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Children's Experiences of the Care 'System' in Scotland since 1945

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of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis explores children's experiences of the Scottish care 'system' in the past and asks how we can uncover, recover and come to know them. It focuses on the experiences of those who were in the care of voluntary children's homes run by charitable, religious organisations from the 1940s to the 1980s, when the homes largely ceased operation in Scotland. The concept of experience provides historians with new methodological possibilities. It allows us to move beyond seeking voice defined as a largely linguistic phenomenon to be traced in the written historical record. Experience is understood as an embodied culturally and situationally bound social process. By moving beyond the purely linguistic, this thesis seeks to develop new interpretative strategies that can uncover the perspectives and experiences of children who have, in the past, left little textual trace in the official record. The approach developed throughout this thesis contributes new analytical and conceptual strategies that can be adapted and adopted by scholars working in the fields of emotions history and the history of childhood. This thesis combines the analysis of the testimonies of 160 of those who were formerly in care, heard before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, with both testimonies and archival materials from those who provided, managed and regulated their care in the past. By placing the memories and perspectives of those who were once children in care at the centre of its analysis, rather than the narratives of child welfare professionals in the past, this thesis deepens our understanding of the day-to-day lives of children in Scotland's care 'system' in the decades following the end of the Second World War. In spite of significant legislative and structural change during this period, when it comes to Scotland's care 'system', this study recasts it as a period of continuity and inertia in terms of children's care. Moreover, this thesis recognises that care experience is lifelong and does not end when a child is discharged from the care 'system' and seeks to reflect the full life stories of those who testified before the Inquiry.

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Abbreviations

FBGA	Former Boys and Girls Abused of Quarrier's Homes
GCU	Glasgow Caledonian University
INCAS	In Care Abuse Survivors
NRS	National Records of Scotland
OHS	Orphan Homes of Scotland
RSSPCC	Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

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Introduction

Frank Docherty was born in the 1940s in a condemned building with no hot water and electricity in Cowcaddens, an area close to the city centre of Glasgow.¹ Glasgow in the 1940s and 1950s was a city in flux. Numerous streets of Glasgow's old tenement flats were being demolished and families found themselves displaced from their communities and wider networks. Many welcomed the move out to the new housing estates on the outskirts of the city, such as Drumchapel and Castlemilk. Others were left behind and continued to live in damp, unsafe and unsanitary homes which contributed to the highest tuberculosis rates in Britain, a disease that would bring a number of the children of affected parents into care – although this was not the reason that brought Frank into care. Following the incarceration of a parent, aged nine Frank was taken to Smyllum Park Orphanage where he was physically and emotionally abused by those who were meant to look after him. Frank went on to found INCAS (In Care Abuse Survivors) and fought tirelessly for an inquiry into the historic abuse of children in residential care. In 2016, he was one of the first people to give evidence to the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry. He died just weeks before the first hearing. In his statement, Frank told the Inquiry: 'I'm 72 years old but it is 9 year old Frank who is sitting here talking to you just now. I can see myself there. I'm re-living all the pain and unfairness.'²

Time that moves only in one direction - forward - is crucial to the historical framework.³ Yet, a history of human experience, particularly traumatic experience, defies temporal boundaries and pushes the limits of conventional historical methodologies. This thesis explores children's experiences of care in the past and asks how we can uncover, recover and come to know them. It follows the view that to 'track the changes to a society...the historian should track the changes to the everyday.'⁴ This thesis investigates the experiences of those who were in the care of children's homes run by religious organisations, known as voluntary homes, in Scotland from around 1945 to the early 1980s, when most voluntary homes closed their doors. The research is based substantively on the testimonies of those who were formerly in care, collected by the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry. The research agenda was

¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Frank Docherty, p.4.

² Ibid., p.17.

³ Penelope J. Corfield, *Time and the Shape of History* (2007), p.7.

⁴ Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown, 'Introduction: Conceiving the Everyday in the Twentieth Century' in *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth-Century Scotland*, ed. Abrams and Brown (2010), p.1.

guided by the testimonies of those who were formerly in care; the daily routine and physical spaces of the children's homes frequently provided the structure of their narratives. This thesis is a history of how children's homes in Scotland in the decades following the end of the Second World War operated in practice and crucially, how these practices were experienced and remembered by those who grew up in care. By placing the testimony of those who were formerly in care at the centre of the research, this thesis recasts this period in the history of child welfare in Scotland as one of continuity rather than radical change.

Amongst the mundane and seemingly unremarkable parts of daily life, such as the morning routine or sitting down for the evening meal, were some of the most profound recollections from a childhood in care. The minutia of institutional life rarely made its way into the official written record. Those who got the children up in the morning, ran them a bath or plated up their porridge were not usually the record keepers in the past. The testimonies of those who were formerly in care have presented conflicting narratives to those found in the official written record.⁵ As Nell Musgrove highlights, the role of historians in inquiries into the historic abuse of children in care have thrown up challenges in adapting research methodologies and analytical frameworks.⁶ This thesis seeks to develop a methodological approach and new interpretative strategies that can uncover the perspectives and experiences of children who have, in the past, left little textual trace in the official record.⁷ The approach developed over the course of this thesis may be useful to other historians researching the lives of children.

Histories of Childhood, Child Welfare and Care

The history of childhood has grown considerably since the publication of *Centuries of Childhood* by French historian, Philippe Ariès in 1960. Widely pinpointed as the text of origin of the now burgeoning field of scholarship, Ariès argued that 'childhood' was a concept created by modern society.⁸ In 1974 Lloyd deMause famously declared that 'The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken'.⁹

⁵ Johanna Sköld and Åsa Jensen, 'Truth Seeking in Oral Testimonies and Archives', in *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse*, p.160.

⁶ Nell Musgrove, 'The Role and Importance of History' in *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse*, p.148.

⁷ See Adrian Bingham, Lucy Delap, Louise Jackson and Louise Settle, 'Historical Child Sexual Abuse in England and Wales: The Role of Historians', *History of Education* 45:4 (2016), p.420.

⁸ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1962) [English translation].

⁹ Lloyd deMause, *The History of Childhood* (1974), p.1.

Somewhat controversially, DeMause argued that the further back in history one goes, the more likely children were to be abused, killed and mistreated.¹⁰ As Nell Musgrove, Carla Pascoe Leahy and Kristine Moruzi point out, this statement rings ominously in the ears of the current generation of scholars whose work has been irreversibly altered by the crises of childhood which have rocked the early twenty first century.¹¹ The contents of this thesis alone highlight that children have been consistently mistreated and exploited throughout modern history and continue to be so today.

Since the 1990s interest in histories of children and childhood have continued to grow, situated in a wider context of increasing visibility of issues relating to past failures of child welfare systems and child abuse more broadly. Linda Mahood's 1995 monograph *Policing Gender, Class and Family in Britain, 1850-1940* studied child welfare institutions in Scotland. Utilising a Foucauldian framework it considered the social control function of institutions such as reformatories, industrial day schools and industrial training ships.¹² Although this thesis has largely focused on institutions which were perhaps not as explicitly reformatory in nature, it has found similarly disciplinary and punitive regimes in 'ordinary' children's homes. Linda Mahood's study drew on archival sources, mainly the annual reports of the Inspector of Industrial Schools and Reformatories and the private files of the Home Office and the Scottish Education Office, and a total of 41 personal letters and 18 oral history interviews with former staff and inmates.¹³ The letters and subsequent oral history interviews were conducted between 1989 and 1992, which was the beginning of a period of press and public interest in the historic abuse of children in institutional care in Scotland. Since then, the history of child welfare has increasingly become of public and political concern with a focus on the testimonies of those who were formerly in care, heard in newspapers, memoirs and later, by official inquiries.

This thesis contributes to a small existing literature on the Scottish system of child welfare. The care 'system' of the past and present in Scotland has some key differences to England, notably the long tradition of 'boarding-out' children in Scotland, and since the 1970s, the

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Nell Musgrove, Carla Pascoe Leahy and Kristine Moruzi, 'Hearing Children's Voices: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges' in *Children's Voices from the Past: New Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (2019), p.3.

¹² Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family in Britain, 1850-1940* (1995), p.3.

¹³ Ibid., p.26.

establishment of the children's hearings system. The history of boarding-out is considered in depth in Lynn Abram's *The Orphan Country: Children of Scotland's Broken Homes from 1845 to the Present Day* (1998), presently the only monograph focused on Scotland's care 'system'. Lynn Abrams also conducted a series of oral history interviews with those who were formerly in institutional and foster care. The research was conducted under the spectre of frequent child abuse scandals and public debates on how society treats its children.¹⁴ Moreover, the study was produced at a time where those who were formerly in care were increasingly willing to talk openly about their childhood, but before the advent of social media which has enabled many people to communicate their stories without the need for a publisher, editor or journalist to facilitate it. The study takes a child-centred perspective, and the memories of those who were formerly in care are placed at the heart of the book. This thesis too places the perspectives and memories of those who testified to their experiences in care its centre.

This thesis studies a period that witnessed a great interest and several advancements in child development. Both John Stewart and Harry Hendrick identified a shift towards concern as much about children's minds as their bodies since the interwar period.¹⁵ All of the children's homes considered throughout this thesis were operating at a time where child guidance clinics were well established in Scotland. Child guidance sought to distance itself from children with very severe mental health difficulties or disabilities and instead aimed to 'tame the troublesome child.'¹⁶ One of the most common reasons for referral to child guidance clinics was enuresis – an issue that plagued children's homes – and yet, there was no well-established working relationship between child guidance clinics and any of the voluntary homes considered in this thesis.¹⁷ Moreover, despite great academic advancements in ideas about attachment theory by those such as John Bowlby during this period, this had very little impact on the practice of those looking after children in care.¹⁸ The gulf between wider advancements in child welfare and understandings of child development and the treatment received by children in care at this time demonstrates the need for a study that places the

¹⁴ Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country: Children of Scotland's Broken Homes from 1845 to the Present Day* (1998), p.vii.

¹⁵ John W. Stewart, 'Child Guidance in Interwar Scotland: International Influences and Domestic Concerns', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80:3 (2006), p.520; Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debate* (2003), pp.133-169; see also John Stewart, *Child Guidance in Britain, 1918-1955: the Dangerous Age of Childhood* (2013).

¹⁶ Stewart, 'Child Guidance in Interwar Scotland', p.520.

¹⁷ See pp.98-100 of this thesis.

¹⁸ See Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, pp.137-138.

perspectives of those who grew up in care at its centre, rather than those of child welfare professionals.

This thesis focuses its attention mainly on the period of the 1940s – 1970s, owing to the availability of witness testimony. The 1970s were the dying days of large children’s homes in Scotland, with many of the large Victorian institutions already vastly reduced in capacity. Mathew Thomson in *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (2013) identifies the 1970s as a period of transition, one which witnessed radical visions of child liberation coexist with intense anxieties about child protection issues.¹⁹ Thomson details the increasing idealisation of the ‘home, family and maternal attachment’ as providing essential psychological security for child development during this period.²⁰ Many of the children’s homes studied throughout this thesis made moves to provide substitute family homes by creating smaller groups of children within institutions. The testimonies of those who were formerly in care, however, reveal that these attempts to recreate a ‘family home’ within an institution fell short of success as many recall the effects of institutionalisation.²¹

This thesis contributes to emerging research in the wider study of child welfare which considers children’s everyday life in institutional settings. New research has moved away from analyses focused on Foucauldian concepts of discipline and reform in children’s institutions and instead shifted its attention to children’s perspectives and experiences of such institutions.²² With approaches drawn from the history of emotions, scholars have looked for new ways to engage and interrogate source material relating to children in institutions. Claudia Soares’ study on children’s social care in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in England uses first-hand accounts, individual case records and correspondence to uncover the ‘voices’ of institutionalised children and their families.²³ Soares’ *A Home From*

¹⁹ See Mathew Thomson, *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (2013), pp.2-20.

²⁰ Ibid., p.2.

²¹ See pp.151-153 of this thesis for examples of the effects of institutionalisation on those who grew up in children’s homes.

²² See Alannah Tomkins, ‘Poor Law Institutions Through Working-Class Eyes: Autobiography, Emotion, and Family Context, 1834-1914’, *Journal of British Studies* 60:2 (2021), pp.285-309; Johanna Annola, Hanna Lindberg, Pirjo Markkola, ‘Experience, Institutions and the Lived Welfare State’ in *Lived Institutions as History of Experience*, ed. Johanna Annola, Hanna Lindberg, Pirjo Markkola (2024), pp.1-25.

²³ See Claudia Soares, *A Home From Home? Children and Social Care in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, 1870-1920* (2023).

Home? Children and Social Care in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, 1870-1920 (2023), using the Waifs and Strays Society as a case study, challenges the orthodoxies of institutional childhoods as being ‘miserable, bleak, and oppressive’.²⁴ Using the recollections of those who were once in institutional care, this thesis too finds that children’s experiences were much more complex than the traditional narrative of harsh institutional life would suggest, although this was certainly true for many of those who testified before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry. By using the testimonies heard before the Inquiry as its principal source material, this thesis offers novel insights into life as a child in Scotland’s voluntary children’s homes in the decades following the end of the Second World War.

The level of concern about the abuse and mistreatment of children has ebbed and peaked over the past 150 years, with the decades since the 1990s representing a prolonged period of visibility, particularly concerning the sexual abuse of children. As Adrian Bingham notes, the media has played a powerful agenda-setting role and since the 2010s has pushed the sexual abuse of children to the forefront of public discussion.²⁵ For a long time the media has focused on abuse perpetrated by strangers and downplayed the – far more common – abuse within the home, misrepresenting the risk to children and young people.²⁶ The institutions considered throughout this thesis were, of course, children’s homes. Understandings of child sexual abuse have changed over time, and the term itself was largely confined to professional usage until the mid 1970s.²⁷ Before this period especially, many children and young people lacked the language to identify or communicate what happened to them as sexual abuse until decades later. This is visible in some of the testimonies analysed for this thesis, whereby victims and survivors of child sexual abuse did not characterise what happened to them in this way until much later in life.²⁸ This is not to say that children did not disclose sexual abuse in the past; this is demonstrably false with Lucy Delap’s study of disclosures of abuse in mid-twentieth century Britain finding that despite significant barriers, including language difficulties with codes of euphemism, child sexual abuse was ‘not an unmentionable taboo’.²⁹ Similarly, Louise Jackson charted the number of prosecutions of child sexual abuse in

²⁴ Ibid., p.3.

²⁵ Adrian Bingham, “It Would be Better for the Newspapers to Call a Spade a Spade”: the British Press and Child Sexual Abuse, c.1918-90’, *History Workshop Journal* 88 (2019), p.90.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ See p.214 of this thesis for an example.

²⁹ Lucy Delap, “Disgusting Details Which are Best Forgotten”: Disclosures of Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Journal of British Studies* 57 (2018), p.83.

England and Wales, showing a considerable rise from the 1920s, where over 500 people a year appeared before the courts for sexual offences against children, to the 1960s where this number rose to over 5000 people.³⁰ Although this thesis has not focused on child sexual abuse, it is a clear focus of the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry and some child abuse inquiries have focused only on this form of abuse, for example, the Royal Commission Into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse in Australia (2013-2017).

The Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry uses a broad definition of abuse:

“Abuse” for the purpose of this Inquiry is to be taken to mean primarily physical abuse and sexual abuse, with associated psychological and emotional abuse. The Inquiry will be entitled to consider other forms of abuse at its discretion, including medical experimentation, spiritual abuse, unacceptable practices (such as deprivation of contact with siblings) and neglect, but these matters do not require to be examined individually or in isolation.³¹

For the purposes of this thesis, abuse is understood as any action taken by another person that causes significant harm to a child. This includes physical, sexual and emotional abuse. It also considers neglect to be equally harmful, including emotional neglect which can be understood as a lack of love, comfort, care and attention. This thesis understands many childcare practices which were acceptable at the time – such as the separation of siblings – to be abusive.

Child Abuse Inquiries

This thesis uses testimony collected by the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry as its primary source base. Inquiries into historic child abuse have become a global phenomenon with around 20 Western democracies across Europe, the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia

³⁰ Louise Jackson, ‘Child Sexual Abuse in England and Wales: Prosecution and Prevalence 1918–1970’, History & Policy, 2015, <<http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/child-sexual-abuse-in-england-and-wales-prosecution-and-prevalence-1918-1970>> [accessed 1 June 2023].

³¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, ‘Terms of Reference’, <<https://www.childabuseinquiry.scot/about-us/terms-of-reference/>> [accessed 31 May 2023].

having established official inquiries since the 1980s.³² Historical research has been used by a number of inquiries to understand the legal, policy and organisational contexts in which reported incidents of abuse took place. As Gordon Lynch, Pirjo Markkola, Eoin O’Sullivan, Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain note, this contextual knowledge plays an important role for informing inquiries’ understanding of the ‘standards of the day’ relevant to the periods in which the abuse took place.³³ However, as they rightfully point out, ‘Historical research can also demonstrate the complexity of the concept of the “normal” treatment of children in the past, showing how in particular contexts a divergence between recommended standards and actual practices may have become normalised.’³⁴ The testimonies shared throughout this thesis also consistently demonstrate a gulf between regulations, policy and accepted best practice and actual childcare practices in institutional care settings.

Much of the scholarship on children and childhood published since the 1990s was given an impetus by the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which came into force in the UK in 1992. It is the most widely ratified human rights treaty; at the time of writing 196 countries are party to it, including every member of the United Nations, with the exception of the United States. Historic failures of child welfare systems could now be understood within a framework of human rights and articulated, retrospectively, as violations of children’s human rights. Indeed, in 2010 the Scottish Human Rights Commission developed a human rights framework for the design and delivery of the ‘Acknowledgement and Accountability Forum’ for historic institutional child abuse.³⁵ This framework formed the basis of the pilot forum in Scotland, *Time To Be Heard* and the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry. The shift to restorative justice around the abuse of children in care, with many states establishing testimonial-based inquiries into the historic abuse of children in institutional care, has changed the role of historians as well as challenged our methodologies and approaches to this history.

³² Shurlee Swain, Katie Wright and Johanna Sköld, ‘Conceptualising and Categorising Child Abuse Inquiries: From Damage Control to Foregrounding Survivor Testimony’, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 31 (2018), p.282.

³³ Gordon Lynch, Pirjo Markkola, Eoin O’Sullivan, Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain, ‘The Uses of Historical Research in Child Abuse Inquiries’, *History & Policy*, 7 May 2020.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Scottish Human Rights Commission, A Human Rights Framework for the Design and Implementation of the Proposed “Acknowledgement and Accountability Forum” and Other Remedies for Historic Child Abuse in Scotland, 2010.

Johanna Sköld's comparative study of child abuse inquiries in Ireland, Sweden and Denmark highlights the shared objectives of these inquiries of investigating as well as recognising victims and offering them justice for past atrocities.³⁶ The objective of recognition and justice distinguishes the inquiry reports from the traditional ways of 'doing' the history of childhood, even if historians have provided children with a 'voice and representation in history.'³⁷ Nell Musgrove, writing on Australia, has reflected on the challenges for historians working with child abuse inquiries; namely, a need to adapt research methodologies and analytical frameworks, and finding a way to articulate such histories in forms which resonate with historians and the interests of wider audiences.³⁸ As Chapter One will touch on, there can be a conflict between the interests of an official inquiry and those of academic historians. Rigid legal frameworks and seeking to establish objective 'facts' can be at odds with historical methodologies which tend to be wary of definitive 'truths' and interpretations of the past. The records of child welfare professionals illustrate this difficulty with them frequently presenting conflicting narratives to those shared by those who were formerly in care before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry.

A History of Experience

The concept of experience is central to this thesis. Admittedly, historians have long been interested in 'lived experience', particularly those working in social histories and women's history, for example. However, there has sometimes been an assumption that the meaning of experience is obvious and therefore does not need to be examined or theorised as a concept. Joan Scott challenged this assumption in her 1991 article which highlights the risks of utilising the 'evidence of experience' in a way that assumes 'the facts of history speak for themselves' and leaves categories, ideologies and practices unexamined and appearing as ahistorical or even 'natural'.³⁹ In recent years, the History of Experience has begun to emerge as a distinctive and diverse field. Johanna Annola, Hanna Lindberg and Pirjo Markkola's recent edited collection *Lived Institutions as History of Experience* (2024) uses the concept of

³⁶ Johanna Sköld, 'The Truth About Abuse? A Comparative Approach to Inquiry Narratives on Historical Institutional Child Abuse', *Journal of the History of Education Society* 45:4 (2016), p.493.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Nell Musgrove, 'The Role and Importance of History' in *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse*, p.148.

³⁹ Joan Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry* 17:4 (1991), p.778.

experience to bridge the gap between social structures and individual lives in an exploration of welfare states in Northern Europe.⁴⁰

For the purposes of this thesis, experience is understood to encapsulate a number of interrelated concepts, namely embodiment and senses, emotions and feeling and memory, all of which are explored in more depth in Chapter Three. Experience, as a concept, also allows the necessary flexibility to consider non-linear experience and the ways in which people understand their experiences and construct those memories. Indeed, many of the experiences recalled by those testifying before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry are not truly ‘historic’ in how they are experienced or remembered.

In more recent decades, a number of intellectual histories tracking what it means to be a child across time and place have been published.⁴¹ This study is less concerned with the ideology of childhood than it is with questions of children’s experiences in the past, and the methodological challenges of uncovering them. Although, as is evident in much of the testimony shared throughout this thesis, conceptions of childhood and family certainly shape how people interpret and recall their own childhoods. It draws on the increasingly interdisciplinary scholarship on childhood which now mostly views childhood as a cultural, rather than solely biological category.⁴² By adopting experience as a key concept, this thesis finds that the biological state of childhood – such as generally being smaller than adults or losing one’s baby teeth – are inseparable from cultural conceptualisations of childhood. Embodied experiences of childhood are imbued with meaning as they operate within cultural frameworks specific to a time and place. This thesis has looked to both historians of childhood and historians of emotions in the development of its conceptual framework.

The History of Emotions, Children and Childhood

⁴⁰ Johanna Annola, Hanna Lindberg, Pirjo Markkola, ‘Experiences, Institutions and the Lived Welfare State’, in *Lived Institutions as History of Experience* (2024), ed. Johanna Annola, Hanna Lindberg, Pirjo Markkola, pp.1-25.

⁴¹ Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood* (2001); John Sommerville, *The Rise and Fall of Childhood* (1982); Joseph E. Illick, *American Childhoods* (2002); Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (2005); Peter Stearns, *Growing Up the History of Childhood in a Global Context* (2005); Heather Montgomery, *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children’s Lives* (2009); Paula Fass, *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (2013); Elizabeth Foyster and James Marten, *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family* (2014); Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson, *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (2016).

⁴² See Allison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout, *Theorizing Childhood* (1998); Allison James and Adrian James, *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies* (2008).

The history of emotions has emerged as a field of study within its own right in recent decades. Unlike the early scholarship on childhood which challenged the universalism of a biological definition of childhood, early scholarship on emotion generally held the idea that the human body was essentially the same across time and place.⁴³ Most recent scholarship has rejected this notion and emphasises the way in which our embodied experience is a product of culture.⁴⁴ Chapter Four borrows William Reddy's term in a study of the 'emotional regimes' of children's homes.⁴⁵ It also draws on Monique Scheer's conceptualisation of emotions as practices, meaning they emerge from bodily dispositions, conditioned by a historically and culturally specific social context.⁴⁶ For the purposes of this thesis, emotions are something we *do* and something we *have*. Until relatively recently, the history of emotions has largely focused on adults. This is reflected in the established theoretical frameworks and approaches from the field, which cannot always be comfortably applied by historians of children and childhood. As Stephanie Olsen points out, much of the scholarship has previously overlooked the formative years of initial emotional development.⁴⁷ Both historians of emotions and historians of childhood fundamentally seek to examine and historicise what it means to be human and experience life as a human being. In Chapter Four, this thesis draws on the concepts of 'emotional formations' and 'emotional frontiers', which combine the history of emotions with the history of childhood and have proven to be a useful tool to recognise childhood as a period of emotional development.

Much of the work which overlaps the history of childhood and emotions history is concerned with changing conceptions of childhood. Scholars of the modern Global North tend to use rigid definitions of childhood based on chronological age in order to separate young people into groups, for instance, from infants to children to adolescents.⁴⁸ Ishita Pande, writing on child marriage in India, challenges historians to consider age as a social construct, much like gender.⁴⁹ Steven Mintz, in an homage to Joan Scott's 1986 essay on gender, makes the case

⁴³ Katie Barclay, 'State of the Field: History of Emotions', *The Journal of the Historical Association* 106:371 (2021), p.457.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of Emotions* (2001).

⁴⁶ Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History?): A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51:2 (2012), p.193.

⁴⁷ Stephanie Olsen, 'The History of Childhood and the Emotional Turn', *History Compass* 15:11 (2017), p.1.

⁴⁸ Laura Tisdall, 'State of the Field: The Modern History of Childhood', *The Journal of the Historical Association* (2022), p.951.

⁴⁹ Ishita Pande, *Sex, Law and the Politics of Age: Child Marriage in India, 1891–1937* (2019), p.19.

for age as a category of historical analysis, arguing that age, paradoxically, gains power as a prescriptive system while gender loses it.⁵⁰ For much of the twentieth century children were placed within institutions according to rigid definitions of chronological age and gender. Although this relaxed to a certain extent over time, for instance, with the introduction of mixed sex cottages and the hostel for older children in Scotland's largest children's home, Quarrier's, there was, for the majority of this history, a set age by which children were ejected from children's homes and the care 'system'. Today, it is well understood that children who have experienced significant stress and adverse life events, such as the loss of a parent, may have difficulty regulating their emotions, with navigating relationships or with memory and concentration. To put this another way, many children in care in the past had to grapple with adults who had unrealistic expectations around their behaviour and abilities based only on chronological age and not taking into account the difficulties which may have seriously affected their development. This thesis does not refer to a rigid definition of a child or childhood either by age or developmental stage, but this study is ultimately reflective of the society and period at hand, which placed the school leaving age at 15 since 1947 until 1973 when it was raised to 16.⁵¹ The age at which children left the care of children's homes was generally in line with the school leaving age.⁵² Children could enter care from birth, although babies were more frequently fostered or adopted rather than looked after in institutional care. A number of those whose testimonies were analysed here entered care before their earliest memories, meaning the experiences of the very youngest children are much more difficult to recover.

Trauma

Trauma implicitly and explicitly runs through almost every witness statement. It is a word frequently used by respondents to refer to a deeply distressing event or experience. It is no

⁵⁰ Steven Mintz, 'Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1:1 (2008), pp.91-94.

⁵¹ See Lindsay Paterson, 'School Leavers and Educational Reform in Scotland in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century', *Journal of Education and Work* 35:1 (2022), pp.32-49.

⁵² The Children Act 1948 made provision for the care or welfare for children up to the age of 18 but in practice many children's homes discharged children in line with the school leaving age of 15. The Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 also made provision for social welfare for children up to the age of 18. By the time this was enacted many of the children's homes considered here were winding down their operations and children were increasingly likely to be in foster care or under the care of social services at home. The Children (Scotland) Act 1995 (as amended and in force at the time of writing) sets out that local authorities have a duty to provide aftercare support until the age of 19 and any further support needed until age 26.

longer confined to the vocabulary of specialists. As Neil J. Smelser notes, there has been an enormous gain in the understanding of trauma, but a loss of formal scientific precision.⁵³ Some respondents use the word trauma to describe an event itself, such as an accident, but for some it is how that event is experienced or processed. In other words, trauma can be understood as external (an event) and/or internal (how you experience and process that event). This dual understanding is reflected in the named potential symptoms and potentially traumatic events comprehensively listed under the singular clinical entity of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, or PTSD.

PTSD was first named as a disorder in the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1980. The inclusion of the term was influenced by the experiences of US military veterans of the Vietnam War, and similar to 'shell shock' suffered by World War One veterans, PTSD was at first perceived as a war-time diagnosis. In the latter half of the twentieth century, attention was paid to the psychological impact of natural disaster. More recently, there has been a recognition of the traumas of child abuse, domestic abuse, sexual abuse and of witnessing these.⁵⁴ With that being said, the consequences of abuse and neglect are vastly more complex than the impact of traumatic incidents such as car accidents.⁵⁵ Historians should, of course, be wary of working within diagnostic frameworks that change with time. Bessel Van Der Kolk, a leading expert on trauma, has argued the DSM and the system it is based on fails victims of child abuse and neglect.⁵⁶

There now exists a mountainous literature on trauma, including its assessment and treatment. For this project, a psychological concept of trauma helps us to understand historical experience, how memories are formed and how trauma shapes the way people can and cannot articulate those memories verbally and coherently. Trauma, therefore, can be understood as a psychological response; it is the event, the memory of the event and the difficulty of making memory about the event.⁵⁷

⁵³ Neil J. Smelser, 'Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma' in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander et al (2004), p.58.

⁵⁴ Smelser, 'Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma', pp.55-56.

⁵⁵ Bessel Van Der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score* (2014), p.143.

⁵⁶ Van Der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score*, p.143.

⁵⁷ Abrams, 'Trauma and Ethics'.

For what can be the recollections of some of the most painful, difficult and fraught moments in someone's life, the witness statements present a remarkably coherent narrative. Traumatic memories are fundamentally different from the stories we tell about the past.⁵⁸ Ordinary memories, argues Bessel Van Der Kolk, are essentially social; they are stories that we tell for a purpose.⁵⁹ There is nothing social about traumatic memories. They are frozen in time, unchanging, lonely and alienating.⁶⁰ Traumatic memories are not stored as a narrative with a beginning, middle, and end. Traumatic memories can return as flashbacks that contain fragments of experience, isolated images, sounds, and body sensations.⁶¹ It is hugely difficult to form a coherent narrative about traumatic experiences. Those who are unable to translate these fragmented memories into a verbal narrative will be unable to tell their story in a way that is understandable to others, certainly not to an inquiry. But those whose narratives may have been fragmented, ruptured and confused have had their statements moulded into a linear and coherent state to serve the purposes of the Inquiry.

The Care 'System'

In terms of contribution, this thesis, then, sits somewhere in the overlapping space between scholarship on childhood and on the history of emotions. It will also be of interest to oral historians working with testimonies gathered by official inquiries. It contributes to our understanding of the lives of those who passed through the doors of Scotland's children's homes in the decades following the end of the Second World War in a way made possible by the public archive of testimony created by the Inquiry.⁶² At the time of writing, there is a UK-wide campaign to make care experience a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010.⁶³ If we do not have experience of care ourselves, then each of us will likely know, work with or love someone who is Care Experienced. Nearly 6 in 10 people in Scotland

⁵⁸ Van Der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score*, p.194.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.179.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.135.

⁶² The only monograph on the Scottish care 'system' is Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country: Children of Scotland's Broken Homes From 1845 to the Present Day* (1998). See also Lynn Abrams, "Blood is Thicker than Water": Family, Fantasy and Identity in the Lives of Scottish Foster Children' in *Child Welfare and Social Action in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: International Perspectives* (2001), ed. Jon Lawrence and Pat Starkey, pp.195-218.

⁶³ BASW, 'Campaign to Make "Care Experience" the Tenth Protected Characteristic Under the Equality Act', <<https://www.basw.co.uk/resources/psw-magazine/psw-online/campaign-make-care-experience-tenth-protected-characteristic-under>> [accessed 12 December 2022].

know someone who has been in care or have been in care themselves.⁶⁴ Around 1-1.5% of the population in Scotland has care experience.⁶⁵ Yet, 31% of adult prisoners self-reported as being in care as a child.⁶⁶ This figure is estimated by some to be closer to 50% of adults in prison having care experience.⁶⁷ Recent research has demonstrated that Care Experienced children in Scotland have poorer health and higher than average rates of mortality than the general population.⁶⁸ Care Experienced people are also vastly overrepresented in the homeless population of Scotland with Scottish Government statistics finding that a young person leaving care has a nearly 50/50 chance of becoming homeless.⁶⁹ Young people leaving care are also significantly more likely to be unemployed nine months after leaving school (30%) compared to their peers without care experience (8%).⁷⁰ Data collection is much improved compared to the period in which those whose testimonies were analysed here were in care and leaving care. Older generations of Care Experienced people are mostly invisible in these studies and statistics. The term Care Experience itself is relatively new and many of those who were in care in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s would not identify with it. The term Care Experienced refers to anyone who has been or is currently in care, including adopted children. This care may have been provided in a children's home or other residential care setting, by foster carers, kinship care (being looked after by a relative or friend) or being under the supervision of social services at home. It is not my intention to assign or prescribe an identity to anyone that they did not explicitly choose, but to recognise that this is a history that does not end with childhood or even young adulthood. The disadvantages faced by the care experienced community in the past are not easily quantifiable. They are, nevertheless, one of the biggest civil rights issues facing Scotland today. This is as much a history of Care Experienced people born during the period of the 1930s to the 1970s as it is a history of children's experiences of being in care or of the care 'system' in Scotland.

⁶⁴ Susan Reid, Ian Montagu, 'Attitudes to Care Experienced Young People', November 2018, *ScotCen*, <<https://scotcen.org.uk/our-research/research/attitudes-to-care-experienced-young-people/>> [accessed 12 December 2022].

⁶⁵ IRISS, Redesigning Support for Care Leavers: Exploring the Use of Co-productive Methods to Collaboratively Design and Improve Leaving Care Services, May 2012; Scottish Government, The Life Chances of Young People in Scotland: Evidence Review, 2017.

⁶⁶ Scottish Prison Service, Prisoner's Survey 2015 – Young People in Custody, 2016.

⁶⁷ HM Inspector of Prisons for Scotland, Annual Report: 2008-09, 2009.

⁶⁸ Mirjam Allik, Denise Brown, Courtney Taylor Brown Lūka, Cecelia Macintyre, Alastair H Leyland, Marion Henderson, 'Cohort Profile: The Children's Health in Care Scotland (CHiCS) Study: A longitudinal Dataset to Compare Health Outcomes for Care Experienced Children and the General Population', *BMJ Open* 11 (2021), pp.1-12.

⁶⁹ Scottish Government, Scottish Homelessness Statistics, 2016.

⁷⁰ Scottish Government, Education Outcomes for Scotland's Looked After Children, 2014/15, 2016.

Frank was taken into care in March 1954, a period of structural and legislative upheaval in Scotland's care 'system', which was not really a system at all. It is better described as a patchwork of provision operating under a number of different legislative frameworks, which are outlined below. There were a number of mechanisms by which children could be taken into care in 1954. At this time, the line between institutions which intended to care for and protect children and those which intended to reform and punish them was unclear.⁷¹ For instance, the Nazareth House in Aberdeen was both a voluntary children's home and an approved school for girls. Approved schools, later known as 'List D' schools, were largely viewed as punitive by the children who attended them. Children were committed to approved schools by a juvenile court.⁷² Those who looked after the children usually had little knowledge of their background or how they came to be in their care and all children experienced the same harsh disciplinary regime. In practice, there was little difference in the circumstances of children entering an institution under the Children Act 1948 and those who came through the juvenile courts. Indeed, Harry Ferguson's research on Irish industrial schools prior to the 1970s found that children were treated harshly due to their poverty and because they were victims of parental cruelty, which was perceived at the time to have 'contaminated' their childhood 'innocence'.⁷³ This finding is reflected in many of the children's homes explored throughout this thesis.

The care 'system' in Scotland encompasses children's homes, which are the focus of this thesis, alongside other residential care settings such as specialist residential schools, and reformatory institutions such as borstals. Children's homes in Scotland were run by both local authorities and charitable, usually religious, organisations. This thesis has focused on children's homes in the voluntary sector, owing to the availability of source material from the Inquiry at the time. Furthermore, voluntary homes such as Quarrier's Homes, Aberlour and Smyllum were amongst the largest in Scotland and many children were placed there by local

⁷¹ See Andrew Ralston, *Opening Schools and Closing Prisons: Caring for destitute and delinquent children in Scotland 1812–1872* (2016); Andrew Ralston, 'The Development of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Scotland, 1832–1872', *Scottish Economic and Social History* 8:1 (1988), pp.40–55; Linda Mahood and Barbara Littlewood, 'The "Vicious" Girl and "Street-Corner" Boy: Sexuality and the Gendered Delinquent in the Scottish Child-Saving Movement, 1850–1940', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4:4 (1994), p.559.

