sup> Employment, Dundee Courier 14 October 1952, p. 1.

was no decline in the call for a 'definite Christian commitment'.<sup>48</sup> This remained the predominant quality demanded.

As the decade wore on the language used in advertisements was less overt. Even so, recruitment now included the requirement of a reference from a minister. Evidently, Quarrier's needed to check that the Christian connection of applicants was an active one. As we have no details of the types of applications made during the 1950s, it is impossible to know anything about the kinds of people attracted to this type of work in this period, or whether references were ever further queried with the ministers who submitted testimonials.

In the 1950s there was a continuing problem with obtaining teachers. In a meeting with representatives of Renfrewshire's Department of Education, the executive was told by the Director of Education that there was 'reluctance of teachers to go to Homes School' and that even if special training was offered for recruits 'he doubted whether they would get a single application'.<sup>49</sup> The Director of Education admitted that his attempts to get more staff had been limited and 12 probationary teachers had recently been placed in the school, the Director admitting 'this was all he could get'.<sup>50</sup>

Teaching staff may have been dissuaded from going to Homes School for several reasons. The challenges of teaching children who were emotionally vulnerable and whose education had often been disrupted cannot be underestimated. In 1950, a damning report was produced following psychological testing of some of Quarrier's school children (two groups of 8- and 12-year old children) indicating that 'prolonged institutional life has a restricting effect on the level of intelligence'.<sup>51</sup> The research had been commissioned by Renfrewshire Education Department and the Director of Education for the county was sufficiently perturbed to recommend to the Scottish Education Department (SED) that local authorities be told not to send children to Quarrier's Homes.<sup>52</sup> This was a situation that continued to deteriorate

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<sup>48</sup> Employment, Dundee Courier 14 October 1952, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Minutes of Executive Committee Meetings: 'Report of Meeting held with Sub-Committee of the County Education Committee, at 11 a.m. on Monday, October 5, 1953' [QAR.001.003.2408-12].

<sup>50</sup> NRS ED11/288: Voluntary Homes: Psychological Tests of Children in Voluntary Homes; Minutes signed by William N. Smith dated 18 November 1950 [SGV.001.004.9798].

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., [SGV.001.004.9798]. The Scottish Office tried to get charitable funding to commission further research into the problem of low educational attainment at Quarrier's but were unable to secure this.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., [SGV.001.004.9798].



and by 1953 an estimation was made that 60 per cent of children in Quarrier's were 'graded as backward as compared with average of 24% in other schools'. In addition, one of the complaints made by teaching staff concerned the attitudes of Quarrier's staff, 'Cottage Parents and others being lacking in a co-operative spirit towards teachers.'<sup>53</sup>

The staffing situation deteriorated further as the 1950s wore on; death and retirement of longstanding employees was added to by resignations.<sup>54</sup> At an executive meeting in 1955, the Matron in charge of the cottages attended alongside the medical and childcare superintendents and reported the following:

Miss Kempton reported the number of cottage workers who had left the service of the Homes in recent months and stated that, notwithstanding the fact that she had advertised very widely, she had been unable to obtain suitable people to take their places. Mr. Munro [superintendent] indicated the difficulty he had in finding suitable Couples and both he and Miss Kempton thought that conditions should be made more attractive.

The Secretary pointed out that as far as Couples and Mothers were concerned, the remuneration compared very favourably with that offered by Local Authorities for similar appointments. He stated that after taking Income Tax, Board and Insurance into consideration, the amount paid to Couples was in excess of that for a similar appointment at present being advertised by Greenock Corporation.

The Superintendents and Matron then withdrew and the position was discussed by the members of the Committee who were of opinion that

- (a) the off-duty was sufficient but should be better regulated.
- (b) more consideration should be given with regard to domestic help and a more humane approach on the part of officials to cottage problems,
- (c) Something should be done for the social welfare of Assistants, Relievers and young Nurses.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Minutes of Executive Committee Meetings: 'Report of Meeting held with Sub-Committee of the County Education Committee, at 11 a.m. on Monday, October 5, 1953' [QAR.001.003.2408-12].

<sup>54</sup> In 1957, two houseparents died within weeks of each other. One housefather died suddenly while at work in the Homes' store—he had been employed for 12 years; and a few weeks earlier, a housemother with 17 years' service died in hospital. See Minutes of Executive Committee Meetings 31 October and 2 December 1957 [QAR001.003.2455 and 2457].

<sup>55</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 15 February 1955 [QAR.001.003.2424-5].

No other recommendations appear in these or in subsequent minutes for that year, other than the Matron should be invited to attend meetings from time to time. Over the next decade efforts to improve the recruitment of houseparents seem to have been concentrated on attracting more cottage assistants to make conditions more attractive.

Problems with recruitment were highlighted in inspection reports produced by the Scottish Office from 1961 onwards. The 1961 report revealed that the Homes now employed 101 members of staff to look after children, made up of 36 couples, 12 single housemothers and the remainder being childcare assistants or relief staff. An additional 55 staff worked in the children's hospital and the baby and toddler nurseries.<sup>56</sup> The report further notes that '[t]here is a constant need for staff in particular Assistant Cottage Mothers, and Relievers'.<sup>57</sup>

Workers with vocational qualifications in this field were at a premium in Scotland until well into the 1960s; for this reason, local authorities tended to favour qualified nurses and nursery nurses for employment in their own residential care homes. Aside from the baby homes, Quarrier's did not pursue this route, their model of care being for family-type homes—albeit these could be very large residences. The outcome of the preference for houseparents was that employees who took up positions as houseparents in this period were likely to have been unqualified, though they may have had previous experience of residential child care.

Concerns about the quality of staff was commented upon by inspectors throughout the period. A large-scale inspection that took place over several weeks in 1965 commented in the subsequent, lengthy report that the 'capacities' of houseparents 'cover a wide range from bad to very good'.<sup>58</sup> At this time, of the 29 cottages in use, only three had one or more houseparents who had obtained formal qualifications in residential child care.<sup>59</sup> The report noted that:

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<sup>56</sup> NRS ED11/618/1: Voluntary Homes: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection report, 1961, Inspection Report, 1961, Appendix A [SGV.001.004.5641-2].

<sup>57</sup> NRS ED11/618/1: Voluntary Homes: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection report, 1961, p.4 [SGV.001.004.5632].

<sup>58</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report, 1965 [SGV.001.005.0050].

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix E, Note 2; four female houseparents had the qualification, two of this number were employed in the same cottage (no. 17) as joint housemothers [SGV.001.005.0052-3].

Houseparent staffing is inadequate in number, quality and training. There is a range of ability and performance. Some cottages give very good care within the children's village context, some are poor, some mediocre. The general picture is unsatisfactory...<sup>60</sup>

Overall, this inspection revealed that where problems existed, there was a *laissez-faire* attitude towards these by management. Houseparents were expected to just get on with things: supervision from outwith the cottages was minimal and not likely to detect difficulties at an early stage, let alone intervene to assist struggling staff.<sup>61</sup>

The inspection identified houseparents with scant experience of child care in general (some had Sunday school experience, for example) and no prior experience of caring for children who were likely to present challenges. It also identified a few houseparents who were keen to improve their knowledge and had the necessary aptitudes to learn from their own practice. For example, one housemother had previously been a live-in child minder for a family and since coming to Quarrier's nine years previously had attended a short 'refresher course' funded by the Scottish Office which was held in Dundee.<sup>62</sup> At the time of inspection she was attending extra-mural classes in child care held at Glasgow University. The visiting inspector was familiar with both these educational programmes and was generally complimentary about what he saw in this cottage. On this evidence, it seems that although this woman had limited previous experience that did not necessarily fit her for the demands of caring for a large group of vulnerable children, she had ambition to be more knowledgeable and along with personal qualities was capable of translating this into her approach to children.<sup>63</sup>

Inspectors were also full of praise for a housemother who had been at Quarrier's for over 20 years and was planning retirement. She admitted that although she tried to keep abreast of changes, she was now finding this difficult—although the inspector concluded that she was being modest. Her background is not stated but she had been employed during the war years and was without formal training. The inspector

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., Report on Inspection, January 1965, p. 8 [SGV.001.005.0011].

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Report on Inspection, January 1965, pp. 26-29 [SGV.001.005.0030-3].

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, Report on Inspection, January 1965, Cottage 20 [SGV.001.005.0361-2]. These were usually weeklong courses aimed at workers with previous and existing experience of child care. They operated as in-service training and employers met part of the cost.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, Report on Inspection, January 1965, Cottage 20 [SGV.001.005.0361-2]

does comment that she 'is one of those people who have learned through experience and through possessing an innate ability to care for children.'<sup>64</sup>

A couple who had been at the Homes for a little over three years, and had children of their own, also attracted attention for the way they seemed able to create a happy home for children:

Mr. and Mrs. McBrearty are a good example of a couple, with very ordinary intelligence but with big hearts, hardworking and using to the full very quality and skills [sic] they have in being good parents to the children and good members of the community. It was interesting that the school master, the nursery Matron and the nursery school staff, all mentioned this couple as providing an exceptional standard of care.<sup>65</sup>

As in the previous example, this couple had no experience of working in children's homes or qualifications, but they appeared to the inspector to have a talent for the work and were prepared to be active within Quarrier's.<sup>66</sup> These assessments were congruent with Quarrier's approach to recruitment, wherein the ideal candidate would intuitively have the necessary aptitudes to create a substitute home for children.

The 1965 inspection report produced numerous recommendations which, somewhat unusually, were communicated to management.<sup>67</sup> During this period inspection reports were produced for the eyes of inspectors and staff in the childcare division of the Scottish Office and unlike inspections of schools they were never shared with managers of childcare facilities.

An emphasis on training is reflected in some of the advertisements for staff that were placed in subsequent years. Advertisements placed during the latter part of the

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., Report on Inspection, January 1965, Cottage 31 [SGV.001.005.0380-1].

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., Report on Inspection, January 1965, Cottage 5 [SGV.001.005.0351].

<sup>66</sup> It should be noted, however, that serious allegations were later made against this housefather, adding to concerns about the general efficacy of inspections to detect underlying problems and failures within Quarrier's. See [QAR.001.001.1136 and 1144]; and subsequent reporting of the conviction of this individual, for example: *The Scotsman* 29 September 2001.

<sup>67</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: copy of a letter addressed to Dr Davidson dated 2 September 1965, signed by I. M. Wilson, and accompanying appendices containing recommendations resulting from the inspection that took place in January 1965 [SGV.001.005.0130-7].

1960s indicate that qualifications and experience were advantageous but not compulsory, as in the following examples:

Applications are invited for the following Posts caring for fourteen children in a Protestant Group Children's Home.

HOUSEFATHER/MOTHER—Joint Salary £1040 -£1340 p.a.

HOUSEMOTHERS—Salary £520 -£670 p.a.

ASSISTANT HOUSEMOTHERS—Salary £460 -£610 p.a.

The above salaries are subject to a deduction for comfortable living accommodation. Preference will be given to persons with previous experience of working with children. Additional allowances for recognised training. Superannuation Scheme in operation. Forms of application and further details...<sup>68</sup>

And in 1966:

QUARRIER'S HOMES BRIDGE OF WEIR

RESIDENT ASSISTANTS AND RELIEF HOUSEMOTHERS

required to help in caring for 12 to 14 children in family groups. Applicants should be protestant aged 20 to 28 years.

Experience is not essential.

RELIEF HOUSEMOTHERS

£520 Per annum rising by four annual increments of £25

reaching a maximum in four years of £620 per annum,

less £150 per annum for emoluments.<sup>69</sup>

And, in 1967:

Resident Assistant Housemothers

For family group home within our village which

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<sup>68</sup> Aberdeen Press and Journal, 13 April 1965, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> Aberdeen Press and Journal, 7 March 1966, p. 9.

is situated in very pleasant countryside only a few miles from Glasgow.

Comprehensive In-Service Training Scheme in operation for new staff.

Salary £460 -£610 per annum, plus £60 per annum for Holders

of residential Child Care Certificate. Deduction of £150 for emoluments.

Excellent accommodation and leave.<sup>70</sup>

Advertisements such as these were placed in the wake of the large-scale inspection of the homes undertaken in early 1965, which was very critical of the small numbers of qualified staff working at Quarrier's and the level of training provided for new, inexperienced and unqualified employees.

Records of executive committee meetings note that by the late 1960s Quarrier's paid salaries to staff according to a nationally agreed scale.<sup>71</sup> However, this does not necessarily mean that they were competitive, as some local authorities could, and did, pay more. For example, while an assistant housemother at Quarrier's had a starting salary of £460, employees of Aberdeen County Council in a similar residential post could start at £610 with only £125 deducted for accommodation and board as compared to £150 at Quarrier's.<sup>72</sup> The lower remuneration, combined with the isolation of the Village, is likely to have contributed to the difficulties in recruiting staff. Perhaps in recognition of these difficulties, several concessions were made in this period. The requirement that couples should be childless was relaxed sometime around 1960 and by the later 1960s the only religious requirement insisted upon was that applicants were affiliated to a protestant denomination. The request for a reference from a minister was no longer included in advertisements.

Scottish Office inspections done in the mid-1960s, recommended several changes to the model of child care provided, one of which included better use of the professional advice of an educational psychologist. A psychologist—Evelyn Schaffer—had been employed two days per week at the Homes since 1963. However, investigation of her role by inspectors revealed that referrals made to her of children had not resulted in her being able to provide a satisfactory service:

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<sup>70</sup>Aberdeen Press and Journal, 7 January 1967, p. 8.

<sup>71</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 6 September 1968 [QAR.001.003.2543].

<sup>72</sup> Advertisement for Assistant Housemother in group home for 14 children, Aberdeen Evening Express, 4 July 1965, p. 9.

The Director and Superintendent would wish to use her services solely as a means of obtaining intelligence quotients to guide them in their problems with the children especially with older children when questions of future employment arise. Mrs Schaffer has wished to be more involved in help and advice on the day to day living problems of children and this has caused some resentment in relation to the function of other members of the supervisory staff... Mrs Schaffer deprecates the definition of her job by the Director and Superintendent as a provider of Intelligence Quotient statistics. She is not invited to case reviews when she has made a report on a child; her recommendations are not, in her view, taken into account.<sup>73</sup>

By the time the Homes were inspected in 1966, Mrs Schaffer had evidently left, and another child psychologist was in post who was, at the time of the inspection, undertaking 'an assessment of the handicapped children in the Homes'.<sup>74</sup> This professional stayed at Quarrier's for less than a year; when the Homes were inspected again in 1967 the post had been advertised 'several times but without success'.<sup>75</sup> In March 1967 it was noted that there were 369 employees – no breakdown of that figure is included.<sup>76</sup>

c.1970-1990

Advertisements placed for childcare staff in the 1970s took the following format:

The following staff are required for this caring community, at Bridge of Weir, which is situated 18 miles south west of Glasgow. Applications are invited for the DEPUTY AND ASSISTANT HOUSEMOTHERS. The children, aged 3-16 years, are cared for in cottages run as family units of 14. The applicants would work with the houseparents who are in charge of each cottage. The posts are resident. Salary in accordance with N.J.I.C. with 5 weeks annual leave. Superannuation scheme in operation. It is hoped that by April, 1975, 40 hour 5 day week will be in operation for Assistants only. For further details, please apply to:— Hr J. MORTIMER, Director of Child Care...<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report, 1965, Appendix E [SGV.001.005.0049].

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., Inspection Report, 1966, p. 2 [SGV.001.005.0192].

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., Inspection Report, 1967, p. 1 [SGV.001.005.0202]. A further person was employed for a short time before the appointment of Jean Morris in 1971 who was a well-known figure in Quarrier's and remained on the staff for almost 20 years – see Inspection Report, 1968 [SGV.001.005.0216].

<sup>76</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 9 March 1967 [QAR.001.003.2527].

<sup>77</sup> Aberdeen Press and Journal, 13 January 1975, p. 11.

In this example, qualifications are not stipulated. Following the 1968 Social Work Act, child care increasingly became recognised as a professional calling requiring up-to-date knowledge and a skillset derived from training and experience. By the end of the 1970s, the wider landscape of child care had changed, and qualifications were given greater status, though they were still not mandatory.

QUARRIER'S HOMES The following staff are required for this caring community at Bridge of Weir, which is situated 18 miles south-west of Glasgow and close to the recreational amenities of the Clyde Coast

#### RESIDENT HOUSEPARENTS.

Applications are invited from single or married persons for the above posts. Joint appointments can be made in the case of married couples or one partner can follow their own occupation and receive free board and accommodation in return for giving a certain amount of assistance.

Houseparents are in charge of single cottage units each catering for 12 children up to the age of 16 years. Staff accommodation is within the unit but limited in the case of married couples with their own families (usually a maximum of 2 children). There are full supportive services available —medical, educational, social work and recreational. Applicants, male or female, should be qualified in residential work or have extensive appropriate experience...<sup>78</sup>

These examples indicate that during this period more effort was made to attract qualified and experienced staff. They also indicate that efforts were being made to improve conditions for children and staff and a more liberal approach to the personal choices of houseparents is evident—mention of religious affiliation is no longer present in advertisements placed in the late 1970s. However, in the absence of relevant records, it is not possible to assess how applicants for those posts were selected and what kinds of appropriate experience was judged sufficient.