⁷² See Louise Jackson and Angela Bartie, *Policing Youth: Britain, 1945–70* (2014); Pamela Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare in Britain, 1900–1950* (2003); Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family: Britain, 1850–1940* (1995).

⁷³ Harry Ferguson, 'Abused and Looked After Children as "Moral Dirt": Child Abuse and Institutional Care in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Social Policy* 36:1 (2007), p.123.

authorities.⁷⁴ All of those whose testimonies were analysed for the purposes of this thesis spent time in a voluntary children's home but many also experienced care in local authority homes, foster care and being under the 'supervision' of social services with their families at home. Due to the practices of the Inquiry, much of this material within the statements was redacted as it related to separate investigations and therefore was inaccessible for this study. Thus, this thesis focuses on children's experiences of being in the care of voluntary children's homes.

Foster care, or boarding-out, was a significant part of Scotland's care 'system' with a long history. Many children from Scotland's industrial centres, such as Glasgow and Dundee, were boarded-out to the Highlands and Islands. Children were commonly accommodated on crofts and farms and were put to work by their foster parents.⁷⁵ The conditions were often very poor and the distances from the local authorities which placed them there meant that supervision was minimal. The practice came under criticism following the investigations of the Clyde Committee on Homeless Children in 1946. Ultimately, the Committee indicated a clear preference for boarding-out over institutional care, but they were critical of placing children from cities in rural crofts. However, the practice continued for some time as there were simply far fewer suitable foster homes in cities than the number of children requiring homes. Foster care, and later kinship care, was increasingly the preference of local authorities placing children into care and the use of residential care settings gradually diminished in the decades following the end of the Second World War.

The Legislative Framework

The Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937, the legislation under which children were admitted to approved schools, set out the grounds that needed to be established before a child was considered to be in 'need of care and protection'.⁷⁶ For instance, one of the most common reasons children were admitted to approved schools was that they were deemed to be 'beyond control' or 'exposed to moral danger' and this was conceived in the legislation as a natural consequence of being without a parent or guardian or having a parent or guardian

⁷⁴ Chapter One contains information on the individual institutions considered in this thesis.

⁷⁵ See Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country* (1998) and Josephine Duthie, *Say Nothing: The Harrowing Truth About Auntie's Children* (2012).

⁷⁶ Kenneth McK. Norrie, *Legislative Background to the Treatment of Children and Young People Living Apart From Their Parents*, Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, 2017, p.31.

who was considered to be unfit.⁷⁷ Children whose parents were deemed to be vagrants and who were not receiving an 'efficient elementary education' could also be admitted to an institution under the 1937 Act.⁷⁸ Again, in practice, most children in the Nazareth House, Aberdeen had experienced a form of neglect and often an unstable housing situation, which usually meant school attendance was sporadic, at best. The recognition that children coming before the juvenile courts were no different from those coming to the attention of children's departments or organisations such as the RSSPCC (Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children) was made explicit in the Kilbrandon Report in 1964 and later, in the creation of the Children's Hearing System. For children, however, the route by which they entered residential care usually had little bearing on their everyday lives.

The Children Act 1948 has been characterised as a 'watershed moment in the history of the care of deprived children' and as signifying a reconceptualisation of children as having individual needs, rather than being an 'indistinct mass'.⁷⁹ The 1948 Act established local authority children's departments and imposed a statutory duty upon local authorities to receive into care any child who was without parents or whose parents were unable to care for them. The Act represents a substantially increased involvement by the state in the running of children's homes and the placing of children there.⁸⁰ A children's officer was to be appointed by each local authority.⁸¹ The children's committees operated for some 20 years before being subsumed into the wider social work departments established under the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968, and children's officers would be replaced by the new Directors of Social Work.⁸²

Most of the institutions featured in this thesis were established several decades before the Children Act 1948. All of those whose testimonies were analysed for the purposes of this study were once in the care of a voluntary home. These were mostly religious, charitable institutions who relied on a number of sources of funding to sustain their operations. After the introduction of local authority children's departments required by the 1948 Act all local

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.32.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.33.

⁷⁹ Quoted by Bob Holman, 'Fifty Years Ago: the Curtis and Clyde Reports', *Children & Society* 10 (1996), p.197; Peter Boss, *Exploration into Child Care* (1971), p.1; Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debates* (2003), p.136.

⁸⁰ Norrie, *Legislative Background to the Treatment of Children and Young People Living Apart From Their Parents*, pp.54-55.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.56.

⁸² Ibid.

authorities had their own children's homes, but these rarely had the capacity to accommodate the number of children in need of a place in any one area. Local authorities were structurally reliant on voluntary children's homes to provide places for children under their care, particularly Glasgow Children's Department which placed children all over Scotland. The institutions themselves became increasingly reliant on the maintenance fees from local authorities. Moreover, before the 1960s many children were in the care of voluntary homes by a private arrangement, with parents or relatives footing the bill for their care. A significant number of children in the care of voluntary homes such as Smyllum in the 1940s and 1950s were therefore not officially in the care of any local authority. This had little influence over children's everyday lives but had some long-term consequences owing to a lack of record keeping by voluntary homes. Children who were placed in a voluntary home by a children's officer would have an official record maintained and held by the local authority, albeit these were frequently little more than a brief note of family circumstances and the date in which a child entered, and left, an institution. The record keeping and preservation practices of some voluntary homes were so poor that there is sometimes no record at all of a child ever being present in the home.

The Children Act 1948 was undoubtedly a significant legislative change in the history of child welfare, but it had very little impact on the practices of voluntary children's homes and of children's experiences within the wider care 'system'. Most of those whose testimonies were analysed here were in care during the period from the 1940s to 1960s, a time of social and economic upheaval and major legislative and structural alterations to the Scottish care 'system'. Yet, the testimonies of those who were formerly in care reveal a care 'system' characterised by continuity in terms of its practices and attitudes towards children. The testimonies of those who recall their childhood in one children's home in the 1930s are, at times, remarkably similar to those describing the regime of the 1960s or even the 1970s. Centring the testimonies of those who were formerly children in the care of such institutions, rather than the narratives of former child welfare professionals found in the official record, recasts this period in the history of the care 'system' as one of inertia rather than one of radical change.

The passing of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 marked the beginning of fundamental changes to social services for children. It also signalled a significant divergence in Scotland's care 'system' from that in England and Wales. It saw dedicated children's departments being

absorbed into much larger general social work departments. It also transferred power from the juvenile courts to a new children's hearing system, although their procedure was largely modelled on that designed for juvenile courts in the early 1930s.⁸³ The decade following the passing of the 1968 Act witnessed the closure of most of the voluntary children's homes discussed throughout this thesis. By the 1970s almost all of the children in the care of institutions such as Quarrier's or Smyllum had been placed there by a local authority, making the institutions vulnerable to changes in policy and practice at the local authority level. The decision to place children in local authority homes to capacity before utilising voluntary homes, alongside fewer children overall requiring residential care, ultimately meant that these institutions were unable to survive.

For decades after it were considered to be outmoded amongst most child welfare professionals and Scottish Office officials, Scotland was largely stuck with the infrastructure of a Victorian care 'system'. The institutions themselves, despite some efforts to make changes from the 1960s onwards, retained many of the practices of their predecessors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By design, most of these institutions valued tradition and were conservative by nature, allowing the transmission of harmful practices to persist over a number of generations, often without a formal written institutional memory, such as recorded policies or procedures. The testimonies of former residents heard before the Inquiry has shone a light on children's everyday lives in residential care that are largely obscured in the written historical record.

Methodology and Sources

Witness Testimony

This research is only possible because of those who testified before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, which has created a large public archive of witness testimony. All of those whose testimonies were analysed here had a common experience of being resident in a voluntary children's home, although many had also experienced care in a local authority children's home or foster care. All witness statements consulted for this study were gathered by 31

⁸³ Norrie, Legislative Background to the Treatment of Children and Young People Living Apart From Their Parents, p.83.

December 2020. This sub group was selected as the Inquiry had completed its investigation into voluntary care providers, meaning all relevant materials, including submissions from the care providers themselves, were available for this thesis.⁸⁴ The process of giving evidence to the Inquiry, alongside more detailed information on the respondents, is presented in Chapter One. What follows is a very brief overview of the witness testimonies.

The testimonies of 160 of those who were formerly in the care of a voluntary children's home were analysed for the purposes of this thesis. The respondents were born between 1930 and 1976, with the majority being born in the 1950s. All were giving evidence on their experiences in one or more voluntary children's homes. Only a small number of those whose testimonies were analysed here were resident in the late 1970s and 1980s, the dying days of voluntary children's homes in Scotland. The period of the 1940s – 1970s, by virtue of the available evidence, receives the most attention throughout this thesis.

Witness testimony gives a rare insight into the lives of those who were in residential care across a period of some 50 years, from the Scottish Borders to the Highlands - a significantly wider evidence base than could have been achieved through oral history interviews within the limitations of a doctoral research project. Like any source material, there are challenges and limitations of working with testimony gathered by an Inquiry, however. These are discussed in depth in Chapter One, but in short, the analytical tools of oral historians cannot always be applied neatly to witness testimony. Although they are based on oral testimony, witness statements gathered by an Inquiry are not oral history. Ultimately, they were created to serve the purposes of a legal entity and not the interests of historians. Retaining people's true speech patterns, with trailing sentences and stuttering, is of no use to an official Inquiry but is considered best practice in the transcription of oral history interviews, for example.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the work of oral historians, particularly those who have worked with those recalling distressing or traumatic memories, has informed my analysis of witness testimony.⁸⁶

Official Records

⁸⁴ At the time of writing, the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry continues to gather evidence.

⁸⁵ Raphael Samuel, 'The Perils of the Transcript', *Oral History Theory* 1:2 (1972), pp.19-22.

⁸⁶ See Lynn Abrams, 'Trauma and Ethics' in *Oral History Theory* (2016); Lindsey Dodd, 'It Did Not Traumatise Me At All': Childhood "Trauma" in French Oral Narratives of Wartime Bombing', *Oral History* 41:2 (2013), pp.37-48; David W. Jones, 'Distressing Interviews and Unhappy Interviewing', *Oral History* 26:2 (1998), pp.49-56; Alastair Thomson, 'Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History', *The Oral History Review* 42:1 (2015), pp.1-29.

Records containing sensitive personal data relating to a child are, as standard, closed for a period of 100 years under the Data Protection Act 2018. Direct access to the case files of individual children was not sought, although some Children's Department records contained information relating to individual children and referenced or reproduced parts of their case files. Although not viewed directly, the personal records of individual children played a vital role in shaping the narratives of some of those who testified before the Inquiry. Not all of those who gave evidence were able to, or had a desire to, access their personal records. For a number of those who had accessed their case files, however, they were often pivotal in establishing a narrative of their early years which they may have no memory of. As will be explored elsewhere in the thesis, personal records often contained inaccurate information, such as dates of entering care or addresses, and descriptions of families in crisis were frequently stigmatising and hurtful to those who later read them. At the time they were created, children's officers had no knowledge that one day the children who they wrote about would gain the right to view their records. Moreover, records created and maintained by children's officers give little insight into children's lives once in residential care as they had minimal interaction with them.

For the purposes of research commissioned by the Inquiry, Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming were given special access to children's case files from Glasgow Children's Department and its later form, the Strathclyde Regional Council Social Work Department.⁸⁷ A random sampling of the case files was selected by birth date and they found that, over time, the administrative burden placed on social workers increased substantially.⁸⁸ Case files before the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 were found to be considerably briefer than those following the Act which contained sometimes hundreds of pages of information relating to a child's journey through care.⁸⁹ This is in line with the testimonies of those heard before the Inquiry; a number of those who were in care prior to 1968 found that their personal records amounted to little more than a few sentences. Those who were in care in the period after 1968 sometimes found that they were presented with a 'mountain' of papers, frequently made illegible through excessive redaction.

⁸⁷ Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming, *Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Care in Scotland, 1948-1955*, Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, 2019, p.5.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Glasgow Children's Department was one of the largest children's departments in Britain, second only to Birmingham, making it an important case study for the purposes of this thesis. It was selected, in part, owing to the availability of source materials. The available records of smaller local authority children's departments were not nearly as detailed and could not give the same insight into the operations of a children's department. Moreover, owing to its population size, children from Glasgow were generally overrepresented in the children's homes considered throughout this thesis, and amongst those who gave evidence to the Inquiry. The situation in Glasgow Children's Department should not be understood as representative of the picture across Scotland. The large geographic area, the considerable numbers of children under the care of the department and the social, economic, material and cultural conditions of the city were specific to Glasgow. For instance, in November 1965 it had a total of 2,503 children in its care and 21 professional staff.⁹⁰ In January and February of 1966, the department was inspected by the Chief Inspector at the invitation of the department itself following concerns that understaffing would result in the breakdown of the service.⁹¹ The documents relating to this inspection give a crucial insight into the inner workings of Scotland's largest children's department and into the circumstances in which children entered care. It also gives a detailed and rare view of a number of individual case records of children in both foster care and residential care. The inspection highlighted the excessive workloads of those staffing the department, pointing out that it had 1/5th of the population of Scotland but only 1/10th of the total number of Child Care Officers.⁹² One member of staff is recorded as being responsible for 461 children at the time of the inspection.⁹³ Edinburgh Children's Department, which had 1236 children under its care in 1966 had 35 field staff, 14 more than Glasgow.⁹⁴ This alone highlights the limited role children's officers were able to play in the lives of those children, particularly those placed in homes far from Glasgow. Children's Officers and other staff employed by the department did not have the capacity to build relationships with children or indeed, as Chapter Two finds, to meaningfully engage in preventive work with families.

⁹⁰ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January/February 1966.

⁹¹ NRS, ED11/698, Consideration of a Case of a Boy Following Conviction of Foster Parents for Cruelty, Glasgow Children's Department, 1967.

⁹² NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January/February 1966.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Scottish Home Office Inspection reports of children's homes were among the most important of the archival materials consulted for this thesis. These reports offered a glimpse behind the walls of children's homes, noted at the time rather than recalled many years later, including information on the facilities, décor and the daily routine. These were also essential in establishing the clear chasm between the interests of inspectors – which were usually focused on the quantifiable, material aspects of care – and those of the children, recalled by those testifying before the Inquiry. Moreover, when analysed alongside witness testimony, such reports are seriously undermined by several recollections of former residents of staging and falsifying for the purposes of inspections.⁹⁵ Inspection reports of the following children's homes were consulted; Smyllum Park Orphanage, Lanark (1956-68), Nazareth House, Aberdeen (1962-1970), Dr Barnardo's, Craigerne (1956), Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir (1965-1974), Corrybeg Children's Home, Glasgow (1965), the Wallhouse Children's Home, West Lothian (1959) and Clydeville, Buckie (1964).

The records relating to children who were in the care of voluntary children's homes by a private arrangement (not placed there by a local authority) are held by those voluntary organisations. Their archives also contain other materials relating to the day-to-day running of the homes, such as punishment log books and entrance logs. I was unable to gain access to any records held by voluntary organisations. The Sisters of Nazareth stated that they would reconsider my request 'once the Inquiry and reparation scheme has concluded.'⁹⁶ There is no known end date for the Inquiry nor the Redress Scheme. Quarrier's only facilitate access to records for former residents, people they currently support, former employees, or those who have been given permission from the subject of the records, such as a solicitor.⁹⁷ The Daughters of Charity stated that although they would be open to helping with this research, all of their records are with the authorities and they do not have access to them.⁹⁸

A number of internal records from children's departments were consulted for the purposes of this thesis. These were restricted to those that had been opened earlier than the standard period of closure, albeit with some of the information redacted. These gave limited insight

⁹⁵ See Amanda Gavin, 'Historic Inspection Practices and Children's Experiences of Residential Care, 1945-1980', *Scottish Journal of Residential Child Care* 21:2 (2022), pp.53-66.

⁹⁶ Personal Correspondence from Sisters of Nazareth Archive and Legal Manager, 22 October 2020.

⁹⁷ 'Quarrier's Aftercare', < <https://www.quarriers.org.uk/about-us/aftercare/> > [accessed 13 December 2022].

⁹⁸ Personal Correspondence from Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul Safeguarding Office, 6 January 2023.

into the day-to-day lives of children but were important in understanding the operation of local authority children's departments and their relationship with voluntary homes. In some instances, they were revealing in terms of the attitudes of child welfare professionals towards the children and families they worked with.

Chapter Outlines

This chapter has given only a brief introduction to the primary source material of witness testimony gathered by the Inquiry. Chapter One explores the historical and political context of the Inquiry and details the process of giving evidence, setting out the analytical approach to witness testimony. Chapter Two considers the circumstances in which children entered care in the period of the 1930s to 1970s. Beginning with the societal upheaval of the Second World War and its consequences, the chapter situates people's recollections of entering care within the wider historical context using a range of archival materials but mainly reports from the RSSPCC. It examines a number of factors that contributed to a child entering care that were most prevalent in the testimonies heard before the Inquiry; poor housing conditions, violence at home, alcohol addiction and children born outside of marriage. Lastly, the chapter reflects on children entering care in the 1980s and 1990s, a period that is largely absent from witness testimonies. This chapter, alongside Chapter Five, uses different sources to the other chapters and both are notably written in a different register.

Chapter Three has two distinct aims; first, to survey everyday life in children's homes, and second, to explore the methodological possibilities of using experience as an analytical and conceptual tool. It highlights the challenges posed to the narratives found in the official record by the testimonies of those who were formerly in care. It suggests ways in which we might detect children's perspectives in the official records of children's homes, such as non-verbal communications and bodily expressions that leave textual traces in archival materials. Chapter Four is a study of the 'emotional regimes' of children's homes. Situating itself in the wider historiography of emotions history, this chapter finds that children experienced emotional regimes as punitive, austere and lacking in compassion. It selects two very different institutions as focused case studies; Quarrier's Homes and The Barns Experiment, a regime intended to be therapeutic for children.

Chapter Five focuses on children's experiences of leaving care. It finds that aftercare provisions throughout the period at hand were largely inadequate and inconsistent, at both a local authority and institutional level. It considers a number of common 'destinations' reported by those who testified before the Inquiry, including the armed forces, prison and hostels. Again, this chapter uses different sources from the others and is markedly different in tone. Chapter Six considers the role of personal records in the process of remembering care and explores people's experiences of family life after care and considers how these shaped memories of care. This chapter recognises the link between past and present made explicit by those testifying before the Inquiry. Lastly, the final and concluding chapter reflects on the main findings of this research and their wider implication.

Chapter One

The Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry and Other Sources

This thesis would not be possible without those who have told their stories before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry. The Inquiry was long fought for and won by the campaigning of survivors and victims of abuse in care. Since the 1990s the historic abuse of children in care has become a focus of political attention in several countries in the Global North.¹ A number of governments have sought to redress the legacies of violations of children's rights through independent child abuse inquiries.² Governments are increasingly willing to participate in transitional justice, but have also sought to control and contain the terms under which these can operate.³ Scotland has been relatively late to recognise the historic abuse of children in care. In 2004 then First Minister of Scotland, Jack McConnell issued a public apology to those who were abused in residential care, though this did not extend to those in other forms of care, such as foster care. Three years later, the Shaw Report (2007) was published, reviewing the legal framework concerning residential care.⁴ *Time To Be Heard*, which heard from 98 people who recounted their experiences as children in Quarrier's Homes, served as a pilot forum to test the effectiveness of a confidential forum for victims and survivors of abuse in residential care.⁵ Building on the work of the pilot forum, the National Confidential Forum was established as part of the Victims and Witnesses (Scotland) Act 2014. From 2015 to 2020, the Forum recorded experiences of people of all ages who had experienced institutional care as children.⁶ Unlike the Inquiry, the Forum did not result in people's testimony being published as witness statements, nor were they heard in public hearings. Instead, the Forum

¹ Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain, ed. *Apologies and the Legacy of the Abuse of Children in 'Care': International Perspectives* (2015), p.1.

² Wales (1996-2000); Ireland (2000-9); Sweden (2006-11); Canada (2008-13); Denmark (2010-11); Netherlands (2010- 11); Australia (2013-17); Northern Ireland (2014-15); England and Wales (2014-15); Jersey (2014-17); Norway (2017-); New Zealand (2018-); This list is not exhaustive, please see Katie Wright, Shurlee Swain, Johanna Sköld and Sari Braithwaite, *The Age of Inquiry: A Global Mapping of Institutional Abuse Inquiries* < <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/research/ageofinquiry/index.html>> (2017).

³ Nell Musgrove, 'The Role and Importance of History' in *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse*, p.152.

⁴ Andrew Kendrick, Moyra Hawthorn, Samina Karmin and Julie Shaw, 'Scotland: Historic Abuse in Care and Human Rights', in *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse*, p.126; Tom Shaw, *Historical Abuse Systematic Review: Residential Schools and Children's Homes in Scotland 1950 to 1995* (2007).

⁵ Tom Shaw, *Time To Be Heard: A Pilot Forum, Report for the Scottish Government*, 2011, p.3.

⁶ National Confidential Forum, *Shining a Light on Care: The Voices of People Who Experienced Institutional Care in Scotland as Children*, 2021, p.9.

published a final report based on an analysis of redacted transcripts of testimonies.⁷ All identifying personal and place details were removed from the transcripts prior to analysis.⁸ People's experiences were not located with reference to historical or chronological timing.⁹ This is a key difference between the Forum and the Inquiry.

In 2015 the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry was set up to consider the abuse of children in care in Scotland from living memory to 2014. It was to report and make recommendations by 2019 but this date has long since been exceeded and, at the time of writing, the Inquiry's stated end date is now 'as soon as reasonably practicable.'¹⁰ The Inquiry's remit has continued to grow since it was established and it has expanded its investigations into abuse in private boarding schools, foster care and child emigration. All of those whose witness testimony was analysed for the purposes of this thesis had, at one time, been in the care of a voluntary home.¹¹ Their evidence was published as part of the Inquiry's investigations into residential child care establishments run by Catholic Orders and residential child care establishments run by non-religious and voluntary organisations. This method of categorisation is not reflective of people's experiences, however. Most children in care during the period at hand would have experienced more than one type of residential care, and often other types of care, such as foster care or boarding-out. Many witness statements were published with large sections redacted with a note of 'to be published later' as they related to a future investigation of the Inquiry. The statements were analysed as they were on the date of collection; all witness statements were gathered by 31 December 2020.

Overview of Witness Statements

The statements of 160 of those who had formerly been in the care of a voluntary children's home were analysed for the purposes of this thesis. A further 55 witness statements of former members of staff or other professionals were also consulted. Lastly, five witness statements of those who gave evidence on the behalf of a late relative were also analysed for this thesis.

⁷ Ibid., p.12.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ 'Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry to be Extended', *BBC News Scotland*, 21 June 2018 <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-44561143>> [accessed 12 October 2022]; Although established in 2015, the Inquiry did not begin hearing evidence until 2017.

¹¹ A children's home not run by a local authority but by a charitable organisation or religious order.

The name or pseudonym, date of birth, and gender, if known, of all witnesses are detailed in Appendix C.

Of those who were formerly in care, a total of 84 of respondents were men (52.5%) and 76 were women (47.5%), meaning women were slightly underrepresented. Of those who were formerly in care, respondents' dates of birth ranged from 1930 to 1976. The majority of respondents were born in the 1950s (36%), with 23% being born in the 1940s and 26% born in the 1960s. This is largely reflective of the focus of the investigations. Voluntary homes were an integral part of Scotland's care 'system' in the 1940s – 1960s but by the end of the 1980s, most of the children's homes named here had closed their doors (see Table 2.2).

Institutions

The Inquiry heard evidence on a number of care providers who can broadly be categorised as voluntary homes. Below is a brief overview of the main institutions that are examined throughout this thesis. These institutions were selected as they were, at the time, available as complete investigations by the Inquiry. Moreover, a number of the voluntary homes considered were amongst the largest children's institutions in Scotland and played a key role in Scotland's care 'system'. As Table I highlights, the Sisters of Nazareth were the most represented care provider amongst those who gave evidence, most likely as they ran four children's homes in Scotland; in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Lasswade and Kilmarnock. Second, is the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, another Roman Catholic Order who ran two children's homes, with Smyllum Park Orphanage being one of the largest in Scotland.¹² Third, 28 respondents were formerly in the care of Quarrier's Homes. As the largest care provider in Scotland for much of the twentieth century, this is perhaps surprising. However, a number of former residents of Quarrier's Homes may have chosen not to participate in the Inquiry after giving evidence to the pilot forum, Time To Be Heard.¹³ A total of 15 respondents gave evidence relating to Barnardo's and 13 in relation to Aberlour Child Care Trust.

Table 2.1: Number of respondents for each care provider

¹² See Appendix B for detailed information on each of the institutions.

¹³ See Tom Shaw, Time To Be Heard: A Pilot Forum, Commissioned by the Scottish Government, 2011.

Care provider	Number of respondents
Sisters of Nazareth	59
Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul	45
Quarrier's Homes	28
Barnardo's	15
Aberlour Child Care Trust	13
TOTAL	160

Table 2.2: Voluntary homes by care provider¹⁴

Care Provider	Institution	Dates of operation
<i>Sisters of Nazareth</i>		
	Nazareth House, Aberdeen	1862 - 1983
	Nazareth House, Glasgow	1902 - 1985
	Nazareth House, Lasswade	1931 - 1984
	Nazareth House, Kilmarnock	1891 - 1981
<i>Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul</i>		
	Bellevue House, Rutherglen	1912 - 1961
	Smyllum Park Orphanage, Lanark	1864 - 1981

¹⁴ Please note this is not a comprehensive list of institutions run by each care provider but those that are amongst the former residences of those whose testimonies are analysed here.

<i>Quarrier's Homes, formerly known as the Orphan Homes of Scotland</i>		
	Quarrier's Village, Bridge of Weir	1878 – c.1980s
	Overbridge Working Lads Hostel, Glasgow	1938 - 1971
<i>Barnardo's</i>		
	Balcary, Hawick	1944 - 1974
	Craigerne, Peebles	1956 - 1989
	Cruachan, Balerno	1967 – 1984
	Tyneholme, East Lothian	1948 – 1985
	Glasclune, North Berwick	1944 - 1982
<i>Aberlour Child Care Trust</i>		
	Aberlour Orphanage, Strathspey	1875 - 1967

Sisters of Nazareth

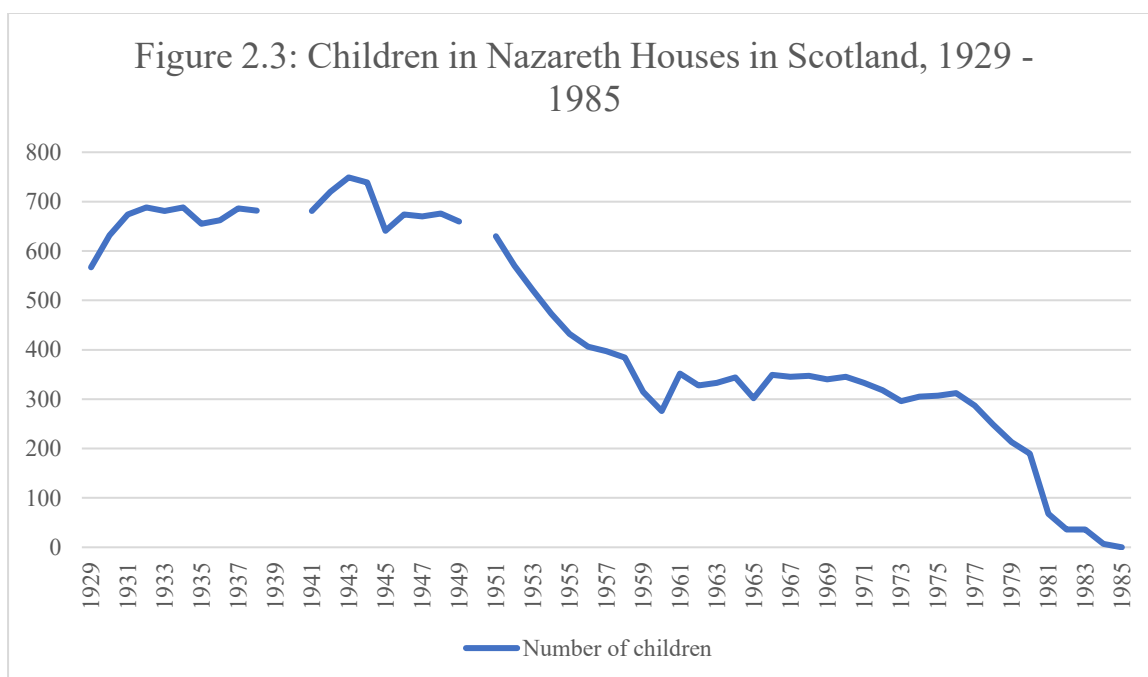
As above, there were four establishments run by the Roman Catholic order, the Sisters of Nazareth, in Scotland. All of the institutions largely shared the same ethos and had similar regimes.¹⁵ There was frequent movement between institutions for both the children and those who looked after them. When giving evidence to the Inquiry, the Sisters of Nazareth stated that children 'were usually placed near to their family if this was possible.'¹⁶ Both the archival records and the recollections of those who were formerly in the care of the Nazareth Houses contradict this statement, however. It was, for instance, the policy of Glasgow

¹⁵ For a memoir of a former resident of the Nazareth House in Middlesbrough see Anne Fothergill, *Memoirs of a Nazareth House Girl* (2013); for a memoir of a former resident of Nazareth Houses in both Carlisle and Newcastle, see Shirley Gray-Wilson, *It Isn't Always Raining: Children in Care, 1939-1948* (2000); for a memoir of a former resident of the Nazareth House in Belfast see Frances Reilley, *Suffer the Little Children: The True Story of an Abused Convent Upbringing* (2009).

¹⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Sisters of Nazareth Section 21 Response, 2018, p.17.

Children's Department to place children in the Nazareth House in Aberdeen rather than the House in Glasgow as it 'might be too near to the children's homes to be satisfactory.'¹⁷

- Nazareth House, Aberdeen (1862 – 1983)
- Nazareth House, Glasgow (1902 – 1985)
- Nazareth House, Kilmarnock (1891- 1981)
- Nazareth House, Lasswade (1931 – 1984)



NB: There are no statistics for 1939-1940 or 1950.

Source: Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Sisters of Nazareth Section 21 Response, 2018

As Figure B1 demonstrates, the number of children in the care of Nazareth Houses declines steadily across the 1950s and remains relatively stable until a sharp decline in the 1970s as a result of changes to local authority policy which resulted in fewer children being placed in voluntary homes. The decline in the number of children witnessed in the 1950s was not necessarily owing to a reduction in demand but to the introduction of family groups within the Houses, reducing the overall capacity of the homes.

¹⁷ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January-February 1966.

Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul

The Daughters of Charity, a Roman Catholic order, ran six establishments in Scotland. By virtue of its evidence base, this thesis has largely focused on Smyllum Park Orphanage and to a lesser extent, Bellevue House.

Bellevue House, Rutherglen (1912 – 1961)

Bellevue House opened in 1912 in Rutherglen. There is very little archival evidence relating to Bellevue and there are no records at all beyond 1947 as most records were destroyed in a fire.¹⁸ The surviving registers and record books have suffered severe water damage. In their evidence to the Inquiry, the Daughters of Charity said: ‘Unfortunately there is only one Sister alive who worked in Rutherglen and as she is 104 years old and suffering from Alzheimer’s, she is unable to provide any information.’¹⁹ A small number of former residents of Bellevue testified before the Inquiry, but a majority had very little memory owing to being so young at the time. The building closed in 1961 as it did not meet the required building standards.

Smyllum Park Orphanage, Lanark (1864 – 1981)

In 1864 Smyllum Park School, as it was known as then, was founded in extensive grounds in Lanark. Like most voluntary homes it was funded by a mixture of means, including maintenance payments from parents, local parishes, individual benefactors, fundraising events and increasingly, by payments from local authorities.²⁰ The Daughters of Charity also established a large farm, employing men to run it. The older boys would also help at the farm, particularly during harvest season. The milk and eggs produced by the farm were enough to feed the children. Fruit and vegetables were also used to feed the children. This substantially cut the costs of food for the institution.²¹ Boys and girls were housed separately according to age until the late 1950s where family groups of around 20 children of varying ages and of both sexes were established.²² Smyllum was a large building and accommodated close to 500

¹⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul Bellevue House Section 21 Response, 2018, p.58.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.59.

²⁰ Ibid., pp.7-8.

²¹ Ibid., p.7.

²² Ibid., p.17.

children during the Second World War. As many children were able to return home at the end of the war, the numbers reduced substantially and by the 1960s Smyllum was home to around 120 children at any one time. From the 1960s onwards Smyllum employed around 30-35 lay people, including childcare workers, cooks and handymen.²³ Smyllum closed its doors in 1981.

Quarrier's Homes, formerly known as the Orphan Homes of Scotland

William Quarrier (1829-1903), a successful shoe retailer and philanthropist, founded the Orphan Homes of Scotland which would later become known as Quarrier's Village.²⁴ In 1871 he opened Renfrew Lane Home for homeless children in Glasgow. In 1873 he opened a night refuge for children.²⁵ In 1876 the Orphan Homes of Scotland was founded on farmland between the villages of Kilmacolm and the Bridge of Weir. The Homes opened in 1878 with two cottages and a central building serving as both a school and a church. By the 1890s, Quarrier's Village was home to 34 cottages, a school, the Mount Zion Church and a fire station.²⁶ In the early twentieth century, Quarrier's was home to 1500 children.²⁷ By the 1970s Quarrier's was home to around 500 children at any one time.²⁸

The system of individual cottages at Quarrier's, each headed by houseparents, intended to provide an alternative to the large orphanages which were contemporaneous to the Village's establishment and expansion. In 1871, William Quarrier wrote to the Glasgow Herald and North British Daily Mail outlining this vision. He said:

I have no faith in large institutions where hundreds are ruled with a stringent uniformity which eats out of the individuality of its members, but I have great faith in a Home where not more than one hundred are placed together, and where individual tastes would be cared for and watched over by a motherly and fatherly love.²⁹

²³ Ibid., p.30.

²⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Quarriers Section 21 Response, 2020, p.1.

²⁵ 'Our History', Quarriers, < <https://www.quarriers.org.uk/about-us/history/> > [accessed 13 March 2023].

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Quarriers Section 21 Response, 2020, p.33.

²⁸ Ibid., p.34.

²⁹ William Quarrier, *The Glasgow Herald*, 31 August 1871.

Alongside the provision of residential care for children, Quarrier's operated a programme of child migration to Canada from 1872 to 1936. Quarrier's sent more than 7000 vulnerable children to Canada, separating them from their families and siblings, where they were mainly exploited as farm labourers.³⁰ A smaller number of children (37) were migrated to Australia between 1939 and 1963.³¹ This thesis has not explored in any depth the experiences of children who were forcibly migrated, but it is vital to the history of Quarrier's as an institution. Indeed, Quarrier's was originally known as The Orphan and Destitute Children's Emigration Homes.³²

Quarrier's Village was an integral part of Scotland's care 'system' and between 1897 and the mid 1980s over 30,000 children passed through its doors. Most children were looked after within the Village, but the organisation ran a number of other residential childcare services. Overbridge in Glasgow was a working boys' hostel between 1938 and 1965. It also functioned as a receiving home for children being admitted into the care of Quarrier's. Between 1965 and 1985 it operated as a children's home.