Ongoing changes to service provision are also evident in some advertisements:

QUARRIER'S HOMES require a person to take charge of their Residential Nursery Unit, caring for 20 children up to the age of 4 years. The unit is part of a large village complex, offering a wide range of residential provision for children of all ages. This vacancy occurs because the present holder is leaving for senior post

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<sup>78</sup> Aberdeen Press and Journal, 25 August 1978, p. 15.



elsewhere. The future planning for the unit is to provide care for more handicapped babies and toddlers, especially those with Down's Syndrome. It is therefore essential that the applicant be a qualified nurse with experience of working with young handicapped children. The post is resident. Salary and conditions in accordance with Whitley Scale. Further details and application form write or telephone...<sup>79</sup>

As can be seen, Quarrier's had now moved to an application proforma. Unfortunately, we have not been provided with an example of these.

From the late 1960s through the 1970s, a small team of social workers was employed: some of these employees had experience and/or qualifications in social care fieldwork though we have no details of the profiles of such staff and cannot exclude that some houseparents moved into this field.<sup>80</sup> In 1974, there was also a radical change at the top when director Davidson retired after 27 years' service.<sup>81</sup> The new incumbent, Dr James Minto, had been principal of Dr Graham's Homes—a place that was effectively Quarrier's equivalent in India, complete with cottage homes modelled on the original Village. We do not know who the other applicants for this post were, though it was advertised.<sup>82</sup> Only two applicants were interviewed.<sup>83</sup>

At 1<sup>st</sup> November 1971 the staffing at Quarrier's was recorded as follows:<sup>84</sup>

	<u>Establishment.</u>	<u>Number at 1st Nov., 1971.</u>
Tradesmen, Domestics, Laundry etc.	148	148
Cottage Staff	90	90
Elise Hospital and Baby Homes	71	74
Colony (including Workshops)	58	61
Administrative & Clerical	23	23
	<u>390</u>	<u>396</u>
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From these figures, it was concluded by the executive committee,

<sup>79</sup> Aberdeen Press and Journal 13 January 1978, p. 15.

<sup>80</sup> See witness statement by former employee, para. 16, [WIT.003.001.8121].

<sup>81</sup> Annual Report 1973-74, p. 4 [QAR.001.001.4400]

<sup>82</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 17 May 1973 [QAR.001.003.2611].

<sup>83</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 6 September 1973 [QAR.001.003.2606].

<sup>84</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 26 November 1971, p. 3 [QAR.001.003.2586].

'(a) that the establishment in the Colony be increased to 61 (b) that the establishment in Elise Hospital and Baby Homes be 74 and (c) that there be no increase in the above establishments without the prior approval of The Executive Committee.'<sup>85</sup>

Thus, the Colony and the baby units received a small staff increase but there was no such increase in the complement of cottage workers. At the 1971 Annual Meeting the Director stated in his speech:

To care for our children and the patients at the Colony we need staff. We are pleased to say that recruitment has remained remarkable and at the moment is as good as it has ever been. We normally lose Houseparents by retirement. There have been none such during the year but Miss Salisbury retires officially to-morrow, after 24 years as a housemother. We thank her for the very long service and wish her health and happiness in the future. So often when I go out to talk about the Homes I stress the fact that the work here is so dependent on the faithful and persistent service of our Houseparent staff and I wish to pay full tribute to them all to-day.<sup>86</sup>

By 1972 the number of staff employed in the cottages had dropped to under 80.<sup>87</sup> However, there were no further reductions on the numbers of children in individual cottages. In 1972, there were 30 cottages with around 14 children in each. At his inaugural address to the annual general meeting in 1974, the new director, James Minto, stated that there was stability within the houseparent staff who were caring for 423 children in 28 cottages, as well as the homes in Glasgow (Overbridge) and in Largs (Merton). In addition, Minto stated that 63 per cent of staff had some form of recognised qualification.<sup>88</sup>

Throughout the 1970s, Quarrier's were put under continuing pressure from the Scottish Office to change their model of service delivery and their employment policies.<sup>89</sup> The types of skills and aptitudes which this institution had traditionally valued such as domestic proficiency, a strong religious faith, self-discipline and the

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 3 [QAR.001.003.2586].

<sup>86</sup> Annual Report 1970-71, p.4 [QAR.001.001.4279].

<sup>87</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, November 1972 [QAR.001.003.2590]; staff in the cottages at 13<sup>th</sup> November 1972 numbered 15 housefathers, 30 housemothers, 4 relief housemothers and 28 cottage assistants.

<sup>88</sup> Annual Report 1973-74, pp. 11-12 [QAR.001.001.4407-8].

<sup>89</sup> NRS ED 11/708/2: Voluntary Homes – Quarrier's Homes inspectors reports. 1974 inspection report, [SGV.001.005.0236-7].

ability to create order were of little value in a childcare landscape in which more stress was being placed on good record keeping, the ability to communicate effectively with other professionals, and be involved more with children's families in order to secure their wellbeing. This situation did necessitate some adaptability. At the same time the profile of children changed somewhat with many more present in the homes for a shorter period of time than formerly.

In 1972 an inspector from the Central Advisory Service 'wondered about the quality of the residential staff. The Superintendent said they do not have any problems in recruitment though occasionally they have had to dismiss people because they are unsuitable.'<sup>90</sup> No further details are provided in the report about these qualms.

The inspector also noted that standards of teaching in the schools were 'appalling' and there was a high turnover of staff.<sup>91</sup> With regards the baby and toddler unit the inspector commented that: 'I was very sad to see that this group of children is still separated off'.<sup>92</sup> There were '20 babies all in cots in a very institutional nursery unit'.<sup>93</sup> Contrary to repeated advice given, Quarrier's opted to maintain a separate baby and toddler unit staffed by qualified nurses and nursery assistants.<sup>94</sup> The continuation of this arrangement meant that siblings were routinely separated for lengthy periods of time, and these young children—while physically well cared for—were deprived of social and emotional interactions with anyone other than a uniformed professional.

During this period Quarrier's was encouraged to see a future away from the Village and towards working more in co-operation with local authority social work departments in order to provide specialist services which local councils would find useful.<sup>95</sup> Some diversification of services commenced, including entry into foster care for small numbers of Quarrier's children and the opening of a residential facility in Largs:

At present we have 524 children in care, either here at Bridge of Weir, in Glasgow or at Largs, and a few are boarded out in various parts of Scotland.

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<sup>90</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports, Inspection Report, 1972, p.3 [SGV.001.005.0225].

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1 [SGV.001.005.0224].

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2 [SGV.001.005.0225].

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2 [SGV.001.005.0225].

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2 [SGV.001.005.0225].

<sup>95</sup> See for example, NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report 1974, p.2 [SGV.001.005.0237].

Although the pressure for admission at times is great we have resisted the temptation to increase the number of children beyond fourteen in each house, because we feel that thereby the homely atmosphere will inevitably be lost. Overbridge in Glasgow, which for some years has been used as a "five day care" centre - children go home at the week-ends to a parent or relatives - has been requisitioned for the new motorway. On Monday next the Lord Provost of Glasgow (whom we are pleased to see with us to-day) officially opens the replacement Home at 63 St. Andrew's Drive. This is the first major event in the next one hundred years. We have changed the use of cottage 32 - which was a staff residence for Aunties - to a hostel for older boys and girls.<sup>96</sup>

In terms of recruitment for the other children's facilities that were opened both within the Homes and across the central belt of Scotland, the reviewed records did not reveal a great deal about how these were staffed or indeed how staff were recruited and selected. There is, however, some evidence that Quarrier's had difficulties recruiting for senior, specialist roles. The West Yonderton Intermediate Care centre was something of a flagship enterprise for Quarrier's and when this required a principal, no suitable applications were received ahead of its opening in 1980.<sup>97</sup> This was an appointment that needed approval from Strathclyde Regional Council who referred children to this facility. In the end, a member of Social Work Services Group (SWSG) offered his services if the post could be allied to wider social work interests. The executive were flattered to have an experienced social worker interested, and negotiation between the prospective employee and the Director resulted in him being offered the appointment as 'Social Work Planner combined with the post of principal of the Intermediate Treatment Centre at West Yonderton at a salary of about £8,500 per annum with tenancy of The Cottage, Kilmacolm'.<sup>98</sup> A not ungenerous package for the time that was turned down in favour of a three-year secondment from the Social Work Services Group as a Development Adviser to Quarrier's at a higher salary.<sup>99</sup>

As we can see from the table below, although there was diversification with specialist children's homes in several locations, services at the Village remained at

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<sup>96</sup> Quarrier's Homes Annual Report, 1970-71, p.4 [QAR.001.001.4279].

<sup>97</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 27 February 1979 [QAR.001.003.2717].

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., [QAR.001.003.2717].

<sup>99</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 22 May 1979 [QAR.001.003.2711].

the core of Quarrier's childcare operation and staffing this service remained problematic. By 1979, the staff breakdown at Quarrier's was as follows<sup>100</sup>:

<b>Department</b>	<b>Establishment</b>	<b>No at 1<sup>st</sup></b>
<b>November 1979</b>		
Admin. Staff	27	25
Trades & Drivers	35	37
Laundry	19	18
Drapery, Store & Post Office	11	12
Miscellaneous Staff	17	26
Swimming Pool	2	2
Housefathers	16	13
Housemothers	31	27
Deputy Housemothers	23	20
Assistant Housemothers	33	33
Relief Housemothers	12	15
Domestics	57	58
Farm	5	4
Merton House, Largs	5	5
Overbridge, Glasgow	7	6
Seabank, Girvan	6	6
Turnberry & Craigavon	4	4
Campbell Maltman	13	12
Southannan	25	26
Epilepsy Centre	74	92
	<u>422</u>	<u>441</u>

*Figures extracted from Council of Management Minutes: meeting held 27 November 1979.*

A policy document written in response to the information that Strathclyde local authority intended to stop sending children to Quarrier's Homes was produced by senior management in 1980. In this, a three-year plan was set out which included the intention to gradually reduce the number of children in the Village, but still try to maintain staff levels so that improvements in care could be implemented. In tandem was a larger ambition to continue to diversify services into areas that met the needs of local authority social work departments. This document also reveals that, while on the one hand there was an acknowledged need to move with the times towards models of child care involving foster care, smaller group homes, and more specialised units, on the other there was some reluctance to give up on the concept of a children's Village and the provision of substitute parents.

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<sup>100</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 27 November 1979 [QAR.001.003.5552].

It will no doubt be argued in some quarters that, however laudable and successful we may be in achieving these objectives nonetheless the 'Village' concept is basically outdated and anti-pathetic to good residential child care. The evidence for such criticism is in our view still to be proven, and at this stage remains essentially a value judgement.<sup>101</sup>

Local authorities, principally Strathclyde Regional Council, held firm and as well as withholding referrals they refused to increase their per capita payments for children resident with Quarrier's. By this point, in a reverse of practice in former eras, nearly all children admitted to Quarrier's were placed there by local authorities and the Homes were therefore largely dependent on this income. This meant that Quarrier's were forced to make staff redundant.<sup>102</sup>

By 1981 the fall in the number of children housed in the Village was 'dramatic' and the children resident in cottages and in a hostel arranged for working age children were increasingly older and considered to be difficult to manage. In this context the following assessment was made:

...over thirty children had to be moved around. Since then and particularly now with 45 vacancies in 18 Cottages, the uncertainty and anxiety about the future is unhelpful to the children and the care staff. This fundamental lack of stability, therefore, has to be rectified. From our point of view that means either convincing the local authority of the case for a 21% increase in the per capita cost or, alternatively, making the appropriate savings in areas not directly concerned with child care. The problem in essence, is how do we maintain stability in children's lives against a background of rising costs and an ever reducing child care population. If we cannot create the stability, then there is every likelihood that the local authority would intervene and place the children in their own homes. Whilst the example is not strictly comparable, the local authority have [sic] taken such action in relation to the Church of Scotland Children's Homes in Glasgow.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Quarrier's Homes: Review of Objectives and Programme of Work, 1980-1983, p. 37 [QAR.001.001.1768].

<sup>102</sup> Quarrier's Homes: Review of Child Care Policy and Practice Issues, 26th November 1981, p. 2 [QAR.001.001.1786].

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3 [QAR.001.001.1786-7].

In the early to mid-1980s there were also changes in the management hierarchy. By long practice, overall responsibility for the care of children had fallen to the superintendent—by this time termed Director of Child Care—with some more domestic oversight provided by a Matron (later styled a deputy supervisor before becoming domestic supervisor). More heads of units were introduced as the eventual closure of the Village was planned and the services provided became more diverse and specialised—many not dealing with children.<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately, the evidence reviewed does not provide a comprehensive picture about how these roles were filled, or how effective they were in improving conditions for the children who remained at Quarrier's Village during the 1980s.

Other ongoing change saw the introduction of social workers employed at the Village. This is an area where Quarrier's must have encountered recruitment issues. Following the Social Work Act, 1968, qualified social workers were needed in almost every local authority in Scotland; Quarrier's would have had to compete with these other agencies. There is evidence that Quarrier's recruited internally from their houseparent staff—though further training for these was facilitated.<sup>105</sup> Other qualified social workers joined the staff during the 1970s; since we lack personnel records, we have no contemporary evidence about how these workers were appointed.

## Staff training

c.1930-1950

It is not clear whether a probationary period was a routine condition of employment, nor do we know if *any* form of extra support was given to new staff. In 1937, mention is made in executive minutes that '[t]he couple D from Dundee, who had been on probation for three months had left'—with no further comment being made about the reason the couple departed.<sup>106</sup> Information gleaned from documents relating to later timeframes (post-1960) indicates that at least some new houseparents spent a short time in another cottage before being appointed to a cottage of their own; this may have been a longstanding practice (see section below relating to 1950-1970).

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<sup>104</sup> See model of staff structure provided to the Inquiry by Quarrier's [QAR.001.001.0279].

<sup>105</sup> See witness statement by former employee [WIT.003.001.8121].

<sup>106</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 6 April 1937, p. 3 [QAR.001.003.1958].

It must be supposed that Houseparents could approach the Superintendent of Homes and, or, the Matron in charge of child care within in the cottages for advice and support. However, given there were 43 such homes with 30 or so children resident in each, the level of support a houseparent might expect from these senior managers would have been limited. We do not know either how such approaches may have been interpreted by managers—whether positively or as a sign of weakness. The executive minutes do reveal, and we have noted some cases, that staff who did not conform to the general culture of the Homes were invited to resign. This type of practice may have deterred houseparents seeking assistance.<sup>107</sup>

There is no evidence that houseparents were required to attend any training during this time period. In 1947, however, in advance of the Children Act, it was mooted by Quarrier's that in-house facilities for training would be established:

...at this time we are planning to start a Training School for Cottage Workers, and permission is at present being sought to make the required alterations to certain property for that purpose. Here, too, there are excellent facilities for the training of Assistant Nurses and of Nursery Nurses, and soon it is hoped that full advantage will be taken of these.<sup>108</sup>

However there is no further note of this proposed innovation being implemented in respect of houseparents until the early 1950s.

The training of nursery nurses within the baby units was an ongoing feature of Quarrier's. These young women received instruction offsite at further education colleges, but in addition to classroom attendance their qualification was heavily practice based and this vocational practice was provided at Quarrier's.<sup>109</sup> Practical training was under the supervision of the trained nurses employed by Quarrier's—this was standard training procedure at the time for all levels of nursing. It is not known whether training colleges sent in their own tutors from time to time to observe trainees and/or assess the suitability of the baby units as training institutions. Barnardo's operated similar schemes in their baby homes.

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<sup>107</sup> See for example, Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 7 February 1944, p.2 [QAR.001.003.2256].

<sup>108</sup> Narrative of Facts, year ending 31 October 1947, p.6 [QAR.001.001.3353].

<sup>109</sup> For a note of this see for example, Annual Report 1970-71, p.6 [QAR.001.001.4281].



c.1950-1970

The Homes were inspected by representatives from the Home Department inspectorate in January 1953.<sup>110</sup> A recommendation was made by inspectors that Quarrier's provide a training course in child care open to their own staff and outside interest. At the next meeting in February it was stated that 'it was decided that the Homes would arrange their own staff training courses and the question of allowing other persons to take part would be left open.'<sup>111</sup> This plan was publicised in the staff newsletter: '[i]n future it is the Committee's intention to provide a training course for new workers.'<sup>112</sup> No timescale for the introduction of this course is outlined, but in addition there was a proposal to have 'a modified course...for present Cottage Mothers, Assistants and Relievers.'<sup>113</sup> This plan was of course, a concession made in terms of the inspectorate's recommendations. The newsletter gives more information about the modified course for present workers and states:

While this course is not compulsory, it is thought that almost all eligible would wish to attend.

For this Course, the meetings will mainly be in the form of talks, with opportunities for questions and discussion.

The meetings will be held in Cottage 30, from 2 to 4 p.m. on Fridays for twelve weeks.

The first meeting will be held on Friday, April 10, when a full attendance will be expected.

... DETAILS OF COURSE

Arrangements are being made for experienced lecturers on helpful subjects to give talks at the various meetings. Details will be intimated from week to week till all arrangements have been made.

... FIRST MEETING

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<sup>110</sup> Unfortunately, we have not recovered a copy of the inspection done from within the extant government records; however, remarks about the inspection and conversation had with inspectors and Quarrier's staff are detailed in executive minutes [QAR.001.003.2396-9].

<sup>111</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 12 February 1953 [QAR.001.003.2398].

<sup>112</sup> Newsletter dated 6 April 1953, p. 1 [QAR.001.001.1268].

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1 [QAR.001.001.1268].

(a) On Friday, April 10, at 2 o'clock, Dr. Kelly will give a brief Foreword to the Course.

(b) The Superintendent will then explain the scope of the course and give the first talk.