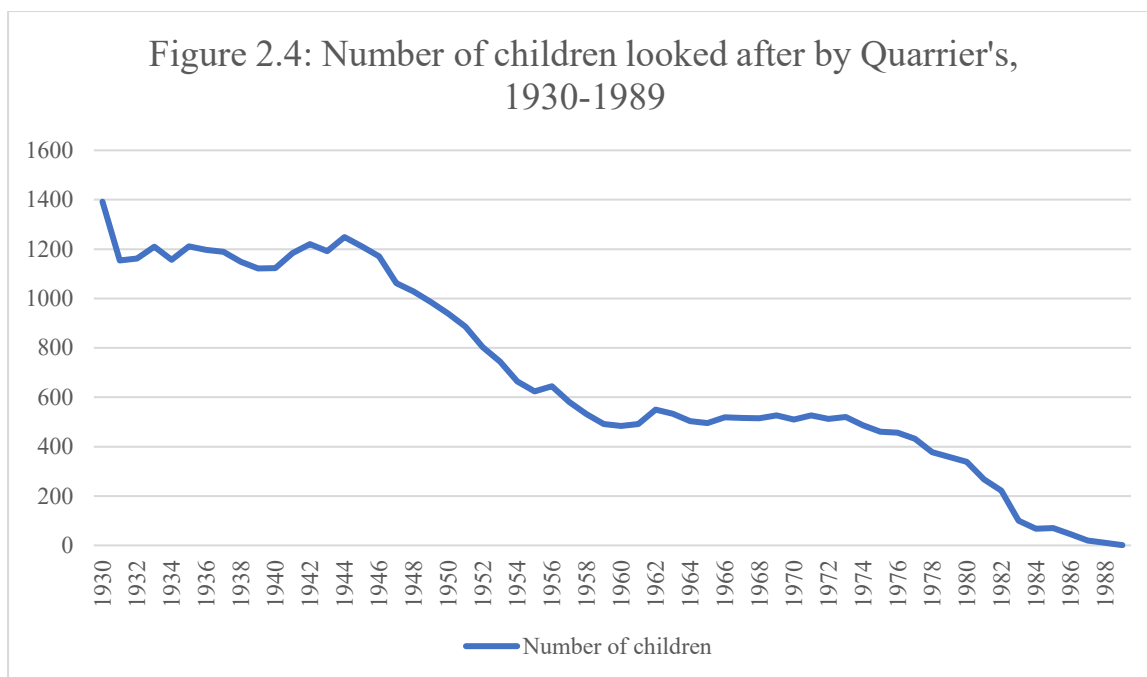
From the later 1960s Strathclyde Local Authority were increasingly reliant on Quarrier's to provide residential child care places for children in their care. Equally, Quarrier's became increasingly reliant on maintenance fees from the local authority. Significant changes in policy and practice in Strathclyde Local Authority from 1975 - which essentially put an end to the use of external care providers - meant that Quarrier's lost a significant funding source and therefore signalled the end of the children's village.³³ Quarrier's continues to be a major provider of social care in Scotland and its headquarters remain in Quarrier's Village.

³⁰ The Golden Bridge, Child Migration from Scotland to Canada 1869-1939, The Orphan Homes of Scotland, < <https://content.iriss.org.uk/goldenbridge/> > [accessed 13 March 2023].

³¹ 'Migration to Canada and Australia', Quarriers, < <https://www.quarriers.org.uk/about-us/history/migration/> > [accessed 13 March 2023].

³² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Quarriers Section 21 Response, 2020, p.3.

³³ Ibid., p.35.



Source: Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Quarriers Section 21 Response, 2020

Aberlour Orphanage (1875-1963)

As with most orphanages of the time, Aberlour was selected as the location as it was situated in the countryside and away from polluted industrial cities. By 1885 the orphanage could accommodate 100 children.³⁴ Girls and boys were accommodated in separate wings of the building. Other facilities were added over the years, including an infirmary, a laundry, nurseries, a farm and a swimming pool.³⁵ Eventually the number of children at Aberlour rose to 600,³⁶ meaning it was one of the largest children's homes in Scotland, second only to Quarrier's Homes.

In the 1960s the orphanage began transferring to a smaller group home structure. The first group home was opened on Constitution Street, Aberdeen in 1962, and the second The Dowans, Aberlour in 1963.³⁷ Further homes opened between then and 1967 when the orphanage closed its doors.

³⁴ University of Stirling Archives, Aberlour Children's Charity, < <https://libguides.stir.ac.uk/c.php?g=530467&p=5062184#:~:text=Administrative%20History%3A,from%20across%20all%20religious%20denominations.>> [accessed 13 March 2023].

³⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Aberlour Child Care Trust Section 21 Response, 2021, p.8.

³⁶ Children's Homes, The Orphanage, Aberlour < <http://www.childrenshomes.org.uk/AberlourOrphanage/> [accessed 13 March 2023].

³⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Aberlour Child Care Trust Section 21 Response, 2021, p.6.

Aberlour Child Care Trust continues to be involved in the provision of residential care for children in Scotland.

Barnardo's

Dr Thomas Barnardo (1845-1905) was an Irish-born philanthropist who moved to London to train as a doctor. A cholera epidemic in the East End of London left many children orphaned and destitute and in response Barnardo set up his first children's institution, a 'ragged school' providing children a basic education for free. Barnardo decided to abandon his medical training and devoted all of his time to his philanthropic activities. Barnardo's activities were not without controversy, however. He was accused numerous times of kidnapping children and falsifying photographs, such as by ripping the children's clothes and neglecting their basic hygiene in order to produce more striking 'before and after' cards which were sold to the public.³⁸ Barnardo opened a photography department in his Stepney Boys' Home in 1874 and for the next 30 years every child who entered a Dr Barnardo's home had their photograph taken on arrival and again several months later.³⁹ In 1877, Barnardo admitted in court that he took artistic licence with the photography and wished to depict individuals as representative of their 'class'.⁴⁰ He also confessed to failing to return children at the request of their parents but defended it as 'philanthropic abduction'.⁴¹

At the time of his death in 1905 Barnardo's were operating 96 children's homes. Barnardo's had only a small presence in Scotland until the 1940s when a number of evacuation homes for children resident in Dr Barnardo's homes in England were opened.⁴² All closed in the late 1940s or early 1950s. In the 1960s Barnardo's shifted its focus to specialist residential provision for disabled children and those with additional needs.⁴³ This was something that there was little existing provision for in Scotland at the time.

³⁸ Mark Oliver and Zeta McDonald, The Echoes of Barnardo's Altered Imagery, The Guardian, 3 October 2002 < <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2002/oct/03/advertising.childprotection> > [accessed 13 March 2023].

³⁹ Children's Homes, Barnardo's Homes, Stepney, < <http://www.childrenshomes.org.uk/StepneyDB/> > [accessed 13 March 2023].

⁴⁰ Mark Oliver and Zeta McDonald, The Echoes of Barnardo's Altered Imagery, The Guardian, 3 October 2002 < <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2002/oct/03/advertising.childprotection> > [accessed 13 March 2023].

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo's Section 21 Response, 2021, p.6.

⁴³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo's Section 21 Response, 2021, p.7.

Balcary, Hawick (1944-1974)

Initially the home was opened as an evacuation centre for girls from the Barnardo's Kenward Home in Kent.⁴⁴ After the war the girls returned to Kent and Balcary became a mixed residential home. The home could accommodate 25 children aged 0 to 15.⁴⁵

Craigerne, Peebles (1956-1989)

Craigerne was a residential primary school opened in 1956 for 25 'maladjusted boys' with 15 residential beds.⁴⁶ All boys were sponsored by local authorities.⁴⁷ The school closed in June 1989 following a dramatic decline in referrals from Scottish authorities. Lothian developed a policy of placing children within its own region and Strathclyde was able to provide specialist care within its own region.⁴⁸

Glasclune, North Berwick (1944-1982)

Glasclune opened in 1944 as a home for girls. It admitted boys from May 1953. In April 1965 it changed to a home for children with emotional difficulties.⁴⁹

Tyneholme, East Lothian (1948-1985)

Tyneholme opened in 1948 as a home for boys. In 1973 it became a home for children with physical and learning disabilities.⁵⁰

Giving Evidence to the Inquiry

Before the 1990s there were few opportunities for survivors of abuse in institutional care to be heard. Philanthropic institutions such as Quarrier's went to great lengths to cultivate a

⁴⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo's Balcary Section 21 Response, 2021, p.9.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.11.

⁴⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo's Craigerne Section 21 Response, 2021, p.1.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.13.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo's Section 21 Response, 2021, p.24.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

positive image in the public eye, and governing boards went to great lengths to protect their reputation when scandal did arise.⁵¹ The public narrative on institutional care in Scotland was largely dominated by the organisations themselves, who bolstered their profiles through fundraising activities covered by local press and various printed promotional materials. The testimony of those who were formerly in institutional care challenges the narratives of the institutions themselves, but also, in some instances, of those who inspected and regulated them.

Hearing the testimony of those who were abused in care is a significant and recent phenomenon and it has served to highlight the silences and distortions of the historical archive.⁵² As Nell Musgrove has reflected, the role of historians in child abuse inquiries have thrown up challenges in adapting research methodologies and analytical frameworks.⁵³ Witness testimony and archival sources can present conflicting narratives about care settings and caregivers.⁵⁴ This thesis has combined the analysis of archival sources with the testimony heard before the Inquiry, but the greatest analytical weight is given to the perspectives and recollections of those who were formerly in care.

Although they are based on an interview, witness statements are not oral history. Published witness statements, rather than the transcripts from live hearings, are the main source material analysed for this thesis. The process of giving evidence to the Inquiry demands further consideration. As crisis oral historians have reflected, recalling traumatic experiences has the ability to re-traumatise people.⁵⁵ Those who wish to give evidence to the Inquiry must first meet with a member of the Witness Support Team to discuss the process and ensure their wellbeing.⁵⁶ Following this, an interview is arranged in a private session with two statement

⁵¹ Shurlee Swain, 'Institutional Abuse: A Long History', *Journal of Australian Studies* (2018) 42:2, pp.157-158.

⁵² Adrian Bingham, Lucy Delap, Louise Jackson and Louise Settle, 'Historical Child Sexual Abuse in England and Wales: the Role of Historians', *History of Education* 45:4 (2016), p.421.

⁵³ Nell Musgrove, 'The Role and Importance of History' in *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse* (2015), ed. Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain, p.148.

⁵⁴ Johanna Sköld and Åsa Jensen, 'Truth Seeking in Oral Testimonies and Archives', in *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse*, (2015), ed. Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain, p.160.

⁵⁵ Lynn Abrams, 'Trauma and Ethics' in *Oral History Theory* (2016); See also Lindsey Dodd, 'It Did Not Traumatise Me At All': Childhood "Trauma" in French Oral Narratives of Wartime Bombing', *Oral History* 41:2 (2013), pp.37-48; David W. Jones, 'Distressing Interviews and Unhappy Interviewing', *Oral History* 26:2 (1998), pp.49-56.

⁵⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, 'Feeling Safe With the Inquiry', <<https://www.childabuseinquiry.scot/support/feeling-safe-within-the-inquiry/#1-feeling-safe-within-the-inquiry>> [accessed 12 October 2022].

takers and an assigned member of the Support Team.⁵⁷ Respondents are also encouraged to bring a relative or friend to support them during the session, which can last for several hours.⁵⁸ The interviewer asks about their life before care, time in care, whether or not they reported the abuse, and their life after care. This loosely follows the structure of a ‘life history’ interview, intended to avoid narratives dictated solely by the interviewer,⁵⁹ but the context of the Inquiry ensures that abuse or mistreatment undoubtedly plays a central role in most people’s narratives. Anyone giving evidence to the Inquiry is acutely aware of the clear purpose for the interview and they will shape their response to what they deem relevant to the Inquiry. After the statement has been reviewed, respondents are invited to approve and sign the draft, and are allowed to ask for changes.⁶⁰

Many respondents have chosen to remain anonymous and therefore basic demographic information is not always clear, including the time period they were in care. In the case of anonymous respondents, pseudonyms were assigned by the Inquiry. It is likely that pseudonyms were chosen or approved by respondents. The choice of those who waived their right to anonymity has been respected and their given name has been used. Details of the statement takers are not recorded in the public record and thus the impact of their age, gender, ethnicity or class may have had on shaping the interview is unknown.⁶¹ Beyond the impact of the Inquiry and its aims in shaping responses, more detailed acknowledgements of intersubjectivity in the interview process cannot be made.

Those who have given evidence to the Inquiry are, to a certain extent, a self-selecting group. Among those who gave evidence were some of those who have fought for decades for the opportunity to be heard in a public forum. They will have undoubtedly encouraged, supported or inspired others to come forward and give evidence to the Inquiry. Not everyone is willing or able to tell their story before the Inquiry, however. And some people will not feel they have a story to tell.

⁵⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, ‘Private Session’, <<https://www.childabuseinquiry.scot/support/feeling-safe-within-the-inquiry/#3-private-session>> [accessed 12 October 2022].

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Abrams, ‘Narrative’ in *Oral History Theory* (2016).

⁶⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, ‘Statement Review’, <<https://www.childabuseinquiry.scot/support/feeling-safe-within-the-inquiry/#4-statement-review>> [accessed 12 October 2022].

⁶¹ See Abrams, ‘Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity’ in *Oral History Theory*; Hilary Young, ‘Hard Man, New Man: Re- composing Masculinities in Glasgow, c.1950-2000’, *Oral History* 35:1 (2007), pp.71-81; Pamela Cotterill, ‘Interviewing Women: Issues of Friendship, Vulnerability, and Power’, *Women’s Studies International Forum* 15:5/6 (1992), pp.593-606.

Anyone who has experienced the surveillance of social services or the punitive regimes of some voluntary homes detailed later in this thesis may, understandably, be very wary of such a formal and legal entity as the Inquiry. Although only a small number of witnesses give evidence at a live hearing, the experience of doing so is, for all intents and purposes, akin to appearing in court. It is highly formal, structured and witnesses do undergo a certain level of cross-examination from Inquiry advocates and solicitors. Some of the most vulnerable and marginalised potential witnesses, such as those with learning difficulties, those who are institutionalised as adults or with acute health difficulties, may be least likely to engage with the Inquiry. Throughout the process of writing this thesis, the thought of those whose voices are absent has constantly lingered at the margins of the analysis. To put it another way, we must always ask ourselves: who are we not hearing from? Moreover, the witnesses that we do hear from are not ‘representative’; their voices or experiences cannot be taken as ‘typical’ as they are unique to each individual.

One solution to this may have been to recruit and conduct oral history interviews, particularly those who had experience of boarding-out or foster care as this was largely absent or redacted in the witness statements. However, given an already cluttered and potentially confusing landscape with the simultaneous National Confidential Forum, Inquiry and an Independent Care Review (later known as the Promise), oral history interviews were not conducted.⁶² As a doctoral researcher, the risk was pulling away potential respondents from other forums and asking people to tell their stories again, and again. Moreover, unlike an Inquiry or a Forum, an oral history interview in these circumstances would be far more beneficial to the researcher than to the participant, who may be left with the emotional fallout of telling their story to someone without the same training or resources of an organisation. Although the investigation began too late to be included in this thesis, those with experiences of boarding-out or foster care are now too going to be heard by the Inquiry.⁶³

Approaching the Analysis of Witness Testimony

⁶² The National Confidential Forum ended following the publication of its final report in 2021. The Independent Care Review ended following the publication of its final report in 2020.

⁶³ See Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country* (1998); Josephine Duthie, *Say Nothing: The Harrowing Truth About Auntie's Children* (2012).

The witness statements published by the Inquiry are, like most sources, heavily mediated. The clear difference between oral history interviews and witness statements is that the latter ultimately need to meet the needs of the Inquiry. The Inquiry do not provide a transcript in the way that is considered best practice in oral history. Questions or prompts from the interviewer are not included in the witness statements. Dialect is mostly not represented, full sentences and correct grammar is always used, verbal tics such as ‘uhms’ are not recorded, and therefore points where respondents struggled to remember or to articulate are lost in the transcripts.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the Inquiry has established a large public archive of testimonies which gives historians a rare insight into children’s experiences of care across time and place. It has enabled this thesis to draw on the recollections of far more people than could reasonably have been interviewed within the limitations of a doctoral research project. As a result, patterns have emerged across people’s testimonies which, taken together, tell a story of complete inertia in a care ‘system’ that, on paper, underwent fundamental legislative and structural changes in the decades following the end of the Second World War. Although this thesis has used witness statements in a way in which they were not originally intended, its aim is to write a history of the care ‘system’ in Scotland that is guided by the narratives of those who were formerly children within it, rather than the perspectives of child welfare professionals in the past.

Case Files and Personal Records

The Dangers of the Bureaucratic Gaze

Trying to uncover, recover or access the perspectives of children in the past in the official records of child welfare authorities is no mean feat. During this period, children were rarely asked how they felt, or what they wanted, and if they were, those perspectives were rarely recorded. This is not to say that children were unable to influence decisions being made about their care – in some cases they did through, for example, running away or, less visibly, complying with an institution’s rules – but the formal participation of children in these decisions was not reflective of standard practice at that time. Soliciting and recording the opinions of the children in their ‘care’ was not the *modus operandi* of children’s officers, or children’s home employees. The records of children’s departments reflect the priorities and

⁶⁴ See Raphael Samuel, ‘The Perils of the Transcript’, *Oral History Theory* 1:2 (1972), pp.19-22.

concerns of adults working within a set of specific professional practices. To put it another way, the historian may find glimpses of children's perspectives, but they are mediated through the bureaucratic gaze of child welfare professionals.

For instance, a 1959 record of West Lothian's Children's Department noted the case of a boy, D (b.1948) who had been boarded-out following a one month stay in the local authority children's home, the Wallhouse.⁶⁵ The report noted that D 'was returned to the Children's Home after several attempts to return there on his own account.'⁶⁶ The following year the children's committee boarded him out again, this time with a view to legal adoption, but he was returned to the Wallhouse 'on the grounds that he was "difficult".⁶⁷ Further details as to what constituted "difficult" were not given, nor any further insight into D's feelings or wishes. With that being said, we might ascertain through a reading against the grain that D found he was able to influence his return through repeatedly running away from his foster parents, but after being moved from West Lothian to Glasgow, physical distance removed this option.⁶⁸ Thus, becoming "difficult", whether intentionally or not, to foster parents was a (successful) strategy to ensure a return to the Wallhouse.

Until the mid 1960s, children who were under the care of a local authority whilst in voluntary children's homes were in the minority. Even then, their interactions with children's officers were often fleeting. For example, Patrick (b.1949) remembered: 'I only saw a welfare officer once and that was when Smyllum was, what I suppose you would call, downsizing in 1964.'⁶⁹ And although Joseph Andrew Currie (b.1953) received regular visits from his children's officer in Nazareth House, Aberdeen, 'All the visits were supervised by the Mother Superior and she was always present so you couldn't say too much.'⁷⁰ A former children's officer at Dingwall (1964-1969), James (b.1925), remembered that 'outsiders' were discouraged from building relationships with children at Smyllum.⁷¹ James remembered that:

⁶⁵ NRS, ED11/520/1, West Lothian's Inspector Reports 1959-68, Visit of 29 April 1959.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ The distance between West Lothian and Glasgow is around 30 miles.

⁶⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Patrick", p.7.

⁷⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Joseph Andrew Currie, p.12.

⁷¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of James Murray Haddow, p.4.

...at that time all the catholic establishments had the same reputation. They felt that you were intruding. It was their job and they didn't want you interfering. The sad thing was that this was accepted by the social work department that they were different from other residential homes.⁷²

Larger children's departments were perhaps even less likely to have a meaningful relationship with the children for whom they were responsible; the Boarding Out Officers at Glasgow's Children's Department in 1966, for instance, were each responsible for 68 to 253 children, many of whom were living hundreds of miles away in the Highlands and Islands.⁷³ David (b.1953), a former resident of Aberlour, a children's home in the Highlands, said: 'My records show many visits to Aberlour from...my children's officer, but they weren't to see me. She would have had many other children to deal with at the time so perhaps that's why her visits are recorded but I didn't see her as many times as it states on those records.'⁷⁴

Once children were placed into voluntary children's homes, some children's officers had very infrequent interactions with the children. Yet, the primary record of their time there was created by children's officers. Before the 1970s, the record keeping practices of many of the children's homes studied here were poor. Often, the only record of a child's time in a voluntary children's home is perhaps an admission form or log and perhaps, in Roman Catholic homes, a record of their first communion. The difficulty faced by those who were formerly in 'care' in accessing personal records was highlighted by many people who gave testimony before the Inquiry. In some cases, voluntary care providers have - or claim to have - no surviving record of someone's time in their 'care'. Jim Kane (b.1942), a former resident of Smyllum, told the Inquiry about his experience of trying to access his records, he said:

When I first started to try to get my records, the registry office in Lanark used to be on Hope Street. I met a guy, I was telling him why I was there, and he said, "Mr Kane, you can't prosecute a dead person." He wrote back to me and said he couldn't find any record I've ever been at Smyllum. I said, "I cannae make that up. That's part of my life. That's what happened to me."⁷⁵

⁷² Ibid., p.4.

⁷³ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection, 1966, Boarding Out Section.

⁷⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "David", p.12.

⁷⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Jim Kane, p.18.

As we shall see in Chapter Six, the consequences of poor record keeping practices in voluntary institutions are lifelong for those who were in their ‘care’. Some people are left not knowing the circumstances in which they came into ‘care’, where they were born, or even what year. Gerry (b.1957), who was also a former resident of Smyllum, said:

In the lack of record keeping, there was an airbrushing of my history. It was an emotional abuse of my identity as a person, who I was and where I came from. There was a complete denial of me as a human being. I had no narrative, no history, my parents were worthless.⁷⁶

Since 1989, following a decision at the European Court of Human Rights, Care Experienced people have had the right to access their records.⁷⁷ Despite this, many people have faced great difficulty in accessing their records, perhaps even more so when they are held in the private archives of former voluntary care providers. For instance, Jimmy, whose date of birth is undisclosed, said: ‘I tried once to get my records from Smyllum but the nuns were really obstructive and I didn’t get anything.’⁷⁸ For those who were in voluntary children’s homes by a private arrangement, the records held by those organisations are likely the only record of their time in ‘care’. The Children Act 1948 failed to define the position of the voluntary homes in relation to the state and children under the care of the Children Act 1948 and those in care by a private arrangement could be treated differently.⁷⁹ With that being said, those who were under the care of a local authority in a voluntary children’s home have often fared no better in terms of access to personal records. Gerry, for instance, after requesting his records from Strathclyde Regional Council received ‘an A4 sheet of paper with two lines on it about my history of why I went into care.’⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Gerry”, p.24.

⁷⁷ Victoria Hoyle, Elizabeth Shepherd, Andrew Flinn and Elizabeth Lomas, ‘Child Social-Care Recording and the Information Rights of Care-Experienced People: A Recordkeeping Perspective’, *British Journal of Social Work* 49 (2019), p.1868.

⁷⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jimmy”, p.28.

⁷⁹ Julie Grier, ‘A Spirit of “Friendly Rivalry”? Voluntary Societies and the Formation of Post-War Child Welfare Legislation in Britain’ in *Child Welfare and Social Action from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Lawrence and P. Starkey (2001), p.241.

⁸⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Gerry”, pp.1-2.

For some people who were formerly in ‘care’, viewing personal records can help make sense of the past,⁸¹ they can also be distressing and at odds with people’s memories.⁸² For instance, Pat (b.1960), a former resident of Quarrier’s told the Inquiry:

In the Quarriers records there is one page on doctors stuff. It says I had a pea in my right ear. That’s a load of tosh! You were lucky if you got any food. If I had a pea I would have eaten it. So you can see for yourself, the Quarriers records are just a load of nonsense!⁸³

At the time of their creation, those writing did not think that those whom they wrote about would ever gain the right to access those files. The descriptions of individuals are frequently disparaging, stigmatising and callous. Language that was appropriate in the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s may now cause offence and upset. For instance, Samantha (b.1973), who was formerly in the care of Quarrier’s Homes, told the Inquiry that:

The records say that my sisters were backwards. They’re not backwards; they’ve got learning difficulties and that’s because they suffered abuse and malnutrition and the social workers didn’t take them from my birth mother quick enough. I don’t understand why they used that kind of language. Forty years is not that long ago.⁸⁴

Most of the personal records of children are closed to historians owing to data protection laws.⁸⁵ Of those that are accessible to researchers, very rarely do we find a record of children’s perspectives, at least in a ‘direct’ sense. One such rare instance of ‘direct’ access to a child’s voice was found by Jenny in her records from Quarrier’s. Jenny told the Inquiry: ‘I’ve read out a letter to you that was in my records. Apparently I wrote it when I was nine and wrote it to my dad.’⁸⁶ The letter, however, was not known to Jenny, who went on to state:

⁸¹ Shurlee Swain and Nell Musgrove, ‘We are the Stories we Tell About Ourselves: Child Welfare Records and the Construction of Identity among Australians Who, as Children, Experienced Out-of-Home ‘Care’’, *Archives and Manuscripts* 40:1 (2012), p.11.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.9.

⁸³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Pat”, p.34.

⁸⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Samantha”, p.16.

⁸⁵ See National Records of Scotland, ‘Data Protection’ < <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/record-keeping/legislation/primary-information-legislation/data-protection> > [accessed 3 August 2021].

⁸⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jenny”, p.20.

I didn't write this letter. I talk about him having little ones and I didn't know that he had children until I got out. I never wrote to him so I find that letter very suspicious. I would never have called his new wife mummy, so I am very suspicious of that letter and why it was written. I have no recollection of ever receiving any letter from my dad and I didn't ever write to him.⁸⁷

Thus, even seemingly 'direct' access to children's voices in the form of letters must be treated with caution, as several scholars have urged.⁸⁸ Caregivers may have forged, or perhaps dictated, a letter to a parent to satisfy parental demands without allowing a genuine relationship to occur. For Jenny, reading her personal records jarred with her remembered experience. Children in care had a limited influence on their personal records, indicative of their relative powerlessness within the care 'system'. Both the records of children's departments and the records of voluntary children's homes provide a limited insight into children's experiences of their 'care'.

Conclusion

The testimony of those who were formerly in care is central to this thesis. The direction of study was led by the narratives of those who testified before the Inquiry. This chapter has provided an overview of the process of giving evidence and the wider context of the Inquiry. As most historians would attest to, there is no such thing as an unmediated source. The processes of the Inquiry strips away some of the texture that oral historians would seek to preserve in a transcript of an interview; long pauses, stuttering, a creaking voice or even moments of laughter are hidden in the witness statements. Although most of this is lost in the translation to witness statement, the work of crisis oral historians and the extensive literature on trauma and memory more broadly has informed the analysis of witness testimony. Working with witness testimony heard before the Inquiry presents a number of methodological challenges for historians which are explored in greater depth in Chapter Three.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.20-21.

⁸⁸ See Kelly Duke Bryant, '“Dear Monsieur Administrator”: Student Writing and the Question of “Voice” in Senegal, 1890s-1910s' in *Children's Voices from the Past: New Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (2019), ed. Kristine Moruzi, Nell Musgrove and Carla Pascoe Leahy, pp.85-106; Siân Pooley, 'Children's Writing and the Popular Press in England 1876-1914,' *History Journal Workshop* 80: 1 (2015), pp.75-98.

Chapter Two

Entering Care

Jill was born in 1957 in a single end tenement flat in the Gorbals, a then densely populated area of Glasgow with significant Protestant, Catholic and Jewish populations. She had five siblings. Jill described a neglectful and violent home life prior to entering care. Jill remembered that her father was frequently absent, and it was her grandmother who often looked after the children at home.¹ Jill later found out that her father's long absences were due to him being in prison.²

Like many families at the time, Jill's family moved from their overcrowded tenement in the Gorbals to a new house in Carntyne, a housing scheme in the East End of Glasgow.³ Although the new house had many more rooms, Jill remembered that for a time only her mother and father had a bed to sleep in.⁴ Later, all of the children slept together in one bed.⁵ Aged only six and a half, Jill had significant responsibilities at home. She said:

No one got to sit on my mum's knee. When [redacted] my sister was born, I was handed her. I remember walking the floor with her, trying to calm her down. I was also told to go to the shops at the same time as I looked after [redacted]...I would also go round to a building and get co-op milk to make up the baby bottles.⁶

This left little time for school. Jill did come to the attention of the truancy officer, known to her then as the "schoolly man".⁷ The school 'didn't seem too bothered' about Jill's absence, however.⁸ For some children, coming to the attention of a truancy officer could highlight issues at home that resulted in them entering care. Jill and her siblings were failed by a number of adults in positions of authority. Jill described her father as a violent man; she remembered one incident in particular: 'He grabbed me and took the poker out the fire. He

¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jill" (b.1957), p.2.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p.2.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p.3.

⁷ Ibid., p.4.

⁸ Ibid.

held it against my neck at the back. It had burned my hair off and burned my neck.’⁹ A neighbour ‘came running through to the flat and barged in’ and rushed Jill to the kitchen and put her head under the cold water tap.¹⁰ After treating Jill’s burn with butter and giving her something to eat, the neighbour called the police. Jill said: ‘The police came but they did nothing.’¹¹ Both Jill’s mother and father left at different points in 1965.¹² Jill and her siblings were looked after by their grandmother until she could no longer cope with the demands of six young children and called social services to ask that they be taken into care.¹³ Jill remembered the day they entered care:

One day, [redacted] came running down the street. He was shouting to me to run. I went to the window to see what he was shouting about. He ran up the stairs and told everyone to get away. He said there were two black cars coming. He knew they were coming to take us away. I remember saying to [redacted] that I couldn’t run anywhere with a baby.¹⁴

As was typical and cruel of the care ‘system’ of the time, the children were all taken to different places, with Jill ending up in the care of the Nazareth House in Glasgow.¹⁵ Jill’s story is somewhat illustrative of the experiences of many children before entering care in the decades following the end of the Second World War. Many children would have been known to the police, RSSPCC inspectors and local truancy officers prior to entering care. Even the police attending an incidence of violence against children would not necessarily result in a child being taken into care at that time. Most children experienced an informal arrangement that would today be known as kinship care, either in the care of grandparents or other relatives, before entering residential care or formal foster care. Those children who were able to stay in the care of their extended families likely never came to the attention of social services. Almost all children entering residential care in the 1950s, 60s and 70s were from impoverished working-class families. Many of the children were resident, or formerly resident, in overcrowded, damp and decaying tenements in areas like the Gorbals. Many children who came into care in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s came from loving families who

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p.5, p.6.

¹³ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.7.

fell on hard times owing to illness, unemployment or housing problems,¹⁶ whereas today, the vast majority of children coming into care in Scotland have experienced significant maltreatment. This was not always the case in the past. Before the Children and Young Persons Act 1963, which gave local authorities the statutory authority to spend money to prevent children coming into care,¹⁷ children's departments had limited powers to help families financially. This meant that many of the children in care before the 1960s were there, fundamentally, because their families were poor.¹⁸

This chapter considers the circumstances in which children entered care and seeks to situate people's experiences within their wider historical contexts. It primarily draws on both the testimony heard before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry and the reports of the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC) 1945-1964 held by Glasgow Caledonian University Archives.¹⁹ For the purposes of this chapter, 112 witness statements heard before the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry by those born in the 1930s (11 respondents); 1940s (26 respondents); 1950s (39 respondents) and 1960s (36 respondents) were analysed. The 112 testimonies were given by those who were formerly in the care of either Quarrier's, the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul or the Sisters of Nazareth. The vast majority of respondents had been in the care of more than one institution, and often also had experience of foster care or boarding out. Some people had spent time in reformatory institutions, such as borstals or approved schools, but owing to the nature of the institutions which were the focus of the evidence, they are likely underrepresented. Although the line between institutions which intended to correct, punish and reform children and those intended to care for them was blurred, this chapter does not focus on children who came into care through the juvenile justice system. Only 11 out of the 112 respondents analysed were born in the 1930s. Most of the statements were given in 2016-2018 meaning respondents were in their 80s and 90s at the time. There are fewer surviving witnesses born in the 1930s. Although there are no respondents who were born in the 1970s included in this sample, several of those born in the 1960s were in care during the 1970s. Thus, owing to the source

¹⁶ See Robert Holman, *Child Care Revisited: The Children's Departments 1948-1971* (1998).

¹⁷ John Rowlands and June Statham, 'Numbers of Children Looked After in England: A Historical Analysis', *Child and Family Social Work* 14 (2009), p.81.

¹⁸ For details of assistance received by some families in newer housing estates and high rise flats in Glasgow see Lynn Abrams, Linda Fleming, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright and Ade Kearns, 'Isolated and Dependent: Women and Children in High-Rise Social Housing in Post-War Glasgow', *Women's History Review* 28:5 (2019), pp.794-813.

¹⁹ Reports from the years 1945, 1946, 1949, 1952, 1954, 1955, 1960, 1962 and 1964 held by Glasgow Caledonian University Archives.

material, this chapter focuses the period of the 1930s to the 1970s. First, this chapter will give a brief overview of some of the changes in the Scottish care ‘system’ during the period at hand. This includes a discussion of the RSSPCC as its role in Scotland’s child protection system shifted over time. Second, it explores the social upheaval of the Second World War and its consequences for children entering the care ‘system’. Third, this chapter considers a number of factors that contributed to entering care that were prevalent in the testimonies of those who were formerly in care; poor housing conditions, violence at home, alcohol addiction and children born outside of marriage. Lastly, this chapter reflects on children entering care in the 1980s and 1990s, a period that is mostly absent from our main source material.

Numbers of Children in Care

Behind any of these statistics are real people, each with their own experiences and unique life stories. From 1948 the Scottish Home Department gathered basic figures on the number of children in care. They captured the number of children who were boarded out; in local authority children’s homes; in voluntary homes, and those in other placements, such as child guidance centres or National Assistance premises. Children in approved schools or who otherwise entered the care ‘system’ through the juvenile justice system are not included in these statistics. In practice, however, a number of children’s homes, such as the Nazareth House in Aberdeen, were also certified as approved schools. Before 1969 the numbers of children in care were likely higher than the statistics in Figure 3.1 suggest.

The numbers of children in care at any one time is not a proxy measure for the levels of child maltreatment in a society. They are, however, reflective of changing legislation, policy and practices in child protection and welfare systems. The Scottish care ‘system’ underwent significant legislative and structural changes throughout the period at hand, but as later chapters will demonstrate, in terms of the day-to-day, very little changed for children in care before the 1970s. Eleanor Gordon describes the period since the Second World War as one of rapid and profound change in family life but notes that many of the most significant changes did not take place until the 1970s.²⁰ This is also true of changes in the Scottish care ‘system’.

²⁰ Eleanor Gordon, ‘The Family’ in *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, ed. Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo (2006), p.258.

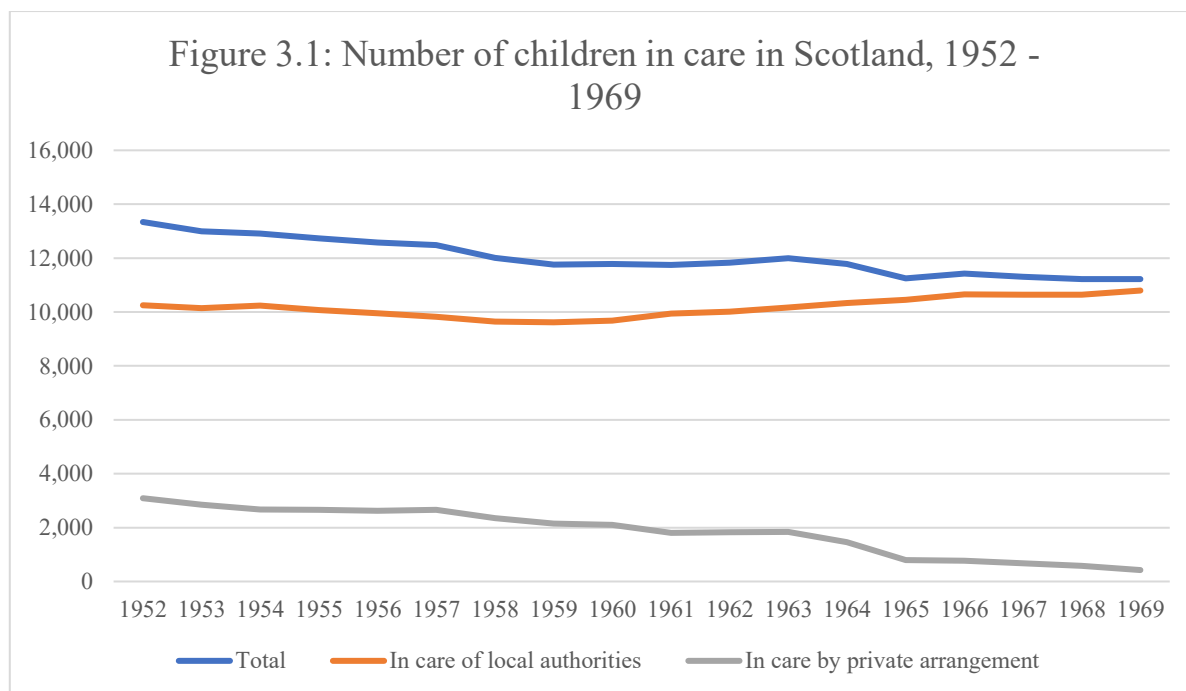
To illustrate, a child whose parent was recovering from an operation and was therefore unable to look after them, and a child who came to the attention of the local authority because they were being neglected at home, and a child who was taken into care because they were deemed to be ‘out of control’ may all be looked after in the same institution and subject to the same punitive regime. Nevertheless, there are clear trends detectable in the numbers of children in care over time, even if the drivers behind those trends are not always clear.