(c) At 3 o'clock a talk will be given by Mr. Alexander G. Newlands, M.A. L.L.B. Mr. Newlands is well known as an experienced administrator in the County Education Department. His subject will be "Difficult Children".<sup>114</sup>

As can be seen this was not compulsory and we do not know how consistently it was run year on year. Moreover, the scope of such training was modest and, at least to begin with, depended heavily on instruction from existing members of Quarrier's senior management.

At a meeting of the Executive in 1953 it was decided that the 'Committee were not in sympathy with the Homes being a centre of training scheme for Scotland but agreed that suitable courses for own staff should be commenced'.<sup>115</sup> It is unclear from the evidence reviewed the reasons why Quarrier's did not follow the suggestion from the Home Department.

During the later 1950s and 1960s, in-service training amounted to little more than attendance at fortnightly lectures held over a few months and provided by the likes of local authority Children's Officers, head teachers of Approved Schools and, occasionally, members of the Scottish Office inspectorate. This lecture course was supplemented by opportunities to attend extra-mural classes and for a few staff, time away to attend week long 'refresher courses' funded and run by the Scottish Office.<sup>116</sup> The 1965 inspection report stated that while these might be of value to staff who already had some qualifications they were inappropriate for untrained staff who needed more basic instruction in child development.<sup>117</sup> In addition, the report indicates that there was a low take up for this.<sup>118</sup> We have no evidence that there were any major financial incentives involved with attendance.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-2 [QAR.001.001.1268-9].

<sup>115</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 15 January 1953, p. 2 [QAR.001.003.2397].

<sup>116</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports Inspection Report, 1965, Appendix F [SGV.001.005.0055-6].

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports Inspection Report, 1965 [SGV.001.005.0013 and 0055-6].

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., [SGV.001.005.0056].

A small number of recruits attended one-year courses in residential child care provided in two colleges of further education in Scotland during the 1950s and 1960s (in Glasgow and Aberdeen) either ahead of being employed by Quarrier's, or in smaller numbers, as a secondment from employment in the Homes. Without the aid of employment records, we are unable to assess the extent of this.

While in the early 1950s the Scottish Office might have seen an opportunity to establish an accredited training school at Quarrier's, a decade later there was less faith that this was a workable proposition, as illustrated by the following comment made by an inspector in 1965:

Prior to this Inspection Quarriers had suggested the possibility of using the facilities they had to offer both in the way of accommodation and practical training facilities for use as a training centre for residential workers. During the inspection we examined this possibility and are strongly against the idea...<sup>119</sup>

Overall, the Scottish Office, having reviewed the care on offer at Quarrier's doubted their expertise to run courses for residential and field work staff at the standards demanded. The inspectorate emphasised the geographical isolation of the Village and stated that students on such a course needed to have a wider experience of care provisions than that which Quarrier's could provide with its 'inward looking' culture. They also doubted whether high calibre tutors could be attracted to working there. Quarrier's were politely advised to get their own house in order first, with better in-service training for new and existing staff.

The inspection conducted by the Scottish Education Department in January 1965 contains further detail about staff background and training. This reveals that many members of staff had no previous experience of residential child care, no qualifications and only quite short lengths of employment in Quarrier's. In Cottage 24, for example, a couple aged in their mid-20s had been in post for 6 months. Their only experience of child care was voluntary work with church youth groups. The inspector remarks in his report that the couple 'appeared bewildered and out of their depth in the work they were doing'. Their only assistance was from a daily domestic helper and an 18-year old visiting student from Europe who had been newly sent there. The induction they received consisted of 'a short observational period in another cottage'. The inspector (D. Hughes) concluded:

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-9 [SGV.001.005.0011-12].

The Visit made to this home pinpointed a number of weaknesses in the general administration and in the training and supervision of houseparent staff. In my opinion the [couple] should not, after such a limited form of training have been given a group of such difficult children...they ought to have been receiving regular visits from the Superintendent and Matron who could have given support and help to a young and inexperienced couple. This couple have had neither the training or experience that would equip them to give the skilled care these particular children need.<sup>120</sup>

The cottage report suggests that new staff spent a limited amount of time with other more experienced houseparents. The inspectorate commented, however, that this form of induction was 'hit or miss' and the houseparents selected to introduce new staff received no form of support from 'the administration' about performing this task.<sup>121</sup> Beyond the above description we have no records of induction procedures in this period.

The issue of support for new houseparents was specifically raised in comments about training where it was stated that the inspectors were definitely 'not satisfied' with what was provided for new staff with no experience.<sup>122</sup> In response to these concerns a 'Staff Guide' distributed by Quarrier's beginning around 1966 indicates that in-service training was compulsory for new staff members who did not already possess childcare qualifications.<sup>123</sup>

Also revealed during inspection is the case of a houseparent who did hold an accredited qualification, but was failing to cope after being in post for just over a year. It was noted that children were being given household tasks to an unacceptable level and even with this assistance, the cottage was in a poor and depressing state. It is intimated that the houseparent was unwell (possibly depressed) and was described as 'lethargic', had an assistant who had come to work at Quarrier's barely out of school and whose assistance was, perhaps understandably, inadequate. The inspector commented that:

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., Cottage 24 [SGV.001.005.0375-6].

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., Appendix F [SGV.001.005.0055-6].

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., Inspection Report, 1965 p. 9 [SGV.001.005.0012].

<sup>123</sup> A Staff Guide on Quarrier's Homes, p. 6 [QAR.001.001.1649]; this booklet is undated but it contains details about the change of use of 'Overbridge' in 1965 and in discussion of legislation makes no mention of the Social Work Act (1968), the conclusion is therefore that it was written around 1966.

This cottage shows the weakness of the administration so far as staff supervision is concerned. Here is a housemother who had a good beginning, but who is obviously unwell and needing support and guidance, and this she is not receiving. I was not happy with the standard of care in this Cottage and the Superintendent was informed of this.<sup>124</sup>

This example suggests that there was little recognition of the stresses involved with the performance of this job or that relatively new employees might need extra help.

c.1970-1990

By the 1970s, and as noted, an educational psychologist and a team of social workers were employed. Their role was dual in that they were supposed to assess the needs of children and monitor their progress, but also provide advice and support to staff. We have no evidence of how effective this was in improving support to new staff. There is plentiful evidence that this system created friction between social workers and residential care staff, and within this form of care monitoring, social workers may have been inhibited from reporting poor performance by any staff—new or established. A review carried out by Quarrier's of its own policies and practice in the early 1980s stated that the role of social workers remained 'ambiguous' and that unless this could be addressed there would be 'continued criticism from the local authority'.<sup>125</sup>

Whilst the 1965 inspection was strongly against the idea of an accredited training school being established at Quarrier's, an in-service training scheme was introduced sometime in 1967-68 This was open to students outside of Quarrier's. In its annual report for 1969-70 Quarrier's note that:

We are pleased that there has been official recognition of our In Service Training Course that has been run for Cottage staff and others for the last two years. This coming winter we will again welcome some who will attend the course from organisations outside of our own. I am sure that there is ample opportunity here, with our large family and many facilities available to learn much of the problems one faces.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports Inspection Report, 1965, Inspection conducted for Cottage 39 [SGV.001.005.0391].

<sup>125</sup> Quarrier's Homes, Review of Child Care Policy and Practice Issues 26 November 1981, pp. 11-12 [QAR.001.001.1794].

<sup>126</sup> Annual Report 1969-70, p. 6 [QAR.001.001.4239].

Note is also made of this scheme in 1972 during an inspection by members of the Central Advisory Service:

The Quarrier's Homes run its own in-service training scheme and this seems to be successful. It runs a course each year beginning in the autumn and continuing over a 6-month period. It takes 15 students at a time, a number of whom come from outside agencies. Some of the staff have gone on for full-time training. Quarrier's have for some time now been taking quite successfully a number of girls who have completed the PRC course at Barmulloch. In spite of their youth some of these girls apparently are making very good assistant housemothers.<sup>127</sup>

As we have no information about how this programme progressed, we cannot comment on the appropriateness of its content or what type of objective assessment was made of attendees' performance before an award was granted, if any. We have been unable to recover evidence of it being externally monitored or endorsed by a further education establishment or professional body.

That some doubts about the efficacy of existing in-service training might have existed is exemplified in 1979, when the 'services of a part-time Training Officer had been obtained, the cost being met by the Social Work Services Group.'<sup>128</sup> The training officer was employed by Quarrier's to organise in-service training and secondment to external training courses. Once again, without the benefit of employment records it is impossible to assess the extent of uptake of training opportunities that progressed to official qualifications. We have no record of the types of training facilitated by this worker.

By 1980 Quarrier's had established the part-time training officer but there were still a good number of houseparents who had no training at all, 12 out of 48. Of those with qualifications nine possessed a certificate in residential care of children and young people, and 21 had an in-service certificate. More worrying was that 39 out of 46

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<sup>127</sup> Inspection Report, 1972, p. 2 [QAR.001.001.1684]. Barmulloch was a Further Education training college situated in the North of Glasgow; it is likely that these were very young girls. The qualification mentioned was awarded following a preliminary programme of studies that involved a work placement; having achieved this, students would likely have been encouraged to move on to higher qualification; see Cmnd. 4834, *Social Work in Scotland 1970* (Edinburgh, 1971) p. 53. As can be seen, some former students opted to become employees at Quarrier's instead.

<sup>128</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 18 September 1979 [QAR.001.003.2709].

deputies and assistants had no training whatsoever, and Quarrier's noted it was intending to respond to this situation.<sup>129</sup>

By this time, a career structure had been introduced within the cottages and these now had houseparents in charge, assisted by deputy housemothers as well as assistant housemothers. Additionally, there were domestic helpers in some cottages and larger numbers of relief housemothers in order to allow the implementation of a 5-day, 40-hour working week.<sup>130</sup> It is assumed that this hierarchy was reflected in salaries and new appointments to particular posts may have been dependent on training. This possibly provided some incentive for staff to take up training opportunities. In addition, formal childcare qualifications such as the Residential Child Care Certificate awarded by some Further Education colleges in Scotland attracted an annual addition to the basic salary. In-service qualifications awarded by Quarrier's in the 1970s also attracted a small salary addition.<sup>131</sup> Of note is that by 1981 Quarrier's proposed to introduce staff evaluations.<sup>132</sup> We have no note of when these actually began.

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<sup>129</sup> Quarrier's Review of Objectives 1980-1983 [QAR.001.001.1742].

<sup>130</sup> It is claimed that most relief housemothers were recruited from among the spouses of resident tradesmen. It is presumed they were paid a sessional rate, but we have no information about the amounts paid. See witness statement, para. 28, [WIT.001.002.0467].

<sup>131</sup> See witness statement, para. 98 [WIT.001.002.0480].

<sup>132</sup> Quarrier's Homes, Review of Child Care Policy and Practice Issues 26 November 1981, p. 12 [QAR.001.001.1795].

## Question 2: Discipline and Punishment

### c.1930-1950

Guidance (national, local, organisation/institutional)

At the start of this period there was nothing in law to prevent childcare institutions from administering punishment, including corporal punishment in order to discipline children. Both the Children Act, 1908 and the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937 recognised the right of those in *loco parentis* to administer reasonable punishment to the child.<sup>133</sup> Given that institutions like Quarrier's provided substitute parents who had day-to-day charge of children, they were covered by this law where the practice of corporal punishment is concerned.

We have evidence that attempts were made to regulate punishment. Standing orders were issued in 1944. These comprised all kinds of rules and regulations about behaviour and routines in the home, including the disciplining of children as follows:

DISCIPLINE AND PUNISHMENTS.-Discipline shall be maintained by the personal influence of parents who shall endeavour to reduce all forms of punishment to a minimum. Punishments must be regulated according to the " Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Care and Training Act, 1933: -

- (1) Punishment, where necessary, shall consist mainly of reasonable forfeiture of privileges or rewards.
- (2) Children must not be deprived of meals.
- (3) Children must not normally be deprived of recreation for more than one day at a time.
- (4) Where punishment takes the form of a reasonable period of isolation, the child must never be locked in a room or cupboard.
- (5) If corporal punishment is considered necessary, a light tawse only may be used and only to the following maxima :-

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<sup>133</sup> See Norrie, K. McK. (2017) *Legislative Background to the Treatment of Children and Young People Living Apart from their Parents*, Edinburgh: Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry.



- (a) Girls: - Three strokes only may be inflicted in all on any one occasion, and only on the hands.
- (b) Boys under 14 years: Two strokes on each hand or four strokes on the posterior over ordinary cloth trousers.
- (c) Boys aged 14 years or more: Three strokes on each hand or six strokes on the posterior over ordinary cloth trousers.
- (6) Every punishment must be immediately entered in the Punishment Book and the record shall show: -
  - (a) Date of punishment.
  - (b) Name of offender.
  - (c) Age.
  - (d) Nature of offence.
  - (e) Name of person who administered the punishment.
  - (f) Nature of the punishment, and in the case of corporal punishment, its exact amount.<sup>134</sup>

This is the only dated, extant copy we were able to locate.

In assessing guidelines on punishment, the wider contemporary context is of course relevant. By way of comparison these are the guidelines provided to foster parents by the Corporation of Glasgow in the same timeframe:

A guardian shall not administer indiscriminate or harsh punishment on any pretext whatever. Any serious act of misconduct on the part of a boy or a girl, or any generally unsatisfactory behaviour, shall be reported to the Director. The guardian is further warned that, if the Corporation is satisfied that the child has been subjected to cruel or harsh treatment, the child will be removed and, if the Corporation consider it necessary, the case will be reported to the Criminal Authorities without delay.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> The Orphan Homes of Scotland: Standing Orders (dated July 1944), pp. 3-4 [QAR.001.001.0393-4].

<sup>135</sup> NRS ED11/175: The Clyde Committee on Homeless Children: Papers and Proforma Submitted by Edinburgh, Glasgow and Paisley; example of printed instruction booklet given to foster parents by the Corporation of Glasgow, the instructions are dated 15 September 1937 but were still in use in 1945 when they were submitted to the Clyde Committee [SGV.001.010.4316].



## Recording of Discipline and Punishment regimes

Assaults on children are rarely mentioned in the examples of executive minutes provided for this research, but when they are there is no description of the nature of these, or any intimation that they might be the subject of a report to criminal authorities. However, that corporal punishment was used in this timeframe, and that managers knew about it, is incontrovertible as houseparents were issued with a leather strap. Management may have intended the use of the strap to be 'reasonably' applied, but houseparents had a large amount of autonomy about how they ordered their households. The following letter was sent by Dr Kelly to housefathers in 1937:

Several cases of extreme corporal punishment meted out to lads have been brought to our notice within recent date. One of these complaints has come from The Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, another from a Doctor and another from a Visitor. The receipt of such reports has vexed me very much. I do not wish to enter into the reason which may, or may not, have been the cause for the punishments, but I wish to express my own personal conviction with regard to excessive corporal punishment. Severe thrashing not only makes nervous wrecks of some boys, but hardens others, and produces defiance rather than penitence. It blunts the sensibility at a time when it is most desirable that the boy should be enveloped by an intelligent understanding of his wrong doing and an attempt made to secure a response to efforts for his welfare. A boy who has been severely thrashed loses respect for the person who did the thrashing. "Thrashing" is wrong and represents a denial of that which is of God in every boy, even the most troublesome.

I trust that all who receive this letter will accept it in the spirit in which it has been written and help to remove from the life of the village this loathsome and I believe, unnecessary form of punishment.<sup>136</sup>

Ahead of this letter being sent, at their meeting in August 1937, it is minuted that: '[t]he Superintendent read a letter in reference to the punishing of a boy'.<sup>137</sup> There is no note of how the housefathers involved were dealt with.

The following year, however, with his light touch advice evidently ignored by some, the following comment is made in minutes:

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<sup>136</sup> Letter signed by James Kelly dated 23 September 1937, addressed to 'The Fathers in Charge of the Boys' Cottages' [QAR.001.001.0608].

<sup>137</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 27 August 1937 [QAR.001.003.1982].

QFV Cottage No.38. The very serious assault on a boy [redacted] and accusations made against [redacted] were considered and it was arranged to have QFV [redacted] before the Committee on Saturday, 4th June.<sup>138</sup>

When these two were seen in June the following is recorded:

The Chairman explained the assault committed by QFV [redacted] on a boy [redacted] Cottage No.43, which took place in the classroom in the Church on 10th May. He said an exhaustive enquiry had been made and a report in writing completed by Mr. Young [superintendent]... who attended and submitted a further report on investigations and after consideration of same QFV [redacted] was brought in to the Meeting. The Chairman pointed out to him that Corporal punishment by a "Father" was the prerogative of the Superintendent or the Executive Committee only and that the assault that was the subject of investigation was worthy of instant dismissal. QFV [redacted] was invited to state his case and he did so and retired, intimating verbally that he would resign. The Committee again considered the matter and decided to dismiss QFV [redacted] at once, also that the Superintendent should arrange for his being relieved of cottage work at the earliest date, and that the Secretary intimate the finding to QFV [redacted] in writing immediately,

[redacted] was sent for and he was told of the accusations of bad language made against him and that while it was known he had much improved in this matter in recent years, he was informed that there should be no occasion for questioning his utterances at all. He promised to do his best to watch his language.<sup>139</sup>

What is notable about the case of QFV [redacted] is that the assault he perpetrated took place in a public area; its nature is not described, but Kelly may have decided to make an example of him. Of co-incidental interest is the issue of the use of bad language in a public area of the Village, indicating that management did have eyes and ears open for matters of which they disapproved.

In 1945 another letter was sent out to houseparents on the same subject and in this there is mention of the recording of punishments:

Records of Punishments. Dr. Kelly submitted a letter which had been sent to all Cottage Workers by the Superintendent, together with a copy of the official

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<sup>138</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 31 May 1938 [QAR.001.003.2035].

<sup>139</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 4 June 1938 [QAR.001.003.2037-8].

"Record of Punishments" Book referred to therein, both of which were approved.<sup>140</sup>

A surviving copy of these punishment records has not been recovered from within Quarrier's archive; but mention of them in the 1944 standing order and in executive minutes attests to their existence, at least from the 1940s.

The use of corporal punishment in the school was also an issue and it is noted in 1941 that:

Mr. Deans, Headmaster, attended and answered a number of questions. He was requested to ask the male teachers to co-operate with Mr. Munro regarding the discipline of the children.<sup>141</sup>

Once again, the nature of such 'discipline' is not spelled out.

### **c.1950-1970**

Guidance (national, local, organisation/institutional)

The subject of punishment was a matter that was under discussion in Scotland following the issue of Home Office regulations about the conduct of children's homes published in 1951.<sup>142</sup> It is probable that there was an intention to provide a similar statutory instrument in Scotland: though such regulations did not in fact emerge until 1959. A minute contained in government records, dated 1952, states the following:

I agree that the formidable strap now used by the housemothers should be withdrawn. Mr Munro can no doubt be relied upon to do this in a way that does not weaken discipline. A simultaneous withdrawal from all the cottages might so gladden the hearts of the orphans as to lead to an outbreak of wickedness!

On the general question, we need not perhaps press the Homes to adopt new rules if we are ourselves about to promulgate general rules; if they do so voluntarily, well and good. My own feeling still is that it is more important to limit the right to inflict corporal punishment to a superintendent or a matron who can be relied upon to do so with discretion than it is to lay down rules about the number of strokes and the manner of infliction. The objective should

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<sup>140</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 8 May 1945 [QAR.001.003.2289].

<sup>141</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 7 May 1941 [QAR.001.003.2168].

<sup>142</sup> See Statutory Instruments 1951 No. 1217: Children and Young Persons Local Authority and Voluntary Homes: The Administration of Children's Homes, 1951 (London, 1951) [LEG.001.001.2851-5].

presumably be to safeguard the child against punishments which would not be administered by a reasonable parent –if there is such an animal! Could we not just say in fairly general terms that corporal punishment must be a last resort, must be moderate in amount, must be inflicted by the Superintendent or Matron either with the open hand or a light strap on the hands or buttocks, and must be recorded?<sup>143</sup>

The question of who should administer corporal punishment was not straightforward in the case of Quarrier's because of its model of cottage care aimed at providing individual, substitute homes for children. The idea that there could be a one-size-fits-all solution did not sit well with the ethos of the Homes where houseparents had control over their own households. The notion that control over a child might be referred outside of the cottage was not one that was likely to go down well with houseparents.

An undated document from within the Quarrier's archive, but probably created around this time, describes the following regime:

REGULATIONS REGARDING PUNISHMENT

ISSUED BY H.M. SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT

TO BE OBSERVED IN ALL HOME OFFICE INSTITUTIONS

(Only slight alterations have been made where the original expressions were not applicable to THE ORPHAN HOMES OF SCOTLAND).

(1) Punishment shall be reduced to a minimum. Where punishment is required for the maintenance of discipline, it shall consist primarily of

Forfeiture of privileges or rewards, loss of marks, or occasional loss of playtime; but no child shall be deprived of recreation over a period of more than a week.

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<sup>143</sup> NRS ED11/513: The Children Acts: Discipline and Punishment; internal memo initialled 'C.C.C.', dated 14 February 1952 [NRS.001.001.1122]. Most of the contents of this file relate to discussions about the Administration of Homes (Scotland) Regulations, 1959 but some earlier items are included. It seems likely that this minute was copied from another file specifically relating to Quarrier's Homes: a handwritten note at the top of the minute indicates this. Unfortunately, the original file on Quarrier's (likely containing inspection reports) has not been recovered.

Alteration of a single meal so as to render it less attractive, but the nutritive value shall not be substantially reduced.

Separation from other children, provided that only a light and airy room shall be used for this purpose and that this form of punishment shall be applied only to children over 12, and that some form of occupation shall be given.

If it is necessary to continue this form of punishment for more than 24 hours, the written consent of the Superintendent shall be obtained.

Considerable care is required in the application of this form of punishment, particularly in the case of nervous children. It should always be arranged that the child should be enabled to communicate easily with House Father or House Mother in case of need.

(2) No child shall be punished more than once for the same offence.

(3) Corporal punishment shall not generally be resorted to until other methods have been tried and have failed, and the administration of such punishment shall be subject to the following conditions: It shall be inflicted only with a strap as prescribed by the Secretary of State.

If used on the hands, the number of strokes shall not exceed three on each hand.

If used on the posterior, it shall be applied over a boy's ordinary cloth trousers, and the number of strokes shall not exceed six for Boys under 14, or eight for Boys over 14.

Provided that in exceptional cases, with the special approval of the Superintendent, 12 strokes may be administered to boys over 14.

For Girls: -Apart from ordinary childish chastisement, corporal punishment shall only be used in the last resort, and shall only be of a light and moderate character, and no corporal punishment shall be inflicted except on the hands, and then only with a strap as prescribed by the Secretary of State, and shall not exceed three strokes on each hand.

Except in cases of minor punishments, no corporal punishment shall take place in the presence of other children.

No weakly child suffering from physical or mental disability shall be so punished without the sanction of the Medical Officer.

No corporal punishment shall be inflicted except by the House Father or House Mother. Punishment of children by other children is prohibited.

NOTE. Every punishment shall be reported in the Bi-monthly Report, and a full explanation shall be given of the method of punishment and of the reason for its infliction.

(4) All punishments shall be immediately recorded in the Punishment Book kept by the House Father or House Mother.

(5) Except as provided by Rule (3), no person employed in the Institution shall inflict any kind of corporal punishment, and the term " corporal punishment " includes any form of striking, cuffing, shaking, or physical violence.<sup>144</sup>

In 1959 information about discipline was delivered to houseparents via the newsletter:

The following are Home Office Discipline Regulations for Homes in Scotland:

A. (1) The general discipline of the home shall be maintained by the personal influence of the person in charge.

(2) Except as provided in Regulation 11 a child who it is necessary to punish for misconduct shall be punished only by a temporary loss of recreation or privileges.

(3) A record of any punishment administered to a child shall be made in the Punishment Book.

(4) Any case in which a child is punished with abnormal frequency shall be reported by the person in charge of the home to the administering authority who shall arrange for an investigation of the child's mental condition.

B. No corporal punishment shall be inflicted on any child except in accordance with the following rules:

(1) The administering authority shall specify the persons empowered to inflict corporal punishment. (2) The following are expressly prohibited

a. infliction of corporal punishment on a girl over 10 years of age or on a boy over the compulsory school age.

b. the use of anything except the bare hand in punishing a child under 10 years of age.

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<sup>144</sup> The provenance of this schedule is the archive of Quarrier's Homes, it is undated; it has been transcribed as faithfully as possible [QAR.001.001.0405].



- c. the striking of any child on the head.
- d. the infliction of corporal punishment on a girl except by a woman.
- e. the infliction of corporal punishment on a child in the presence of another child.

C. Corporal punishment shall not be inflicted, without the sanction of the medical officer for the home, on a child known to have any physical or mental disability.<sup>145</sup>

These new rules reflected recent statutory regulations issued by the Scottish Office for children's homes. The Administration of Children's Homes (Scotland) Regulations, 1959, accepted the right of those acting in *loco parentis* to administer *reasonable* corporal punishment of children in their care. The Regulations further state that 'corporal punishment was to be used only "exceptionally", and not against any child with physical or mental disability other than with the sanction of the medical officer.'<sup>146</sup>

In their drafting of the 1959 regulations there is evidence that Scottish Office officials were concerned about the use of excessive punishment of children in large homes such as Quarrier's. In one associated Home Department minute it is commented that:

...there are special dangers in what the Americans term "mass congregate care" – the growth of ill practices within separate communities such are found in the larger homes: harsh punishment becoming part of the tradition. The child in a foster home can appeal from the foster parents to the village community – schoolmaster, teacher, neighbours – it's otherwise in a big Home.<sup>147</sup>

The system of reporting in a punishment book was a formal concession to such concern.

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<sup>145</sup> Newsletter dated 29 September 1959 [QAR.001.001.1281].

<sup>146</sup> Norrie, 2017, p. 352

<sup>147</sup> NRS ED11/513: The Children Acts: Discipline and Punishment; minute dated 17 December 1958, author not known [QAR.001.001.1113].

### Recording of Discipline and Punishment regimes

Since examples of punishment records have not been recovered it is difficult to make any kind of assessment of how this issue was approached by houseparents—or if general attitudes changed over this period as they were meant to following the Children Act 1948 and advice given by the Scottish Advisory Council's Committee on Homes (1950).

The existence of punishment books is acknowledged in records that discuss the 1953 Scottish Office inspection of the Homes. The following comments are made on the books and on punishment practices generally by the Executive Committee in respect of issues raised by the inspectorate:

Re. Punishment Books.

- (a) Several give maximum of three strokes on each hand indiscriminately, Mr Munro [superintendent] reported this matter is having attention.
- (b) All straps to be examined and replaced as required, Mr Munro reported this matter is having attention.
- (c) "Amount" must always be stated.

And

- (d) Where "nil returns" are at present given month by month, conclusion is that other than corporal punishment is given.

Mr Munro reported about the last two items and the Committee were satisfied with what is being done. At this point Dr. Davidson reported several cases of severe corporal punishment which had taken place at the School and made particular reference to the recent case of a boy named ██████████ who had been badly injured about the eye. After hearing the details the Committee were much concerned and it was agreed that the matter should be brought to the notice of the Schoolmaster.<sup>148</sup>

This indicates that punishment records were examined monthly by the superintendent. The reliability of any such system of recording punishment depended on the truthfulness of houseparents. The inference here is that the

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<sup>148</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 12 February 1953 [QAR.001.003.2400].

punishment which had to be recorded was strapping by houseparents. Further, there was no expectation by the Executive Committee that punishment other than corporal punishment should be recorded. It is not explained exactly what attention was given by Mr Munro to the matter of some houseparents delivering the maximum dose of pain to children indiscriminately.

The inspection conducted in 1961 revealed that:

The punishment books in the cottages are examined every month. The Superintendent assured us that he took steps to stop immediately any form of punishment he considered unsuitable. The rota of supervision of the cottages by members of the administration had fallen into abeyance but it would be revived.

Viewing television was a treat for the children and withholding it was proving useful as a deterrent.

One cottage mother has been issued with a strap recently and we asked the Superintendent to consider the possibility of withdrawing straps altogether.<sup>149</sup>

Concerns about the use of punishment in the Homes persisted, with the inspection carried out in 1965 revealing that:

We found no recognised standard, system or outlook on discipline and much depended on the outlook, training and capacity of the houseparents. The nearest we found to guidance from the Superintendent was when at a Staff meeting on the 5th October, 1964, attended by an inspector, houseparents were discouraged from keeping children away from youth organisations and activities as a form of punishment. Even here they were only requested that, where possible, this form of punishment should be avoided. We are of the opinion that it is because of the lack of 'official' guidance that punishments given by houseparents varied so much. Punishments include deprivation of T.V., early bed, cancellation of visits to the swimming baths and strappings. Some houseparents have straps, some have handed them in because they did not agree with that particular form of punishment, whilst some of the newer members of staff had never received them. One houseparent admitted strapping girls of 13 and 14 although she knew that the orders from the "office" were that girls over 10 years and boys over 12 years should not be strapped. Although punishment returns were handed in to the office at monthly intervals we found little evidence of the administrative staff using these returns as a basis of discussion with houseparents. It would be of benefit for the supervisory staff

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<sup>149</sup> NRS ED11/618/2: Voluntary Homes, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; inspection report 1961, p. 10 [SGV.001.004.5638].

to re-examine the whole question of punishment in the Cottages, a policy might be formulated and definite instruction be given to all houseparents and their assistants. We are disturbed by the present system which permits houseparents to punish as they think fit.<sup>150</sup>

We have found no evidence that the management of Quarrier's entered discussion with houseparents about their views on punishment during the time that these books were in use. Despite punishment guidelines and recording, we have no evidence that the Superintendent ever queried punishments reported in the records kept for these.

A witness statement by a temporary, former assistant houseparent at Quarrier's in the early-1960s, provides some further insights into how punishment was administered by houseparents. In this, a situation is described wherein children were cowed into submission by an irascible housemother who used physical violence as well as visceral threats of this to promote orderly behaviour. This woman had charge of a mixed age group, but it included some very young children. The former assistant reports that she herself was afraid of the housemother and distressed by the treatment of the children; when she finally reported her concerns to someone in authority the witness recalls that she was told that she clearly was not cut out for this work and should leave.<sup>151</sup> Whether this was an exceptional case or run of the mill, from lack of evidence we cannot know.

### **c. 1970-1990**

Guidance (national, local, organisation/institutional)

During the early 1970s, social work advisors from the Scottish Office were closely involved with Quarrier's management regarding all aspects of the work they undertook. Mentions of their visits are made in executive minutes and we have two examples of short inspection reports completed in 1972 and 1974. The report done in 1974 has handwritten additions regarding recommendations made by the advisor. In these she made mention of 'relaxation of old traditions and practices', and notably, 'preparation of guide for houseparents re discipline'. While the former seems to have attracted 'no information' and a need for 'follow up', the latter was responded to and

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<sup>150</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Inspection Report 1965, pp. 22-3 [SGV.001.005.0026-7].

<sup>151</sup> Witness testimony: [WIT.001.001.9773-83]

there is a remark that such a guide had been 'prepared & issued 5/66'.<sup>152</sup> While a *Staff Guide on Quarrier's Homes* had been issued around 1966 (if this is what is being referred to) this makes no mention of discipline. Any further guide specifically addressing discipline and written around this time, has not been recovered.

However, it is clear from later discussions between the Social Work Services Group and Quarrier's that the institution withdrew corporal punishment as a method for disciplining children. This was likely done sometime in 1974 after the retirement of their long-serving director (Davidson). Later documents reveal that in 1977, following the issue of a 'confidential questionnaire' to houseparents by Joseph Mortimer, the management of Quarrier's learned that the practice of corporal punishment had not ceased. Consequently, it was decided to allow the re-introduction of corporal punishment, in a modified form. Correspondence on the matter is contained in government records. Social Work Services Group (SWSG) were somewhat alarmed to learn of this development and in a minute sent to others in the group, one member explained that:

--- ----- and ---- ----- had heard indirectly that Quarrier's might be introducing a policy of corporal punishment and I undertook to make some informal enquiries of Dr Minto [Director] on my visit on 11 August.

Dr Minto admitted that such a course of action was in his mind...current official practice was for the Officer-in-Charge of each unit to refer to the social worker for disciplinary action and this system was coming into disrepute and seen as an ineffective method of control. He, with Joe Mortimer [Director Child Care], had sent round a confidential questionnaire to each of the houseparents asking them about the methods of discipline that were in use. Many of them admitted that they were using mild forms of corporal punishment and other punishments although "felt guilty" about doing so. Following this, Dr Minto had approached other voluntary organisations in Scotland and was impressed by the approach of Barnardo's ...

Subject to consultation with staff and the Committee, he would like to allow Heads of homes in certain circumstances to administer corporal punishment with the bare hands to the "covered bottoms" of a child. This form of punishment would only be used for children under the age of 12, administered by the Head of the home and would require to be noted in a punishment book which would be seen by himself. He envisaged that the house-parents would

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<sup>152</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974 Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports; Advisor's Report 1974, handwritten notes presumably written by the advisor who prepared the report—Miss B. C. Reid [SGV.001.005.0240-41].

welcome these proposals and see them as backing up their authority but that the social workers would see them as a retrograde step.

... While agreeing that if corporal punishment was being given unofficially, it was better done openly, I also commented that it was a pity that this course of action required to be considered at the present time when other professions were trying to develop alternative measures, adding that I hoped that Quarrier's would try to find ways of helping staff develop their ways of understanding children's difficult behaviour and if necessary finding alternative ways of dealing with it...

I have subsequently had some second thoughts on whether my low key reaction was the most appropriate one for this proposal and I would be pleased to have other reactions on how the matter can be discussed further with Dr Minto. Throughout my visit, which was primarily intended to update me on all the activities which Quarrier's are engaged in... I still had the feeling that the staff of Quarrier's were to a great extent cut off from modern child care developments and thinking...<sup>153</sup>

The writer of the minute received several replies, some of which recommended that a seminar might be held at Quarrier's on this subject. In thanking his correspondents, the writer of the original minute further stated that:

I am grateful to those who have already replied to my minute on this matter. I should perhaps say that subsequently I was told by John Rea of Barnardo's that corporal punishment was not used in any of their homes and he is sending me a copy of their Code of Practice.<sup>154</sup>

The policy that Dr Minto proposed to employ, and that he asserted was modelled on one used by Barnardo's, was forwarded to SWSG for their approval. The policy being outlined as follows:

#### DISCIPLINE

It is essential in these days of violence, vandalism and general anti social behaviour, that we train the children in Quarrier's to be disciplined youngsters, completely aware of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable behaviour. We must draw the boundaries of acceptable behaviour clearly and distinctly. Children feel safe within a clearly defined disciplinary structure. Where there is

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<sup>153</sup> NRS ED39/1040: Discipline: Corporal Punishment in Quarriers Homes; Minute sent by John I Smith, dated 16 August 1977 to six others in SWSG [SGV.001.002.9645-6].