With the exception of the Second World War, which is considered later in this chapter, the numbers of children in care in Scotland gradually declined before plateauing in the first half of the 1960s (see Figure 3.1). The establishment of children’s departments by the Children Act 1948 also coincided with the formal abolition of the poor law and introduction of National Assistance which was payable to unmarried mothers who were not covered by the National Insurance Act 1946. In principle, unmarried mothers with school-aged children were no longer required to register for work before claiming National Assistance but this was not always observed by local officials in practice.²¹ It was official National Assistance Board policy to keep mother and child together,²² unlike under the Poor Law regime. Although the benefit rates were very low, they were better than anything that had gone before.²³ In part, improvements to the social safety net likely contributed to fewer children entering care. Perhaps the most dramatic change was the number of children in voluntary homes by private arrangement. From 1964 to 1965, the number of children in care by private arrangement almost halved from 1458 to 790 (see Figure 3.1).

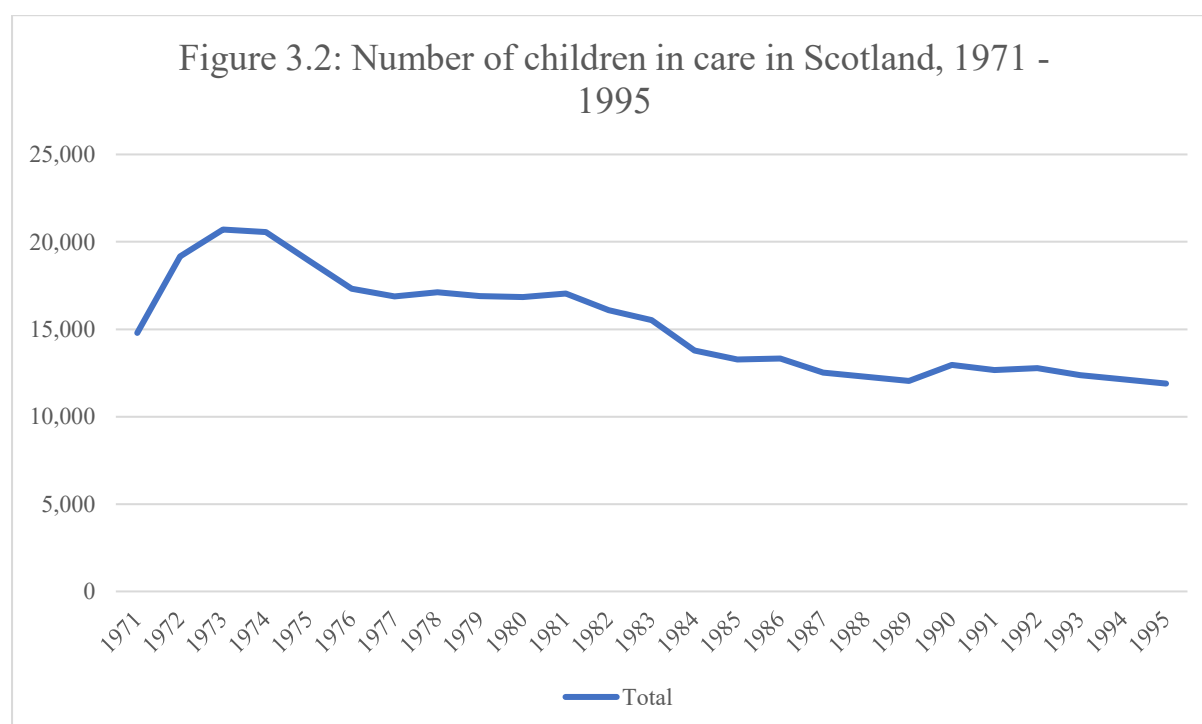
²¹ Pat Thane and Tanya Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints? Unmarried Motherhood in Twentieth-Century England* (2012), p.106.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*



Source: *The Scottish Home Department*



Source: *Children's Social Work Statistics, the Scottish Government*

The Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 made significant changes to the categorisation of children in care. The Act abolished the specialised children's departments established under the Children Act 1948 and introduced generic local authority social work departments. The

Act also created the Children's Hearing System which took over from courts most of the responsibility for children under 16. It was an explicit recognition that many of those coming before juvenile courts were in need of care and protection. The Act fully came into force in 1971 and this corresponds with the beginning of the data series seen in Figure 3.2. Figure 3.2 shows a one-off influx of children into the care 'system' in 1971. In part, this is owing to the inclusion of approved schools, by then called 'List D schools', being counted as part of the figures of the new consolidated social services for children.

Prevention Work

Although the Children Act 1948 had imposed a duty to be proactive in respect of vulnerable children, the Children and Young Person's Act 1963 was instrumental in promoting preventative work as a central component of child welfare policy in the UK.²⁴ There was an ambition in local authority children's departments to prevent children entering the care 'system', but they often lacked the capacity to engage in prevention work.²⁵ For example, the 1966 inspection of the Glasgow Children's Department revealed that prevention work was done by only three Child Care Officers for the whole of the city of Glasgow.²⁶ The inspector noted that they could 'only touch the fringe of the chronic symptoms presented.'²⁷ Their work mostly consisted of paying and collecting rent for both private and Corporation housing factors and dealing with arrears on gas and electricity accounts, and sometimes providing beds and bedding. The workload was described as being 'overwhelming' and the inspector noted that the majority of cases only reached the Officers at the stage of actual eviction.²⁸

Some smaller local authority departments were better able to engage in such work. For instance, the Renfrewshire Children's Department reported in 1964 that they had already been liaising with housing departments, voluntary agencies, health and welfare agencies and even with large employers. Renfrewshire Children's Department has also established a Family Advice Centre where referrals could be made by social work, medical, religious and

²⁴ Kenneth Norrie, *Legislative Background to the Treatment of Children and Young People Living Apart from their Parents*, Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, 2017, p.61; Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming, *Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Care in Scotland, 1948-1995*, Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, 2019, p.186.

²⁵ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January-February 1966.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

voluntary agencies, as well as by families themselves.²⁹ In 1963-1964, 211 families had been referred for assistance.³⁰ Of the 922 children involved, 866 remained with their families and were not taken into care.³¹ As Lynn Abrams notes, however, Renfrewshire was not representative of Scotland as a whole and was almost certainly ahead of the curve in terms of preventative social work.³² Although legislation, policy and practice favoured preventive work, it did not fully gain ground until the 1980s.

The RSSPCC

The Children and Young Person's Act 1963 also ushered in much greater cooperation between local authority departments, such as housing, and other state welfare departments such as health, education and national assistance, and external agencies, such as the RSSPCC.³³ The figure of the 'cruelty man', and later the 'cruelty woman', loomed large in many working class communities.³⁴ Inspectors were involved in the lives of 1 in 50 of all of Scotland's children in 1965.³⁵ As Gary Clapton argues, inspectors were understood to be a quasi-police force; they 'patrolled', carried warrant cards, used the language of the criminal justice system in their referrals, such as 'The Accused' and 'Witness', and many were contactable via the local police station.³⁶ Some families were mistrustful of the cruelty men and woman, who were seen to interfere in family life, and potentially, result in the loss of one's children.

Even after the establishment of children's departments, the RSSPCC continued to play a significant role in Scotland's care 'system'. From the outset, RSSPCC and local authority children's departments worked together, with the RSSPCC directing cases to local authorities

²⁹ Abrams and Fleming, Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Care in Scotland, p.187.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Abrams and Fleming, Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Care in Scotland, p.186.

³⁴ For Ireland, see Sarah-Anne Buckley, *The Cruelty Man: Child Welfare, the NSPCC and the State in Ireland, 1889-1956* (2013); for Scotland, see Brian Ashley, *A Stone on the Mantelpiece: the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children* (1985).

³⁵ Gary Clapton, 'Yesterday's Men': The Inspectors of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1888-1968', *The British Journal of Social Work* 39:6 (2009), pp.1051-2.

³⁶ Ibid., p.1050.

in order for them to assume parental rights.³⁷ Some Society branches were better resourced than the small local authority children's departments which were sometimes comprised of one children's officer. The RSSPCC Inspectors worked closely with children's departments. In 1960 the executive committee stated:

Our work is not in competition with, but is complementary to, the Social work of Local Authorities and we modestly but sincerely feel that the present system of active co-operation between our Officers and those of the Local Authorities produce the best results.³⁸

There was a significant cross over of staff from the Society to local authority departments, and many carried out joint visitations.³⁹ Moreover, much of the inspectors' practices were imported to the new social work departments of the late 1960s.⁴⁰ The RSSPCC played a leading role in child welfare in Scotland from 1884 to the late 1960s and their annual reports offer a useful overview of the changing circumstances in which children entered care.

The Second World War

The social upheaval of the Second World War resulted in a large number of children entering care. In 1945, a total of 17,607 children were recorded by the Scottish Home Department as being in care in Scotland.⁴¹ For comparison, by 1948, this number had more than halved to 8,496.⁴² Although many children would have been placed into care voluntarily by their parents, a number of children entered care after coming to the attention of the authorities. In November 1940, for instance, the Stirling branch of the RSSPCC reported an increase in the number of complaints received. This rise, said the Inspector, was caused by 'pleasure-seeking mothers' who neglected their children.⁴³ The following year, in 1941, Lord Stevenson, the chairman of the executive committee of the RSSPCC, attributed the increase in cases coming

³⁷ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Report for the Year 1949.

³⁸ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Report for the Year 1960.

³⁹ Clapton, "Yesterday's Men", p.1060.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ See Appendix A.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ 'Children Neglected: Pleasure Seeking Mothers Blamed', *Stirling Observer*, 5 November 1940, p.3.

to the attention of the Society to ‘parents being called away to take part in the war effort’.⁴⁴ Lord Stevenson, addressing the Stirling and Clackmannanshire branch, ‘emphasised that a mother’s first duty was to her children’, he said, ‘Only after they had satisfied themselves that their children were properly attended to had mothers the right to go away and earn their own livelihood.’⁴⁵ It was young mothers in particular, according to the chairman, that were ‘apt to be carried away by the glamour of doing some war work’.⁴⁶ Although much contempt towards ‘pleasure-seeking mothers’ was reflected in the reports of the RSSPCC, they did also recognise the material difficulties faced by mothers. The 1940 RSSPCC annual report stated that the increase in cases was ‘due to war conditions’ and ‘does not really reflect any increase in neglect or cruelty.’⁴⁷ Rather, these additional cases were attributed to ‘difficulties affecting service allowances, questions of rent, and other matters financial arising out of the calling up of the parent or wage-earner.’⁴⁸ As Lynn Abrams notes, this is unsurprising as women were left to be the sole caregivers of children or forced to work full time without significant childcare support.⁴⁹

The Death of a Parent

Throughout the period at hand very few children in care were orphans in the true sense, but the War meant the death of a parent was, sadly, a life event more likely to be experienced by children. In Glasgow alone there were more than 9000 casualties.⁵⁰ When a child’s father died, mothers were more likely to receive support to continue to raise her children alone, but fathers were rarely expected or enabled to raise the children on his own.⁵¹ To illustrate, in 1942 the RSSPCC Glasgow Branch received a complaint from a neighbour that: ‘This woman has been out working and left three small girls in the care of their father’ which resulted in a warning to the parents.⁵² Helen (b.1958), who gave evidence before the Inquiry, was taken into the care of Nazareth House, Kilmarnock after her grandmother died. She said:

⁴⁴ A Mother’s First Duty, *Stirling Observer*, 3 June 1941, p.4

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Children Neglected: Pleasure-Seeking Mothers Blamed, *The Stirling Observer*, 5 November 1940, p.3.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country* (1998), p.221.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.177.

⁵¹ Lynn Abrams, “There was Nobody like my Daddy”: Fathers, the Family and the Marginalisation of Men in Modern Scotland’, *The Scottish Historical Review* 78:206 (1999), p.241.

⁵² Cited by Clapton, “Yesterday’s Men”, p.1053.

...the parish priest spoke with my dad and told him it wasn't moral [redacted] living in the house with three adult men, even though the three adult men were my papa, my dad and my uncle. The priest's advice to my dad was to put [redacted] me into the care of the nuns.⁵³

In short, children who lost their mothers were far more likely to enter care than those whose fathers had died or left the family.⁵⁴

Family Breakdown and Domestic Violence

Family breakdown, especially where one parent abandoned the family was a common factor in a child entering care. Of the 112 people whose testimony was analysed for this chapter, 14 people said that their mother had abandoned their family prior to them entering care, and no one said that their father had abandoned their family. The 1954 RSSPCC report by the Glasgow District Committee noted that 'The cases of mothers abandoning their children have been showing an increase in recent years'.⁵⁵ The report admitted, however, that 'Many more fathers than mothers are, of course, guilty of going away'.⁵⁶ Again, the absence of the (more common) incident of men abandoning their families in the narratives heard before the Inquiry highlight that it was less likely to result in children entering care than when a mother left. Moreover, a mother abandoning her children was generally treated as a more heinous moral crime than a father who did the same. The RSSPCC, noting an increasing in cases of abandonment, stated 'it is particularly distressing to find mothers guilty of this heartless conduct.'⁵⁷

In some instances, mothers who left their families did so in order to escape domestic violence. A number of those who testified before the Inquiry described domestic violence at home.

⁵³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Helen (b.1958), p.3.

⁵⁴ See Lynn Abrams, "There was Nobody like my Daddy": Fathers, the Family and the Marginalisation of Men in Modern Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review* 78:206 (1999), pp.219-242.

⁵⁵ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow District Committee, Report for the Year 1945.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Report for the Year 1954.

Caroline (b.1962) told the Inquiry:

I think there was domestic abuse at home. I didn't know it as such except now and again my mum would have a black eye. We would say prayers like, "Please let dad come in and go straight to bed."⁵⁸

Although, as Caroline points out, the term domestic violence was not used at the time, the RSSPCC Inspectors were aware of the violent treatment inflicted on some women by their husbands, and that this may well have contributed to her leaving the family home, but usually they tried to convince her to return. For instance, in 1955 the executive committee shared the details of a complaint made by a father, who asked the Society for help in persuading his wife to return home as he was 'unable to care for the two children and attend his work.'⁵⁹ The report stated that 'The mother was seen by the Society's Inspector and she averred that her husband had assaulted her...she bluntly refused to return home.'⁶⁰ Following 'some persuasion' from the Inspector, she agreed to meet her husband, and an Inspector, at 10pm where she said 'if she received an adequate wage and the father was prepared to make amends for his behaviour she would consider staying at home.'⁶¹ During the course of this meeting, however, she 'walked out of the house.'⁶² But the next day had returned and said, 'that she had considered what the Inspector had said about the future of the children, and for their sake had returned home.'⁶³ The internal, private, records of the inspectors are unequivocal in this unconcerned attitude towards domestic violence. Moreover, women were often presented as culpable for the actions of their abusive husbands. For example, in February 1952, an inspector of the Glasgow branch noted:

I came to the conclusion that the husband had very good reason for seeking solace in drink. The mother is lazy and wasteful with money. She is seldom ready with husband's meals when he finishes work and makes a last minute dash to put a hurried

⁵⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Caroline (b.1962), p.1.

⁵⁹ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Report for the Year 1955.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

meal before him. The husband has been 3 times convicted for assaulting her and quite obviously receives much provocation.⁶⁴

Neglect

Inspectors did sometimes plead with men who deserted their families to return home, but more effort was exerted in reminding them of their financial obligations. In a 1945 report, the RSSPCC stressed that although the neglect of children had increased during the war, neglect was not a “war disease”.⁶⁵ The ‘return of men to civil life’ only brought new challenges, and ‘in some cases tended to increase our work.’⁶⁶ During the war, mothers received allowance for the maintenance of their children through ‘the various Services’ but since this was withdrawn, the contributions depended ‘largely on the character of the father.’⁶⁷ In the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, much of the RSSPCC’s resources were spent tracking down fathers who failed to provide for their children.⁶⁸ For instance, one father of five children, who had ‘gone off and made no provision for two years’, was tracked down by the Society to New Guinea and was persuaded to pay £50 towards arrears and send £2 per week home.⁶⁹

The wartime issue of ‘pleasure seeking mothers’ continued to be a focus of the Society who noted in 1945: ‘A considerable number of mothers have, in their husbands’ absence, drifted into habits and formed associations which have not been to the advantage of their homes and families.’⁷⁰ The 1945 Report noted:

There are still too many cases where children suffer as a result of pleasure-seeking mothers. Our Inspectors, particularly in the large towns, are kept almost continuously

⁶⁴ Cited by Clapton, “Yesterday’s Men”, p.1054.

⁶⁵ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Report for the Year 1945.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1952.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1945.

employed in looking after children who are left unattended while their mothers are out dancing or attending cinemas or other entertainments.⁷¹

Although ‘such cases were not unknown prior to the War’, they had apparently increased in number.⁷²

In some instances, the end of the War meant that children were able to return home to their parents. In 1945, the Glasgow branch was able to ‘petition the Court to return to the custody of their parents 13 children whom it had been necessary to remove during the War.’⁷³ On the other hand, ‘the return of husbands’ sometimes resulted in family breakdown.⁷⁴ The primary reason given by the RSSPCC was: ‘Since the end of the war both men and women who have been married during war years and who have never made a home together, have found it difficult to reconcile themselves to changed conditions.’⁷⁵ Many women found it difficult to adjust to the return of her husband, whom she may never have lived with, and who may have been expected to give up some of the freedoms and control she had grown accustomed to. Many men found the transition from regimented life to family life equally difficult. Moreover, many men were traumatised by their wartime experiences which contributed to high rates of marital discord and divorce. For instance, William (b.1953) remembered:

My father had a bad time in the army and was one of the first people to enter Belsen camp at the end of the war and I was told by my family that it really affected him quite badly. Not long before he died I recall seeing him crying once and it was because he was recalling some of his experiences there. He later worked as security [redacted] in Hawick and my mother was a nurse. It was not a happy household.⁷⁶

The Housing Crisis

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1945.

⁷⁴ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Report for the Year 1945.

⁷⁵ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Edinburgh, Report for the Year 1946.

⁷⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “William” (b.1953), p.1.

The post war housing crisis, particularly acute in Glasgow, was also recognised by the RSSPCC as a ‘major cause of neglect.’⁷⁷ Following the end of the War, families across Scotland began ‘squatting’ in abandoned camps. The conditions in some of the camps were deplorable, with one camp at Polkemmet, West Lothian being described as ‘dysentery-ridden’.⁷⁸ The camp had been without water or sanitation for a period of two months meaning nearly every one of the 46 families living there had been stricken with dysentery, and three children had died.⁷⁹ Although most of the camps had some access to running water, many were without electricity or adequate heat. In 1949, the Glasgow District Committee of the RSSPCC stated that many cases ‘relate to families “squatting” in abandoned camps.’⁸⁰ They described the conditions as ‘often primitive to start with, frequently become much worse through the conduct of the occupants, many of whom, it is to be feared, would rapidly reduce any home to a state of chaos and squalor.’⁸¹

Alison (b.1949) stated that she did not know the circumstances of how she ended up in care but knew that she had been born ‘in an ex-army hut in Pollok.’⁸² Alison said: ‘It was a place where prisoners of war had been kept...People had started to live there after the prisoners were repatriated.’⁸³ And Frank, whose date of birth is undisclosed, remembered moving into ‘an old civil defence camp’ in Anniesland, discovered by his father.⁸⁴ Frank, who had been living alongside twelve other families in a condemned building with no hot water or electricity, remembered that, led by his father, ‘The families in the building loaded horses and carts and we travelled like a wagon train from Stewart Street, along New City Road, to St George’s Cross, to Great Western Road, Anniesland Cross, Anniesland Road and into Rivera Road.’⁸⁵ Frank remembered:

There were empty quarters set out in a square in the big yard. There was a fireplace every 10 or 15 feet along the wall. While the families moved in, each one took a

⁷⁷ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Edinburgh, Report for the Year 1945.

⁷⁸ New “Casualty” in Squatter’s Colony, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 18 Feb 1948.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1949.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Alison” (b.1949), p.1.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Frank Docherty, p.4.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

fireplace and for privacy put up some string and curtains. We bedded down on the floor that night.⁸⁶

The next day, said Frank, ‘we all set about cleaning the place up.’⁸⁷ Frank and his family lived there from 1948 to 1951. The 1952 Glasgow District Committee Report of the RSSPCC stated that ‘Many dwellers in former Army Camps continue to be a source of trouble.’⁸⁸ One such case, they wrote, found a family living in a half section of a Nissen hut in ‘a shocking state of filth and the children dirty, nitty and flea-bitten, their clothing filthy and beyond repair.’⁸⁹ The children, who were brought to the attention of the RSSPCC by their school, had poor attendance at school and were in a ‘dull and unhappy state’.⁹⁰ Following ‘advice and warning’ by the Inspectors, there was ‘considerable improvement.’⁹¹ Although housing conditions were not in themselves a reason to remove children from their parents, it is clear from the RSSPCC’s reports that a number of children living in the often dangerous and often overcrowded camps were taken into care. Overcrowded, damp and unsanitary housing conditions resulted in poor health in both adults and children.

The post war period witnessed significant economic, social and cultural change. The post war economic boom meant that the 1950s were a time of high employment and high wages in Scotland. In 1954 the Glasgow Branch of the RSSPCC dealt with 2078 cases; 83 of ill treatment or assault, 24 of abandonment, 19 of immoral surroundings, and the remainder of general neglect.⁹² The report noted that neglect did not appear to be related to the ‘amount of income’, it said:

In a time of full employment, high wages and what is deemed to be general prosperity it seems strange to have to record so many cases of child neglect but, in truth, prosperity or the lack of it appear to have very little true bearing on the matter...

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1952.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1954.

Squalor and television sets, or even sometimes cocktail cabinets, have been met in the same house.⁹³

Economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s meant that mass ownership of previously luxury goods, such as televisions and cocktail cabinets, became a reality for many more families.⁹⁴ And with the establishment of the vast municipal housing schemes, built on the outskirts of Glasgow, came improved housing conditions for some. Trading a damp and overcrowded tenement in the Gorbals for a house with a private garden in Easterhouse did not lessen the incidence of child neglect, however. In 1954, the Glasgow Branch of the RSSPCC reported the case of a girl, aged 2, who was found by an inspector:

“lying in bed, and a pitiful looking little object. She was filthy, ears clogged, head ingrained, hair mottled with nits. Only clothing a thin cotton frock...clothing filthy. She had two black eyes, one of some severity, although injuries not fully apparent owing to dirt.”⁹⁵

The report went on to state that ‘the home was in a like state.’⁹⁶ This was typical, said the report, of the state that hundreds of children are found in. It stated that ‘mattresses are found to be filthy and soaking with urine and excreta, which is also found not infrequently on floors and elsewhere.’⁹⁷ The report concluded that: ‘Such conditions are not confined to slum dwellings but are met with too in new and up-to-date council houses.’⁹⁸ An earlier report, from 1949, reflected that the Glasgow branch’s work used to be concentrated within a mile or two of the city centre, but now, as families moved into the ‘new houses’, a ‘great deal more of the Inspector’s time’ is taken up by travel.⁹⁹

Despite the Society’s earlier position that poor housing was the cause of child neglect, as they later found, new housing did little to address the mistreatment of children. Not only that, but

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ W W Knox, *A History of the Scottish People: Summary of Economy and Society in Scotland 1840-1940*, SCRAN, p.18.

⁹⁵ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1954.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1949.

change was slow, and Glasgow remained a city of much overcrowding. The new housing estates dispersed struggling families across the city, potentially breaking up existing support networks which may have inadvertently led to more children being left unsupervised.¹⁰⁰ The urgent need for housing meant that Glasgow experienced more housing demolition than any comparable English city; and there was also more (poor quality) peripheral housing schemes built than in comparable English cities.¹⁰¹ One such new housing schemes was Easterhouse, which was, in 1968, home to 45,000 people, and claimed to be the biggest housing estate in western Europe.¹⁰² And yet, before 1968 it had no pub, no shops, and no cinema, no swimming pool, and no community centre.¹⁰³ A slightly smaller, but sizable, housing estate was built in the north west of the city; Drumchapel, known as ‘The Drum’ was home to 34,000 people. Drumchapel and Easterhouse, alongside Greater Pollok and Castlemilk are known as the ‘Big Four’ post war social housing schemes; all four are similar in terms of architecture and planning and have suffered from similar social problems.

The displacement of families following the demolition of city housing in Glasgow meant that child welfare services could ‘lose track’ of children and families who they were previously in contact with. For instance, a 1966 case file of the Glasgow children’s department noted that a family was ‘known to the R.S.S.P.C.C’ and had been supervised but ‘the Society had lost trace of them when they had been rehoused in Drumchapel’.¹⁰⁴ One child (b.1963) was known to have been previously been neglected and ill-treated, having been found with severe bruising and burns on his chest. It is unclear how this family were found, or what brought them to the attention of the children’s department, but when entry was gained to the family home, the child was found ‘unattended, suffering from severe malnutrition and frostbite.’¹⁰⁵ As a result, all three children were removed from their parent’s care; the child who had been

¹⁰⁰ Many mothers of young children reported social isolation after moving to the new high rise flats in Glasgow. See Lynn Abrams, Linda Fleming, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright and Ade Kearns, ‘Isolated and Dependent: Women and Children in High-Rise Social Housing in Post-War Glasgow’, *Women’s History Review* 28:5 (2019), pp.794-813.

¹⁰¹ ‘Post-war Housing Changes’, *Understanding Glasgow: The Glasgow Indicators Project*, <https://www.understandingglasgow.com/indicators/environment/housing/post_war_housing> [accessed 17 October 2022].

¹⁰² Richard Boston, The Glasgow Gangs, *New Society*, 1 August 1968, p.150.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children’s Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January-February 1966, Visit to Foster Home.

¹⁰⁵ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children’s Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January-February 1966, Visit to Foster Child on 25 January 1966.

found was taken to the hospital, their sibling was taken by an aunt, and their sibling to a Glasgow Corporation children's home.¹⁰⁶

Excessive Alcohol Consumption

Poor housing conditions was not the only social ill highlighted by the RSSPCC in the aftermath of the Second World War. A 1952 RSSPCC report stated, 'Excessive gambling and drinking may be the cause of much misery to children.'¹⁰⁷ Of the 39 people born in the 1950s, 8 people mentioned that one or both parents suffered from alcoholism (20%). Of the 36 people born in the 1960s, 18 people mentioned that one or both parents suffered from alcoholism (50%). This is unlikely to indicate an increase in the number of parents suffering from addiction alone, but reflective of a population of children who came into care at a later age having experienced higher levels of maltreatment and family dysfunction prior to care. With that being said, a 1975 research paper opened with the line: 'Scotland justifiably has a reputation as a hard drinking nation.'¹⁰⁸ There is some evidence of an increased prevalence of alcohol problems in Scotland from 1965 to 1973. Although hospital admission figures may also reflect changing admission policies and population mobility, there was an increase of 77% in the number of men being admitted for alcoholism, and of 138% in the number of women being admitted for alcoholism.¹⁰⁹ An 87% rise in all admissions does seem to suggest an increase in prevalence, or at least an increase in seeking medical help.¹¹⁰ A 1966 paper by Cameron et al cited alcoholism and 'unstable marriage in the parents' as important factors in child abuse.¹¹¹ Writing on alcoholism as a family disorder, A. Balfour Sclare stated: 'These features indeed loom large in battered babies in Scotland.'¹¹²

Sclare's 1975 paper attributed an increased alcohol consumption by women to 'the feminine emancipation of recent years'.¹¹³ Men's patterns of alcohol consumption were too recognised

¹⁰⁶ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January-February 1966, Visit to Foster Child on 25 January 1966.

¹⁰⁷ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Glasgow, Report for the Year 1952.

¹⁰⁸ A. Balfour Sclare, 'Drinking Habits in Scotland', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* (1975), p.241.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 242.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ J. M. Cameron et al, 'The Battered Child Syndrome', *Med. Sci. Law.* 6:2 (1966), p.17.

¹¹² Sclare, 'Drinking Habits in Scotland', p.246.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.244.

by Sclare as being gendered, ‘alcohol consumption’, he wrote, ‘is commonly viewed as being closely associated with concepts of toughness and masculinity.’¹¹⁴ This archetypical, working class West of Scotland father figure features in some people’s descriptions, and memories, of their father.¹¹⁵ For instance, Jack (b.1951), said: ‘My father was a hard man. He was a hard-drinking, hard-working, hard-fighting man.’¹¹⁶

Violence

Many of those who gave evidence before the Inquiry testified to the violence they witnessed, and sometimes had been a victim of, in their family homes and communities prior to entering care. For instance, Meg (b.1939), said:

I remember my father whipping my eldest brother [redacted] with electrical cables. He pulled off the outer rubber bit on the end so that the metal prongs stuck out. I also remember him kicking [redacted] with his size ten boots. He would crack me round my head for looking too much like my mother. He once knocked my sister’s teeth out and burst her nose. My father was a very violent man. It was a house of horror.¹¹⁷

Meg’s father’s violence towards his wife and children was not the reason that she entered care, however. Meg said: ‘The reason I ended up in care was because my mother had to go to a sanatorium. She had TB.’¹¹⁸ Several of those who were born in the 1940s and 1950s stated that their mother had died from TB, or was receiving inpatient treatment, which led to them entering care. Glasgow suffered from especially high rates of TB. The acute housing crisis of the post war years meant many were living in extremely overcrowded, cold, damp and polluted tenements; all factors which made someone more vulnerable to TB. Indeed, in 1949 one person out of every 135 in Scotland suffered from TB, but in Glasgow it was one person out of 92.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p.241.

¹¹⁵ See Aimee McCullough, “On the Margins of Family and Home Life?": Working-class Fatherhood and Masculinity in Post-War Scotland, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2016.

¹¹⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jack” (b.1951), p.1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.2.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.2.

¹¹⁹ Hansard, House of Commons, 7 July 1949, vol 466, cc2492-500, Mr Rankin.

There is some evidence of attitudes towards violence in Glasgow and the West of Scotland that were distinctive to other parts of Scotland, and to England and Wales. Hunter Gillies, a psychiatrist writing in 1976, found that almost 90% of men accused of murder in the West of Scotland were ‘mentally normal’ and suicide after murder was rare, suggesting that feelings of guilt were also unusual.¹²⁰ Another study found that in 1961-62 Glasgow had 34% of Scotland’s crime, but only 20% of its inhabitants.¹²¹ By 1967, Glasgow had less than 20% of Scotland’s population, but 43% of crimes of violence; in 1957 it was 46% and in 1947 it was 60%.¹²² Gillies offers up an explanation for this, writing that, factors ‘seem to be urban living, gang warfare, absence of amenities in housing schemes, low-socioeconomic status, maleness and youthfulness, all in a culture tolerant of brutality and drunkenness.’¹²³

In Gillies’ study, the victims of the 302 ‘normal’ men accused of murder, were mostly other men (140), but 54 women were murdered.¹²⁴ When ‘normal’ men murdered women, they were more likely to be a family member (48%) than when the victims were men (15%).¹²⁵ The preponderance of acquaintances and strangers amongst the victims of ‘the normal male accused’ was explained by Gillies as owing to ‘public house brawls’ and ‘teenage gang fights’.¹²⁶ The significance of gang related violence is somewhat overstated, however. As Angela Bartie has highlighted, Glasgow’s supposed ‘gang culture’ of the 1950s and 1960s can be better understood as a ‘moral panic’, and the evidence does not point to gangs as being the primary driver of violence in the city.¹²⁷ For instance, most victims of assault entered hospital individually. Richard Boston, a journalist writing on ‘Glasgow Gangs’ in 1968 said:

I have seen the current night porter’s book for admission at Glasgow Western Infirmary... They usually come in one at a time, and people at the hospital could not remember any incidents where there had been a great rush of casualties all at once as might be expected after a gang fight, and as happens after a big car crash.¹²⁸

¹²⁰ Hunter Gillies, ‘Homicide in the West of Scotland’, *Journal of British Psychiatry* 128 (1976), p.105.

¹²¹ J. V. M. Shields and J. A. Duncan, *The State of Crime in Scotland* (1964) cited by Gillies, ‘Homicide’, p.115.

¹²² Boston, *The Glasgow Gangs*, p.150.

¹²³ Gillies, ‘Homicide’, p.115.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.112.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.113.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Angela Bartie, ‘Moral Panics and Glasgow Gangs: Exploring “the New Wave of Glasgow Hooliganism”, 1965-1970’, *Contemporary British History* 24:3 (2010), pp.385-408.

¹²⁸ Boston, *Glasgow Gangs*, p.151.

And when asking a bus conductor if he had ever had any trouble with gangs, he replied: “Och, they’re just wee boys.”¹²⁹ In the 1960s and 1970s, children were frequently the victims of violent assault, often at the hands of male family members, rather than other children. For instance, Gillies found of the 273 victims of men accused of murder, 34 were children (aged 14 or below).¹³⁰ And of the 34 victims of women accused of murder, 14 were children (aged 14 or below).¹³¹ To put it another way, 12% of those murdered by the men were children and 41% of those murdered by the women were children. Thus, the evidence points more towards a general culture of violence in 1960s Glasgow, perpetrated by aggressive drunk individuals at the weekend, and within some families, rather than gangs.

Glasgow’s supposedly distinctive culture of violence went hand-in-hand with its, somewhat, distinctive drinking culture. As Boston put it in 1968, ‘Glasgow’s drinking habits are notorious.’¹³² Unlike those in England, Glasgow’s pubs were still in 1968 ‘all male.’¹³³ And unlike in England, Glasgow publicans did not allow their customers to sit all evening over a drink.¹³⁴ In Glasgow, wrote Boston, ‘you drink up fast and then either have another or get out.’¹³⁵ Despite its ‘notorious’ drinking habits, Glasgow had fewer pubs in relation to population than any other British city.¹³⁶ Patterns of violence seemed to follow drinking habits; most Scottish homicides occurred at the weekend, and most were associated with drinking.¹³⁷ It is unclear whether this pattern was also found in violence against children, particularly as these assaults often took place at home behind closed doors and children’s injuries frequently went unnoticed by adults outside of the home.

The patterns in the testimony of those analysed here appear to mirror some of the findings of the commentators of the 1960s and 1970s. To reiterate, for those born in the 1950s, 8 said that one or both parents suffered from alcoholism (20%); of those born in the 1960s, 18 said that one or both parents suffered from alcoholism, which amounted to 50% of 36 respondents. Of those born in the 1950s (39), no one mentioned there being violence at home, including towards children, and 4 mentioned domestic violence. The picture changes

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Gillies, ‘Homicide’, p.112.

¹³¹ Ibid., p.114.