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., minute from John I Smith, dated 22 August 1977 to six others in SWSG [SGV.001.002.9641].

indecision, softness, inequalities, inconstancies in discipline, the child is confused, uncertain and drifts into anti social behaviour.

A small minority of our children's anti social behaviour may be because of their background and past experience. The majority, however, have no such excuse for their unacceptable behaviour and it is no kindness to them to be lenient or to try to find excuses for their behaviour. The children who are badly disturbed by their past experiences should be in our special units or will be known to Houseparents. If in doubt House parents should consult The Director of Child Care.

Houseparents have a vital role to play in this whole difficult question of discipline. I would stress that the general discipline of the children accommodated in a Cottage should be maintained by the personal influence of the person in charge of the Cottage. This cannot be stressed enough.

In all but exceptional circumstances a child should be punished by a temporary loss of recreation or privileges. In no circumstances should children be deprived of food as punishment.

Corporal punishment may exceptionally be administered provided that – such punishment shall not be administered otherwise than –

- (a) By the Housemother or Housefather in charge of the Cottage.
- (b) No other member of the unit is authorised to smack a child.
- (c) It should take the form of smacking with the hand on the covered bottom.
- (d) No instrument of any kind to be used. No child should suffer any kind of bruising as a result of this punishment.
- (e) Where corporal punishment is used it must be recorded in the Log Book and full details for the reason for it.
- (f) These Log Books to be examined monthly by The Director of Child Care.
- (g) No corporal punishment shall be administered to a child having a physical or mental disability, or to a child seriously disturbed by past experience.
- (h) The age limit for corporal punishment should be the end of the primary department, or twelve year old.

Any abuse of these regulations will be dealt with most strongly.

I am introducing these rules in an attempt to help Houseparents towards a more realistic and more positive position as regards discipline.<sup>155</sup>

The Social Work Services Group personnel took exception to the tone and content of this guidance and were worried by it. Following a meeting with both the General Director and Director of Child Care of Quarrier's it was commented that:

[Mr Mortimer] was told that the SWSG attitude was that the responsibility for the matter rested with Quarrier's and in making decisions on this policy they should have regard to the possible misunderstanding what they were doing outside their organisation. Although the changes proposed now were very modest in practice SWSG had certain reservations relating to (1) their feeling that the organisational arrangements for discipline could be improved and (2) staff development programmes had to be given a high priority and run alongside the proposal.<sup>156</sup>

The idea propounded by SWSG that further training and staff development would be a better route to explore was ultimately rejected in the short term and Quarrier's went ahead with the re-introduction of corporal punishment with a note of this trial included in executive minutes.<sup>157</sup> We have no note of whether the three month trial was continued or, if not, what policy replaced it.

#### Recording of Discipline and Punishment regimes

Former staff members have noted that during this period the Child Care Director operated an open door for children, and that this was used by children.<sup>158</sup> However, we have not seen any surviving records giving an indication as to how often children may have disclosed abuse to the Child Care Director, or how disclosures of abuse made by children were dealt with. We also have no evidence with which to judge how houseparents accused by children of maltreatment in this way were investigated, or what the outcome of such investigations were. If these matters were committed to paper by the Child Care Director, the records have not survived.

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., copy of the guidance Dr Minto proposed to send to Houseparents; a copy of this was sent to SWSG for their information [SGV.001.002.9640].

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., Draft note of a 'Meeting Between Representatives of SWSG and the Director and Director of Child care Quarrier's on Tuesday 7 September 1977'[SGV.001.002.9628].

<sup>157</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 22 (the full date of these minutes is obscured on the copy provided but from other details is likely September 1977) [QAR.001.003.2684].

<sup>158</sup> See witness testimony by former employees [WIT.003.001.8141 and WIT.001.002.0484].



Within case files there is evidence to indicate that children were sometimes removed from one cottage to another at their request, or the request of others, when allegations of abuse emerged. In one case dating to the late 1970s and early 1980s the child complained of being 'picked on' and overly chastised by houseparents to the social worker in charge of this case. The child was moved, and the social worker justified this claiming this child had found allies in a family of children resident in this cottage and together they presented 'open defiance of cottage discipline.' The child was sent off with the admonition that any more problems 'would not be tolerated'.<sup>159</sup> In this case at least, the allegation of abuse made by the child was dealt with by moving the child along rather than investigating the reasons why there was friction between adult carers and children.

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<sup>159</sup> Quarrier's Case file, written entry by social worker [QAR.001.001.6769].

## Question 2: Complaints

### **Made by children and young people**

In the documentation made available to us pertaining to the 1930s through to the 1960s, there are no records which might reveal complaints made by children and young people. Based on the sample provided, children's case files from this time are regularly scant in content. While they might catalogue aspects of physical wellbeing in terms of medical records, this type of recording leaves no space for the voice of the child. When improvements in record keeping were attempted in the 1960s, this should have facilitated better recording of concerns raised by children, but from the sample provided to us we are unable to demonstrate that this was the case, or indeed, that these records facilitated the views of the child in any systemised way.

The introduction of an in-house social work department at Quarrier's was intended to improve matters in terms of advocacy for children. Certainly, we do see some advances in record-keeping from the mid-1960s, with greater opportunities for workers to record information disclosed by children. However, the reception of complaints was not necessarily improved in equal measure. The evidence available indicates that children who did voice complaints may not have been believed, or the complaint might be dismissed. In one case where a child disclosed alleged sexual abuse, including to professionals from outside Quarrier's (the police and a child psychiatrist), the allegation was recorded plentifully but ultimately the child was not believed. The child's complaints were described at one point as part of a 'fantasy' and it was blamed on earlier experiences the child had encountered before coming into care.<sup>160</sup>

In another case where a child made a disclosure of physical assault by a cottage houseparent to the social worker, 'Mr. Mortimer conducted an investigation into the matter, with the outcome being that no further action is being taken.'<sup>161</sup> Following the alleged assault, the child was moved to the Homes' hostel for older children who were soon to leave care.

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<sup>160</sup> See Quarrier's Homes, Psychologist's Report [QAR.001.001.6829] and Case Reviews: Summary of Review Meeting and Recommendations for the Future, 28 April 1982 [QAR.001.001.6732].

<sup>161</sup> Quarrier's Homes, Social Worker's Report, 4.4.85 [QAR.001.001.6048].

In 1980 Quarrier's set out its stance on 'Children with Problems'. Within this, the talents of 'key workers' were invoked as well as those provided by in-house social workers, the psychologist, youth workers, and, 'potentially the I.T. workers', in order to create 'a trusting and accepting relationship, which allows the child to communicate something of what they are feeling and doing'.<sup>162</sup> There is evidence from within case files that such attempts were made with regular case reviews involving such professionals. Notably, however, these were conducted in-house:

This may be for the most part an 'in house' exercise with formal Reviews occurring every three to six months. This 'in house' review should ensure that the workers who have some knowledge and/or relationship with the child are identified and involved in such meetings.

This approach implies a greater emphasis in consciously developing a therapeutic relationship, which in turn means the staff working as a team, trusting each other professionally in sharing knowledge, keeping comprehensive case records and making joint decisions.<sup>163</sup>

There does not appear to have been any consideration given to allowing children to have an external advocate.

In the new facilities opened by Quarrier's such as that at Southannan there is evidence from case files kept that much greater efforts were made to support children. Record keeping here was also superior.

### **Made by staff**

We have not recovered any evidence of complaints made by staff about the system of care in relation to ill-treatment of children in this period. Of note however is that houseparents could and did complain about children. For example, in 1957 a housefather requested that a pre-adolescent child be removed from the cottage on the grounds that the child was a 'homosexual'. Not only was this child removed to another cottage—effectively separating him from at least one sibling—but Quarrier's also requested the parent involved to remove the child from their care.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Quarrier's Homes, Children with Problems: Principles and Practice (23 June 1980), p. 1 [QAR.001.001.1782].

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 2 [QAR.001.001.1783].

<sup>164</sup> Note to Superintendent by housefather dated 7 March 1957 and letter to parent dated 12 March 1957 [QAR.001.007.7920 and 7922].

By the late 1970s there is also evidence that staff were unhappy about their working conditions. In 1978, the well-known Conservative MP for Glasgow Cathcart constituency, Teddy Taylor, received an anonymous letter from a woman who claimed to be a housemother at Quarrier's Homes. In this highly critical letter of complaint about the way staff were treated in the Homes, the woman stated that over the recent holiday period she had been 'on duty myself with 14 children in one unit, I had to cook, wash for the children, wash children, clean a Children's Home, entertain children, speak to anyone who called about children from Friday afternoon until the Wednesday morning it is purely slave labour.'<sup>165</sup> She asserted that working conditions for residential staff were 'disgraceful' and that staff had 'no one to turn to...we are told to get on or get out'.<sup>166</sup> This piece also asserts that there was friction between field and residential staff that did not create 'an atmosphere for good child care'.<sup>167</sup> The letter was also sent to the press shortly after this and the whole matter reached the ears of the Scottish Office. Clearly, in these circumstances, Dr Minto knew of the 'adverse publicity' and ahead of an imminent visit overseas he was described as worried by it, though staff at the Scottish Office were careful not to show him the copy of the original letter.<sup>168</sup>

SWSG took the view that this matter was for Quarrier's to deal with. Dr Minto declined to comment when approached by the press, Taylor chose not to pursue it and the whole matter seems to have died a death. When Minto returned from his trip to India however, he admitted to staff at the Scottish Office that this was not the first such letter and his view was that these communications were 'a very neurotic manifestation from a very limited number of houseparents within the community. They are therefore proposing to play it in a low key.'<sup>169</sup>

### **Made by others (i.e. social workers, parents, etc.)**

During the earlier decades of this timeframe, certainly before the 1960s, most children placed in Quarrier's had no connection to local authority public assistance boards or children's departments. Early examples of executive minutes from the

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<sup>165</sup> NRS ED11/918: Quarrier's Homes Bridge of Weir; anonymous letter to Taylor's home address in Glasgow dated 16 January 1978 [SGV.001.002.4609].

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. [SGV.001.002.4609].

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. [SGV.001.002.4609].

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., minute by Mrs Craghill dated 2 February 1978, headed 'Quarrier's Homes Staffing Anonymous Complaint Reported in Daily Express 30 January 1978' [SGV.001.002.4605-06].

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., Minute by J. McCollam dated 9 March 1978 [SGV.001.002.4597]

1930s make clear that children were often referred by other voluntary agencies (especially the RSSPCC), ministers of religion or parents themselves.<sup>170</sup> All of these had an implicit trust in this organisation. Parents did sometimes write for information about their children and they were sent short replies stating their children were getting on fine.<sup>171</sup>

Families were not encouraged to visit. Such visiting was, in any case, quite impossible for a lot of families as Quarrier's was out of the way and an expensive journey. This may explain why, in 1937, when Quarrier's had over 1,200 children in their care, on one visitors' day '17 visitors had come on Children's Visiting Day, 5 from Glasgow and 12 others'.<sup>172</sup> In addition, families who wished to visit had to make an application in the first instance to the Superintendent and receive a visitor's card. Applications might be turned down, but if granted, families did not see their children within their cottage home.<sup>173</sup> We cannot know, but what we may reasonably assume is that such prohibitions effectively severed family contact for many children.

By the 1960s when increasing numbers of children were being referred by local authorities, and the length of time these children might spend in the Homes was decreasing, there do seem to have been better arrangements made for visitors.<sup>174</sup> These improved arrangements were the result of statutory regulations, which insisted children should remain in contact with their families unless this posed a danger to the child's wellbeing. Even so, we have not recovered any evidence that families made complaints about children's care.

Following the Children Act of 1948, hard-to-place children were increasingly referred by local authorities. This meant that over and above relatives, there was meant to be external supervision by childcare officers. Officers visited children placed twice a year under regulations made in 1947; and after new regulations introduced in 1959, four times per annum. The visits of childcare officers are not often recorded in the records provided by Quarrier's. As we do not have access to local authorities' case files for

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<sup>170</sup> For example, Executive Minutes from 12 March 1936 indicate applications for the admission of children but no reference to the local authority is indicated [QAR.001.003.1903].

<sup>171</sup> See for example, case file for child resident in the Homes throughout the 1930s [QAR.001.001.7778-7779].

<sup>172</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 9 February 1937 [QAR.001.003.1947].

<sup>173</sup> Standing Orders, no date, p. 5 [QAR.001.001.0161].

<sup>174</sup> Newsletter, 4 December 1963 [QAR.001.001.1338].

the children they placed at Quarrier's in this earlier period, we cannot know if officers raised any concerns.

### **What complaints procedures, if any, were in place and how did they work?**

Complaints from any source had to be addressed to the management of Quarrier's. In the final paragraph of an 8-page booklet of standing instructions (probably dating to the early 1950s) it is stated:

COMPLAINTS of any sort should be made personally to the Superintendent. Should any cause for complaint or other matter requiring adjustment arise with reference to a child in another Home, it should be reported to the Superintendent or Matron, and not to the House Father or House Mother of the Home in which the child lives. Should any child have a grievance or complaint, whether real or imagined, which he desires to bring to the notice of the Superintendent or Matron, permission should readily be granted at the first convenient time for such an interview. When a child returns home after absconding no punishment should be administered until the Superintendent has been consulted and has given instructions how to deal with each case on its merits.<sup>175</sup>

Matters regarding children once again were directed to management until the 1970s. What emerged from the 1970s onwards was a scenario whereby if a child caused concern, the child's social worker was called upon to intervene—this included responding to concerns by houseparents about children's behaviour. There is no suggestion in case files that this ever involved any form of corporal punishment.

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<sup>175</sup> Standing Orders, no date, p. 8 [QAR.001.001.0164].

## Question 3: Inspection and Monitoring

### c.1930-1950

#### External Inspection

Governmental inspection prior to the Children Act 1948 was complex in terms of which department had jurisdiction. During the interwar years, children in Quarrier's Homes were visited by inspectors from the Board of Health who looked specifically at the health and physical appearance of children. In terms of health inspection, this would have been looking for any signs of malnutrition, underdeveloped growth relative to age, any obvious disease manifestations, states of cleanliness, recent injury, and how well the children were dressed. The available evidence indicates that such inspections were perfunctory. For example, a 'lady visitor' arrived in April 1936 and undertook inspection of '165 children on her list on the same day'.<sup>176</sup> That month, Quarrier's also received a visit from representatives from the Scottish Office Home Department.<sup>177</sup>

The Home Department inspected voluntary homes as they had responsibility for monitoring the work of local authorities who boarded out children in homes either under the Poor Law or the Children and Young Persons Act. Children boarded out under the poor law to voluntary homes were 'inspected by the inspectors of the Scottish Home Department or the Scottish Education Department who carry out the general inspection of the homes. In other cases, they are inspected by the inspectors of the Department of Health.'<sup>178</sup> Official inspections would have noted the number of children in care, the staffing, children's diets, fire precautions, and the management structure of the Homes. We have no information regarding any issues raised by Home Department inspectors at or following the visit made in 1936. There may, in addition, have been other visits by a member of the inspectorate to deal with specific issues, such as schooling, but we have not recovered any records relating to such

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<sup>176</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 30th April 1936 [QAR.001.003.1911]. The Narrative of Facts for year ending October 1936 states that 1197 children were resident in the Orphan Homes (excluding the City Home) at 31 October, we do not know what the precise number was in April of that same year but clearly the children selected were the minority. While we do not know why these 167 children were particularly selected on that day, it is most likely because these were the children boarded out to Quarrier's by local authority public assistance boards from across the central belt, information about these children would have been passed to the Department of Health.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid. [QAR.001.003.1911].

<sup>178</sup> NRS ED11/275: The Children and Young Persons Act, 1937: Inspection of Voluntary Homes; 'Departmental Responsibility for Homeless Children' [NRS.001.001.0541].

visits. It should be noted that the Home Department had a relatively small team of inspectors at its disposal and the schedule for visitations was determined by them.

Some local authorities may also have visited the Homes specifically in respect of children boarded by them to Quarrier's. Individual case files held by local authorities (to which we do not have access for this study) might provide some details about the frequency of visits, though it is unlikely they contain much detail beyond this. It should be noted in this respect that most children throughout this period were not placed in the Homes by public assistance bodies.<sup>179</sup>

Of special concern when inspection is considered is that *most* of the children in Quarrier's during this period were placed by parents and other voluntary organisations. Once admitted these children became the charge of the Homes and in terms of any external supervision, this was only covered by collective oversight of the institution provided through the Home Department.

In addition, Quarrier's schools would have been subject to inspection by the Scottish Education Department from time to time. The schools were visited once every few years, according to the schedule decided by the Education Department. These inspections would have been more aimed at aspects of schooling provided, the facilities in place, and teaching performance rather than the overall welfare of children. Discipline in the school may also have been noted.

Post war changes in the ways children's homes would be overseen were acknowledged by Quarrier's in its annual report for 1947:

From now on the responsibility for the care of children is centralised in the Scottish Home Department and much should be gained from such a unified control. That Department's officials visit the Homes regularly; they have proved helpful and cooperative; they make various kindly suggestions and recommendations, but invariably, in the basic principles and in the methods and applications of these principles, they seldom find anything to criticise adversely. That likewise has been the experience of the many representatives of other Government Departments, national and local. At the same time it is necessary

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<sup>179</sup> Quarrier's Executive Committee Minutes for this period indicate that the majority of children were placed privately or via the RSSPCC. See for example, Executive Committee Minutes, 8 Feb 1938 [QAR.001.003.2006].



that we should be prepared to meet the new demands of changing conditions and that need is ever prominently before us.<sup>180</sup>

The annual report eludes any mention of criticisms made of Quarrier's and similar institutions in the Clyde Report issued the previous year.