¹³² Boston, *Glasgow Gangs*, p.141.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Sclare, ‘Drinking Habits in Scotland’, p.241.

somewhat dramatically for those born in the 1960s (36), where 6 people remembered general violence at home, 4 people said there was violence towards children, and 10 (28%) said there was domestic violence. It is difficult to say with any certainty what this might mean, if anything, for the bigger picture. Nevertheless, for children, living with a parent with a drug or alcohol misuse problem put them at an increased risk of witnessing violence, and experiencing poor, neglectful and inconsistent parenting, all of which increases the risk of behavioural problems, learning and developmental difficulties and has a detrimental effect on their social and mental wellbeing.¹³⁸

Children Born Outside of Marriage

Many of the case files of children's departments specify that a child was born to an unmarried couple; that they were 'illegitimate'. During the Second World War and the years following it, the housing shortage and decline of domestic service jobs made it more difficult for unmarried mothers to keep their children without significant family support.¹³⁹ The new council housing explicitly preferred married couples and frequently discriminated against unmarried mothers.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, it was not until 1977 were local authorities legally required to house all people in need, regardless of their background or marital status.¹⁴¹ All of this led to a rise in the number of children being adopted after the war. The number of children who were adopted in Scotland peaked in 1946, when 2292 children were adopted and again, in 1969 when 2268 children were adopted.¹⁴² The Glasgow children's department accepted referrals from hospitals and family doctors of 'unmarried mothers.'¹⁴³ In December 1964, Glasgow children's department recorded 297 'cases' which were under supervision, pending legal adoption.¹⁴⁴ The department noted that it did not deal with Roman Catholic babies whose 'placings' were instead made by the St Margaret's Adoption Society.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, any babies born to Jewish mothers were 'placed' in co-operation with the Rabbi, who 'usually has

¹³⁸ Martin Taulbut and David Walsh, *Poverty, Parenting and Poor Health: Comparing Early Years' Experiences in Scotland, England and Three City Regions*, Glasgow Centre for Population Health, February 2013, p.54.

¹³⁹ Janet Greenlees, *Unmarried Motherhood in Scotland during the Twentieth Century: Mother and Baby Homes*, Glasgow Caledonian University, November 2015, p.9.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Author Redacted, *The Previous Generation of Birth Mothers, Adoption Policy and Practice: Loss, Grief and Resolution*, A Research Summary and Briefing for the Scottish Government, October 2015, p.3.

¹⁴³ NRS, ED11/669/1, *Glasgow Children's Department: Inspection of Child Care Service*, January/February 1966.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

a home in mind before the child's birth.'¹⁴⁶ Many children would have been informally adopted by family members meaning that those children never enter into these statistics.

The attitudes towards unmarried mothers in the 1950s and 1960s remained deeply conservative and stigmatising. When giving evidence on the behalf of her mother (b.1923), who was formerly in Quarrier's, Ann (b.1947) told how 'there was always this overlying thing of illegitimacy and shame.'¹⁴⁷ Children were similarly stigmatised; Ann remembered that 'the word "illegitimate" was stamped right across my mum's birth certificate.'¹⁴⁸ Young unmarried mothers were often strongly encouraged or coerced into giving up their babies for adoption.¹⁴⁹ In 1966, it was noted that one child care officer in the adoption section of Glasgow's children's department 'feels strongly that adoption is preferable for an illegitimate child, than remaining with the mother.'¹⁵⁰

The 1945 annual report of the RSSPCC stated that there were 'many unwanted children' and drew attention to a baby girl who was left at the Bathgate Cemetery.¹⁵¹ The report went on to explain that 'Unfortunately that little girl's history can be repeated many times although such drastic measures to get rid of them are not adopted in all cases.'¹⁵² The baby, the report states, 'was born during the absence of the husband abroad, and on his return she was unwanted.'¹⁵³ The mother's 'Endeavours to get her adopted failed, and the desperate step of leaving her in the Cemetery was taken by the mother.'¹⁵⁴ Although the baby was described by the RSSPCC as 'unwanted', the circumstances in which the baby was found suggest that the mother cared deeply for her baby. For instance, *The Sunday Post*, on 9 December 1945 described how:

The child had been well cared for, and every precaution had been taken to keep her warm...She was dressed in a white woollen vest and petticoat, over which she wore a

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ann" (b.1947), p.8.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.15.

¹⁴⁹ A Stormont commissioned report into the operation of mother and baby homes was published in January 2021; Leanne McCormick, Sean O'Connell, Olivia Dee, John Privilege, Mother and Baby Homes and Magdalene Laundries in Northern Ireland, 1922-1990, 2021. On 22 March 2023 the First Minister of Scotland apologised in the Scottish Parliament to people affected by the practice of forced adoption in Scotland in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

¹⁵⁰ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection, 1966, p.180.

¹⁵¹ GCU, GB 1847 C1ST, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Report for the Year 1945.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

white cotton frock with small flowers embroidered on the front. She also had a white woollen jacket...and white woollen pantaloons, brown woollen socks...¹⁵⁵

The mother, who later pleaded guilty to abandoning the baby, was imprisoned for three months.¹⁵⁶ The mother, who was living in Edinburgh, was 'a native of Yorkshire'.¹⁵⁷ The baby's father was 'a sailor man who had got her under the influence of drink' in a dance hall in Edinburgh.¹⁵⁸ Her husband put her under extreme pressure to give up the baby, she told how 'her husband's continual insistence on this day after day preyed on her mind until she got into a state of dementia.'¹⁵⁹ She told the court: 'She had no friends in Edinburgh or in the North at all, and she conceived of the idea of taking a bus somewhere into the country and leaving it where it would be found and taken care of and her identity not disclosed.'¹⁶⁰

Without a support network, unmarried, single, women had very few options to look after their own baby in 1945. In cities such as Edinburgh, the circumstances of the war gave unmarried mothers some anonymity, but mothers who had children in these circumstances were subject to prejudice and stigma from the wider community. The intensity of this shame led to one local man writing to the *West Lothian Courier* to say 'I...beg to state that my daughter was not the one abandoning the baby in Bathgate Cemetery, nor was she in any way connected with the party concerned.'¹⁶¹ The man went on to threaten that 'legal proceedings will be taken against any person spreading false statements in connection with this case.'¹⁶²

Many babies born in similar circumstances would never come to the attention of child welfare services and instead would be looked after, or informally adopted, by extended family. In some cases, however, these situations would break down. For instance, two children (b.1949) and (b.1950) came to the attention of the Glasgow Children's Department in 1966, after being found by the RSSPCC. Both children were being looked after by their maternal grandmother, after their mother had left home to marry, they were found by Inspectors to be 'completely lacking in clothing' and one child was sleeping 'in an old broken down pram'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ 'Cemetery Baby', *The Sunday Post*, 9 December 1945, p.3.

¹⁵⁶ 'Abandoned Baby', *Linlithgowshire Gazette*, 14 December 1945, p.3.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ *West Lothian Courier*, 28 December 1945.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection, 1966.

Attitudes towards children born outside of marriage varied across Scotland. In the rural north east, for example, ‘illegitimate’ children were absorbed into their immediate and extended family.¹⁶⁴ Families helped to raise the children, or the couple lived together without being married and without facing the same prejudice in the wider community as in other places in Scotland.¹⁶⁵ In Aberdeen there were many instances of parents living together without being married and there was no ‘moral shame’ attached to these arrangements.¹⁶⁶ During the 1950s, one third of the ‘illegitimate’ children of older women in Aberdeen were living with their parents, with no shame attached to either the parents or children.¹⁶⁷ In the central belt, however, people tended to marry younger and urban migration meant that family support could be less than in smaller rural communities.¹⁶⁸ Unmarried mothers usually only came to the attention of authorities if they were unable to support themselves and their children.

Mixed race children born to unmarried mothers were perhaps especially vulnerable, both within their own families and communities and within the care ‘system’. For instance, Phoenix (b.1953) told the Inquiry that his mother was white, and his father was a black serviceman from the United States.¹⁶⁹ Phoenix said:

My mother had two previous children, who were white, to two different fathers. They were farmed out to various aunts and uncles and kept within the family...When she took up with a black man and produced a black baby, the extended family were horrified. She had already had two previous “miscalculations”, but that was okay. Those children wouldn’t stick out because they were white. They couldn’t farm me out.¹⁷⁰

The Glasgow Children’s Department, in 1966, detailed the case of a child (b.1963) whose mother had approached the department in order to arrange for the baby to be adopted, but as the father was ‘a coloured American seaman’ the Adoption Section were ‘unable to make

¹⁶⁴ Greenlees, *Unmarried Motherhood*, p.4; see also Andrew Blaikie, *Illegitimacy, Sex and Society: Northeast Scotland, 1750-1900* (1994).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Phoenix” (b.1953), p.1.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

arrangements.’¹⁷¹ Some mothers wanted to look after their children but faced huge pressures from family and their communities to give them up.

Without family support, many children born to unmarried or single mothers were unable to stay in family care. Bill (b.1959) told the Inquiry that his mother was Scottish and his father was Indian, he said:

This was the late 1950s and early 1960s and they didn’t have the same multicultural society that we have now. It was not a diverse society and my mum and dad had to live at different addresses even while they were together. It would have been unheard of for them to be seen as being together, especially as they had children out of wedlock.¹⁷²

Bill stated that his mother’s side of the family ‘had racist tendencies’ and ‘didn’t want my mum to be with a coloured person’.¹⁷³ Bill remembered ‘My mother used to take my sister out and put talcum powder on her face to make her look more white.’¹⁷⁴ Following a mental health crisis, Bill’s mother was taken into an institution and he and his brother and sister were taken into care.¹⁷⁵ In Smyllum, Bill was racially abused by his supposed caregivers; he said: ‘I remember the nuns telling us we were orphans and we were dirty because we were of mixed race. I don’t think we were respected and they just seen us like a piece of dirt.’¹⁷⁶

As a whole, the Scottish care ‘system’ was a hostile and racist environment. To illustrate, the Scottish Home Department’s 1966 report on Quarrier’s noted that ‘certain categories’ of children were ‘difficult to place’ for fostering; such as ‘children from large families, coloured children or children with behaviour problems.’¹⁷⁷ The Glasgow Children’s Department in 1965 noted that a couple wished to adopt a girl ‘despite her colour.’¹⁷⁸ In the records of children’s departments, children who were not white were marked out as being “coloured”. Phoenix noted this of his own admissions record to Aberlour Orphanage, he told how: ‘right

¹⁷¹ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children’s Department, Inspection, 1966.

¹⁷² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Bill” (b.1959), p.1.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp.1-2.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p.2.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p.5.

¹⁷⁷ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes: Quarrier’s Homes, Inspectors’ Reports, 1966.

¹⁷⁸ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children’s Department, Inspection, 1965.

at the top after my name are the words, “coloured boy”. It was highlighted because it was an issue.’¹⁷⁹ Phoenix reflected that: ‘Trying to find placements for black babies in the fifties was enormously difficult. Part of the corporation’s difficulty was finding a residential establishment that would accept a black child.’¹⁸⁰

An estimated 3 million US servicemen passed through Britain in the years 1942-45, around 8% of whom were African American.¹⁸¹ As you might expect, relationships between black GIs from the US and local white women formed, leading to the birth of around 2000 mixed race babies across Britain.¹⁸² Many of those babies, known in the press at the time as ‘brown babies’, spent their childhood years in children’s homes or foster care.¹⁸³ During the 1950s and 1960s many people migrated to Scotland - especially to Glasgow - from India, Pakistan and China. In their report for the Inquiry, Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming state that the 1959-60 report of Glasgow’s Children’s Department described the number of mixed race children coming into care as a ‘problem’ that was becoming ‘more pressing’ and was ‘by no means peculiar to Glasgow’.¹⁸⁴ Foster parents who were ‘willing’ to take non-white children were apparently few and far between. In May 1968 a young mixed race child of almost four years died of a brain haemorrhage after purportedly being hit on the head with an iron being held by his foster mother.¹⁸⁵ The child had been initially befriended by the foster parents under the Quarrier’s foster aunt scheme and was later on an extended holiday with them with a view to permanent boarding-out.¹⁸⁶ In March 1969, less than one year later, another boy, who was also mixed race, died whilst in the care of the same foster parents, also of a skull fracture which caused bleeding on the brain.¹⁸⁷ The difficulty in finding, as Phoenix pointed out, foster parents or a children’s home that would look after a non-white child perhaps meant that decisions were made ‘too quickly’ by children’s officers who were under extreme

¹⁷⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Phoenix”, p.2.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Lucy Bland, ‘Thousands of Mixed-Race British Babies Were Born in World War II – and Adoption by Their Black American Fathers was Blocked’, *The Conversation*, 16 May 2019, <<https://theconversation.com/thousands-of-mixed-race-british-babies-were-born-in-world-war-ii-and-adoption-by-their-black-american-fathers-was-blocked-116790>> [accessed 26 July 2021].

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Lucy Bland, ‘Mixed-Race Babies Born After the Second World War’, *History Extra*, 17 December 2019 <<https://www.historyextra.com/period/20th-century/mixed-race-babies-born-after-the-second-world-war/>> [accessed 26 July 2021].

¹⁸⁴ Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming, Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Care in Scotland, 1948-1995, Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, September 2019, p.106.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p.124.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

pressure to find homes for the children.¹⁸⁸ As a result, mixed race children may have been more likely to be placed with unsuitable caregivers in unsafe environments.

Changing Thresholds for Entry to Care

There are hints at a more ‘difficult’ population of children entering residential care after the mid 1960s. Ian Brodie, a former in-house social worker at Quarrier’s, told the Inquiry that the in the late 1970s and early 1980s: ‘Residential staff often struggled with the demands that an older, more problematic child care population presented to them.’¹⁸⁹ The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed a decline in the number of children entering residential care, and an increase in the number of children ‘under supervision’ at home. Children entering residential care in the 1970s were often older and had potentially experienced a longer period of difficulty at home than those in previous decades. Cathie (b.1937), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow, noticed the difference between children who had entered the Home at a young age, compared to those who arrived later in the childhood years. Cathie remembered:

The children who came into the home later on tended to be the bed wetters or unable to read or write. They frightened us. There was a girl called [redacted]. She would scream all night long and none of us got any sleep.¹⁹⁰

The staff at Nazareth House, Glasgow appear to have been unable, or unwilling, to meet the girl’s needs; Cathie remembered that the solution to the girl screaming at night was to ‘remove’ her.¹⁹¹

As Chapter Four will demonstrate, the 1960s and 1970s saw the establishment of an increasing number of specialised institutions for children who had been labelled as ‘maladjusted’ or ‘disturbed’. Quarrier’s, the Nazareth Houses and Smyllum did not view themselves as institutions for ‘maladjusted’ children and appeared to have been reluctant to look after children who had been labelled as such. Sister Anne (b.1951), who worked in Nazareth House, Kilmarnock (1974-1976) told the Inquiry:

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.127.

¹⁸⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, pp.18-19.

¹⁹⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Cathie” (b.1937), p.4.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

I didn't get the sense that the children in Kilmarnock were from disturbed homes. It was more like they were from a family where the mummy had died and the daddy couldn't look after them, from the sort of families that couldn't mind them but the children still felt loved by their families in some way.¹⁹²

A 1972 report from the Scottish Home Department on a visit to Quarrier's noted:

I do not think they are taking really very difficult children and this poses, I think, a large question mark for the future of the homes. At the moment they feel that they can assimilate one delinquent child per cottage!¹⁹³

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed, what Harry Hendrick has termed, a 'rediscovery of child abuse'.¹⁹⁴ An older, 'more problematic child care population' may, in part, be explained by an increasing awareness of child abuse which, in turn, may have brought more children to the attention of authorities. The numbers of children coming into care, or to the attention of child welfare authorities, is not a proxy for the prevalence of child abuse in a society, however. Almost all of the children entering care during the period at hand came from impoverished working class families. To use the numbers of children entering care as a proxy for the prevalence of child abuse would be to suggest that children were not mistreated or abused in middle class families, and this is simply untrue. Middle class families were far less likely to come into contact with the 'cruelty' or local authority social services; middle class parenting rarely faced the same level of scrutiny or interference from outside agencies as working class parents did.

With that being said, the stresses of poverty – poor housing, overcrowding, domestic conflict, social isolation and a lack of emotional support – put children at greater risk of being physically abused by their parents.¹⁹⁵ Recent research has highlighted a strong relationship between parents' level of stress and a greater use of physical discipline.¹⁹⁶ Behavioural

¹⁹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Sister Anne (b.1951), p.4.

¹⁹³ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes: Quarrier's Homes, Inspectors' Reports, 1972.

¹⁹⁴ Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debate* (2003), p.159.

¹⁹⁵ David Howe, *Child Abuse and Neglect: Attachment, Development and Intervention* (2005), p.77.

¹⁹⁶ Ilan Katz, Judy Corylon, Vincent La Placa and Sarah Hunter, *The Relationship Between Parenting and Poverty*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2007, p.31.

problems in early childhood are strongly associated with higher parent-child conflict, low levels of supervision, regular use of shouting and smacking to discipline children, fewer visits to other households and irregular mealtimes.¹⁹⁷ Attitudes towards the physical chastisement of children have always varied, but throughout the period at hand some degree of violence towards children was generally culturally acceptable and viewed as ‘normal’. The stressors of poverty mean that children in poor families were, and continue to be, more likely to be on the receiving end of physical chastisement and physical abuse. More recent research indicates that although there is a clear relationship between socio-economic status and physical abuse, sexual and emotional abuse showed little differentiation.¹⁹⁸ Poverty was not – and is not – the cause of child abuse, but as Harry Hendrick argues, middle class families are able to ‘buy’ their way out of many of the stresses and strains that can lead to abuse.¹⁹⁹

The 1980s and 1990s

The period focused on in this chapter is reflective of the source material. All of those whose testimonies are analysed here were, at one time, in the care of a voluntary children’s home. Voluntary children’s homes such as Smyllum and Quarrier’s had all closed their doors by the end of the 1980s. Abruptly ending our study in the 1970s does so at a point of economic and social change in Scotland. It leaves a significant gap in our understanding of the changing circumstances in which children entered care. Put simply, children enter care because a professional judges that their parents are unable to look after them. That remains the case whether that is owing to the outbreak of the Second World War or to social pressures on a young unmarried mother, or to a parent undergoing inpatient treatment for TB. Today, one of the most common causes for concern for children on the child protection register is parental substance misuse,²⁰⁰ something conspicuously absent from those whose testimonies are analysed here. Almost none of those whose testimonies were analysed here mention that their parents misused drugs, although many talked about issues with alcohol at home.

In the 1980s a new cheap supply of heroin flooded Scotland from Afghanistan and Iran which led to a huge increase in injecting drug use, particularly in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In the

¹⁹⁷ Taulbut and Walsh, *Poverty, Parenting and Poor Health*, p.10.

¹⁹⁸ Katz et al, *Parenting and Poverty*, p.31.

¹⁹⁹ Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, p.169.

²⁰⁰ Scottish Government, *Children’s Social Work Statistics, 2019-2020*, p.16.

mid 1970s there were fewer than 100 injecting drug users in Edinburgh; by the early 1980s, there were over 5000.²⁰¹ Second only to alcohol, heroin is thought to be the most harmful drug to individuals and others.²⁰² The harm of heroin addiction to individuals, their families and communities and to society as a whole is catastrophic. While Glasgow had more users of heroin, Edinburgh became the epicentre of the AIDS epidemic as a result of infections amongst new intravenous drug users. Edinburgh soon became known as the ‘AIDS capital of Europe’. Dr Roy Robertson, a GP on the Muirhouse estate in Edinburgh, made the connection between the practice of needle sharing the AIDS epidemic in Edinburgh.²⁰³ Dr Robertson remembered:

My job was general practice, just dealing with what came through the door. And all of a sudden what came through the door were young people with injection site problems – hepatitis, jaundice. People were dying of overdoses, my patients were found dead in a stairwell or on the streets or in their flats.²⁰⁴

One of the most notable aspects of the situation in Edinburgh in particular was that many of those now injecting heroin were young people living in deprived communities, a distinct move away from the drug culture of the 1960s and 1970s where heroin use was confined to counterculture groups.²⁰⁵ Many people affected by heroin addiction, and in some instances those with HIV and AIDS were also parents to young children. The impact of the heroin and subsequent AIDS epidemic amongst intravenous drug users in the 1980s on children has not been fully examined. Parental misuse of drugs can have serious adverse effects on the health, welfare and development of their children.²⁰⁶ There is evidence that some social work departments sought to develop new services to cope with the increasing number of children requiring care as a result of the epidemic. For instance, in 1991 a senior social worker in Dundee spoke of the need to develop special services for the children of those with HIV

²⁰¹ Talha Burki, ‘The Drugs Crisis and Aids in 1980s Edinburgh’, *The Lancet* 7:11 (2020).

²⁰² David J. Nutt, Lesley A. King and Lawrence D. Phillips, ‘Drug Harms in the UK: A Multicriteria Decision Analysis’, *The Lancet* 376:9752 (2010), pp.1047-1053.

²⁰³ Steven Brocklehurst, ‘How Edinburgh became the Aids Capital of Europe’, *BBC News*, 1 December 2019 < <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-50473604> > [accessed 13 October 2022].

²⁰⁴ Lindsey Johnstone, ‘World Aids Day: How did Edinburgh become the “Aids capital of Europe” in the 1980s’, *Euro News*, < <https://www.euronews.com/2019/12/01/world-aids-day-how-did-edinburgh-become-the-aids-capital-of-europe-in-the-1980s> > [accessed 13 October 2022].

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Natalie C. Potts, ‘Problem Drug Use and Child Protection: Interagency Working and Policies in Scotland’, *Infant Child Protection* 1:6 (2005), pp.189-193.

infections. Dundee social services sought to recruit foster carers to cope with the demands caused by an increasing number of parents suffering from AIDS.²⁰⁷

You might expect a marked increase in the number of children entering care in the 1980s and early 1990s as a result of the heroin epidemic. In reality, the 1980s witnessed the beginning of a continuing decrease in the number of children entering care in Scotland. It is unlikely that a time of such significant social upheaval, rising child poverty, high unemployment and cuts to the welfare state would result in a lesser incidence of children requiring the intervention of social services or care away from home. However, the numbers of children in care at any one time tell us little about levels of child maltreatment in a society. Rather, they are reflective of legislation, policy and the practices of child welfare professionals at the time. For instance, in Muirhouse, one of the communities in Edinburgh worst affected by the heroin epidemic, there was a 30 percent cut in social services in 1980 alone.²⁰⁸ Declining numbers of children in care during the 1980s and early 1990s are reflective of high thresholds for entry into care. In part, increasingly higher thresholds for entry into care are a result of managing tight budgets in social services.²⁰⁹ The consequences of this are a population of children in care with complex needs and high levels of disadvantage, and a number of children who may be left living in situations best described as chronically neglectful.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the circumstances in which children entered care from the 1940s onwards, and how these have changed over time. Through an analysis of testimonies of those who were formerly in care, gathered by the Inquiry, some patterns emerged indicating social changes as well as changes in policy and practice in the Scottish care ‘system’. For instance, when testifying to the circumstances in which they entered care, issues of alcohol abuse and other addictions were largely absent from the testimonies of those born before the 1960s. The testimonies analysed in this chapter point to addiction becoming an increasingly significant factor in the circumstances in which children entered care. Today, parental

²⁰⁷ ‘Aids’ Sufferers’ Children Need Foster Parents’, *Dundee Courier*, 22 March 1991.

²⁰⁸ Lindsey Johnstone, ‘Word Aids Day: How did Edinburgh become the “Aids capital of Europe” in the 1980s’, *Euro News*, < <https://www.euronews.com/2019/12/01/world-aids-day-how-did-edinburgh-become-the-aids-capital-of-europe-in-the-1980s> > [accessed 13 October 2022].

²⁰⁹ Sara Barratt, ‘Test of Time: Children Who Wait (1973) by Jane Rowe and Lydia Lambert’, *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 15:4 (2010), p.630.

addiction and substance misuse remains one of the most common reasons that a child will enter care. The reasons and circumstances in which children enter care have always been myriad and complex. But in the past, particularly before the 1960s, children could enter care for reasons of poverty alone. Today, poverty is the enduring context of children entering the care 'system', but it is never the sole reason. A child coming into care in Scotland today will have experienced significant maltreatment and abuse. A child entering care in the 1950s may have come from an otherwise loving family who fell on hard times. Children in care have always been vulnerable, but the high thresholds for an entry into care today means that those children who are in care are some of the most vulnerable in society. For some children entering care in the 1950s and 1960s, their first experience of maltreatment or abuse was during their time in care.

Chapter Three

Everyday Life in Scottish Children's Homes

The methodological challenges of accessing children's voices in the historical record has long been a focus of historians of childhood.¹ In searching for the perspectives of children, historians of childhood have drawn on a wide range of source materials, such as memoirs, oral history interviews, photographs, objects, letters, diaries and drawings. In the absence of child-authored source materials, scholars such as Nell Musgrove and Kristine Alexander, have read adult-produced sources against the grain.² As a category of analysis, experience provides historians of childhood with new methodological possibilities. It allows us to move beyond seeking voice defined as a largely linguistic phenomenon to be traced in the written historical record. Experience is understood as a culturally and situationally bound social process;³ it is not purely, as Joan Scott described it, 'a linguistic event'.⁴ If that were true then non-verbal children, or infants whose communication is largely confined to their cries, would have no experience at all; they would feel no physical pain, no distress or discomfort, no hunger nor fullness, no contentedness or even, joy. Experience is embodied; this is especially important for historians of childhood to recognise as the ability to understand, categorise and communicate *what* and *how* we feel varies according to developmental stage and ability. As this chapter will demonstrate, non-verbal communications and bodily expressions can be visible in the historical record. As Rob Boddice and Mark Smith (2020) effectively made the case for, experience, as an analytical tool, draws together approaches from both the history of emotions and sensory history.⁵ Emotions, senses and cognition are not 'discrete elements of human experience', but 'culturally contingent and dynamically connected parts of a whole'.⁶ To put it simply, a history of experience asks: what was it like? This chapter, then, asks: what

¹ See Nell Musgrove, Carla Pascoe Leahy and Kristine Moruzi, 'Hearing Children's Voices: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges' in *Children's Voices from the Past: New Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (2019), pp.1-28.

² Nell Musgrove, *The Scars Remain: A Long History of Forgotten Australians and Children's Institutions* (2013); Kristine Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts Cultures* 4:1 (2012), pp.132-154.

³ Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo, *Lived Religion and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2021), p.11.

⁴ Joan W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry* 17:4 (1991), p.793.

⁵ Rob Boddice and Mark Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience: Elements in Histories of Emotions and the Senses* (2020), p.1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.30.

was it like for children in institutional care in Scotland in the years following the Second World War? The aims of this chapter are twofold. First, as stated, to explore children's experiences of care; and second, to consider how we might go about doing so. It is both a study of everyday life in children's homes and an exploration of writing a history of experience. As Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown wrote in their study of everyday life in twentieth century Scotland, 'To track the changes to a society...the historian should track the changes to the everyday.'⁷ Thus, this chapter explores children's day-to-day experiences of living and growing up in children's homes.

The inspection reports of children's homes provide some insight into children's experiences of everyday life. Some of these remain closed to historians owing to data protection laws, particularly those that identified major issues in the course of an inspection. Most reports, however, did not highlight significant instances of poor practice. Before 1968, inspections of voluntary homes were largely carried out by the local authority children's departments, but only relating to the children whom they had placed there. The Scottish Home Department had the overall responsibility for the regulation and inspection of children's homes. Most inspections were carried out over the course of one or two days with what can only be described as a 'light touch'. Children's homes were generally given ample notice of a visit, although the Inspectorate possessed the power to turn up unannounced. Finlay, a former resident of Quarrier's, told the Inquiry:

I don't remember seeing inspectors or there being inspections. I think it was like a closed shop. Nobody came in. There was nobody who came in from the outside to ask us how we were getting on. There were visitors from the charity who came to Quarriers but they never spoke to us. They were shown about and left with the impression that it was a wonderful place for the children. Nobody ever spoke to us or asked us our opinion. You didn't have an opinion anyway. You were told what your opinion was.⁸

It was not uncommon for inspections to take place while the children were attending school, meaning that children were not seen and certainly not spoken to by inspectors. Moreover,

⁷ Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown, 'Introduction: Conceiving the Everyday in the Twentieth Century' in *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth-Century Scotland*, ed. Abrams and Brown (2010), p.1.

⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Finlay, p.6.

what was important to adults was not always what was important to children and as inspection reports reflect the priorities of adults, children's perspectives are often obscured. The testimony of those who were formerly in care, heard before the Inquiry, highlight a deep chasm between the priorities of children and those of the adults who provided and regulated their care. Inspection reports tended to focus on the quantifiable; children's diets, how many beds, how many toys, how many books, how clean, and the number of staff. For an illustrative example, one 1959 inspection of a local authority children's home reads: 'The home is well run. It is bright and comfortable, suitably equipped and furnished.'⁹ For children, however, it was the unquantifiable that was often the most important aspect of their care; love, nurture, physical affection, comfort, or being heard. It was in these aspects that there was a catastrophic failure on the part of Scottish children's homes to meet the emotional needs of children in their 'care'. In giving evidence before the Inquiry, William (b.1948), a former resident of Smyllum, said: 'You got used to the beatings. There was never any compassion and no-one took any interest in you. They didn't care. I could have put up with the beatings if there was some love shown as well. That never happened.'¹⁰ Many, although not all, of the children had experienced neglectful, violent or at the very least, tumultuous home lives prior to entering residential care. The predictable routine of institutional care, including the assurance of a regular hot meal, was not always enough to temper the loss of meaningful familial relationships.

Some inspection reports offer more of an insight into children's experiences than others, often when prompted by a specific incident, such as a complaint from a child's parent. One such example was a 1965 inspection report of Quarrier's Homes, referred to by the Inquiry as 'the 1965 report'.¹¹ Over a period of two weeks a team of inspectors observed the children at various times of the day, interviewed all of the staff delivering care to the children, ate meals in the cottages, visited the school, the nurseries, the hospital and consulted with senior members of the organisation, such as the Director, Superintendent and the Matron.¹² In this instance, it is unclear from the records what prompted such an in-depth inspection, but the result was a highly critical and, at times, shrewd inspection report. Such a lengthy inspection and report was highly unusual at the time.

⁹ NRS, ED11/520/1, West Lothian's Inspector Reports 1959-68, 1959.

¹⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of William, p.9.

¹¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, p.28.

¹² NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

As part of the 1965 inspection of Quarrier's Homes, inspectors each spent time immersing themselves in the daily routine of each Cottage. Their reports of each cottage give an intimate insight into the everyday that are usually too inconsequential to make it into the official record. Children's experiences of care in Quarrier's could vary significantly from one cottage to the next. Unlike Smyllum or the Nazareth Houses, houseparents at Quarrier's were given a large amount of autonomy over the daily routine and practices. Supervision, standardisation of practice and regulations were antithetic to the ethos of Quarrier's which sought to replicate, through the cottage system, a private family home life. The disparity between cottages was noted in the 1965 inspection report, which read:

...life in the cottages is determined by their individual capacities, disabilities and needs, by the wide standards of care from one cottage to another, by the overriding conditions of location and general organisation, and by the survival, mitigated in many cases by common sense, energy and fortitude of individual houseparents, of outmoded traditions and practices.¹³

Some children could experience Quarrier's as a place where all of their needs were met, and others, as a place of neglect. Alan (b.1957), a former resident of Quarrier's, told the Inquiry:

I know that people have talked about having a lot of bad experiences in Quarriers. I have spoken with other people regarding their own experiences. I have told them that my experience was really good. They have said that theirs wasn't. They were having a bad experience and they were probably only two or three cottages away. Every cottage was different.¹⁴

The 1965 inspection report drew attention to poor caregiving practices in some cottages at Quarrier's that, in some instances, continued for decades. It also found that in some cottages, such as Alan reported, children received an 'exceptional' standard of care. One such cottage was Cottage 5, home at that time to 12 boys and girls, and headed by a housemother and housefather.¹⁵ They were described by the inspector as being a 'young couple' in their 'early

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Alan", p.24.

¹⁵ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

30's' with two children of their own.¹⁶ As a couple, they were noted as being 'well suited...and complement each other, both are devoted to the children and I was impressed by their relationship with the children.'¹⁷ The housemother of Cottage 5, the inspector said, was a 'gentle warm hearted woman, and handles the little ones, of whom she has quite a number, with affectionate care.'¹⁸ And the housefather was 'a bright happy person, with a sense of humour, he is very active and hard working and very acceptable to the children and a real support to his wife in the home.'¹⁹ The inspector painted a detailed picture of the temperaments of the houseparents and their affectionate relationship with the children in their care. The inspector shared a meal with the children and the houseparents during the depths of Scottish winter in the 'cosy kitchen' and found the children 'chatty' and 'the occasion a social one'.²⁰ Unusually, the quality and quantity of the food was not the focus here, but the dynamics of cottage life. Indeed, the details of what was eaten were not even mentioned by the inspector.

In the early evening, the inspector observed the children 'spread themselves between the playroom and the sitting room' where there was plenty of 'play equipment, a record player, a shop, modelling material, games and books.'²¹ Not only that, but the houseparents 'were involved in all that the children were doing' and 'All were happy and relaxed and interested in their pursuits.'²² This intimate depiction of a relaxed, playful evening in Cottage 5 was a somewhat stark contrast to what was observed in some of the other cottages. For instance, Cottage 7, home to 12 girls and 2 boys, who were looked after by a single housemother who had been at Quarrier's since 1935.²³ The housemother of Cottage 7 was described by the inspector as being 'a forbidding woman, stern and scrupulously just.'²⁴ Unlike Cottage 5, this Home was described as 'efficient' and although there was 'real effort to make the children comfortable...stimulus, fun, interest and recreation are at a low ebb.'²⁵ The chatty, social meal times of Cottage 5 stood out in comparison to some other cottages where 'the Children

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

²⁵ Ibid.

lined up to have hands inspected before filing in to eat.’²⁶ Although the voices of the children are not directly accessible in these reports, through observation, we get a sense of children’s experiences across the various cottages whose atmosphere ranged from playful and loving to stern and austere.

As historians, we are tasked with reconstructing the past within the limitations of our source materials, and our methodological and conceptual tools. As historians of experience, we are, as Fanny H. Brontons so aptly put it, seeking to establish the ‘contexts of possibility.’²⁷ As a historian of a period within living memory, a temporal nearness and vague cultural familiarity of the period at hand can lull you into a false sense of security. We must not, as Smith and Boddice put it, underestimate how rapidly ‘conceptual, bodily, cultural and political’ change can take place.²⁸ Although it may not always seem like it, even historians of the very recent past are operating in a vastly different social and cultural framework to those in which they study. Our own moment in history, our biases and worldview colour our reading of our sources. New evidence, information and sources always present a challenge to established historical narratives. To put it simply, we can only work with what we have. The 1965 inspection report of Quarrier’s was, overall, highly critical and offered astute observations into the inner workings of an organisation that was largely hostile to outsiders. Not only that, but it correctly predicted future trends in the Scottish care ‘system’, stating ‘it seems certain that future development will attach even greater importance to the placing of children in homes which are both physically and socially part of the children’s natural environment.’²⁹ The foresight and perceptiveness of the inspectors lends credibility to its positive analysis that may otherwise have been taken with a proverbial ‘pinch of salt’.

The glowing report of the houseparents of Cottage 5 was based on the inspector’s own observations, but it was also gleaned from the opinions of those who lived and worked alongside them. The inspector concluded that:

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Fanny H. Brontons, ‘The Experience of Cancer Illness: Spain and Beyond During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century’, PhD Thesis, Carlos III University, Madrid, 2017 as cited by Boddice and Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience*, p.50.

²⁸ Boddice and Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience*, pp.28-29.

²⁹ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier’s Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

[the houseparents of Cottage 5] are a good example of a couple, with very ordinary intelligence but with big hearts, hardworking and using to the full every quality and skill 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 exceptional standard of care.³⁰

In 2001, some 36 years after this report was written, the housefather of Cottage 5 was found guilty on eight charges of raping and sexually assaulting three girls at Quarrier's between 1961 and 1968. This is not to suggest that the inspector should have been alert to potential signs of sexual abuse, this in itself would be an anachronism, and a full discussion of the historical perceptions and knowledge of child sexual abuse are beyond the scope of this chapter.³¹ But rather, it highlights the difficulty of accessing children's experiences of 'care' in records which were written *by* and *for* adults. We must not ignore what we now know to be true of many voluntary children's homes; an absence of evidence of abuse is not evidence of the absence of abuse. Since the 1990s victims and survivors of abuse in 'care' have increasingly felt able to publicly tell their story, and child abuse inquiries have proliferated across the Western world.³² The testimony of those who were formerly in 'care' can, at times, corroborate or confirm what we find in archival records, but more often than not, it disrupts, undermines and even obliterates the narratives found in the records of child welfare professionals. One former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow told the Inquiry that 'fictional menus' were put out for inspections, alongside 'teddies', 'nice little rugs at the side of the beds' and 'nice pyjamas folded up' which were only brought out for the benefit of inspectors.³³ Thus, in seeking to uncover the perspectives and experiences of children seen only through the bureaucratic gaze we must exercise extreme caution.