#### Internal Monitoring

Supervision of the day to day running of Quarrier's child care was undertaken by a Superintendent and a Matron in charge of the physical wellbeing of children. We have no record that delineates the specific duties of these two managers. However, it might be concluded from records such as the minutes of executive meetings that the Superintendent had more charge of operational features of life in the homes—property maintenance, staffing, liaison with education authorities regarding schooling as well as calendar features of the children's lives such as the organisation of annual summer holidays. The Matron was supposed to oversee the children's diet, clothing, any medical attention they required and other aspects of their basic needs (a medical model prevailed). Given the numbers of children involved it is unlikely that either of these two were closely acquainted with individual children. Where internal monitoring is concerned we have no note of how often either the Superintendent or the Matron visited cottages for this period or the nature of their interaction with children, if any.

Members of the Council of Management and the Executive Committee might visit cottages; for example, in 1936, it is recorded in minutes of an executive meeting that 'Lord Maclay reported that every house in the Village had been visited by himself and inspected and that all seemed to be brought up to date and in thorough order.'<sup>181</sup> We do not know how often such inspections were undertaken—whether they were routinised or irregular.

Regarding children's general health, all children were medically examined on admission and on discharge. Beyond this they were supposed to be examined annually (see Section 4). If a child became unwell and required medical attention, a doctor could be called. In the earlier part of this period, this would be one of the medical staff from the sanatoria. Children's medical notes in this timeframe were kept in the Village's own hospital and not with other case records. Those surviving within

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<sup>180</sup>Narrative of Facts, year ending 31 October 1947, p. 6 [QAR.001.001.3353].

<sup>181</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 2 September 1936; Lord Maclay was then chair of the Council and also a member of the executive [QAR.001.003.1930].

case records are insufficient to establish the extent to which children were medically supervised.

## **c.1950-1970**

### External Inspection

The first record we have of inspection by the Home Department at Quarrier's in the post war period was in January 1953.<sup>182</sup> A further inspection took place towards the end of 1956.<sup>183</sup> Beyond notes made in executive minutes we have been unable to recover any official documentation pertaining to these inspections.

The next instance of Scottish Office inspection noted was in 1961. Our knowledge of this inspection is derived from the inspection report produced by the inspectorate—no note of this inspection or advice given by inspectors has been recovered from within Quarrier's documentation reviewed.<sup>184</sup> After this, the home was visited by inspectors (children's homes were now the charge of SED) in 1965, 1966 and 1967 as Quarrier's entered into a period of more extensive external scrutiny.

When Children's Departments were set up in 1948, local authority officers were duty bound to visit children boarded by them to Quarrier's according to regulation. Throughout the 1950s this was to be done within one month of placement, then at six-monthly intervals, thereafter increased following new regulations issued in 1959 to visits carried out at three-monthly intervals.

Issues about care in cottages were raised by government inspectors throughout the first half of the 1960s, as were ongoing issues with schooling through the education inspectorate. As noted elsewhere, the 1965 inspection was done on an extensive scale. During this inspection the management of Quarrier's was heavily criticised beginning with its director who was described as:

...remote, impatient with those less intelligent than himself. He has supported the Superintendent in his improvements but not to a sufficient degree. He has

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<sup>182</sup> See Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 15 January 1953 [QAR.001.003.2396-7], where remarks about the inspection and conversations have with inspectors and Quarrier's staff are detailed in executive minutes.

<sup>183</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 13 November 1956 [QAR.001.003.2454].

<sup>184</sup> See NRS ED11/618/2: Voluntary Homes Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports, 1961 [SGV.001.004.5629].

failed to give sufficient leadership, to define responsibilities, to improve organisation, and to create a team.<sup>185</sup>

Dr. Davidson tends to be intellectually autocratic and does not suffer fools gladly. Given reasonable staff who are not intimidated by this manner Dr. Davidson will provide stimulating support and backing to new ideas... Even so it is regrettable that Dr. Davidson has not clearly defined the duties of his senior staff and to delegated effective control to the Superintendent.<sup>186</sup>

When the issue of future change was raised at a further inspection in 1966, the director was 'quick to point out' that:

...the number of enquiries that they received was ample indication of the present need for the sort of care they provided and he saw no reason why they should look beyond this at this stage. He pointed out that they provided mostly short-term care and that any injurious effects of isolation were minimised in these cases.<sup>187</sup>

The report produced following inspection at Quarrier's was highly critical and somewhat unusually, following this, written recommendations were sent by the SED to the management of Quarrier's Village. The report itself indicates that recommendations were also given verbally at the time to managers and staff in instances where care was deemed by inspectors to be of poor quality or anxiety-provoking in some way.

#### Internal Monitoring

Monitoring of houseparents and how well cottages functioned was still undertaken by a Superintendent and a Homes' Matron until the 1960s. We cannot know how often the Superintendent spent any time in cottages.

In 1955, an assistant to the Matron was appointed:

Dr. Kelly intimated that Miss H.A. Young, of Grangemouth, had been appointed Female Welfare Worker and Assistant to the Matron. She would take up her duties on 10<sup>th</sup> September and be resident at the Schoolhouse.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Report, 1965, p.7 [SGV.001.005.0010].

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p.43 [SGV.001.005.0047].

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, Inspection Report, 1966, p.4 [SGV.001.005.0194].

<sup>188</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 23 August 1955 [QAR.001.003.2431].

The evidence recovered indicates, however, that this post may have been a short lived one. In 1961 when Quarrier's was inspected by the Scottish office, the Matron, Miss Elizabeth Morrison had been in post for less than a year and was seen to be under some strain in coping with the workload of her post. Her work involved supervising 'the diet, clothing, handling of individual children and, in particular, the supervision of the older girls.' She is quoted in the report as being aware

...that she was not undertaking these onerous duties as well as she might for the lack of time and expressed a wish that she needed an assistant to relieve her of much of her clerical duties so that she could get round the cottages more often.<sup>189</sup>

These duties were onerous since a great deal concerned with the wellbeing of children fell to the scrutiny of this individual; and the inspection team made it more than clear that they did not think Miss Morrison equal to the task. In 1965 the inspectorate observed that her visits to cottages were:

...insufficient and accounts to a great extent for the disparities in Care given in individual Cottages. The visits of the Assistant Matron are unsystematic and usually on request of Mr. Holman [superintendent] in some crisis situation.<sup>190</sup>

When Miss Morrison retired in 1966, she was replaced by a longstanding housemother who was more likely to know the ropes where the running of cottages was concerned.<sup>191</sup> This time the post was given the designation of 'domestic supervisor' though it is unclear how the title change impacted on the responsibilities of the post holder.<sup>192</sup> The superintendent's title also changed during the early 1960s upon a further change in personnel and was now designated deputy director. This change perhaps reflected the strong interest held by Director Davidson in the work of the epileptic colony; whereas the deputy's role was solely concentrated on child care.

When the inspection team arrived in 1965 a system of basic review of each child had been instituted by the Superintendent then in post (Roy Holman). It is likely that this

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<sup>189</sup> NRS ED11/618/2: Voluntary Homes Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports, 1961, p.3 [QAR.001.004.5631].

<sup>190</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Report, 1965, Appendix G [SGV.001.005.0057].

<sup>191</sup> See Narrative of Facts, 1966, p.7 [QAR.001.001.4097]; the successor to Miss Morrison was Mrs MacLean who had been a housemother for 14 years.

<sup>192</sup> Witness statement, para., 60 [WIT.001.002.0473].

system of basic review was introduced by Holman as an attempt to fulfil the requirements of the 1959 Regulations which insisted upon regular reviews of children's progress. Commenting on this system the inspection team noted that:

The Houseparents, the Director, the Superintendent and sometimes the Representative of the local authority Child Care staff and the Headmaster are present. There is a pro-forma of relevant factual social data which is filled in. [...] Comments on the child's behaviour and a description of the child are minimal and usually only noted if difficult behaviour is in question or any handicap has to be noted. The policy for the child is contained in a few words, usually simple directives on fostering. The substance of case-discussion and the reasons for arriving at a decision are not clear. Only 30% of the children have been reviewed since this system was initiated. The psychologist is not included in these case reviews.<sup>193</sup>

This suggests that these reviews were done in a perfunctory manner. Case files reviewed for this study indicate these reviews often produced little in the form of a record, with 'no action' being a common report.

Mr Holman did not remain long in post and with his departure this system of reviews was changed in favour of the introduction of log books.<sup>194</sup> The switch to log books completed by houseparents may have reflected the fact that increasingly children were being referred by local authorities who kept their own case files and, in comparison with former times, children spent relatively shorter amounts of time in residential care. We have not been provided with examples of log books from Quarrier's for this study.

In-house childcare officers were introduced at Quarrier's during the 1960s who appear to have done some liaison work with outside agencies, including looking after a small number of children fostered out by Quarrier's.<sup>195</sup> These were an embryonic social work team which became more developed during the 1970s and took over responsibility for reviewing children's progress on a six-monthly basis.<sup>196</sup>

Also responsible for some level of internal inspection was a volunteer ladies' committee. We have no note of exactly when this was established but its existence is

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<sup>193</sup> NRS ED11/708/2: Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Report, 1965, p.12 [SGV.001.005.0015].

<sup>194</sup> Witness statement, paras., 113-115 [WIT.001.002.0483]

<sup>195</sup> Witness statement, paras., 25-29 [WIT.003.001.8123-4]

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, para 29 [WIT.003.001.8124]

given a mention in the 1961 Scottish Office inspection report and there are very occasional mentions regarding them in executive minutes. The committee may have been brought into being in accordance with government issued childcare regulations which encouraged wider interaction with local communities and because of knowledge that the supervision of domestic matters in the cottages was inadequate and significant upgrading was needed to many. The members of the committee were made up of local, middle and upper-class women, as well as the director's wife. How often this committee met, what the level of their surveillance was or the relationship they had with houseparents, is unknown. We have not been provided with any records created by them.

### **c. 1970-1990**

#### External Inspection

As aforementioned in a letter received in 1978 by Conservative MP, Teddy Taylor, a woman stating to be a housemother at Quarrier's Homes claimed that in eight years of employment her cottage had never been visited by a member of staff from the Scottish Office's advisory team or from Strathclyde Social Work department.<sup>197</sup> There is no reason to disbelieve her claim of a lack of external supervision or assistance as this type of inspection by government was over by the early 1970s.<sup>198</sup> Input from the Social Work Services Group's Central Advisory Service (CAS) at this time was concentrated upon encouraging Quarrier's to diversify their service provision with the aim of eventually closing the Village centre as a site for child care. While CAS had plenty of communication with Quarrier's at this time, and regularly met with senior management, these dealings did not extend to incursions inside the cottages. The letter to Taylor generated the following statement from the Social Work Services Group that 'Quarrier's is a large establishment and it would not be practicable for SWSG to meet all members of the staff of the Homes individually.'<sup>199</sup>

What is however concerning in this letter is the claim that a regional social worker had never visited her cottage. Following the Social Work Act, 1968, voluntary homes such as Quarrier's were registered by local authority social work departments—in Quarrier's case this was Renfrewshire, and later Strathclyde region. Responsibility for

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<sup>197</sup> NRS ED11/918: Quarrier's Homes Bridge of Weir; anonymous letter to Taylor's home address in Glasgow dated 16 January 1978 [SGV.001.002.4609].

<sup>198</sup> The final inspection on record took place in 1974. [QAR.001.001.1697].

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., Minute by Mrs Craghill dated 21 February 1978 [SGV.001.002.4600].

the monitoring of children in care rested therefore with local authority social work departments. From the letter it seems, however, that the supervision of children was left up to social workers then employed by Quarrier's (the letter claims there were eight of these in post) who liaised with local authority social workers in whichever regional division they were based.

By the mid-1970s Quarrier's was the default voluntary residential institution for Strathclyde region. In his annual address in 1976, Dr Minto stated that:

It is rather a shattering statistic that we are providing one-ninth of the total residential child care places in Scotland. We are at all times fully used and the demand for places is constant. In fact it is a sad reflection on our times that the demand for places is ever increasing. 88 % of our 500 places are filled with children from the Strathclyde Region. Put bluntly, without Quarrier's the Social Work scene in Scotland would be desperate. If we closed, 20 new individual children's homes would be required in the Strathclyde Region alone.<sup>200</sup>

These stark facts might encourage the belief that many social workers from Strathclyde spent large amounts of their time at Quarrier's Village; that belief would be misleading. These workers were fully taken up with cases under home supervision in their own areas and there was little in the way of external scrutiny of the conditions in Quarrier's Homes, certainly not on any kind of regularised fashion.<sup>201</sup> In any case, children sent to Quarrier's by the region might not remain there for long: the aim was always to return them to parents or wider family wherever possible.

#### Internal Monitoring

Supervision of child care in the Village ultimately rested with the Director of Child Care. In-house social workers were involved with children's care from the early 1970s. Whilst we have not recovered a detailed role description for these workers, evidence suggests they had a duty not only to help children but also to advise houseparents.<sup>202</sup> How often social workers were required to visit children at home in cottages is unknown, as is their level of effectiveness in monitoring the experiences

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<sup>200</sup> Annual Report 1975-76, p. 8 [QAR.001.001.4487].

<sup>201</sup> See Abrams, L. and Fleming, L. (forthcoming), *Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Scotland, 1948 – 1995*, Edinburgh: Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry.

<sup>202</sup> Quarrier's Homes: Review of Objectives and Programme of Work, 1980-1983, p. 8 [QAR.001.001.1743].

of children within cottages. Evidence reviewed indicates, however, that there was considerable friction between these field workers and residential care staff.<sup>203</sup> Social workers did not have a position of formal authority over houseparents who maintained autonomy for the running of cottages on a day to day basis. The effectiveness of the social workers' role to monitor in terms of raising concerns about the conduct of child care must therefore be questioned.

Supervision of children's welfare by Quarrier's social workers is manifest in case files dating to the 1980s, as are regular case reviews, interviews conducted by the Homes' psychologist, and—in relevant cases where children had arrived in the Homes via the children's panels—files include yearly reports submitted to these. The amount of personal involvement social workers had with individual children who posed no special worries, and with the relevant cottage workers, is not always clear from written records. Records rarely demonstrate any direct involvement by the Child Care Director—this only occurs where there was a very significant issue at play in terms of the child's behaviour or responses to this by houseparents.

The outcome of discussions with central and local government were that Quarrier's made a succession of written plans. These contained both forward planning and reviews of existing services. A report produced in 1980 summarised what had already been done to advance and inform future service delivery:

In the recent past we have appointed a Development Adviser, a Training Officer and attracted people with proven ability and experience to two key Senior Social Work posts. We have established internally a Policy Advisory Group comprising key members within the organisation, to provide a capacity for forward planning and critical examination of existing practices and policies.

In conjunction with Queen's College we have also established a Research Fellowship and appointed a research worker to undertake a study of how children perceive being in care. The research design is at a preliminary stage but we expect the results over the next two to three years to provide some objective data and contribute to the formulation of a long-term strategy.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> See for example, witness statement, pp. 8-9 [WIT.003.001.8125-6].

<sup>204</sup> Quarrier's Homes: Review of Objectives and Programme of Work, 1980-1983, p. 2-3 [QAR 001.001.1737-8].



The report further states that discussions with other agencies had been ongoing and the present review would provide:

...a focus for ongoing work within the organisation and a basis for discussion with the Local Authority and Central Government. The beginning of this decade sees the organisation at a particular stage of evolution, in the light of changing patterns of child care. What we are proposing are significant and in some instances radical changes. Quarrier's Homes has many assets, its Christian principles, considerable experience in the child care field, commitment, and the integrity to look critically at what we are offering (both in quality and content) and its relevance for the future.

[...]

There are two sets of questions facing the organisation. The first is concerned with the place of cottage group homes in the 1980s, and the second is the role of Quarrier's Homes as a voluntary child care agency.<sup>205</sup>

As Quarrier's made several changes to its model of service delivery, an external reviewer noted that:

Quarrier's in the past has been self-validating, its convictions firmly based on a particular moral and religious stance. But now, proclaiming itself a therapeutic community, perhaps as a final defence, the statement of commitment falls short of a clearly defined unitary care policy.<sup>206</sup>

The most significant impact of service reviews at this time as they affected children in the Village was the planned closure of this facility. We know from children's case files that the rundown of Quarrier's Village had very significant impacts on children with cottage mergers and closures. Often hasty and ill-advised attempts to find foster parents (arranged in conjunction with Strathclyde region) caused stress and disruption to many children, with some being returned in a demoralised state to Quarrier's.<sup>207</sup> In addition, many children still resident in the 1980s were in an older age range and had significant educational disadvantages and their futures after Quarrier's must have taken up a lot of staff attention.

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid., p. 1-2 [QAR 001.001.1736-7].

<sup>206</sup> Barbara Kelly, Quarrier's Research Project, 1980-82 (August 1982), p. 87 [QAR.001.001.1899].

<sup>207</sup> See for example, children's file [QAR.001.003.4473]

## Question 4: Placement and Reviews for Children

### **c.1930-1950**

#### Placements

Children's admission forms in this period provide basic background information (on family circumstances) on why the child has been taken into care. Details of parents (if known) are recorded as well as their whereabouts and ability to pay a maintenance contribution. Also details of other family members (grandparents, uncles and aunts) and information on whether they are able to support the child are provided.

Additional information is sometimes provided in the child's case file in the form of letters from the child's parent(s) and/or a letter from a responsible individual such as a RSSPCC officer where the details of the case would be described with the aim to justify the child's claim for admission.