³⁰ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

³¹ See Adrian Bingham, "It Would be Better for the Newspapers to Call a Spade a Spade": the British Press and Child Sexual Abuse, c.1918-90', *History Workshop Journal* 88 (2019), pp.89-110; Lucy Delap, "Disgusting Details Which are Best Forgotten": Disclosures of Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies* 57 (2018), pp.79-107; Mathew Thomson, 'Sexual Danger and the Age of the Paedophile' in *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (2013), pp.153-183; Louise A. Jackson, Neil Davidson, Linda Fleming, David M. Smale and Richard Sparks, 'Women in Scottish Policing' in Louise A. Jackson, *Police and Community in Twentieth-Century Scotland* (2020), pp.185-88.

³² Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain, ed. *Apologies and the Legacy of the Abuse of Children in 'Care': International Perspectives* (2015), p.1; see also Katie Wright, Shurlee Swain, Johanna Sköld and Sari Braithwaite, *The Age of Inquiry: A Global Mapping of Institutional Abuse Inquiries* <<http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/research/ageofinquiry/index.html>>.

³³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Testimony of "Poppy" (b.1944), p.11.

Speaking Without Words

Those searching for more direct access to children's perspectives and voices in the records of child welfare professionals will likely be sorely disappointed. As we have seen, it was simply not reflective of the practice of child welfare professionals nor the intended function of the records. Sometimes, however, the perspectives and experiences of children are recoverable through record of observable bodily expressions or actions. For historians of children living in institutional care, perhaps the most prominent example is running away. Even when recorded only as a number, the frequency of incidences of children running away from a Home offers some insight into children's perspectives. Although it is not always clear if children were primarily running *away* or running *towards* somewhere else, we get a sense of some unhappiness or discontent with their current situation. Running away is perhaps viewed as the ultimate agentic expression in children; it is highly visible, it is rebellious, it is impactful, it is deliberate. By valorising this type of action as demonstrating children's agency in the past, however, we do so by privileging an adult-centric view of what it means to shape our lives, and history. Children's actions that were not rebellious or deliberate can too be observable in the written historical record. This section explores bedwetting as a point of access to children's experiences of institutional care. It hopes to demonstrate the possibilities of accessing children's past experiences and perspectives through non-verbal, bodily expressions.

Bedwetting, or enuresis, was endemic in children's homes. This was true in almost all institutional care settings in Scotland and beyond. Between 1934 and 1940 two psychologists from Yale University, O. Hobart Mowar and Molly Mowar, agreed to serve as the houseparents of a children's home in New Haven, Connecticut.³⁴ Writing in 1980, O. Hobart Mowar reflected that: 'There was just one drawback: the place stank to high heaven of rancid urine, and upon inquiry we were told that about half of the Cottage's inhabitants were enuretic.'³⁵ Many former residents of Scottish children's homes recall a pervasive smell of

³⁴ O. Hobart Mowrer, 'Enuresis: The Beginning Work – What Really Happened', *Journal of the History of Behavioural Sciences* 16 (1980), p.25.

³⁵ Ibid.

urine, such as Duncan (b.1966) who remembered that the dormitories in Smyllum ‘smelled constantly of urine and carbolic soap.’³⁶

Memory and scent are entangled. Through smell, memories can resurface that might otherwise have never been recalled.³⁷ Other times, however, the memory may never resurface but a person might experience the emotion of something that happened in the past.³⁸ Researchers have found a tight connection between smell, emotion and memory, and these connections are visible in the human brain.³⁹ The receptors in a human’s nose are only one synapse (a region where nerve impulses are transmitted and received) away from emotion and memory.⁴⁰ Smell is the only fully developed sense a foetus has in the womb, and it is the most developed sense in children until aged 10, when sight takes over.⁴¹ Since smell and emotion are stored as one memory, our childhood experiences tend to determine the smells we will like and dislike for the rest of our life.⁴² Smell is significant both to experiences in the past and the experience of remembering.

Memories evoked by smells, known as olfactory memory, tend to be older memories from people’s childhood years, specifically located to the first decade of life.⁴³ For verbal and visual cues, people’s memories tend to come from their teenage years and 20s.⁴⁴ Memories of smell are also found to be more emotional and vivid than those triggered by visual or verbal

³⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Duncan”, p.45; Carbolic soap, distinctive due to its pink colour and strong smell, was an antiseptic soap containing carbolic acid which was widely used in the twentieth century, particularly in institutional settings.

³⁷ Rachel Hertz, interviewed by Yasemin Splakoglu, ‘Why Do Smells Trigger Strong Memories?’, Live Science, 8 December 2019 <<https://www.livescience.com/why-smells-trigger-memories.html>> [accessed 11 February 2021].

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Johan Lundstrom quoted by Helen Fields, ‘Fragrant Flashbacks’, *Association for Psychological Science*, 28 March 2012, <<https://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/fragrant-flashbacks>> [accessed 12 February 2021].

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Dawn Goldworm interviewed by Colleen Walsh, ‘What the Nose Knows’, *The Harvard Gazette*, 27 February 2020 <<https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2020/02/how-scent-emotion-and-memory-are-intertwined-and-exploited/#:~:text=Odors%20take%20a%20direct%20route,limbic%20system%2C%E2%80%9D%20Murthy%20said.&text=For%20decades%20individuals%20and%20businesses,the%20evocative%20power%20of%20smell.>>> [accessed 15 February 2021].

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Johan Willander and Maria Larsson, ‘Smell Your Way Back to Childhood: Autobiographical Odor Memory’, *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 12 (2006), pp.240-244.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

cues.⁴⁵ Olfactory memories are also highly stable and resistant to interference.⁴⁶ Put another way, memories of smell have a long lasting imprint that is seldom disturbed by later experiences.⁴⁷ The part of the human brain which processes smells, the amygdala, also processes emotional experience and emotional memory.⁴⁸ As Robert Muchembled put it, ‘our sense of smell is the primary seat of our emotions.’⁴⁹ It reacts to potential threats quickly, before our other senses can validate the message.⁵⁰ What smells are categorised and subsequently experienced as ‘revolting’ or ‘lovely’ is learned based on experience.

The enmeshed nature of smell and emotion means it is an important aspect of inquiry for any historian interested in experience. The connection between smell and memory is of interest to any historian working with sources based on memory, such as witness testimony. Olfactory memories are a common feature of the testimony heard before the Inquiry. The Inquiry’s focus on people’s childhood years, when most olfactory memories are formed, means it is perhaps more prominent than in memories from adulthood.

Smell was a way that caregivers detected, and punished, children who had wet the bed. June (b.1965) remembered that a caregiver in a Nazareth House ‘would ask if anyone had wet the bed. There was no need for her to ask as she could smell it when she walked in the room.’⁵¹ John (b.1959), a former resident of Nazareth House, Lasswade, remembered trying to cover up wetting the bed but found that you would have to ‘sleep in the bed with the stale urine smell for two or three days’.⁵² Children who wet themselves during the day were subjected to having their underwear, rather than their sheets, checked for the smell of urine. Mary (b.1957), a former resident of a Nazareth House, said:

⁴⁵ Helen Fields, ‘Fragrant Flashbacks’, *Association for Psychological Science*, 28 March 2012, <<https://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/fragrant-flashbacks>> [accessed 12 February 2021].

⁴⁶ H. Lawless and T. Engen, ‘Associations to Odors: Interference, Mnemonics, and Verbal Labelling’, *J. Exp. Psycho. Hum. Learn. Mem.* 3 (1977), pp.52-59.

⁴⁷ Maria Larsson, interviewed by Fields in ‘Fragrant Flashbacks’.

⁴⁸ Rachel S. Herz, ‘The Role of Odor-Evoked Memory in Psychological and Physiological Health’, *Brain Sci.* 6:3 (2016), p.2.

⁴⁹ Robert Muchembled, *Smells: A Cultural History of Odours in Early Modern Times* (2020), p.20.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “June”, p.3.

⁵² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “John”, p.9.

Sister [redacted] used to get us to line up and tell us to take our underwear off and she smelled them for urine. By the time she got to me I would have wet myself out of fear. If she could smell any urine you were made to put your pants on your head.’⁵³

This shaming practice is reported by those who were in Nazareth Homes more than two decades earlier. For instance, Maryann (b.1933) recalled:

They used to make us take our knickers off at night and one of the older girls would smell them. I was always in trouble and would be made to stand in the corner with my pants on my head.⁵⁴

Smell was used to detect and regulate children’s behaviours which were deemed undesirable by adults. The unpleasant smell of urine was part of the humiliating punishments that children were subjected to by their caregivers for enuresis. Some children in ‘care’ were stigmatised as ‘smelly’ for bedwetting, usually by other children. For instance, Graham (b.1962), a former resident of Smyllum, was bullied for wetting the bed, he said: ‘the other boys called me names like “smelly”’.⁵⁵ Bedwetting was viewed by some caregivers as the antithesis to cleanliness; children who wet the bed were told they were “dirty”, “pishy” or even “evil”.⁵⁶

The everydayness of bedwetting in institutional care meant that practices surrounding it developed as rituals. Shaming practices were embedded in institutional practices and were therefore part of children’s day-to-day experience of ‘care’. Bedwetting was very much an embodied experience. The uncomfortable feeling of wet sheets clinging to skin loomed large in people’s recollections. Sheryl (b.1961), remembered that in Nazareth House, Kilmarnock she ‘used to try and hide the fact I had wet the bed, but when I did, it meant my sheets and pyjamas would still be wet when I went to bed that night.’⁵⁷ Pat (b.1959) remembered being punished for wetting the bed in Smyllum, he said: ‘If you had wet the bed you would be forced to lie for an hour with the wet sheets covering your body.’⁵⁸ Many former residents of

⁵³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Mary”, p.11.

⁵⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Maryann”, p.5.

⁵⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Graham”, p.6.

⁵⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Alan”, p.17; “Christina”, p.6; “Paul”, p.3.

⁵⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Sheryl”, p.8.

⁵⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Pat”, p.4.

the voluntary children's homes mentioned in this chapter remember them as being cold and inadequately heated, contextualising the experience of being forced to lie in or wear wet sheets. Ann (b.1947) who gave evidence on behalf of her late mother (1923-1996) who had been in Quarrier's from c.1933-1942, shared her mother's memory of soiling her sheets when unwell with gastroenteritis.⁵⁹ As a punishment at Quarrier's, 'they wrapped her bedsheets right round her head and mouth and dragged her down to the outhouses where they made her stand naked and wash the soiled sheets in cold water. That was in winter. She remembered actually having icicles in her nose. It was that cold.'⁶⁰ Quarrier's outhouses were unheated buildings in a rural part of the West of Scotland which regularly witnessed temperatures below freezing during the winter months. The practice of forcing children to wash soiled sheets in the freezing outhouses of Quarrier's continued until the 1970s, and perhaps later. To illustrate, Johanna Brady (b.1952), a former deputy housemother at Quarrier's (1972-1979) told the Inquiry:

The children told me that if children wet the bed in the cottages, they were quite often forced out of bed. The cottages all had outhouses that were joined. They were cold places... They had huge sinks and washboards. Many of the children said they'd had to wash their sheets in those sinks when they were younger.⁶¹

Several punishments for bedwetting found in children's homes were intended to make children feel cold, wet, uncomfortable and ashamed. For example, Finlay, whose date of birth is undisclosed, remembered being put in a cold bath in Quarrier's, he said: 'They did that in the middle of winter. You would be sitting there in a freezing cold bath.'⁶² And Terence (b.1951), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen told the Inquiry: 'If anyone had wet the bed, they were made to stand in the corner with their wet sheets. When we took our sheets to get washed, the nuns would hit us with what looked like industrial dry rods... We were called filthy urchins. We were degraded.'⁶³

⁵⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ann", p.6.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Johanna Brady, p.13.

⁶² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Finlay", p.8.

⁶³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Terence", p.3.

Shame is a social emotion.⁶⁴ It is elicited through the ‘gaze’ of others, real or imagined. Sharon (b.1969), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen, felt compelled to give a statement to the Inquiry because ‘I had such a strong memory of the children in the washroom that were marched past us carrying their sheets for bed-wetting. I felt their embarrassment and shame.’⁶⁵ Anne (b.1962), a former resident of Nazareth House, Lasswade when talking about bedwetting, told the Inquiry: ‘You were basically encouraged to humiliate them.’⁶⁶ Children were sometimes punished for refusing to participate in shaming rituals. As Margaret (b.1950), a former resident of Smyllum recalled:

When I wet the bed, I was made to put the wet sheets from my bed around my head and walk up and down the dormitory. This was in front of the other children in the dormitory to make an example of me. I wasn’t the only one who wet the bed. All the children got this treatment. This was a daily thing for me after I wet the bed. It just went on and on. People used to laugh at us. It was just humiliating. It got to the point where people didn’t laugh anymore but if they didn’t laugh, they got smacked by the nuns.⁶⁷

Shaming rituals could be so pervasive that they blended in to the everyday; they became embedded in the mundanity of the daily routine. It was such an ordinary occurrence that other children had to be beaten into performing shaming. Without an audience of children willing to point and laugh, the shaming was less effective. For public humiliation to be ‘effective’, it required audience participation. The intended recipient of this shaming practice went beyond the child being shamed to other children witnessing the shaming. Public shaming was used to enforce the rules of the institution, communicate expectations and deter any other potential ‘offenders’.⁶⁸ Moreover, coercing children into participating in the humiliation disempowered them as a group and reinforced the authority of the adults.

⁶⁴ David Nash and Anne-Marie Kilday, *Cultures of Shame: Exploring Crime and Morality in Britain 1600-1900* (2010), p.3; see also Julien A. Deonna, Raffaele Rodogno and Fabrice Teroni, ‘The Social Emotion’ in *In Defence of Shame: The Faces of an Emotion* (2011), pp.21-42.

⁶⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Sharon”, p.13.

⁶⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Anne”, p.6.

⁶⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margaret”, p.3.

⁶⁸ This is similar to how public shaming was used to communicate the law in early modern communities in Scotland. See Nash and Kilday, ‘Private Passions and Public Penance: Popular Shaming Rituals in Pre-Modern Britain’, p.36.

Shame was a significant mechanism through which adults reinforced their position of power over children in their care. Shame and humiliation were, as one former resident of Smyllum Park Orphanage described, a ‘weapon for the nuns to use’.⁶⁹ Shame in disciplinary practice was more than keeping control over potentially unruly children; it was about reforming, shaping and regulating children’s sense of self. With sin a constant threat, disciplinary rituals and practices were necessary to reform the soul. Physical dirt – such as unwanted bodily fluids – were frequently a trigger for disciplinary shaming practices and even physical abuse. Physical cleanliness was not separated from moral cleanliness. As one former resident of a Nazareth House said: ‘The nuns would tell us that cleanliness was next to godliness.’⁷⁰

Many children arriving directly into institutional care had suffered extreme neglect, lacked adequate clothing, were often malnourished and suffering from untreated infections. Under the Glasgow Children’s Department policy, children who were taken into care during the night, at the weekend or during a holiday were taken directly to a reception home, where a medical examination was to be carried out within 24 hours.⁷¹ Otherwise, children were first taken to a Corporation Clinic for a medical examination.⁷² When children arrived directly into institutional care they were often taken immediately to be washed by a caregiver, who was, of course, a stranger to them. When Margaret arrived in Smyllum in the 1950s she was taken to the bathroom by a nun who ‘forcibly took the clothes off [her]’.⁷³ Margaret was then placed in a ‘hot bath...scrubbed really hard with carbolic soap...then cut [her] hair short.’⁷⁴ Several former residents spoke of having their hair cut short or even shaved off without their consent. This could be a distressing and disempowering experience for young children. Caregivers may have felt it necessary if long hair was particularly matted or had lice. Sister Clio, who had been in Nazareth House, Glasgow in the 1960s and 1970s, told the Inquiry: ‘I do recall that headlice was a constant problem that had to be dealt with. It was all part of the care for the children and sometimes this meant that the child’s hair required to be cut.’⁷⁵ What was perhaps a solely practical issue for caregivers was emotionally distressing for some children.

⁶⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of William Whicher, p.4.

⁷⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jennifer”, p.22.

⁷¹ NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children’s Department, Inspection of Child Care Service.

⁷² NRS, ED11/669/1, Glasgow Children’s Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, January/February 1966, Records, Form MR1, p.11.

⁷³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margaret”, p.2.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Sister Clio, p.4.

Headlice was a significant problem in institutional care settings. Children were sometimes viewed as culpable for having headlice. For instance, Anne, whose time in care spanned the 1950s and 1960s, recalled that Saturday mornings included chores and lice checks by the nuns.⁷⁶ If you were found to have lice, you were not given any pocket money.⁷⁷ Some caregivers subjected children to physical violence for having headlice. Maureen, who was in Nazareth House, Glasgow in the 1950s told the Inquiry:

The first thing Sister [redacted] did was grab me by the hair and shake my head. She called me a filthy brat. She said I had lice and she was going to delouse me. She then took a steel comb and dragged it through my hair. The pain was awful. My head was bleeding. I was screaming. She just called me a dirty brat.⁷⁸

Practiced in this way, delousing treatment was physically and psychologically painful as children were verbally shamed by caregivers. This aspect of care was perhaps unavoidably uncomfortable for some children, but some caregivers did not approach it gently, physically or emotionally.

Several former residents of Roman Catholic children's homes recall being bathed in Jeyes Fluid, a disinfectant. The use of disinfectant baths is not mentioned by any respondents to the Inquiry who were in other Christian homes such as Quarrier's, Aberlour or Barnardo's. It is unclear whether this practice was exclusive to Catholic institutions but based on the testimony given before the Inquiry, it certainly appears this way. Jeyes fluid was primarily used for domestic cleaning but it was sometimes used for medicinal purposes. For instance, in 1888 the *British Medical Journal* reported that Dr Woodman had success in treating patients with scarlet fever through 'warm baths with some Jeyes fluid'.⁷⁹ By the 1950s, however, household soap was widely available and disinfectant baths were no longer a common practice.⁸⁰ Where disinfectant baths were used, the fluid was to be heavily diluted and the water warm.

⁷⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Anne", p.5.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Maureen", p.3.

⁷⁹ John Woodman, 'On Sanitary Science or Preventive Medicine', *British Medical Journal* 2:1439 (1888), pp.173-174.

⁸⁰ For a cultural history of soap see Anne McClintock, 'Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising' in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995), pp.207-231.

Jeyes fluid baths were remembered as being uncomfortable and even painful by a number of those who testified before the Inquiry. The ritual of a disinfectant bath was intended to physically ‘purify’ children of lice and scabies, but it also represented a moral purification of the children’s former selves. Jill, a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen, remembered that all children got given a ‘Jeyes bath’ on arrival.⁸¹ Jill tried to resist the Jeyes bath, resulting in a physical struggle with her caregiver using scissors to cut her clothes off. Jill told the Inquiry: ‘I got chunked in the bath. The nipping started straight away. It felt like my skin was burning. It was really bad.’⁸² Recalling her first day, Jill remembered a nun calling her a ‘Glasgow tink’, a derogatory word for a Gypsy Traveller, implying someone is ‘dirty’.⁸³ As Anne McClintock demonstrates, soap, or in this instance, disinfectant, was a racialised object in Victorian Britain. Soap, McClintock argues, ‘offered the promise of spiritual salvation and regeneration...a regime of domestic hygiene that could restore the threatened potency of the imperial body politic and the race.’⁸⁴ Many of the practices described here as taking place between the 1930s and 1970s could be traced back to the institutions Victorian origins.

The practice of bathing children in disinfectant was particularly prevalent in Nazareth Houses. It was also reported by those formerly in Nazareth House Lodge in Belfast. The striking similarities in institutional culture are unsurprising when you consider the movement of the sisters between Nazareth Houses across the British Isles. The testimony of a former resident of Nazareth House Lodge, Belfast makes the symbolic element of this painful shaming practice clear. Peter, who was in care in the 1960s recalled having a bucket of cold water and Jeyes fluid thrown over him. He said:

As the Jeyes Fluid hit our skin and we squealed she would laugh. They washed us with carbolic soap. They said “stay little children, we are here to wash the sin out of you. You are sinners, open wide.” They put the soap in our mouths to wash our souls clean.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jill”, p.16.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.14.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ McClintock, ‘Soft-Soaping Empire’, p.211.

⁸⁵ Historical Institutional Abuse Inquiry, Northern Ireland, SNB 037, Line 19.

Through the physical pain of undiluted disinfectant, children were ‘purified’ and ready to be reformed into obedient Catholic children. For children, this was a physically and psychologically painful experience. Having newly arrived into care, children were likely in a state of distress and confusion, having suffered a period of extreme neglect, and perhaps a family breakdown or domestic violence. One of their first experiences with their new caregivers was then harsh disciplinary caregiving that stripped them of their dignity. For caregivers, this intended to stop the threat of children introducing lice or scabies to the institution, but it also subjugated the children, introducing them to the disciplinary regime of the Home.

Although attempts to prevent and control lice and contagious diseases such as flu or whooping cough were a constant feature of institutional life, it is the practices surrounding bedwetting that are most prominent in both the archival records and people’s memories of the day-to-day in children’s homes. Today, bedwetting is widely understood as something that children are not in control of. In some instances, it can be understood as a non-verbal communication of distress or stress.⁸⁶ This understanding of bedwetting informed some people’s memories, who were able to make retrospective connections between acute life events and wetting the bed as a child. Matt, whose date of birth is undisclosed, said that after his father was killed in 1947, he started wetting the bed in Quarrier’s.⁸⁷ Matt told the Inquiry: ‘[the cottage parents] would beat me and make me stand in ice cold water with ice in it in the winter for maybe up to half an hour...They would also make me stand naked all night on a cold concrete floor.’⁸⁸ Margaret (b.1949) who started wetting the bed in Nazareth House, Glasgow after her mother died, remembered: ‘[The nun] would put me in a cold bath then afterwards I would have to wash the wet sheets in the cold bath and then hang them out. They were thick cotton sheets and my hands used to be cold and all cut from the cold.’⁸⁹ Those who looked after the children were unable - or unwilling - to make the connection between stressful life events and emotional, developmental or behavioural issues in the children.

⁸⁶ Carol Joinson, Sarah Sullivan, Alexander von Gontard and Jon Heron, ‘Stressful Events in Early Childhood and Developmental Trajectories of Bedwetting at School Age’, *Journal of Paediatric Psychology* 41:9 (2016), pp.1002-1010.

⁸⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Matt”, p.5.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margaret”, p.2.

As this chapter has highlighted, experiences of bedwetting are prominent in the testimony given before the Inquiry by those who were formerly in the care of Quarrier's, Smyllum and the Nazareth Houses. It also appears with some frequency in the archival records of children's departments and children's homes. For instance, a record from c.1944 from Quarrier's Homes stated:

The objectionable habits of children who are bed-wetters and given to soiling their bed clothing and wearing apparel are very difficult to cure. The utmost sympathy is felt for House mothers who have to put up with all the consequent inconvenience [of bedwetting].⁹⁰

Bedwetting, then, was primarily viewed within institutions as an inconvenience to adult caregivers and as a bad 'habit' of children that could be disciplined out of them. Research carried out in the interwar years reflected an understanding that bedwetting was a symptom of nervousness or anxiety.⁹¹ Child guidance clinics, which were well established across Scotland by the 1950s, treated enuresis as an emotional problem. This understanding of bedwetting was not reflected in the practices of caregivers in children's homes, however. For instance, even after c.1977, once Quarrier's had appointed a child psychologist to treat behavioural problems such as 'bedwetting, soiling, sleep disturbance and sexualised behaviour'⁹², children continued to be punished for wetting the bed. Although the psychologist often 'criticised staff for inappropriate responses to bed wetting such as punishment', some houseparents were not receptive to her guidance and 'resented the criticism'.⁹³ Despite significant shifts and advances in child psychology and in understandings of bedwetting, the attitudes and practices of many caregivers in voluntary children's homes remained stagnant. In part, this was owing to the lack of training available or required for those looking after children in residential care settings.⁹⁴ With that being said, this attitude towards bedwetting persisted in some care settings long after training had become widely available. As many voluntary children's homes were staffed by those who viewed their role as one of religious

⁹⁰ Tom Shaw, *Time To Be Heard*, Commissioned by the Scottish Government, March 2011, 2.10.2.

⁹¹ John Stewart, *Child Guidance in Britain, 1918-1955: The Dangerous Age of Childhood* (2013), p.89.

⁹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, p.21.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁹⁴ See Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming, *Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Care in Scotland, 1948-1995*, Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, September 2019, pp.188-194.

service, there was often little interest in training. In other words, many houseparents did not view themselves as childcare professionals.

The endemic nature of bedwetting in children's homes was, therefore, not viewed as a potential failure on the part of the institution to meet children's emotional needs. As it was not viewed as a reflection of potential bad practice, but rather on the 'bad' behaviour of the children, it is highly visible in the written historical records as well as in the memories of those who were formerly in 'care'. It was a daily thorn on the side of houseparents as it created additional laundry and work in dealing with soiled sheets, and from their perspective, in disciplining 'naughty' children, and sometimes, a financial cost in the form of ruined bedclothing and mattresses. For instance, the record of one inspector's visit to children who were boarded-out in Aberdeen in 1946 noted: 'Eldest boarded-out boy severe enuretic, shares one bed with two other children. Guardian has made repeated complaints. Had no compensation for two flock mattresses and one wire mattress destroyed.'⁹⁵ The 1965 inspection of Quarrier's also noted that 'Enuresis is fairly common and the laundry deals with 50 sheets per day of children who suffer thus'.⁹⁶

Bedwetting is one way in which historians can uncover the experiences of children in 'care' in the past. Its physicality is what makes it so visible. The inconvenience it caused to adults meant it was the source of much annoyance and therefore, complaints were frequently noted in the written record. For children, it was an embodied and often an emotional experience. Many of the strategies employed by caregivers to manage bedwetting instilled a sense of shame and fear that persisted long after a child had left 'care'. Frank Docherty, whose date of birth is undisclosed, said:

I had been warned that I would be crucified in prison for bed wetting. I went to jail and I was terrified. In Smyllum, if I woke up in the night, I'd check to see if I was wet or dry. If I was wet, I knew what would happen in the morning. If I was dry, I would be afraid to go back to sleep in case I did wet the bed. From that first night in prison, I

⁹⁵ NRS, ED11/165, Report for Homes for Boarded Out Children in the Aberdeen Area Visited by Lady Margaret Kerr on the 29 March 1946, Moss Farm, Ellom.

⁹⁶ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

never wet the bed again. Fear made me start wetting the bed, and fear made me stop it.⁹⁷

Children restricted how much they drank no matter how thirsty they might have been in order to try and avoid the painful penalties for wetting the bed; they experienced the discomfort of lying in cold, wet and smelly sheets as they felt too scared, embarrassed or ashamed to alert an adult. And if detected, some children were forced to stand outside, enduring biting Scottish temperatures, or in cold and draughty dormitories, with wet sheets over their heads; some children were plunged into agonising cold baths, and some children were beaten so badly that they carried the physical scars into adulthood.

Conclusion

Through an exploration of experiences of bedwetting in children's homes in the past, this chapter has offered a glimpse into the perspectives of children in the past without direct access to their 'voices'. The view of many of those staffing children's homes during the period at hand that bedwetting was simply a 'bad habit' and not a reflection of emotional distress - and potentially their poor caregiving practices - meant that it was highly visible in the written historical record. Similarly, through combining the analysis of official inspection reports of children's homes and the recollections of former residents, this chapter has revealed a gulf between the picture constructed in the official records and the perspectives of the children whose wellbeing the inspections were purportedly concerned with.

Direct access to children's perspectives or voices in the historic records of child welfare professionals are a rarity. Examples of seemingly direct access to children's voices are always mediated through the bureaucratic gaze of child welfare professionals. The poor record keeping practices of voluntary children's homes can have lifelong consequences for former residents who may be left unable to answer basic questions about their past, such as why they entered care or where and when they were born. Surviving records may also present a narrative that challenges the memories and understandings of those whom they wrote about. Although inspection reports of children's homes can offer historians some of the most detailed insights into everyday life and caregiving practices, children's voices remain

⁹⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Frank Docherty, pp.23-24.

somewhat muted. A history of experience allows us to move beyond the linguistic and to think about children's perspectives and voices more broadly to include non-verbal communications and bodily expressions that may be observable in the historical record.

Chapter Four

Emotional Regimes of Scottish Children's Homes

In giving evidence before the Inquiry, William (b.1948), a former resident of Smyllum, said: 'You got used to the beatings. There was never any compassion and no-one took any interest in you. They didn't care. I could have put up with the beatings if there was some love shown as well. That never happened.'¹ In recent years, there has been an increasing recognition that neglect, both physical and emotional, has a more severe and adverse impact on a child's development than abuse.² Despite a growing emphasis on and awareness of children's emotional wellbeing, there was a catastrophic failure to meet the emotional needs of children in many Scottish children's homes in the 1940s to 1970s. Borrowing the term from William Reddy, this chapter first explores the 'emotional regimes' of Smyllum, Bellevue, Aberlour, the Nazareth Houses, Quarrier's Homes and some smaller local authority children's homes.³ It finds that children in larger institutions in particular experienced emotional regimes as punitive, austere and lacking in compassion.

First, this chapter will contextualise these regimes in the wider landscape of postwar child psychology. Second, it will offer further context through an exploration of staff culture and practices. Although this may seem to diverge from the 'child-centred' focus of this thesis, an examination of staff attitudes, knowledge and practices provides a crucial insight into the ways in which emotional regimes were constructed, normalised and perpetuated over time. Quarrier's is selected for the focus of analysis as it was consistently one of the largest residential child care providers in Scotland throughout the period at hand. Moreover, its model of care, which gave near total autonomy to houseparents in the running of their cottages, meant that emotional regimes at Quarrier's could vary drastically from one cottage to the next. In other words, Quarrier's was home to a multitude of co-existing emotional regimes which developed under similar institutional conditions. Third, this chapter describes the emotional regimes and considers how children negotiated them, particularly as the emotional currency and expectations may have differed from their parental home. Lastly, the

¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of William (b.1948), p.9.

² David Howe, *Child Abuse and Neglect: Attachment, Development and Intervention* (2005), p.111.

³ For background information on the institutions see Appendix B.

‘Barns experiment’ is selected as a case study of an emotional regime modelled in opposition to those found in some of the other institutions described here.

Following the definition set out by Monique Scheer, this chapter conceptualises emotions as practices, meaning they emerge from bodily dispositions, conditioned by a historically and culturally specific social context.⁴ Emotions are both something we *do* and something we *have*.⁵ Conceptualising emotions as practice allows us to move beyond focusing only on written communications (I feel happy) and think more broadly about embodied emotions (smiling). As has been referenced frequently throughout this thesis, children’s perspectives or ‘voices’ are not readily accessible in the archival records relating to children’s homes. In the absence of children’s diaries or letters where they might record their feelings, behavioural expressions such as crying and stamping their feet (throwing a tantrum) or a refusal to go to school may be observable in the written historical record. The testimony of those formerly in ‘care’ also contains observable emotional practices, such as memories of crying, blushing, sweating, a racing heart, shaking, laughter or in terms of behaviour, running away, hiding, skipping, jumping up and down or wetting the bed. It also, of course, contains narratives of how they felt as a child and as an adult about their experiences of ‘care’.

Reddy’s concept of an ‘emotional regime’, defined as ‘the set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices and “emotives” that express and inculcate them; a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime’ has been borrowed for the purpose of this chapter.⁶ Reddy’s exact definition, which was developed as a framework for the study of Revolutionary France, is though an imperfect fit when applied to individual institutions, and to children. Barbara Rosenwein developed the concept of ‘emotional communities’, arguing that Reddy’s emotional regimes ‘may overlook varieties and localisms’ and that it is ill-fitting for the study of places and periods where there was no modern nation-state.⁷ Furthermore, Rosenwein argues that the concept of ‘emotional regimes’ is embedded in a modern state/society binary and does not work for societies where power was more dispersed, such as

⁴ Monique Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History?): A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion’, *History and Theory* 51:2 (2012), p.193.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.194.

⁶ William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of Emotions* (2001), p.129.

⁷ Barbara Rosenwein, ‘Review of The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions By William Reddy’, *The American Historical Review* 107:4 (2002), p.1182.

in Medieval Europe.⁸ For the purposes of this chapter, however, the word ‘regime’ is most fitting as it captures the rigid and orderly nature of institutional care settings. Children’s homes were also deeply hierarchical, with children being at the very bottom of that hierarchy. As will be elaborated on later in this chapter, large voluntary children’s homes were culturally and intellectually isolated making the study of an autocratic ‘emotional regime’ more fitting than co-existing ‘emotional communities’. Moreover, former residents themselves frequently use the word ‘regime’ to describe their experiences. The term community is rarely used by former residents to describe their time in children’s homes. Much of what has emerged as a sense of shared experience – or a community - has done so retrospectively as adults have organised peer groups, such as In Care Abuse Survivors (INCAS) or Former Boys and Girls Abused of Quarrier’s Homes (FBGA) who lobbied for an official inquiry into historic child abuse.

Neither Reddy nor Rosenwein’s frameworks were developed with children in mind. Stephanie Olsen, Karen Vallgård and Kristine Alexander developed the concepts of ‘emotional formations’ and ‘emotional frontiers’ in order to operationalise the history of emotions within the history of childhood.⁹ Olsen defines an ‘emotional formation’ as both a pattern and a process which ‘represents all of the various emotional structures that make up a person in a particular context, location or time.’¹⁰ An emotional formation, argues Olsen, is dependent on the repeated daily experiences and practices of individuals within communities.¹¹ To put it plainly, children learn what is expected of them.¹² Children learn that it is not appropriate to laugh at a funeral; they learn that it is polite to express joy when opening a gift, even if they are inwardly disappointed.

The penalties of emotional transgressions in the institutions studied in this chapter were extremely high. Most children learned through painful experience to stifle expressions of

⁸ Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (2007), p.23.

⁹ Stephanie Olsen, ‘The History of Childhood and the Emotional Turn’, *History Compass* 15:11 (2017), p.5; see Stephanie Olsen, ‘Children’s Emotional Formations in Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, around the First World War’, *Cultural and Social History* 17:5 (2020), pp.643-657; Karen Vallgård, ‘Divorce, Bureaucracy, and Emotional Frontiers: Marital Dissolution in Late Nineteenth-century Copenhagen’, *Journal of Family History* 42:1 (2016), pp.81-95; Karen Vallgård, Kristine Alexander and Stephanie Olsen, ‘Emotions and the Global Politics of Childhood’ in *Childhood Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* (2015), pp.12-34.

¹⁰ Olsen, ‘The History of Childhood and the Emotional Turn’, p.5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.6.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.6.

anger where possible, or to hold back giggles, in austere and punitive emotional regimes where transgressions may be met with violence or social isolation. Children may have found themselves at an ‘emotional frontier’ in a children’s home which had very different standards and expectations of affective behaviours from their family homes. To illustrate, Alison (b.1962), a former resident of Quarrier’s, reflected on her life in her family home:

It was a very chaotic lifestyle but I have to say, as much as it was like that, with the drinking and the violence, I always absolutely felt loved. That was the one thing I missed, when I went to the home, because in the home it was more ordered, calm and structured. There was no love or proper affection or warmth. At my family home there was a lot of chaos and madness but there was still loads of love, affection and cuddles.¹³

An emotional frontier, as defined by Olsen, is where a child finds themselves between competing emotional expectations, for instance, between home and school, or between home and the street.¹⁴ As Olsen notes, a child’s emotional development is influenced by a number of different factors and is in a constant state of negotiation.¹⁵ A child may shape their own development in line or in opposition with these forces.¹⁶

Emotional regimes were not always stable and could be highly dependent on members of staff, particularly those with seniority who were likely to shape the culture of care. Alan (b.1961), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen described how the arrival of a new sister ensued in a dramatic change in ‘regime’.¹⁷ Alan reflected:

Sister [redacted] changed the regime. When she arrived there was “nurturing”. Things were done differently. The difference was night and day. There was a change in the way we were treated after she arrived. It was as if the old guard was being moved out.¹⁸

¹³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Alison (b.1962), p.2.

¹⁴ Olsen, ‘The History of Childhood and the Emotional Turn’, p.6.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Alan” (b.1961), p.7.

¹⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Alan” (b.1961), p.34.

Although things improved for Alan under this new emotional regime, he noted that ‘there was still “that distance” there. There was none of what you would get now with hugs and people saying “you take care of yourself.” There was nothing like that.’¹⁹ The nuns perpetuating the old emotional regime were described by Alan as having ‘no integrity, love or empathy. They just had a pure lust for abuse.’²⁰ Despite the ‘old guard’ being moved out, the new guard still failed to meet Alan’s - and presumably the other children’s - emotional needs. The absence of explicit abuse and cruelty was not enough to provide an environment where children could thrive.

Moving to a new institution could also mean that children encountered an emotional frontier. For instance, Margot (b.1948), who worked in Smyllum as a care assistant in c.1965 before moving on to other children’s homes, reflected on an incident in a Barnardo’s children’s home where a boy had smashed milk bottles after his parents had broken their promise to visit him.²¹ Margot remembered: ‘He was so angry. I kind of went and got him and got my arms round him, held him and said “Don’t do that, that is not a good idea”. And “I know you are angry but, actually, that is not okay”.’²² Margot reflected that: ‘In Smyllum Park that just wouldn’t happen. A child would not be able to display their rage in that way and not bring some real punishment on themselves.’²³ Many children’s experiences of ‘care’ during this period was marked by frequent moves between care settings. Children were faced with navigating sometimes vastly different emotional regimes, some of which had unrealistic expectations of children’s abilities to regulate and control their affective expression concordant to their chronological and developmental age.

Most caregivers had very little to no knowledge about the backgrounds of the children in their care. Margot reflected: ‘I didn’t know anything about the history of any of the children. I don’t remember anyone saying to me that a child might behave like “that” because “this” happened to them.’²⁴ Sister Oonah Hanrahan (b.1942), a former member of staff at Nazareth House, Kilmarnock, noted that: ‘I didn’t notice any behaviours from the children that would

¹⁹ Ibid., p.20.

²⁰ Ibid., p.34.

²¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margot” (b.1948), p.15.

²² Ibid., p.15.

²³ Ibid., p.16.

²⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margot” (b.1948), p.4.

indicate abuse, but I didn't know their backgrounds.'²⁵ A former care assistant in Balcary Children's Home, Hawick (1963-1966) stated the background of the children was not shared with the staff and they had no way of finding out.²⁶ Staff employed directly by local authorities were also not always informed of the children's backgrounds. To illustrate, a 1959 inspection report of the Wallhouse Children's Home in West Lothian noted: 'The matron is insufficiently informed regarding the histories of the children and has to glean information where she can. There are no individual records apart from medical records.'²⁷ Even if caregivers had been better informed about the histories of the children in their care, it does not necessarily follow that this would have allowed them to make the connection between certain behaviours or difficulties and past abuse.

An understanding of the importance of children's emotional wellbeing, particularly treating each child as an individual, was widely reflected in the views of child welfare professionals and other commentators in the decades after the Second World War.²⁸ In the absence of parental care, foster care or boarding-out was viewed by most child welfare professionals as the best setting in which to deliver an individual approach to childcare.²⁹ The preference for boarding-out and foster care was reflected in the findings of the Clyde Report and its English counterpart, the Curtis Report, both of which informed the Children Act 1948. As Harry Hendrick notes, the Act reflected the influence of John Bowlby and Anna Freud who found that personal care and affection for individual children was essential for healthy emotional development.³⁰ This personalised approach to care was best provided in a substitute family home; in other words, foster care or boarding-out. The number of children requiring out-of-home care was far greater than the number of suitable foster homes available, however.

The favouring, at least in theory, of boarding-out over institutional care in the years following the war were influenced by attachment theory. The theory is associated with John Bowlby, who rose to prominence after being invited to write a report for the World Health Organisation entitled *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (1951). Bowlby, somewhat

²⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Sister Oonah Hanrahan (b.1942), p.13.

²⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Jasmine Anne Thomson or Bell (b.1946), p.18.

²⁷ NRS, ED11/520/1, West Lothian's Inspector Reports, 1959-68, Wallhouse Children's Home, Torpichen, West Lothian, Visited by Arrangement on 29/4/1959.

²⁸ See Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debates* (2003), p.136.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.137.

³⁰ Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debates* (2003), p.139.

controversially, argued that ‘the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment.’³¹ Many of those who gave evidence to the Clyde Committee were concerned about children’s emotional development and the detrimental effect of institutional care on this. In practice, however, ideas about attachment theory did not trickle down to those delivering the day-to-day care of children. Even professionals making decisions about children’s care were constrained by the lack of resources which would allow them to put theory into practice.

Although the 1960s and 1970s was a period where attachment theory was elaborated on and refined - namely by Mary Ainsworth who identified distinctive ‘attachment styles’ - it was also a time where the scientific and ideological basis of Bowlbyism was undermined by social upheaval, particularly feminism.³² Critics such as Michael Rutter, argued that the destabilisation of the family during this period, illustrated by rising divorce rates, undermined confidence in ‘the family’ as a safe haven for children.³³

Any history of attachment theory must recognise its substantial influence on Western child psychology in the present day. Its basic tenet, that the quality of young children’s emotional experiences with their caregivers affects their vulnerability to mental ill health as adults, is widely accepted by psychologists.³⁴ Most critics of attachment theory do not attack its central premise but argue that it fails to recognise the social and economic influences on a child’s emotional development.³⁵ Moreover, feminist scholars have criticised the theory on the grounds that it essentialises women’s responsibility for childcare.³⁶ Nevertheless, for those who look after or work with children in care, attachment theory has been widely embraced as

³¹ John Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (1951), p.11.

³² Mathew Thomson, Bowlbyism and the Post-War Settlement, Based on a Presentation for the Department of Education, 6 October 2011, p.4.

³³ Ibid., p.3.

³⁴ Jerome Kagan, ‘The One Thing That’s Missing From Attachment Theory: Challenging a Therapeutic Cornerstone’, *Psychotherapy Networker*, 2011, <<https://www.psychotherapynetworker.org/blog/details/617/the-one-thing-thats-missing-from-attachment-theory#:~:text=A%20serious%20limitation%20of%20attachment,quality%20of%20the%20early%20attachment.>> [accessed 27 May 2021].

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Susan H. Franzblau, ‘Historising Attachment Theory: Binding the Ties that Bind’, *Feminism Psychology* 9:22 (1999), pp.22-31.

it offers a framework for understanding the developmental importance of close relationships.³⁷

My analysis too has been shaped by a basic belief in attachment theory, as has many of those who have testified to their experiences of residential care. The intentional severing of relationships between children and parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and siblings was a significant failure of the Scottish care ‘system’ in the past. The lack of opportunity to develop close relationships with caregivers in residential care was also a significant failure of the Scottish care ‘system’ in the past. It is telling that Bowlby’s popularised book on the subject did not have the word ‘attachment’ in its title, but instead used the word ‘love’. Richard Bowlby, writing in 2010, described his father’s work:

He was a child psychiatrist who was also a scientist and in 1952 he wrote a book called *Child Care and the Growth of Love*. But love had too many different meanings for a scientist and later he called the kind of love that children feel for their parents, attachment: children’s attachment to their parents.³⁸

For Bowlby then, and for many people who testified to their experiences of care, when we talk about attachment we are really talking about love. Many of the children forced to live under the callous emotional regimes described by former residents were, essentially, forced to live without love.

Organisational Culture Case Study: Quarrier’s Homes, Bridge of Weir, c.1945-1980

There are glimpses in the official record of an awareness of the emotional difficulties experienced by children in Quarrier’s, particularly from outside observers (i.e. not houseparents). For instance, evidence given to the Clyde Committee by the then Headmaster of Quarrier’s School in 1945/6 described how ‘there is now an overwhelming number of

³⁷ The Importance of Attachment in the Lives of Foster Children, Key Messages from Research, New South Wales Department of Community Services, 2006, p.1; for the UK, see NICE Guidelines, Children’s Attachment: Attachment in Children and Young People Who are Adopted from Care, in Care or at High Risk from Going Into Care, 2015.

³⁸ As cited by Keith J. White, ‘The Growth of Love’, *Scottish Journal of Residential Child Care* 15:3 (2016), p.23.

problem children in the Orphanage, children who need above all else expert understanding and psychological help.’³⁹ It appears that little may have changed in this respect in some 20 years, as the Headmaster of Quarrier’s School told inspectors from the Scottish Home Department in 1965 that ‘Many of the children are emotionally scarred by their life experience before admission to the school... it is not unknown for a child to weep continuously for about a week.’⁴⁰

Many voluntary institutions appear to have been reluctant to utilise outside expertise or services, or to provide them internally. For instance, in 1965 the then Director of Quarrier’s Homes stated that ‘a large proportion of the children admitted to Quarrier’s Homes are disturbed emotionally’.⁴¹ Yet, the Director was also of the opinion that ‘this problem will be met by better standards of individual care rather than specialist help...[the Director] is dissatisfied with the help given by Specialist Services such as that from the Department of Child Psychiatry in Glasgow.’⁴²

Dr Davidson’s remarks of deprecation of child psychologists and psychiatrists were made at a time where child guidance clinics were well established in Scotland.⁴³ There is little evidence that children were routinely referred to child guidance clinics from Quarrier’s despite both an admission from the Director, and several reports from the school, on the prevalence of emotional difficulties amongst the children. In part, this may be owing to the organisation of the clinics, which were under the control of education authorities. Unlike child psychiatry, child guidance clinics were not absorbed into the National Health Service and were seen as educational, rather than medical.⁴⁴ Within child guidance clinics, (presumably once medical issues have been ruled out) enuresis was recognised and treated as an emotional disorder. The Glasgow Child Guidance Service (1953-1954; 1956-1957) reported that ‘Enuresis and

³⁹ NRS, ED11/161, Committee on Homeless Children, Personal Memorandum from Mr C.H. Galletly, Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School.

⁴⁰ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, Quarrier’s Homes, Inspection Report 1965.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ See John W. Stewart, ‘Child Guidance in Interwar Scotland: International Influences and Domestic Concerns’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80:3 (2006), pp.513-539; John Stewart, *Child Guidance in Britain, 1918-1955: The Dangerous Age of Childhood* (2013).

⁴⁴ See Andrew Burchell, ‘At the Margins of the Medical? Educational Psychology, Child Guidance and Therapy in Provincial England, c.1945-74’, *Social History of Medicine* 34:1 (2021), pp.70-93; Child Guidance Clinics were also under the control of education authorities in Scotland and the referrals were largely from physicians and hospitals, followed by parents.

Soiling' was the second most common reason a child was referred.⁴⁵ In Quarrier's, however, enuresis was treated at a 'special clinic' at the Village's Elise Hospital.⁴⁶ Prior to taking up his post as Director, Dr Davidson was Medical Director of the Epileptic Colony and the medical adviser to the Homes.⁴⁷ Difficulties experienced by the children that were attributed as emotional problems by child guidance clinics, such as enuresis or soiling, had long been medicalised at Quarrier's. Despite deprecation of psychology as a discipline, Dr Davidson oversaw the late 1940s experiments with bedwetting alarms which were founded on the principles of behaviourism and intended to 'correct' the habit of bedwetting. Indeed, Dr Davidson remained primarily interested in the medical side of things and was noted in the 1965 report as being 'impatient with the minutia of residential life.'⁴⁸

The experiment with bedwetting alarms was not the first nor the last time that children at Quarrier's were subjected to experimental medical treatment. In 1955, Dr Davidson, alongside the Deputy Council Medical Officer for Renfrew and the Area Supervising Tuberculosis Physician for Renfrewshire published a paper in the *British Medical Journal* on vaccines. They described an ongoing 'investigation' being carried out at the Orphan Homes of Scotland; of the 783 children living in the Homes between the ages of 1 and 15, every single child was included in the experiment.⁴⁹ Around half of the children were given the B.C.G. vaccine in the 'routine intradermal manner' and the other half given the vole bacillus vaccine 'by multiple puncture'.⁵⁰ The latter, was described in the paper as being administered using a 'spring-loaded gun which...projects 40 needles through a predetermined distance.'⁵¹ Although the authors note that the children felt 'little pain' using this method of administration, 100% of the children given the vole vaccine in the intradermal method developed 'deep ulcers' and 45% went on to develop abscesses which took between 14 and 28 weeks to heal.⁵² In other words, the children suffered from painful pus-filled abscesses for

⁴⁵ NRS, ED28/174, Child Guidance Clinics, 1951-1957.

⁴⁶ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

⁴⁹ Hugh W. O. Frew, J. Romanes Davidson, J. T. W. Reid, 'A Comparison of Vaccination With Vole Bacillus and B.C.G Vaccines', *The British Medical Journal* 1:4906 (1955), p.133.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.136, p.133.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.133.

⁵² Ibid., p.134.

between 3 and 6 months. The paper states that there was ‘very satisfactory healing which followed the admittedly very severe local reactions.’⁵³

Following its publication, the front page of the London *Daily Herald* featured a story by Glasgow Herald reporter, Douglas Long, under the headline 600 CHILDREN WERE USED AS GUINEA PIGS.⁵⁴ It told how 600 children living in what was then known as the Orphan Homes of Scotland had been, for three years, subjected to experiments for the purposes of a new tuberculosis vaccine. Douglas Long wrote that ‘the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is to call for an investigation by the Scottish Home Department (equivalent of the Home Office)’.⁵⁵ Dr James Kelly, the Chairman of Quarrier’s, defended the experiment and stated that where it was not possible to gain permission from a child’s guardian, the Council of Management gave permission.⁵⁶ The Scottish Home Department were apparently unaware of the experiment and told the reporter: “We were not aware that this experiment was being carried out. There is no question of our allowing children to be used for experimental purposes.”⁵⁷ Dr Davidson defended the research, stating: “We were discomforted when we found that it did produce a skin reaction. But it is healing up quickly and does not cause pain.”⁵⁸ It is highly unlikely that what was described in the research paper as an ‘admittedly severe’ reaction of abscesses was not painful, or at the very least uncomfortable, for the children.

The medical experimentation on children in Quarrier’s is not mentioned in Tom Shaw’s 2011 report *Time To Be Heard*, which was a pilot forum preceding the National Confidential Forum and the Inquiry that heard exclusively from former residents of Quarrier’s. Out of the 28 people who were formerly in the care of Quarrier’s whose testimonies were analysed in this thesis, only one person talked of experimental medical treatment. Finlay, whose date of birth is undisclosed but whose testimony suggests he was part of the tuberculosis vaccine trial in the early 1950s, told the Inquiry:

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Douglas Long, ‘600 Children Were Used as Guinea Pigs’, *Daily Herald*, 5 February 1955.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

I got injections because I had scabs on my arms. I think they were experimenting on me. It's the only reason I can think of. I remember these doctors came to Quarrier's from Edinburgh to do this. It was outside people. They came every week to measure the size of the scabs with a ruler...I think it was something to do with TB.⁵⁹

Finlay's testimony also suggests another child in his cottage was part of the bedwetting alarm experiment, he said:

Dr [redacted] had invented this rubber mat which had wires running through it. They said that the mat was battery operated but I'm convinced that it was plugged into the mains. Alarms used to go off if you peed on the mat. I remember throwing boots at the machine because the alarm was going off. The mat would burn your backside. [redacted] was the only one in the cottage that had that done to him. I think they practiced with the mat on [redacted] to get the voltage right. They tried these mats out on [redacted] because they wanted to sell the mats later on. They used them on [redacted] because there would be no repercussions.⁶⁰

The contemporary writings of Dr Davidson do not suggest any particular sympathy towards children's pain, emotional or physical. The 1965 inspection report of Quarrier's criticises Dr Davidson as being a 'remote' and 'intellectually autocratic' person who 'has failed to give sufficient leadership' or to 'improve organisation'.⁶¹ Neither the 1955 controversy over the TB vaccine experiments, which were described by a Glasgow MP in the House of Commons to have 'provoked a great deal of disturbance in the public mind in Scotland'⁶² nor the highly critical 1965 Scottish Home Department inspection report damaged Dr Davidson's position at Quarrier's, where he remained until 1974. Moreover, there is evidence that Dr Davidson allowed other researchers access to the children under his care. A 1967 thesis by William Hamilton was prefaced by an expression of 'indebtedness...to Dr. James R. Davidson, General Director of Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, in whose care were some of the children of small stature.'⁶³ These were not the actions of an organisation lead by someone

⁵⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Finlay", p.9.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, 1958-1974, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Inspection Report 1965.

⁶² Mr Rankin to Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr J. Stuart on 15 March 1955.

⁶³ William Hamilton, Aspects of Adrenal Function in Children, Unpublished Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1967.

with particular sympathy for children's emotional wellbeing, but rather viewed them as pool of human subjects at their disposal enabling them to further a medical research agenda.

By the 1960s, Quarrier's Homes did employ a part time educational psychologist but her role was restricted to intelligence testing the children.⁶⁴ In the 1965 inspection report, the Director, it was noted 'stresses the value of their function in Intelligence testing and tends to deprecate their interest in behaviour problems.'⁶⁵ In short, the Director of Quarrier's whose tenure spanned 1956-1974, did not see the value in specialist services to support children in their emotional needs.

The need for psychiatric or psychological support for children at Quarrier's was recognised a decade before Dr Davidson became the Director. The then Headmaster of Quarrier's School told the Clyde Committee in 1945/6 that the children were not having their emotional needs met, and even then, the model of care was considered to be outmoded. In his, somewhat damning, evidence to the Clyde Committee, the Headmaster said:

Where so many problem children are concerned, it is the skill of the expert that is required. But there is no psychiatric expert in the Orphan Homes, nor has any attempt been made to utilise the immense gains of recent research in child psychology.⁶⁶

Much of the evidence given by the then Headmaster in 1945/6 identified the same problems as the Scottish Home Department in 1965, and in hindsight, by Ian Brodie (b.1950), a former In-House Social Worker (1977-1982) who testified before the Inquiry. For instance, the Headmaster in 1945/6 stated that many housemothers, 'may start with the best intentions and the highest motives' but are 'wholly inadequate for her extraordinary task of ministering to the physical, mental, moral and spiritual needs of 25 problem children.'⁶⁷ In 1965 the Scottish Home Department inspection report concludes 'Houseparent staffing is inadequate in numbers, quality and training.'⁶⁸ Similarly, referring to the late 1970s and early 1980s, Ian

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ NRS, ED11/161, Committee on Homeless Children, Personal Memorandum from Mr C.H. Galletly, Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ NRS, ED11/708/1, Quarrier's Homes, Inspection Report 1965.

described how many houseparents did not consider training to be important, and some were resistant to professionalisation and the standardisation of standards of care.⁶⁹

There were, of course, some changes in Quarrier's culture of care in the decades following the Second World War. With that being said, it was not until the 1970s, some 30 years since the need was identified by the Headmaster, was a psychologist appointed at Quarrier's to attend to children's emotional and behavioural difficulties. From c.1977 children were referred to the Quarrier's psychologist with behavioural problems such as 'bedwetting, soiling, sleep disturbance and sexualised behaviour.'⁷⁰ Alison (b.1950), a former resident and former houseparent at Quarrier's (1974-1987), noted that 'They had just started to look at psychological things properly when I was a house parent there.'⁷¹ Alison noted that there was one psychologist who was in charge of all of the children in Quarrier's at that time.⁷² To put it another way, there was only one psychologist to look after upwards of 500 vulnerable children at Quarrier's.⁷³ Although houseparents were unable to refer children to see the psychologist, they were sometimes given their advice on how to help the children.⁷⁴ But as one former houseparent (1971 to unknown), Violet (b.1939), stated 'In terms of training for the emotional needs of the children, we learnt on the job over the years.'⁷⁵ With only one psychologist for 500 children it is likely that children would only receive a referral once in crisis. Former houseparent Violet noted that: 'If a child was very mixed up we would seek help from the social work department or the Quarriers psychologist.'⁷⁶

Quarrier's was somewhat unusual in that from the 1970s it developed its own in-house social work department.⁷⁷ It is likely that Violet was referring to Quarrier's social work department, rather than a local authority department. The former in-house social worker, Ian, described Quarrier's as having a 'culture of not involving external agencies.'⁷⁸ The department was

⁶⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, p.9, p.14.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.21.

⁷¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Alison" (b.1950), p.29.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Figures taken from Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Quarrier's, Appendix A, QAR.001.001.0003; in 1970 there were 510 children at Quarrier's; in 1971 there were 527; in 1972 there were 512; in 1973 there were 520; in 1974 there were 486; in 1975 there were 461.

⁷⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Alison" (b.1950), p.30.

⁷⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Violet" (b.1939), p.8.

⁷⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Violet" (b.1939), p.8.

⁷⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, p.6.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.25.

established, according to Ian, due to ‘a growing workload and isolated position of Quarriers’ which meant that local authority social workers were not visiting the children often enough.⁷⁹ Some of the in-house social workers were, like Ian, qualified and recruited externally.⁸⁰ Many others, however, were promoted from houseparent to social worker without formal training.⁸¹ The ability of those who were perhaps as institutionalised as some of the children to challenge the practices of not only colleagues, but often neighbours, friends and even pseudo family members, was minimal. Ian told the Inquiry:

It was not a normal organisational set up. There was a lot of collusion. Where the right approach would have been confrontation over a particular practice, management colluded with poor practice to avoid confrontation.⁸²

Quarrier’s and organisations such as those who ran Smyllum and the Nazareth Houses shared in common the view that their roles were vocational and primarily a form of religious service. To illustrate, the vows taken by the Sisters of the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul are ‘Service of those who are Poor, Poverty, Chastity and Obedience.’⁸³ Although houseparents in Quarrier’s did not take vows, it was viewed primarily as a vocation. This attitude was reflected in Quarrier’s recruitment strategy. A 1947 advertisement for couples with no children, single ladies or widows, and assistants requested applicants ‘have a genuine love for children, and be of a definite Christian character’.⁸⁴ A 1954 advertisement used the same language.⁸⁵ By the 1960s, Quarrier’s had dropped this from their public recruitment advertisements but the attitude was illustrated by a c.1966 Staff Guide on Quarrier’s Homes which states: ‘the principle behind all the work of this community is a simple belief that work is done for God.’⁸⁶ Even by the 1970s, the recruitment procedure was described by former in-house social worker, Ian, as ‘informal’, he said: ‘There were family connections between

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.6.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., p.13.

⁸³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Response to Section 21 Notice: Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, Smyllum Park School, Lanark, p.17.

⁸⁴ *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, Situations Vacant, 13 May 1947.

⁸⁵ *Dundee Courier*, 12 March 1954.

⁸⁶ NRS, ED11/708/1, Quarrier’s Homes, Staff Handbook, c.1966.

staff and some staff were former resident children...Some house parents came to Quarrier's as a vocation, not for material rewards.'⁸⁷

There was a marked change in tone from the 1960s onwards in external recruitment advertisements, suggesting a struggle to recruit houseparents.⁸⁸ For instance, a 1969 advertisement sought Resident Assistant Housemothers and described Quarrier's as 'our village which is situated in very pleasant countryside only a few miles from Glasgow' and stressed 'excellent recreational facilities' and a 'Comprehensive In-Service Training Scheme.'⁸⁹ By the 1970s, where there were greater opportunities in Scotland for training in child care and social work, Quarrier's was seen by some as 'an amateur organisation' and 'a professional backwater'.⁹⁰ To put it simply, even in the 1970s, the majority of houseparents at Quarrier's did not see themselves as child care professionals but as substitute parents to the children in their care.

These issues were not unique to Quarrier's; the residential childcare sector as a whole struggled to recruit and retain staff. Their desperation for staff meant that those with very limited experience were hired as houseparents and care workers in children's homes. For instance, Margot (b.1948) was 17 when she travelled from England to Scotland for a job as a care assistant at Smyllum, which she had seen advertised in the Catholic newspaper *The Universe*. Margot had no qualifications in childcare and had one year, or less, of experience working in a day nursery. Margot's mother was supportive of her choice to move to Scotland, but her father felt she was too young to make such a move. In the end, Margot conceded that her father was right as she was 'so homesick I thought I would die.'⁹¹ Margot described Smyllum as 'this dark period in my life'⁹² and left the job after a little less than one year. Giving evidence before the Inquiry, Margot reflected:

It was like, on the one hand there was this acknowledgement that institutions were not good for small children and efforts needed to be made to make them more homely. On

⁸⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, p.3.

⁸⁸ See Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming, Quarrier's Homes: 1930s to 1990s, Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, October 2019, pp.8-25.

⁸⁹ *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 8 January 1969.

⁹⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, p.9, p.3.

⁹¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Margot" (b.1948), p.4.

⁹² *Ibid.*

the other, in there somewhere, there still existed this belief that some children were innately bad and the way of dealing with that was to beat them.⁹³

Although the 1960s brought with it greater training opportunities for those working in residential childcare in Scotland, it was by no means a requirement for gaining a position. Despite her unhappiness, Margot stuck out her time in Smyllum in order to access the training course on residential childcare. Margot reflected that the nuns were encouraging of people ‘doing some kind of training’ but she stated that: ‘I have a difficulty in understanding this desire for training and reconciling that with the things that I witnessed.’⁹⁴ Even when childcare staff were able to access training, it was not always reflected in childcare practices on their return.

Similarly, the ‘Comprehensive In-House Training Scheme’ referred to by Quarrier’s in 1969 was described by Ian as ‘very limited’ and ‘neither challenging nor rigorous.’⁹⁵ For staff in Quarrier’s, even in the 1970s and 1980s, training was not mandatory.⁹⁶ As some of the houseparents themselves had grown up in Quarrier’s, poor practice could, and did, remain unchallenged and unchanged for decades. Many, but not all, houseparents at Quarrier’s, like many, but not all, of the Sisters caring for children in Roman Catholic institutions, were not engaged with advances in social work, child care or child psychology because, quite simply, they did not see themselves as child care professionals. An examination of wider shifts in knowledge and practice in child welfare tells us little about the cultures of care in Quarrier’s, Smyllum or the Nazareth Houses. Many of the day-to-day care practices are better described as institutionalised parenting than professional practice. And yet, the insular nature of these institutions means that much of those practices are reflective of parenting cultures which were outmoded even at that time.

In some cases, the failure to meet children’s emotional needs in institutional care can be understood as lack of training, experience or even ignorance to wider advances in child welfare on the part of those looking after the children. Yet, the difficulties of giving children much needed individual care and attention in institutional settings was widely recognised by

⁹³ Ibid., pp.12-13.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.3.

⁹⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie, p.14.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

the mid 1940s. Worse yet, the poor practices of institutions such as Quarrier's and Smyllum were widely known by child welfare professionals who continued to send children there until the 1980s. To illustrate, in 1951 internal correspondence of the Scottish Home Department, who were responsible for supervising children's homes, noted that the Children's Officer for Renfrew no longer wanted to place children in Quarrier's as he 'was not satisfied with the progress, educational or otherwise, that his children were making in the O.H.S'.⁹⁷ He was not, however, 'prepared to make this assertion in open Council' as he had been "advised, if not "warned" by a member that remarks derogatory to the O.H.S. were in circulation locally and that some action would be taken against the person(s) making them."⁹⁸ In response, an officer remarked: 'Here is a long history relating to Orphan Homes and much criticism.'⁹⁹ Poor practice in Quarrier's may have been widely known about long before 1951.

The report on the intelligence testing of all 260 children in Quarrier's School, commissioned by the Scottish Education Department in 1951, was described internally by the Scottish Home Department as 'rather a shocker'.¹⁰⁰ In short, the report 'suggests that many of the children there seem to become duller and their general alertness and powers of observation reduced as their stay in the Home lengthens.'¹⁰¹ The psychologist who carried out the testing, it was noted, mentioned that the 'chief H.M.I. of schools, was on the Board of the Orphan Homes of Scotland.'¹⁰² Such a critical report was threatening to the reputation of Quarrier's whose children exclusively attended the School, although it was staffed and funded by the local authority. The report was initially held back from the Scottish Home Department and a copy received unofficially; it was noted that this may have been owing to the 'same difficulty as the county of Renfrew's Children's Officer'.¹⁰³ In other words, a board member of Quarrier's, in his position as chief inspector of schools, maybe have tried to suppress this report which demonstrated that not only did Quarrier's fail to meet the emotional needs of children under its care, but it may have actively worsened any existing difficulties.

⁹⁷ NRS, ED11/288, Voluntary Homes, Psychological Tests of Children in Voluntary Homes, 1951.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

From the 1930s to 1970s, the Board of Directors was almost entirely comprised of former ‘captains of industry’, Church of Scotland ministers and those with positions in local government - such as the chief H.M.I. of Schools – many of whom wielded considerable power and influence locally, if not nationally. For instance, former board members of Quarrier’s included the former director of British Steel, Thomas Rae Craig; Lord MacLay, a former Minister of Transport and Aviation under Winston Churchill and former Secretary of State for Scotland, and Rev. William K. Morris, who was formerly the Minister of Glasgow Cathedral, whose wife, Jean Morris, was later appointed as the Homes’ psychologist. The 1965 inspection report describes how members of the Council ‘demit office at each Annual General Meeting’ but may immediately proceed to the business of re-election.¹⁰⁴ The report concluded that ‘This system does not lend itself to the infusion of new personalities of ideas.’¹⁰⁵ The report also noted a Special Resolution which provided that no person should be disqualified from being appointed to be a Member of the Council by reaching the age of 70.¹⁰⁶ Board members and senior executives at Quarrier’s often stayed in their positions for 20 to 30 years.

In 1973 the Scottish Home Department noted that ‘the only member of the Council of Management with any experience in the child care field’ had died and requested possible names of people with ‘experience in social work’ but preferably not ‘serving officers of local authorities which are “customers” of Quarrier’s.’¹⁰⁷ It was apparently not usual to make ‘suggestions of this kind to voluntary organisations’ but that ‘particular attention’ was paid to the management of a home ‘which looks after about one in eight of the children in residential care in Scotland.’¹⁰⁸ Even following the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 the organisational culture of Quarrier’s remained deeply conservative, resistant to change and suspicious of outside influences. Nevertheless, it continued to play a significant role in Scotland’s care ‘system’ and in the lives of hundreds of children.

Despite being viewed by social work professionals in the 1970s as ‘outdated’,¹⁰⁹ local authorities continued to send several hundreds of children there each year and from 1945 to

¹⁰⁴ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, Quarrier’s Homes, Inspection Report 1965.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, Quarrier’s Homes, 1973.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.10.

the 1970s Quarrier's provided, on average, 1 in 8 of all residential child care places in Scotland. Large voluntary institutions, in particular Smyllum and Quarrier's, were heavily relied on by Glasgow's Children's Department, which in the mid-1960s was the second largest in Britain. By the mid 1970s, it had become the Strathclyde Regional Council's Social Work Department, which was the largest in Europe.

From the 1960s onwards an increasingly large proportion of children cared for at voluntary homes such as Smyllum and the Nazareth Houses were placed there by local authorities, rather than by private arrangement. Smyllum, as all voluntary children's homes, was inspected annually by local authorities,¹¹⁰ and the Scottish Home Department. Despite this statutory duty, children's officers or external inspectors were reluctant to 'interfere' with Roman Catholic homes. A former children's officer at Dingwall (1964-1969), James (b.1925), noted that 'outsiders' were discouraged from building relationships with children at Smyllum.¹¹¹ James remembered that:

...at that time all the catholic establishments had the same reputation. They felt that you were intruding. It was their job and they didn't want you interfering. The sad thing was that this was accepted by the social work department that they were different from other residential homes.¹¹²

There is little evidence that scrutiny by external organisations through the system of inspections had a meaningful influence on day-to-day practices and therefore on children's experiences of 'care'. The internal cultures of voluntary institutions had far more bearing on children's daily lives than the policies of children's departments or the attitudes of those staffing them. Organisations such as Smyllum and Quarrier's were far from the fringes of Scotland's care 'system'. Their deeply entrenched poor caregiving practices, organisational defects, poor staff training, poor recruitment practices, reluctance to utilise outside services such as child guidance clinics or child psychologists, cultures of isolation and insulation, created the conditions for regimes that failed to meet the emotional needs of the children in their care.

¹¹⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Response to Section 21 Notice: Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, Smyllum Park School, Lanark, p.11.

¹¹¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of James Murray Haddow (b.1925), p.4.

¹¹² Ibid., p.4.

Emotional Regimes

In their evidence before the Clyde Committee, the Organising Secretary of moral welfare work for the Episcopal Church in Scotland testified that in the case of ‘institution-bred children’, the ‘lack of sense of “belonging” and the lack of sense of counting as an individual is at times very marked.’¹¹³ Reflecting on their visits to such institutions, they were struck: ‘on the one hand, by the desire of children for personal notice and their desire to talk of their relations. This seems to point to a wish to be recognised as an individual personality who has a claim of relationships to others...’¹¹⁴ A lack of or unstable sense of identity is something that many of those who were formerly in ‘care’ testified to before the Inquiry, and it is something that will be explored in greater depth elsewhere in this thesis.¹¹⁵ The commentator went on to reflect:

On the other hand, some institution-bred children give one a curious sense of detachment from personal relationships with others. They lack any real personal affection in their youth seems to give them an impersonal quality and they lack the capacity to make friends, which brings an acknowledged sense of loneliness into their lives after living life in a big crowd.¹¹⁶

The lack of affection, an impersonal quality and social difficulties observed in some ‘institution-bred’ children points towards the austere, harsh and unloving emotional regimes described by many former residents of larger children’s homes in years spanning the 1930s to 1970s. Although a consensus emerged from the Clyde Report of 1946 that boarding-out or foster care was preferable to institutional care, there was also a move towards smaller children’s homes which too was underpinned by the ideas of John Bowlby and Anna Freud. To illustrate, the Organising Secretary of moral welfare work stressed the need for personal attention and affection in order to ensure children’s healthy emotional development:

¹¹³ NRS, ED11/161, Committee on Homeless Children, Evidence of Private Individuals, Moral Welfare Work, 1945.

¹¹⁴ NRS, ED11/161, Committee on Homeless Children, Evidence of Private Individuals, Moral Welfare Work, 1945.

¹¹⁵ See also Lynn Abrams, ‘Blood is Thicker Than Water’: Family, Fantasy and Identity in the Lives of Scottish Foster Children’ in *Child Welfare and Social Action from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Jon Lawrence and Pat Starkey (2001), pp.195-216.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Only a few such children should be in any one Home and they must have personal affection and attention if the psychological effect of their past experience is not to take deeper root in their personality. This is another reason why small Homes are essential and it is simply asking for trouble to place children in large masses in any institution.¹¹⁷

Local authority children's homes tended to be home to a smaller number of children than those large voluntary institutions, but this did not necessarily result in children experiencing better or more personalised care. For instance, Clydeville, a local authority children's home in Buckie, Banffshire could accommodate only 15 children. In 1964, the Matron of the Home, alongside two assistants, were accused of 'excessive punishment'.¹¹⁸ At the time of the report, only 10 children were resident at Clydeville.¹¹⁹ The 'excessive punishment' was described by the local authority children's department as involving 'slapping children, keeping them from meals, forcing them to eat food long since grown cold, and slapping an infant's face.'¹²⁰ Thus, the regime of a very small local authority children's home was equally austere, harsh and unloving as those described by former residents of larger institutions. The move towards smaller local authority children's homes did not address poor practice or necessarily provide children with an environment which was more 'homely' than larger institutions.

With that being said, there is some evidence that smaller local authority homes could better provide individualised care for children than the larger institutions. Much like the cottages of Quarrier's, which by the later years of the 1960s were home to around 14 children, the level of individualised and emotional care was largely dependent on the skills and temperament of those providing it. When this worked well, children could experience personal attention and nurturing care. For instance, the Matron of the Wallhouse, a local authority home in West Lothian, was accused by the children's committee of being 'too possessive' of the children but she defended her practice stating that 'all the infants received her personal attention at a

¹¹⁷ NRS, ED11/161, Committee on Homeless Children, Evidence of Private Individuals, Moral Welfare Work, 1945.