In this period there is no evidence in the case files that there was any assessment of children prior to them being placed in this home in order to consider their suitability for residential care in general or this institution in particular. Neither were children assessed for their suitability for particular cottages. One can only surmise that children were placed in cottages according to capacity in the cottage rather than the suitability of that cottage and its houseparents to any particular child and his/her needs.

In this period Quarrier's was often the institution of choice for private placements, that is for children who had not been taken into the care of the local authority and whose parents or a third party had requested they be admitted owing to intimations of neglect, the death of a parent or other family crises. For children in the central belt it was the largest available children's home for Protestant children and thus was more likely than smaller homes to be able to take a child. Quite often children were placed here on the understanding or hope that their stay would be temporary. This is particularly the case for private placements. However, local authorities also used Quarrier's, particularly for sibling groups, children who had been returned from foster care, and children who were difficult to place in foster care.

A number of examples are illustrative of the kinds of circumstances recorded in brief:

Child admitted 1928: 'Mother adopted the child to Mrs Bottomley who lived at Ibrox then moved to Newcastle. She got into trouble with the police for shop-lifting and is at present in prison.'<sup>208</sup> Referral made by mother.

Child admitted 1939: 'Mother frequently deserts husband and children, in desertion at present time. Father unable to get anyone to look after children properly.'<sup>209</sup> Case recommended by RSSPCC Inspector.

Child admitted 1946: 'I the father [REDACTED] have lost my right arm when eleven years of age. And I am only in Board and lodgings. Since child's mother died he has been knocked around a lot. No one seems to take an interest in regards to the child that is why I would like him in the Home.'<sup>210</sup> Referral made by father.

Child admitted 1948: 'I have no home of my own or parents and am unable to give him the care the child must have.' Child referred by mother who signed over admission to Quarrier's until age 16 'or successfully adopted'.<sup>211</sup>

#### Reviews

Of the records reviewed, the majority of case files from this period contain no information on children's wellbeing or progress during their time in the home. The case file notes are more likely to include personal correspondence between a child's family members and Quarrier's Homes (which sometimes includes requests for payments and letters with enclosures of payments) and sometimes correspondence regarding the foster aunts scheme. This may be because reviews of the child's progress and wellbeing in a general sense were not conducted or that records of such reviews were not kept. This is backed up by the Scottish Office Inspection of 1965 which criticises Quarrier's for its poor record keeping.

Some medical records are contained in the case files, usually recording observations and measurements taken upon the child's admission and sometimes recording annual check-ups thereafter. Where medical health and wellbeing are concerned, until 1944 there was no medical Superintendent overseeing children's health. Instead this job was performed on an ad hoc basis by whatever doctor was on duty in the Sanatoria or Colony, and free to attend. In 1944: 'The Chairman raised the question

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<sup>208</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.2133].

<sup>209</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.2213].

<sup>210</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.2123].

<sup>211</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.2076].

of the appointment of a full-time Medical Officer for the Orphan Homes'.<sup>212</sup> Soon afterwards it was agreed to make this appointment.

Below are two illustrations of the type of information contained in case files during this time:

1) Child admitted in 1939 and discharged in 1954: the case file contains no formal review forms for the entire period of the child's stay. A medical assessment was undertaken on admission which recorded vaccinations and diseases and an annual medical examination form is also present for this child recording medical checks from 1943 to 1954 which records annual checks on height, weight, dental condition etc as well as presence of enuresis and a column headed 'Mentality' which in this child's case was recorded as 'normal' between 1943 and 1946.<sup>213</sup> In this case there were no concerns noted. There was no evidence in the file of follow up on the enuresis. There is no report from the cottage houseparent which might be expected to have indicated steps taken to address the child's bedwetting.

2) Child admitted 1939 and discharged 1940: case file contains no formal review forms for the short period of the child's stay. Medical assessment undertaken on admission and recorded 'rickets' as well as attention required with respect to the child's eyesight, adenoids, teeth and weight. Very brief notes recorded on a summary sheet at intervals of between one and six months thereafter on child's medical condition until in April 1940 the child was discharged and described as 'well'.<sup>214</sup>

#### Reasons for removal

The numbers of children who left Quarrier's either because they were removed or because they were discharged to work are recorded in the annual *Narrative of Facts*, but additional details are not forthcoming. The *Narrative of Facts* provides details and annual statistics on destinations of children leaving the home or discharged, broken down between the following categories: returned to parents, to Trades, Situations and Domestic Service, to Farm Service, To Navy, Army or Air Force, To other Institutions.

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<sup>212</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 7 March 1944 [QAR.001.003.2259].

<sup>213</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0761].

<sup>214</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.007.7670].

Case files provide little if any additional information regarding removal or discharge in this period. Admissions forms only provide the date of discharge from Quarrier's and where the child is discharged to. This would typically be back to parents on request or, if aged 15-16, possibly to Overbridge as a half-way house as the child entered the workforce. Children of school leaving age were typically discharged to employment. Some, it is impossible to say how many, were kept on at Quarrier's Homes employed in various parts of the institution, typically girls as domestics or working in the baby home and boys in various trades or working on the poultry farm.

The following brief examples indicate the extent of information provided.

Child admitted 1928 discharged 1939 to 'Overbridge (to begin apprenticeship as *illegible*).'<sup>215</sup>

Child admitted 1939 discharged 1954 to 'Situation – c/o Dr Cosgrove', Glasgow (assume this was position in domestic service).<sup>216</sup>

Child admitted 1948 migrated in 1961 to Dhurringile Rural Training Farm, Australia.<sup>217</sup>

## **c.1950-1970**

### Placements

Admission forms and case files are available for children admitted in this period. While case files for children admitted from c.1960s onwards are much fuller, admission forms are still relatively sparse and still only provide a summary of information. The homes were still using the admission form template they had always used.

As in the earlier period 1930-1950, details of the circumstances that brought children into care are included in the case files in this period. As before these tend to be poverty, housing problems, single parenthood, desertion by a parent, illegitimacy. Requests are made to the homes by individual parents or by third parties (e.g. a Minister or RSSPCC inspector and sometimes a local authority). However, there is no specific justification for placement in Quarrier's. Again, we can surmise that capacity, a willingness to accept private placements from family members or other third

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<sup>215</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.2135].

<sup>216</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.2215].

<sup>217</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.2078].

parties and a willingness to accept large sibling groups, meant that Quarrier's was often approached.

As in the previous period there is no evidence in the case files that there was any assessment of children prior to them being placed in this home in order to consider their suitability for residential care in general or this institution in particular. Neither were children assessed for their suitability for particular cottages.

#### Reviews

Case files are not consistent in this period. Some children's case files contain extensive reports and notes on wellbeing and progress including records of visits (to people and places outside the home as well as visits received from approved visitors such as 'friends' of Quarrier's and family members) while others contain very little information. While some case files contain school, medical reports and in some cases psychologists' reports, in others they are absent altogether.<sup>218</sup> It is not clear whether this was because the reports were not undertaken in the first place, because the reports have not been placed in the child's case file, or have been lost. When they do exist, reports are not always signed or dated meaning we are unable to tell who was responsible for writing the report. Some case files contain full reports from cottage houseparents; others contain nothing at all. It is not always clear as to who is offering opinions on a child and perhaps reflects the low priority given to record keeping, particularly before c.1970, although there is some evidence of improved record keeping (and retention) from the 1960s onwards.

Two case files of children born in 1957 were examined. The first, case A, contains extensive review material in the case file; the second, case B, only contains reports from a social worker in 1970 (Mr Murdoch to pursue Indefatigable for X for entry in May),<sup>219</sup> and two entries in 1973 once the child had joined the merchant navy training school.

A. Case review of child born in 1957; admitted in 1958—on the child's admission a medical review was undertaken and the infant record chart

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<sup>218</sup> For example, a case file pertaining to a family of children admitted in 1957 and who remained in Quarrier's until 1962, contains many letters from the child's father and correspondence between Quarrier's and the father, but there are no medical or school reports relating to the three children, only a single 'Observation record' pertaining to one child and relating to one year [QAR.001.003.4829].

<sup>219</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.6314].

maintained regarding height and weight. Thereafter there is no record of a case review until 1966 when the child was 9 when 'no action' is noted. Subsequent reviews in 1968 and 1969 contain very scant notes. Full case review notes commence in 1970 and cottage review notes begin in 1968. There is a more fulsome visitation record when this child and a sibling were boarded out by Quarrier's in 1964-5. In 1965 they returned to Quarrier's when the foster parents requested the children be removed back to Quarrier's for being 'outwith their control'.<sup>220</sup> So this case file contains no review notes between 1958 (admission) and 1966 after the child was returned from boarding out. There is no review of the child's suitability for foster care in 1964 (though the file does contain information regarding the suitability of the foster parents including brief references).

From 1968 onwards, this child's case file contains relatively fulsome cottage review notes that record comments on the child's personality, demeanour, intelligence, and behaviour. Cottage reports from 1968 are every three months. These record the child's worries ('wants to know all about her mother...I've had to talk to her alone and try to soothe her...'<sup>221</sup>); comments on the child's inclination to be lazy, her tendency to spend all her money on gifts for others,<sup>222</sup> and so on, hence providing some insight into the child's emotional adjustment. The cottage report also contains some indications of disturbance: in 1969 the cottage report mentions 'she has not been in so many fights during the last three months';<sup>223</sup> and in 1971 (though the sheet is undated) '[she] has started to wet herself in the day, ask if she knows she is doing it, she says yes and that she is too busy playing and hasn't got time for the toilet.'<sup>224</sup> There is, however, no evidence in the file of any follow up of this marked change in behaviour which might have signalled distress. There is no evidence of the child being offered child guidance support or being seen by a psychiatrist.

**B. In the case of child B admitted in 1960**—the child's Case Review contains only a psychologist's report from 1966, a report from an outward bound

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<sup>220</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.9595].

<sup>221</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.9616].

<sup>222</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.9620].

<sup>223</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.9630].

<sup>224</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.9628].

centre in 1971 and a final leaving report from secondary school.<sup>225</sup> There are no reviews of this child's progress or wellbeing throughout his time at Quarrier's on the file.

The lack of consistency of record keeping illustrated by the contrast in the two selected above is also illustrated by a sample of case files reviewed across this period for children admitted in the 1950s and 1960s.

In general, reviews of children's progress are sparse and any reviews that are recorded tend to focus not on a child's emotional wellbeing, but on actions to be taken in relation to maintenance payments or contact with relatives, and on occasion, they include a medical record. The case of a child admitted in 1959 illustrates the point. A review was undertaken in 1963 with four members of staff present: Quarrier's Director, the Superintendent, a Matron and a nursing sister. The review contains no direct comments on the child but does include a record of medical treatments received during the year which includes the remark 'enuretic' in 1964, and in 1965 more fulsome comments: '[e]nuresis no response to encouragement, ephedrine or [illegible]. Responded eventually to the bell in Elisa. Dry for 16/17 night prior to discharge.' Two months later it was recorded: 'on discharge physically OK; still enuretic approx. once or twice a week.'<sup>226</sup> In addition to this, the review merely remarks on actions to contact the child's mother and ongoing conversations regarding fostering.<sup>227</sup> So the record-keeping indicates this child had chronic enuresis for some time and that attempts were made via 'encouragement' and medical interventions to cure it. But there is no evidence in the case file of the child being assessed for psychological disturbance which may have caused the bedwetting.

In the case of a child born in 1955 and admitted in 1958, the case file contains extremely fulsome notes and reports on her educational progress and social and psychological adjustment.<sup>228</sup> This case includes a sexual assault claim by the child that is followed up by the home and police social workers, though case file papers

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<sup>225</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.6367, 6362 and 6359].

<sup>226</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.4744].

<sup>227</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.4740-1].

<sup>228</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.7269 and 7288-93].



indicate she was not altogether taken seriously ('it is not known how much is a figment of her imagination').<sup>229</sup>

Finally, in the case of a child born in 1953 and admitted in 1955 the file contains extensive correspondence between the mother, the home and third parties but apart from a very brief medical report on admission the file contains no reviews of the child's placement or the child's wellbeing.<sup>230</sup>

So it is impossible to generalise about the quality and quantity of reviews undertaken in this period. The variable record keeping may indicate inconsistent practice (which is very likely in the case of cottage reports) or poor record keeping generally.

However, some children in this period were assessed by the in-house psychologist on a regular basis. It is likely that these were children already identified as 'backward' or 'maladjusted' and we know that at least in the 1960s the psychologist's work was largely focused on IQ testing rather than assessing children's emotional needs. In one case of a child admitted to Quarrier's as a very young child in 1951, regular psychologist reports commence in c.1961 (although the early psychologist reports are not dated). The child had been labelled as 'one of the mentally handicapped group' and was recommended for 'special educational treatment'. The child was also described as being very insecure and attention seeking.<sup>231</sup> The report writer concludes that '[i]t is quite clear that this immature, insecure, mentally handicapped child requires special educational provision to be made for her.'<sup>232</sup> Later, in 1963, she was described as of 'low intelligence and is also undoubtedly an emotionally disturbed child'<sup>233</sup> and in 1964 she was described as 'maladjusted rather than mentally handicapped.'<sup>234</sup> There is no evidence in the child's case file that any support was offered following these assessments, either special educational provision or child guidance. The 1964 Review form was left blank and in the same year the child was discharged back to her family in very concerning circumstances.<sup>235</sup> The point to make here is that although this child was assessed by a psychologist at

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<sup>229</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.7334].

<sup>230</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.1660].

<sup>231</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0827-8].

<sup>232</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0830].

<sup>233</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0834].

<sup>234</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0835].

<sup>235</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0837-8 and 0839].

regular intervals for four years it is impossible to know from the case file whether any interventions were made on her behalf. If they were, they are not recorded.

It appears that more extensive and detailed reports were kept on children from the late 1960s when Quarrier's began to employ their in-house social workers and following the very critical inspection of 1965. Before this, reviews of children's progress are sparse with a tendency to focus on medical, contact or financial/maintenance matters.

Children who spent a short period of time at Quarrier's were unlikely to be reviewed at all during their time there with the exception of the medical check carried out on admission.

#### Reasons for removal

As in the previous period, admission forms only provide a date of discharge with usually limited information on the reasons—usually returned to parent or moved to employment. Case files contain more extensive paperwork, particularly when there is doubt or concern about discharge to parent or transferal to a hostel. When children were discharged back to a parent Quarrier's did undertake a check in this period to ensure the home circumstances were adequate in respect of fixtures, fittings, bedding and so on.<sup>236</sup>

By the late 1960s, children's case files tend to contain a good deal of paperwork regarding the transition from the homes to work, which might include a stay at Overbridge, transition to a hostel or supervised lodgings, and placing the child in suitable work. Psychologists' reports are prominent in this period for these children and tend to focus on the suitability of the child for particular kinds of work, their educational ability and so on though they also do comment on the child's temperament. For example, a child admitted in 1951 and who had spent her whole life at Quarrier's was assessed by the psychologist (presumably the in-house psychologist) in 1964 as 'most silent and withdrawn and I felt her whole attitude was hostile and suspicious. [...] She seemed to me to be very much the type of child who has a chip on her shoulder.'<sup>237</sup> Thereafter the report notes that this child has not thought about her future and would prefer to 'remain in the rather sheltered

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<sup>236</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.4782-3].

<sup>237</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0139].

environment of Quarrier's as long as possible'.<sup>238</sup> However, the internal review form for the same year is blank and a later case review form for 1966 contains merely the remark 'no action'.<sup>239</sup>

In the case of the child discussed above who was regularly assessed as maladjusted and emotionally insecure and who was eventually discharged to her father and his second wife, no reasons are given in the case file for removal. In 1964 there were efforts to trace the child's father, presumably because the 1964 review noted that no maintenance payments had been received from him since 1959.<sup>240</sup> The Quarrier's in-house childcare officer succeeded in locating the family, visited the house, and assessed it as suitable to receive the child—despite the fact that there were already five other children there. The childcare officer's record of the discharge of this child to the family is detailed and describes an unloving and unsupportive, uncaring environment concluding with the remarks: '[i]t is very difficult to guess at what happens in the home; one can't trust what [the child] says and yet I feel that her parents have no great love for her.'<sup>241</sup> A few months later these observations were confirmed when the child was placed under a Care and Protection Order and was found a place in a local Training Centre (St Euphrasia's).<sup>242</sup>

### **c. 1970-1990**

#### Placements

As late as the 1970s, Quarrier's retained the same style of admission form they had been using for decades which included very brief details of the reasons why a child had been taken into care (and it is noticeable that the language used had not changed either, for example, 'mother in desertion').

Some children were now assessed more thoroughly prior to admission to Quarrier's such as by an educational psychologist or psychiatrist. In the case of a child admitted in 1972 for example, the senior social worker at the child's local authority requested admission to Quarrier's because it was judged that the child, who had offended, was not suited to a List D school. 'There is every indication that he would respond to the

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<sup>238</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0139].

<sup>239</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0137 and 0149].

<sup>240</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0837-8].

<sup>241</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0840].

<sup>242</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0841].

training you could offer'.<sup>243</sup> This is however an atypical case whereby it was judged that this particular home was suited to this child's needs. But it is also clear that Quarrier's was still one of few options for large sibling groups, children who could not be easily placed elsewhere, and children who required an urgent (and possibly short term) placement in this period.<sup>244</sup>

In the case of a child admitted in 1972, his social worker requested he be admitted to Quarrier's on account of 'his need for remedial teaching, and his need for a stable, loving relationship with both male and female parent figures' suggesting that Quarrier's had a reputation for offering children this kind of support in this period.<sup>245</sup>

Once again there is no indication in the child's case file of any assessment being undertaken for suitability for a particular cottage. We must assume that children were still being placed according to capacity.

#### Review

By the 1970s record keeping was much improved both at the level of the institution and individual cottages; and the frequency and type of review was of a much higher order than it had been previously. Indeed there was a step change from the recording regime that pertained up to the 1960s, which appears to have been inconsistent and partial, to a regime that recorded the day-to-day detail of children's lives and in which regular reviews were undertaken. From the late 1960s case files contain regular reports written up by the cottage houseparent generally on a monthly basis noting general behaviour, demeanour, attitude towards school, progress and so on and also including medical and emotional issues, such as enuresis. Care review forms, which record health and educational progress but also contain observations about behaviour, and psychological assessments in some cases, were now completed as laid down by the new legislation. Medical and school reports were also often included on the child's file. A separate Record of Visits was also kept by the houseparent, which recorded all visits to the child and by the child to friends and family outside the home. This all means that children's case files are voluminous.

An example is a case file of a child admitted to Quarrier's in 1970 and discharged in 1975. Whilst she was staying on one of the cottages (1970-74) there were regular,

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<sup>243</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.8288].

<sup>244</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.8304-5].

<sup>245</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.1347].

generally monthly, comments on her behaviour and progress written by the housemother; the visits she made to friends outside Quarrier's were recorded as were her sister's visits to her; the child's school reports for 1971-4 are included along with her medical record and a list of organisations she belonged to. Initially the child was the subject of case reviews every six months and annually thereafter. Once the child had left school and was found accommodation in Bridge of Weir she was visited regularly by a social worker who produced very full reports (much more thorough than when the child had been at Quarrier's). The case file also contains the notes of regular children's hearings for this child until she was discharged.<sup>246</sup>

No case file is alike, however, and we must assume that whilst much more was written down, not all records were kept on the child's file (there is evidence, for example, that medical records were generally kept separately). Most files appear to have gaps and it can be difficult to follow a child's story as papers are not filed in chronological order. Consequently, it is also difficult to detect whether reports were acted upon.

However, whilst reviews were carried out and reports written which did identify causes for concern in individual children, it is difficult to tell if action followed. In the example cited above of a child admitted in 1970, a host of issues were raised by the social worker alone, but there is no evidence in the file that the problems noted were addressed. In the case of a child who was admitted in 1972 age 12, the case file contains copious reports on the child's behaviour (aggressive, bullying of other children, etc.) which is ascribed to his upbringing. Around 18 months on, his social worker in her report noted that the child's behaviour had appreciably worsened in the previous 6 months and in addition to this, the child requested he be moved to another cottage. The social worker's view was that the problem was with the child and not the cottage.<sup>247</sup> In this case the child decided he wanted to return home. The social worker's interpretation of his behaviour was that '[r]ather than behave in an acceptable manner, he has resorted to disruptive behaviour in order to be removed from Quarrier's Homes.'<sup>248</sup> There is no indication in the file that the child was provided with additional support or if the underlying causes of the most recent spate

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<sup>246</sup> Case of child admitted 1970 (Quarrier's case file serial 215/70) consulted at Quarrier's Homes on 02/08/2018.

<sup>247</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.1369].

<sup>248</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.1369].

of disruptive behaviour were investigated. So reviews were undertaken and records were kept, but this is not evidence of action being taken.

This is not an isolated incident. Reporting and review systems indicate that in the cases of troubled children in this period, the whole gamut of professionals including social workers, educational psychologists, psychiatrists, and so on were involved in reviewing children's wellbeing and they recorded their findings often in great detail. However, when indications of mistreatment and abuse emerged, the details as reported by the child were recorded in the child's case file but not always believed.<sup>249</sup> In one case where the child made such allegations to a number of individuals there is no evidence in the case file notes of staff making connections between his disruptive behaviour and these allegations. The child's behaviour tended to be ascribed to 'personality problems' and the child's insecurity, and it was posited that the child's 'stories' of abuse may have been 'based on experiences of abuse by his father'.<sup>250</sup> This suggests that while reviews were undertaken far more systematically in this period, and a child's case file would contain copious notes from a range of professionals involved with their care, the focus of such reviews was on how to manage the child rather than to look for reasons underlying the problems.

#### Reasons for removal

In this period the removal of children from Quarrier's is recorded on the child's admission form but the case file does not always contain documentation recording reasons for removal or the procedures undertaken to ensure children were discharged appropriately. It was far more likely in this period that children's stays were shorter than had previously been the case.

In the case of a child admitted in 1972 with serious emotional disturbance, we know he was discharged to his parents less than two years' later, but the case file does not provide any information regarding the reasons for his discharge. Typically, family circumstances will have improved following interventions from social workers who were now committed to 'prevention'.

In other cases, however, the case file records extensive efforts to ensure that children's journey from Quarrier's to independent living was supported. In the case of

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<sup>249</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.6735].

<sup>250</sup> Children's records [QAR001.001.6735-6].

the child noted above who entered Quarrier's in 1970, her case file contains a full record of the efforts made by Quarrier's to settle her in a local job.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Case of child admitted in 1970 (Quarrier's case file serial 215/70) consulted at Quarrier's Homes.

## Question 5: After Care

### c. 1930-1950

There is very little evidence for this period of specific procedures in place to aid children's transition from Quarrier's to the world of work or the world outside the contained environment of the children's home. Overbridge appears to have been used as a half-way house or transitional arrangement for children who were found work in Glasgow. In 1944, a Welfare Centre and Home for Working Girls at Earnscliff was opened, probably fulfilling much the same role as Overbridge (although Earnscliff was not residential; it had accommodation for overnight stays).<sup>252</sup> In addition, executive minutes of 1944 record the use of an outside Welfare Worker.<sup>253</sup>

In this period, children who were transitioning to employment from Quarrier's tended to follow one of a number of limited routes. For example, a brother and sister admitted in the 1940s were discharged in 1954, the girl to 'a situation' in a private residence, presumably as a housekeeper or similar (there is no further information on the file) and the boy to a job in a Glasgow shipyard via the Overbridge home.<sup>254</sup> There is no information in the children's files regarding any preparation they received for the transition.

Girls could be found positions, presumably as housekeepers or similar, and some were kept on at Quarrier's—either at Bridge of Weir or at Overbridge—in a domestic capacity. The 1934 *Narrative of Facts* reported that Overbridge 'have in residence a number of girls who help in the domestic side of the home, doing the necessary sewing repairs, laundry work, &c. They are thus taught house duties and in other ways prepared to find suitable situations.'<sup>255</sup>

Boys were more likely to leave the institution and move to an apprenticeship, some form of unskilled work, or they joined the merchant navy. The Overbridge home in Glasgow was used as a kind of intermediate home from where they would move into employment. In the *Narrative of Facts* for 1934 the use of Overbridge in this way was spelled out. Clearly it was used not just as a transition home for children who were

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<sup>252</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 8 September 1944 [QAR.001.003.2274].

<sup>253</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 7 February 1944 [QAR.001.003.2256].

<sup>254</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0749 and 0779].

<sup>255</sup> Narrative of Facts, 1934 [QAR.001.001.2791].



moving from Bridge of Weir but as a form of intermediary residential care in its own right for older boys who were in between school and work:

When the boys reach the age of sixteen they begin to look forward to coming here to start their apprenticeship, and this is really the most important side of our work. During the year a good number of the older lads have gone out into the world to fight life's battle, and their places have been rapidly filled. We have had an average of more than 60 boys in residence, and for several months not one of them was unemployed. We seek to find suitable employment for the lads according to their ability, and as far as possible apprentice them to definite trades. In this we have enjoyed a marked measure of success, 24 lads having started apprenticeships, while 3 others were re-started at their trade after a period of suspension through the depression.

"Young Men's Temporary Shelter " are the words which catch the eye of the passer-by in London Road, and they attract many to come and ask for help. We have taken in several boys from 14 to 18 who were wandering quite destitute about the city, having no parents and no friends who wanted them. Some come who are too old for us to accept, but help and advice has been given. One young man, 23 years, from Aberdeen was helped, and some weeks later returned to say "thank you," as the help given him had enabled him to find a good situation.<sup>256</sup>

Children's case files offer the best evidence of the arrangements that were made in that they contain some correspondence between Quarrier's staff and those who might provide positions for children leaving. A child who was admitted in the 1930s provides an example. The child was discharged to Overbridge to be an apprentice painter. Quarrier's had personal contacts with an individual who made arrangements for the child to be interviewed by a company in Glasgow. Arrangements were made by Quarrier's for the child to travel to Glasgow for the interview and when he was offered the position arranged for him to transfer to Overbridge.<sup>257</sup> Procedures for this transition appear to have been ad hoc, dependent on the Superintendent's relationship with those who might be able to offer work to leaving children; and we might surmise that Quarrier's was also regarded as a recruiting ground for employers requiring labouring workers or domestic servants in the case of girls.

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<sup>256</sup> Ibid., [QAR.001.001.2791].

<sup>257</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.001.7761-2, 7770-1, 7773-4 and 7777].

Those children discharged back to their parents or other family members were not subject to any aftercare procedures.

In this period there is no evidence of formal organisational systems to support ongoing contact between children and Quarrier's. However, former Quarrier's children did often write to the institution and would receive a reply. There is evidence of individuals who were in Quarrier's care in this period writing to the Superintendent much later in life with requests for information, such as information about their background and the circumstances that brought them into care. Quarrier's replied, usually with a summary in narrative form of the information that was on the child's case file. Some former home children did visit, but this did not constitute an aftercare service.

### **c.1950-1970**

In this period, far fewer children were transitioned to employment because, with the focus of child protection shifting to prevention, residential care in general was utilised as a backstop before children could be returned to their parents. So for example, in May 1964, 24 children were discharged: three to trades or situations, 11 to local authorities and 10 to relatives.<sup>258</sup>

In this period there was more attention given to children's suitability for various types of employment. Reports and reviews address children's transition from residential care to further education, training or employment and there is some evidence in case files of children being asked about their preferences for future employment. The example of a child admitted as a baby in 1951, and who had spent her whole life in Quarrier's, serves as an illustration. Interviewed by the in-house psychologist in 1964 at the age of 13 the child indicated she would like to help in the Quarrier's baby home. On being questioned as to whether she would not consider general nursing the psychologist inferred that 'she has not really thought the matter out at all...I would also suspect that she wants to remain in the rather sheltered environment of Quarriers as long as possible'. The psychologist went on to remark that the 'ordered and busy routine of a hospital might suit her very well'.<sup>259</sup> In the event the child failed to be accepted for pre-nursing college and instead was found a position in a store when she was 15, initially in Port Glasgow where she had friends.

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<sup>258</sup> Narrative of Facts, 1964 [QAR.001.001.4051].

<sup>259</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0139].

She then transferred to the branch in Bridge of Weir where she was happier, in part because she could continue to live at the Homes. This child eventually passed the entrance exam for the Women's Royal Army Corps and left Quarrier's in 1968 to start her initial training. In April 1968 the record on her file notes that a letter from her reports that she was enjoying army life.<sup>260</sup> For this child Quarrier's was the only home she knew and she likely struggled to see where she might fit outside the Homes' environment. The army perhaps offered her a similar kind of institutional support.

In the case of disturbed children, management of the transition away from the homes probably required more intensive input than was available. A child admitted in 1971 demonstrated very significant emotional disturbance during his time in Quarrier's (which was extensively reported on his case file) but although it was noted he had potential to do well educationally there is no evidence that the nature of his transition was discussed with him until two days before his school leaving date when his cottage houseparent (or social worker—it is unclear who wrote the report) undertook a review with the child present 'to discuss his future'. The options seemed to be limited:

1. A job
2. Home to stay with mum in Paisley if possible
3. If 1 & 2 are delayed he is to be found employment within the homes and a hostel place<sup>261</sup>

He was finally discharged in 1978 to 'Renfrew Division O' with no further information provided on his eventual destination.<sup>262</sup>

Although Quarrier's publicity materials trumpeted their success stories (generally exceptional cases of children who had done well at school and gained a place at University) there were many children who left Quarrier's who were relatively unprepared for the world of work and most went into low skilled employment. Some children also left the homes with unresolved emotional and psychological issues.

In 1961, a Scottish Office Inspection report noted there were no continuation classes provided in the Homes as there were too few children to warrant them, but they

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<sup>260</sup> Children's records [QAR.001.003.0108].

<sup>261</sup> Children's records [LAW.001.001.1155].

<sup>262</sup> Children's records [LAW.001.001.1136].

were running a work programme in the baby and toddler homes (presumably for girls) for 4-5 months after which 'employment is sought for them as nannies'.<sup>263</sup> The same report also recorded that Quarrier's ran a class in dressmaking for the staff but not for the children, that girls were not offered any training in housecraft, but there were 12 girls training in the Homes under the nursery nurses scheme.<sup>264</sup>

In this 1961 report it was also noted that after the age of 15, it was policy to keep children on at school after school-leaving age if no immediate plans for employment could be arranged. Over 15s not at school were being trained in the Homes—in baby homes, as a telephone operator, in the paint shop.<sup>265</sup>

Overbridge was still being used as a transition institution. It was reported that in 1961 there were 60 or 70 boys on the aftercare list (this seems to refer to boys who had left the homes and were now in work)—and 13 girls on aftercare list—six having wages supplemented by Quarrier's. These girls had been visited in their lodgings by Matron who had vetted where they were staying. Two girls were staying with friends of Quarrier's.<sup>266</sup>

An example of the extent of after care provided can be seen in the case of a girl admitted in 1970. When she was 15 this child was staying in the Quarrier's Hostel and attending Reid Kerr College taking a course in professional studies.<sup>267</sup> A year later she was still staying in the hostel and working in a local hairdressing salon on day release.<sup>268</sup> Subsequently she moved into lodgings in the local town, still working in the hairdressers. In 1976, in a letter to the Children's Panel, the social worker noted that the girl had been discharged from care to lodgings in Paisley, she had left her hairdressing job, and had said that she was returning to stay with her mother. Nothing further was heard from her until she contacted Quarrier's for her records many years later. This girl's case demonstrates that by the 1970s Quarrier's operated a more extensive transition and aftercare service which supported children from care to work, provided transitional accommodation in the hostel, and continued to

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<sup>263</sup> Scottish Office Inspection Report, 1961 [QAR.001.001.1294].

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, [QAR.001.001.1293-4].

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, [QAR.001.001.1296].

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, [QAR.001.001.1297].

<sup>267</sup> Case of child admitted 1970 (Quarrier's case file serial 215/70) consulted at Quarrier's Homes. Case Review, 6 November 1973.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, Case review 1 October 1974.

maintain contact with them once they had moved to lodgings and living independently.

As noted above, former children who contacted Quarrier's always received a reply. We have not identified an agreed policy on returns or ongoing contact with children.

### **c.1970-1990**

The issue of how to support children leaving the homes continued to be of concern in the 1970s. In 1971 Mr Mortimer (superintendent) reported on the problems facing school leavers when they left the Homes to take up employment:

He found that many such children were very unhappy at the thought of leaving the Homes and there appeared to be a real need to provide accommodation for children facing the transition to life outside "Quarrier's". At the moment accommodation within the Homes had been found for six such children, and if this solution proved successful, and provided the Committee agreed, additional accommodation would be necessary.<sup>269</sup>

By 1974, Quarrier's had built a new hostel housing 20 adolescent boys and girls to help smooth their transition from the homes.<sup>270</sup>

In 1980 an internal Review of Objectives outlined Quarrier's developmental programme for the following decade, which included expanding and improving its aftercare service.<sup>271</sup> Existing provision consisted of a hostel providing 17 places for girls and boys between 15 and 18 years and a bed-sit unit for girls between 16 and 18, both of which were located in the Village. Additional accommodation had been rented in Glasgow, Linwood, Govan, and Port Glasgow and the review notes that some young people had been given interest-free loans to buy their own homes. Proposals were also in place to establish a working hostel in Paisley or Glasgow and for the letting of flats from Renfrew District Council. It was hoped that these would help Quarrier's provide 'a continuum of aftercare, allowing young people to go at their own pace in coping with independence.'<sup>272</sup>

Even in this period the opportunities for Quarrier's children leaving the Homes were poor in respect of educational provision, standards and expectations. A Scottish

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<sup>269</sup> Minute of Executive Committee Meeting, 30 April 1971 [QAR.001.003.2580].

<sup>270</sup> Report from Scottish Office Social Work Advisory Group on visit to Quarrier's 1974 [QAR.001.001.1697].

<sup>271</sup> Quarrier's Review of Objectives 1980-1983 [QAR.001.001.1754].

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., [QAR.001.001.1754].

Office inspection in 1970 noted that even the Superintendent believed the educational provision to be 'absolutely appalling' in a combined primary and secondary school with a high staff turnover and poor standards. 'Some of the brighter children who can manage it do go to outside schools.'<sup>273</sup>

A staff witness statement indicates that some children did keep in touch with their former houseparents when they left, and one former houseparent commented that young people had returned to stay with her when they were adults 'until they got themselves sorted'.<sup>274</sup> In 1979, the Director of Child Care took a case to the Executive Committee of a former 'old boy' who had contacted Quarrier's asking for a loan of £200 to allow him to visit his mother in South Africa, the committee agreed to the request.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Scottish Office Inspection Report, 1970 [QAR.001.001.1683].

<sup>274</sup> Witness Statement [WIT.001.002.0539-40].

<sup>275</sup> Executive Minutes, November 1979 [QAR.001.003.5553].