¹¹⁸ NRS, ED11/533/1, Local Authority Children's Homes: Clydeville, Buckie, Banffshire, 1964.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

certain stage in their lives' and she 'acted as any mother would'.¹²¹ When this did not work well, however, children were extremely vulnerable as in smaller homes the day-to-day life was largely set by the Matron, or the Houseparent in Quarrier's. As illustrated by Clydeville, small children's homes could have just as harsh a regime as the larger institutions, but children may have had fewer opportunities to find an ally in a kind care assistant or an understanding cook as they would in larger institutions.

Within any particular emotional regime are individuals, with their own personalities, temperaments and relationships with others. Although a strict and cold emotional regime appears to have dominated many Roman Catholic institutions, some individual caregivers did develop affectionate relationships with the children and could therefore be a source of comfort in times of distress. This distress, however, was often caused by the actions of other caregivers. The hierarchical nature of Roman Catholic institutions perhaps made it difficult for less senior members of staff, including sisters, to challenge the behaviours and practices of more senior individuals. Out of sight of their superiors they may have offered comfort to a child but never directly challenged them. For instance, Duncan (b.1966), a former resident of Smyllum, remembered:

The nuns would hit you for the slightest wee thing. There were some good nuns too though, who would give you cuddles sometimes. I think they would feel sorry for you for what they'd witnessed. They weren't in the same bad mould as some of the others and would give a bit of comfort.¹²²

Many children in institutional care were deprived of individual attention and emotional comfort and it is therefore unsurprising that some children may have taken the opportunity to talk to a friendly stranger visiting the Home, such as the representative from the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Gerry (b.1957) described his time in Smyllum:

It was a harsh regime. The nuns demeanour was very severe, they never smiled. Punishment always hung in the air. There was an endemic brutality that you were

¹²¹ NRS, ED11/520/1, West Lothian's Inspector Reports 1959-68, Visit of 29 April 1959.

¹²² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Duncan" (b.1966), p.5.

living with all the time and my instinct was to keep out of the way as much as possible.¹²³

Other children, like Gerry, may have been more cautious rather than seeking much needed attention from visitors. Without the testimony of those who were formerly in ‘care’ the daily regimes of children’s homes in the past would be far more opaque. The commentary of adult visitors or other ‘outsiders’ to children’s homes, however, give a glimpse of the emotional regimes of certain institutions. Several other commentators recalled children in institutional care as being unusually quiet and subdued. For instance, Elizabeth (b.1918), a former nurse who treated children from Smyllum, told the Inquiry that: ‘...they weren’t like normal children. While other children would be running about playing after recovering from scarlet fever, the Smyllum children just sat beside their bed, as if they were frightened. They were very subdued children.’¹²⁴ In 1951, a psychologist who was commissioned to give intelligence tests to the children in Quarrier’s School remarked similarly that: ‘The class is unique in that the children are peculiarly detached in manner and devoid of interest even in their fellows.’¹²⁵

Perhaps those ‘subdued’ children had learned to ‘survive’ a regime where loud or animated emotional expression of any kind would result in punishment or even violence.¹²⁶ Gerry’s reflection on Smyllum is worth reproducing at length as it encapsulates the absolute nature of institutional emotional regimes. Gerry said:

Abuse is a soft word. It was your job just to survive. Abuse is events that happen. When you’re in an environment where all your energy is about just trying to survive, that’s more than abuse, because you’re not actually sure if you’re going to survive. It was a systematic torture chamber because of the residential, institutional, captive nature of the place. There was no escape from it. No way out.¹²⁷

¹²³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Gerry” (b.1957), pp.5-6.

¹²⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Elizabeth” (b.1918), p.3.

¹²⁵ NRS, ED11/288, Voluntary Homes, Psychological Tests of Children in Voluntary Homes, 1951.

¹²⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Gerry”, p.6.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

The emotional regimes of larger institutions, such as Smyllum, aimed to subjugate children to make them easier to control. As is explored elsewhere in this thesis, the regimes were highly punitive with much time and energy spent by caregivers enforcing rules and punishing those who broke them. Marion (b.1956), reflected on her time spent with her aunt and uncle who were houseparents at Quarrier's (1962-6): 'The life those boys were leading was austere, strict and unreasonable. At the end of the day they were children. Some of them were troubled children. Everything seemed to be driven by rules and expectations.'¹²⁸

Gerry, who was in Smyllum in the 1950s and 1960s, describes an emotional regime where children were chastised for crying or visibly displaying distress. To illustrate, Gerry remembered an incident where he was left by a prospective foster carer outside Smyllum, in the dark, despite the Home being 'closed' as the staff and the other children had yet to return from a trip.¹²⁹ Feeling frightened, Gerry was distressed and crying when the nuns returned:

There was no comfort from them. There was no interest in the fact that we'd just been dumped there. These are things you repeat in your head over and over. How is it possible, for any adult, to see a child in such fear, left outside a home with nobody in and the first thing you say to them is, "Stop your snivelling"?'¹³⁰

In this instance, perhaps the aim was to 'toughen up' a young boy and instil 'emotional self-control' in line with wider attitudes towards parenting boys in the 1950s and 1960s, or perhaps this individual was simply cruel and lacked compassion for young children. Whatever the nun's intention, the result was a child who sought comfort and reassurance only to be rejected, again, and punished for crying.

Crying is a learned emotional response and in children, particularly non-verbal children or babies, it is a care-seeking behaviour. One former member of staff, Pat (b.1941), at Nazareth House, Lasswade, remembered:

I remember being in Nazareth House and it being silent. You never heard children chatting. Even the wee ones were quiet. I don't ever remember hearing a baby

¹²⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Marion, p.21.

¹²⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Gerry", p.9.

¹³⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Gerry", p.10.

screaming or crying. However, that could just be because the nuns in the nursery were so good.¹³¹

The lack of babies' cries may have been due to the skill of their caregivers, or it may have been something more sinister. Nathan Fox, a professor of emotional development and regulation in children, noted that the first time he entered a Romanian orphanage in 2000 he was struck by the silence.¹³² Fox noted that the babies were kept in their cribs all day, except when being fed, changed or bathed on a set schedule.¹³³ The babies were so deprived of human touch and interaction that they had learned that their cries were not responded to. Thus, the silence of the babies may reflect poorly on the skills of caregivers, rather than signal their attentiveness.

The difficulty of providing individualised care and attention was a key argument against large institutions. Nevertheless, the children's homes studied in this chapter played a significant role in the Scottish care 'system' until the 1970s. The ratio of children to staff made developing emotional relationships difficult. Anne (b.1949) reflected, 'you were talking about one nun and one young member of staff to maybe twenty children. They couldn't possibly be like a mum to so many and they weren't trained for such a situation.'¹³⁴ The staff to children ratios were, as Anne recalls, very low. In Quarrier's, for instance, one cottage would be home to 20 children and staffed with two houseparents and some domestic assistance.¹³⁵ The opportunity for individual attention was limited. Although the children may have come from families with many children, they were more likely to have been able to have a relationship with other adults, such as grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins or neighbours. In some instances, children felt that their emotional needs were better met with their parents, even in the presence of physical abuse and a failure to meet their other needs. Anne (b.1949) reflected that: 'At home my father may have been strict but we knew we were loved and you always felt like an individual. In the home you were never an individual.'¹³⁶

¹³¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Pat" (b.1941), p.15.

¹³² Kirsten Weir, 'The Lasting Impact of Neglect', *American Psychological Association* 45:6, June 2014 <<https://www.apa.org/monitor/2014/06/neglect>> [accessed 5 March 2021].

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Anne" (b.1949), p.10.

¹³⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Charles Cossgrove, p.25.

¹³⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Anne" (b.1949), p.10.

David Howe writes that, for children, ‘To be noticed is to be loved; to be ignored is to be unloved.’¹³⁷ Many children in institutional care felt ignored and unloved. William (b.1948), a former resident of Smyllum, reflected that he was never called by his first name and ‘You weren’t an individual as far as they were concerned.’¹³⁸ Paul (b.1958-1960), a former resident of Smyllum, told the Inquiry: ‘Everybody wore the exact same combination of clothing...There were no individuals. Everybody’s heads were shaved, even the girls.’¹³⁹ Pat (b.1941), worked in Nazareth House, Lasswade at the same time as her brother was under their care.¹⁴⁰ Both Pat’s mother and aunt had grown up in Nazareth House, Belfast.¹⁴¹ Pat reflected that ‘I have no idea, given her own experiences of Nazareth House, why my mother put my brother there.’¹⁴² Pat told the Inquiry:

It was different days back then. Children were literally expected to be seen and not heard. It was like that in Nazareth House. It was a regime. None of the nuns and staff spoke to the boys as individuals. It was as if the boys were just numbers.¹⁴³

For some former residents of Roman Catholic institutions, the lack of love and affection is remembered as a lack of care, despite their basic physical needs being met. For instance, Jean (b.1950), a former resident of Bellevue said:

I wouldn’t describe what the nuns did as care. They fed you and that was about it. The place was bleak. There was no emotion, no love or affection...Your feelings were completely ignored. You weren’t treated as an individual, but as a soul to be saved.¹⁴⁴

Where adult caregivers were not a source of comfort or affection, children could look to their peers, particularly their siblings. Older siblings sometimes tried to protect younger siblings from further punishments or abuse, as well as offering reassurance. For instance, Margaret (b.1950), a former resident of Smyllum, reflected that:

¹³⁷ Howe, *Child Abuse and Neglect*, p.120.

¹³⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “William” (b.1948), p.11.

¹³⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Paul” (b.1958-60), p.3.

¹⁴⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Pat” (b.1941), p.1.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.2.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁴⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jean” (b.1950), p.9.

My big sister was with me most of the time and that was the only comforting thing. I know she tried to look after me best she could but there was nothing she could have done. She used to say to me: “[redacted] just try not to be so naughty and they won’t throw you in the cupboard” or whatever it was they were doing.¹⁴⁵

In some children’s homes, older girls were expected to look after younger children. This was enjoyable for some girls, but a burden for others. Sarah (b.1966), a former resident of Nazareth House, Lasswade told the Inquiry: ‘I used to help change nappies and bottle feed them. I loved it, I loved the babies.’¹⁴⁶ It was noted by an inspector in 1965 that in one of the cottages in Quarrier’s, ‘The older girls take a great deal of responsibility for the younger children’ and ‘are somewhat discontented over the work they do before leaving for school.’¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, as older girls were sometimes in a caregiving role, or perhaps a ‘big sister’ role, it is likely they could be a source of comfort for some babies and younger children.

With that being said, under some regimes children sometimes faced punishment for trying to comfort or console other children. For example, Helen (b.1958), a former resident of Nazareth House, Kilmarnock recalled:

I was due to take my first communion. I was in the recreation room comforting a wee girl. She was sobbing and I lifted her onto my knee. Sister [redacted] came in, grabbed the girl by the arm and threw her across the room. I was pulled out of the chair by my hair and Sister [redacted] asked me what I was doing with the child. She said I was a brazen hussy, that I was evil. She said that the devil was inside me and that I was the most wicked person she had ever met.¹⁴⁸

It was common practice for children to share beds with their siblings and sleeping separately was sometimes a difficult transition. Sharon (whose date of birth is undisclosed), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen said:

¹⁴⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margaret” (b.1950), pp.7-8.

¹⁴⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Sarah” (b.1966), p.3.

¹⁴⁷ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, Quarrier’s Homes, Inspection Report 1965.

¹⁴⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Hellen Holland (b.1958), p.33.

Me and [redacted] had always shared a bed at home so we would climb into each other's beds at night to comfort each other. If the nuns caught us in the same bed, they would physically remove us. They would use firm force, not hard-force.¹⁴⁹

Some regimes discouraged children from developing friendships, perhaps fearing a loss of control in a context where children far outnumbered adult members of staff. For instance, Ruth (b.1956) remembered that in Aberlour Orphanage 'At the table you were not allowed to have any conversations with the other children.'¹⁵⁰ And Christina (b.1969), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow said: 'We were not encouraged to mix with our siblings...If a nun saw us chatting or making friends they would stop it. We were not encouraged to forge close relationships.'¹⁵¹ Similarly, Elizabeth (b.1938) remembered at Nazareth House, Aberdeen, 'You weren't allowed to make friends. If you were friendly with other girls, you were told to stop it.'¹⁵² The active discouragement of children forging bonds with their peers, or even to maintain sibling relationships, fostered a sense of isolation in some regimes. Based on the testimonies heard before the Inquiry, this isolation was perhaps most common in Roman Catholic institutions as it likely mirrored the practices of the nuns who lived there and cared for the children.

Fewer former residents of Quarrier's speak of being discouraged from developing friendships with other children, but Alan (b.1957), for instance, reflected that although he 'got on ok' with other children he was unable to form friendships as there was 'a turnover. One minute a child was there and the next they weren't.'¹⁵³ For many children, then, what was meant to provide a stable environment was often just as unstable and changing as their previous homes, albeit in a different way.

Although other children could sometimes be a source of comfort, they could also be a source of pain as cultures of bullying were allowed to persist under certain regimes. Amber (b.1949) remembered that in Aberlour the staff would witness bullying but would not do anything about it.¹⁵⁴ Christina (b.1969) told the Inquiry that in Nazareth House, Glasgow the nuns

¹⁴⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Sharon", p.5.

¹⁵⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ruth" (b.1956), p.4.

¹⁵¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Christina" (b.1969), p.8.

¹⁵² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Elizabeth" (b.1938), p.9.

¹⁵³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Alan" (b.1957), p.7.

¹⁵⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Amber" (b.1949), p.7.

‘didn’t do anything to prevent bullying, they just let it happen.’¹⁵⁵ Whereas James (b.1964) remembered that at Glasclune Children’s Home, run by Barnardo’s, the bullying ‘was all done behind closed doors and you were terrified to say anything to anyone, so staff didn’t get to know about it.’¹⁵⁶ James reflected that bullying was ‘just part of being in a home with loads of other boys.’¹⁵⁷ The testimony of those who were formerly resident in children’s homes give insight into children’s culture that staff were either not aware of or chose to ignore. The lack of professional experience and formal training for staff, explored elsewhere in this thesis, likely also contributed to staff being ill-equipped to deal with bullying.

With that being said, some homes had hierarchical bullying cultures which were passed down from older children to younger children, similar to those reported in boarding schools in the 1950s-1970s.¹⁵⁸ Older children could sometimes play a role in enforcing rules and administering punishments at the encouragement of adults. For instance, William Connelly (b.1948) said that in Smyllum:

When the nuns were busy or there were staff shortages, a couple of the older boys from St Joseph’s dormitory would be left in charge of us as we got ready for bed. On the tables in the dormitory the boys laid out sticks of varying thickness. They would find any reason for you having done something wrong. You were made to choose which of the sticks you were to be struck with. The thicker the stick, the more times you were struck. I chose the thicker stick as it did not cause as much pain as the thin one. The thin one they could get a whip action from it.¹⁵⁹

Allowing a culture of bullying to persist was part of some emotional regimes which sought to harden its children or ‘toughen them up’, particularly boys. Enlisting the help of older boys, or girls, to enforce the rules was an instrument of control. The older boys whipping the younger boys with sticks, as remembered by William, were likely re-enacting what had been done to them. Being given a small amount of responsibility and power over the younger boys was a privilege of seniority, that would perhaps one day be passed on to the younger boys. In

¹⁵⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Christina” (b.1969), p.9.

¹⁵⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “James” (b.1964), p.43.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ See Joy Schaverien, *Boarding School Syndrome: The Psychological Trauma of the ‘Privileged’ Child* (2015), pp.22-28.

¹⁵⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of William Connelly (b.1948), p.8.

the 1950s institutions such as Smyllum, Aberlour and Quarrier's were considered 'long stay' homes, but by the later 1960s the population of children were increasingly transient. It is unclear whether this did anything to disrupt institutionalised bullying of this nature.

Older girls were more likely to be given responsibly over caregiving tasks for younger children, rather than explicitly disciplining their behaviour, but these lines were often blurred. This was not unique to institutional care, and many of the older girls would have had experience of caring for, and even disciplining, younger children within their own families. For instance, Rose (b.1943) remembered that in Nazareth House, Aberdeen:

It wasn't always the sisters who gave beatings. The older girls were put in charge of 4 or 5 girls to ensure that no one had nits in their hair. If you got caught scratching you'd get your heads banged together. I knew I'd get beaten. If the older girls didn't get all the nits out then they were beaten. I did this to the younger girls and I pulled their hair. We were as bad to the little ones as the nuns were to us.¹⁶⁰

Older children acting as agents of the regime were often doing so under duress, implicit or explicit. Nevertheless, a hierarchy of power in emotional regimes was never as simple as 'adults' vs 'children'. Older children did, at times, play a key role in the transmission of an emotional regime from one cohort to the next, and to enforcing rules and maintaining order.

Therapeutic Regime Case Study: The Barns Experiment, Peebles, c.1940-1953

The austere, rigid and punitive regimes described by former residents of Smyllum, the Nazareth Houses and certain Quarrier's cottages in the 1940s, 50s and 60s co-existed with more 'therapeutic regimes' in other children's institutions in Scotland. The Barns Hostel School (1940-1953) was established by David Wills (1903-1981), a psychiatric social worker and Quaker, for 'unbilleteable boys' evacuated from Glasgow and Edinburgh during the Second World War.¹⁶¹ Later termed 'the Barns experiment', the regime was intended to be therapeutic, using art therapy to help children to resolve 'emotional conflicts' and it

¹⁶⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Rose" (b.1943), p.6.

¹⁶¹ Barns Hostel and School, *Therapeutic Living With Other People's Children*, <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/en/archive/20130420073524/http://www.otherpeopleschildren.org.uk/barns/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2&Itemid=2> [accessed 1 July 2021].

experimented with a democratic model.¹⁶² The idea for Barns came from the Quaker Society of Friends Scotland who approached the Department of Health.¹⁶³ Barns is selected as a case study as a non-authoritarian therapeutic regime. In a sense, the use of the word ‘regime’ to describe Barns is somewhat antithetic to its model of care which intended, through a democratic model, to be constantly evolving with the needs and wants of the boys. Wills wrote, reflecting on a visit to the Junior Republic at Freeville, New York in 1947, that it was run in exactly the same way as it was forty years earlier.¹⁶⁴ He said: ‘An essential element of shared responsibility, it seems to me, is that its forms must be devised by the living community, and clearly be seen to have been devised by it.’¹⁶⁵ This belief alone sets Barns apart from Quarrier’s, Smyllum, Aberlour and the Nazareth Houses.

A further rationale for the focus on Barns is that it preceded the establishment of other specialist institutions for ‘maladjusted’ children, mainly boys, in Scotland.¹⁶⁶ For instance, Craigerne, also in Peebles, was opened by Dr Barnardo’s in 1956 as a residential school for 25 ‘maladjusted boys’. Craigerne (1956-1989) was viewed by the Scottish Home Department as a replacement for Barns whose loss ‘was felt considerably’,¹⁶⁷ but it did not seek to replicate its regime. Unlike at Barns, corporal punishment and restraint were used at Craigerne.

The approach at Barns, although radical in the Scottish context, was at the very least inspired by, if not modelled on, earlier residential communities for children. A significant influence was that of Homer Lane (1875-1925), the Superintendent of the Little Commonwealth (1913-1918), Dorset, whom Wills would later write a biography of.¹⁶⁸ The Little Commonwealth was a co-educational community which pioneered much of the approach at Barns, using what

¹⁶² Quakers in the World, Barns Hostel School, < <https://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/181/Barns-Hostel-School> > [accessed 2 April 2021].

¹⁶³ Barns Hostel and School, *Therapeutic Living With Other People’s Children*, < https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/en/archive/20130420073524/http://www.otherpeopleschildren.org.uk/barns/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2&Itemid=2 > [accessed 1 July 2021]; ‘Difficult’ Evacuees, *The Scotsman*, 6 February 1941.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Discovering Homer Lane’, *Libcom*, < <https://libcom.org/library/discovering-homer-lane> > [accessed 1 July 2021].

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ There are earlier examples of similar models to Barns, albeit not in Scotland. For instance, the Little Commonwealth was a co-educational community in Dorset pioneered much of the approach at Barns, using what would later be known as ‘group therapy’ and ‘shared responsibility’.

¹⁶⁷ NRS, ED28/155, Voluntary Homes, Dr Barnardo’s Home for Maladjusted Children, Peebles, 1955.

¹⁶⁸ David Wills, *Homer Lane: A Biography* (1964).

would be later known as ‘group therapy’ and ‘shared responsibility’.¹⁶⁹ It was home to children as young as a few months old to 19 years of age.¹⁷⁰ Those above 13 years of age were placed in the Little Commonwealth as ‘delinquents’.¹⁷¹ Lane was viewed as a pioneer of the non-punitive treatment of ‘delinquency’ which would later be taken at Barns more than 20 years after its closure. Not all of Homer’s contemporaries viewed him as a visionary, however; many considered him to be a ‘dangerous charlatan’.¹⁷² Not least some of the children themselves.

The Little Commonwealth was closed in 1918 following allegations of sexual assault made by two sixteen year old girls who had been under Lane’s ‘care’. As Lucy Delap - who identifies the accusations against Lane as the first well-documented case of alleged institutional child sexual abuse in Britain – argues, the social status of the children looked after in the Little Commonwealth meant that their claims were mostly not believed by the welfare practitioners who encountered them.¹⁷³ For instance, a welfare worker from the Women’s Training Colony at Newbury wrote in defence of Lane that “such accusations are an occupational hazard”.¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the testimony given by the girls to the police was sufficient evidence for the Home Office to withdraw the Home’s licence, leading to its closure in 1918.¹⁷⁵ Lane was never subject to criminal investigation and was allowed to retain custody of some of the children from the Home.¹⁷⁶ No such accusations, as far as can be ascertained, have been made about Barns. As the Little Commonwealth illustrates, however, even institutions which appear to have non-punitive and even ‘child-centred’ therapeutic regimes could harbour abusive adults and enable abuse to occur.¹⁷⁷

The children who were looked after at Barns were not dissimilar to those looked after by other children’s homes in Scotland in the 1940s and 1950s. The “difficult” boys, as described

¹⁶⁹ ‘Homer Lane: An Account of the Little Commonwealth at Evershot, Dorset’, *Infed* <
<https://infed.org/mobi/an-account-of-the-little-commonwealth-at-evershot-dorset/>> [accessed 29 June 2021].

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Hugh M. Pollard, Review of Homer Lane: A Biography by David Wills’, *British Journal of Educational Studies* 13:1 (1964), p.106.

¹⁷³ Lucy Delap, “Disgusting Details Which are Best Forgotten”: Disclosures of Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Journal of British Studies* 57 (2018), p.84.

¹⁷⁴ Cited by *ibid.*, p.85.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Former residents of Craigerne, which was seen as a replacement for Barns, have reported sexual abuse. See Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “William” (b.1953), pp.6-9.

by Wills, were ‘all (or nearly all) from working-class families, generally from poor working-class families.’¹⁷⁸ With that being said, a former member of staff at Barns, Howard Jones (1918-2007) reflected: ‘Oh, the children were as good as gold. I could never understand why they were supposed to be difficult.’¹⁷⁹ In practice, many children labelled as ‘maladjusted’ and placed in residential schools were experiencing similar difficulties to those in Quarrier’s or Smyllum; the only real difference was their route into ‘care’. For instance, Craigerne was registered under the Children Act 1948 as a Voluntary Home, but it was noted in a 1956 memo that the Scottish Education Department was ‘claiming the main interest’.¹⁸⁰ It was also noted that ‘As this type of Home becomes available we shall have to discourage local authorities (Kilmarnock, Aberdeen County &c.) who tend to dispatch difficult children to homes in England.’¹⁸¹ In other words, children’s departments were discouraged from placing children under their care into institutions for ‘maladjusted’ children. In 1956, although one boy in Craigerne was in the care of the Children’s Committee, the cost of his maintenance was covered by the Education Committee.¹⁸² Thus, it was not necessarily the specific needs of a child that determined whether or not they were placed in a home which intended to ‘treat’ children’s emotional difficulties, but a question of local authority administration.

The approach to discipline and punishment at Barns was radically different to most of its contemporaries. Corporal punishment was not used at Barns, an unusual move in the 1940s where it was still routinely used in schools, in private homes and in other care settings. Wills wrote in 1946 that ‘punishment is incompatible with love.’¹⁸³ He argued that discipline, enforced by harsh punishment, inhibits initiative, prevents the growth of self-reliance as ‘one learns to rely on the system instead of one’s self’, and ‘shifts the responsibility for one’s actions on to someone else’ he elaborates that a child need not ask “is this right or wrong”, but only “is this allowed?”¹⁸⁴ The disciplinary regime at Barns was modelled in opposition to the regimes of institutions such as Smyllum or Quarrier’s. In a diatribe against what he termed ‘imposed discipline’, Wills writes:

¹⁷⁸ David Wills, *The Barns Experiment* (1947), p.27, p.32.

¹⁷⁹ Dr Howard Jones and Mrs Bess Jones, interviewed by Craig Fees, 29 January 1988 <http://web.archive.org/web/20190624105013/http://www.pettrust.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=824:dr-howard-jones-and-mrs-bess-jones-interviewed-by-craig-fees-29-january-1998-cf0242-edited&catid=281&Itemid=408> [accessed 1 July 2021].

¹⁸⁰ NRS, ED28/155, Voluntary Homes, Dr Barnardo’s Home for Maladjusted Children, Peebles, 1956.

¹⁸¹ NRS, ED28/155, Voluntary Homes, Dr Barnardo’s Home for Maladjusted Children, Peebles, 1955.

¹⁸² NRS, ED28/155, Voluntary Homes, Dr Barnardo’s Home for Maladjusted Children, Peebles, 1956.

¹⁸³ Wills, *The Barns Experiment*, p.82.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.26.

By an “imposed discipline”, I mean the kind of “healthy discipline” one hears of in Approved Schools, Public Schools, Boys’ Brigades, Training Ships, and such institutions, where life (and not an unpleasant life necessarily, especially in retrospect) is ordered and arranged, every moment of the day mapped out and a rough and ready justice applied by the adults (or their quislings) for every departure from the established routine.¹⁸⁵

In a sense, the Barns regime also tells us much about those regimes which it modelled itself in opposition to. It highlights that harsh regimes that may even be deemed abusive in the present day were widely known and accepted by the public, several of whom, chose to send their children there. It was not only in matters of punishment and discipline that Barns differed from its contemporaries. Unlike Quarrier’s, or many other voluntary institutions, the Barns model of care valued the input of child psychologists and other specialists. Wills stated:

It is my firm conviction that no such institution as Barns should presume to carry on its work without psychological supervision, though war circumstances have compelled us very largely to do so. Our Advisory Committee, of which we once had great hopes, consists of a Medical Psychologist, an Educational Psychologist, the physician who normally attends the boys, the Social Worker, the Head-teacher and myself.¹⁸⁶

Barns was not the only institution for children at that time that claimed to love its children, but it is perhaps one of the few to go beyond rhetoric and describe a practice of love. Justifying the lack of punishment in its regime, Wills writes:

Whatever the effect of punishment on other children, there is no doubt that to children coming from the sort of homes from which most of the Barns boys come, a person who deliberately hurts you cannot be a person who loves you. As love is fundamental

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p.78.

to our therapy, we must obviously avoid anything which might give a contrary impression. So we cannot use punishment.¹⁸⁷

Love was defined by Wills as ‘the kind of feeling a parent has for his children’ and one that ‘has no relation to the behaviour of the child, and is not influenced by it. It cannot be bought with goodness nor lost by misbehaviour.’¹⁸⁸ In other words, Wills claimed to practice unconditional love at Barns.

The memories of Myles, who spent one year at Barns aged 9-10 in 1943-1944, certainly suggest a much gentler, patient, kind, and perhaps even, loving regime than many of its contemporaries. Where a child crying in Smyllum may have been punished, verbally or otherwise, or perhaps ignored altogether, a different approach at Barns is illustrated by an incident recalled by Myles, he said:

David Wills and Ruth were very kind and patient people. They did not raise their voices or lose their temper with any of the boys. I remember one day shortly after I arrived at Barns House, Peebles. I was upset and confused about my situation and had a slight disagreement with one of the boys. I was crying and to get out of the way I climbed a nearby tall tree...I refused to come down even with the cajoling from David Wills, who had followed me outside. After a wee while he left me and went back into the house. I sat in the tree and cried but I realised that no one was bothering I climbed down and went back into the house.

David Wills welcomed me with a smile and led me into the common room and with both arms took me on his knee and asked if I would like some sweets and I nodded...I, with a big happy smile picked a bar of toffee, “Scottish Highland Toffee”, and was guided to the boys’ bedroom and soon fell asleep.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p.19.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.64.

¹⁸⁹ Barns Hostel School, ‘Recollections of Myles Rafferty’, *Therapeutic Living With Other People’s Children*, <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/en/archive/20130420073552/http://www.otherpeopleschildren.org.uk/barns/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8:barns-hostel-school-recollections-of-myles-rafferty&catid=2:stories&Itemid=5> [accessed 1 July 2021].

Much like other children's homes, particularly those for boys, Barns was not immune to bullying. Where former residents of other homes report that staff either ignored bullying or did not deal with it effectively, it was approached differently at Barns. Bullying, alongside what might be termed as 'disagreements' could be brought by a boy as a charge to the Committee.¹⁹⁰ The charges, of which there were sometimes over a hundred per week, were usually 'met with restitution or compensation'.¹⁹¹ For instance, Wills said, 'If "A" steals "B's" toffee, he is made to replace it. If "B" breaks "C's" roller skate he is ordered to get it mended'.¹⁹² Sometimes, however, being heard was enough. Wills noted:

If the frustrated boy who has had something unpleasant done to him, feels that he can explain his situation to a sympathetic audience, receive a measure of condolence and be assured that he is in the right – that is all he needs, more often than not.¹⁹³

Children in Quarrier's, Smyllum and the Nazareth Houses at that time had no formalised power. There is little evidence that children were involved in any decisions about their day-to-day life, such as dinner or clothing choices. In addition to the children's tribunal, the boys at Barns formed a committee consisting of one boy from each dormitory and one adult which met almost every day.¹⁹⁴ The committee dealt with tasks such as 'arranging...the orderly duties, discussing the care of the games equipment, talking about trespassing, arranging parties and concerts, arguing about the inter-dormitory competition...'¹⁹⁵ A so-called democratic regime may be criticised as adults 'running the place behind a façade of self-government'.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, Wills stressed that although he did not 'want to give the impression that the boys "did it all themselves" that it was not 'a pretty normal kind of regime with the boys "allowed to decide"...so long as they decided in the way I wanted them to'.¹⁹⁷ Rather, Wills described the first three months of the 'experiment' as 'extreme disorder' where the adults 'resolutely refused to inflict any kind of punishment or deal with any kind of difficult situation except by the method of an appeal to the community'.¹⁹⁸ But after a period

¹⁹⁰ Wills, *Barns Experiment*, p.46.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp.46-7.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p.43.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p.45.

¹⁹⁶ Wills, *Barns Experiment*, p.49.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

of around 18 months, ‘things had become pretty orderly and life was rather too much a matter of routine for my liking.’¹⁹⁹

In many ways, the regime at Barns as described by Wills was ahead of its time; it went against the grain of common practice in similar institutions. Wills also expressed ideas that were in opposition to those emerging from the Clyde Committee, which was ongoing at the time he first published *The Barns Experiment* in 1945. Whilst most commentators supported a move away from institutionalisation and towards boarding-out and foster care, and some began to recognise the importance of ‘preventive work’ and family preservation, Wills argued that children were not removed from their parents ‘half often enough, owing to the sentimental prejudice that exists against taking children from their homes.’²⁰⁰ In a large number of cases, the ‘cure’ for juvenile crime, wrote Wills, was to ‘take them out of their own homes, cut them off from their parents and give them a new, real home and new parents.’²⁰¹ This sentiment was largely in line with the belief held by many of those who established residential institutions for children in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Nevertheless, the regime at Barns, at least in policy, aimed to love and nurture its ‘difficult boys’ by providing them a secure space in which to express their feelings, where they would learn that even “wicked” feelings’ would not result in punishment or shaming.²⁰² In theory, the regime at Barns was one where emotions were not to be suppressed, but one where they could be expressed and explored, with the aid of psychologists and tools such as art therapy. It is perhaps telling that as time went on the boys were increasingly referred by child guidance clinics who, presumably, felt Barns could further address emotional and behavioural difficulties experienced by the boys.²⁰³ Child guidance clinics were not in the business of punishment and thus, being ‘sent to Barns’ was unlikely to have been viewed that way unlike other institutions for ‘difficult boys’. For Myles, resident at Barns from 1943-44, he found ‘the education and care that I had been lacking in my life up to that time.’²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Wills, *The Barns Experiment*, p.132.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p.136.

²⁰² Ibid., p.20.

²⁰³ Ibid., p.37.

²⁰⁴ Barns Hostel School, ‘Recollections of Myles Rafferty’, *Therapeutic Living With Other People’s Children*, <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/en/archive/20130420073552/http://www.otherpeopleschildren.org.uk/barns/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8:barns-hostel-school-recollections-of-myles-rafferty&catid=2:stories&Itemid=5> [accessed 1 July 2021].

By the later 1960s, more children's institutions were paying closer attention to the emotional needs of the children in their care. Often, these were specialised institutions for 'maladjusted' children.²⁰⁵ As Lynn Abrams argues, although the disciplinary regime in these homes was often far stricter than other children's homes, by the years following the Second World War there was a recognition that some of the children would benefit from psychiatric treatment.²⁰⁶ For those children in the larger children's homes such as Smyllum or Quarrier's, however, they received little help as they had usually not been classified as 'problem' children.²⁰⁷ Despite a recognition from Quarrier's Director in 1965 that a 'large proportion' of the children at Quarrier's were 'disturbed emotionally' it did not view itself as an institution for 'maladjusted' children.²⁰⁸ In some cases, it was a child's route into care that could determine whether or not they were cared for under a therapeutic regime, or a punitive one.

Based on the testimony of those who were formerly in their care, the regimes in many voluntary children's homes, such as Quarrier's and Smyllum, did not keep pace with the changes in some of the other, newer, children's homes, even as the number of children living there dwindled. From the later 1960s, larger institutions slowly began to close their doors. The first of the 'giants' - the institutions which had played a significant role in Scotland's care 'system' since the nineteenth century - to close was Aberlour Orphanage in 1967, following the building of small 'family homes' across Scotland. Although large institutions had long since fallen out of favour, the majority did not close their doors until the 1980s, after a decade of declining numbers. Smyllum, which had been home to around 11,000 children in total, finally closed its doors in 1981. That same year the Nazareth House in Kilmarnock closed; it was shortly followed by the Nazareth Houses in Aberdeen in 1983; Lasswade in 1984 and lastly, Glasgow in 1985. The last of the 'giants' to close was Quarrier's. The number of children accommodated by Quarrier's fell steadily throughout the 1970s and rapidly in the 1980s where they looked after their last child in 1989. Until the 1980s, Scotland was largely stuck with the infrastructure of a care 'system' built by the Victorians. Not only that, but many of the emotional regimes described here have their roots in the early years of

²⁰⁵ Margot (b.1948) worked in a school for maladjusted boys, ran by Barnardo's, following her one year post at Smyllum, p.15.

²⁰⁶ Abrams, *Orphan Country*, p.188.

²⁰⁷ Lynn Abrams, *Orphan Country*, p.187.

²⁰⁸ NRS, ED11/708/1, Voluntary Homes, Quarrier's Homes, Inspection Report 1965.

the institutions' histories. As the Headmaster of Quarrier's School aptly put it in 1945/6: 'The dead hand of the past lies too heavy on the Homes.'²⁰⁹

Emotional regimes are largely constructed by historians and projected onto the past. They are useful analytical and conceptual tools that allow us to identify a largely intangible phenomenon. We cannot uncover written codes of conduct for authentic human relationships in the archives of Scotland's children's departments. Ounces of milk were able to be measured, but a caregiver remembering how a child likes their hot chocolate or giving a reassuring squeeze cannot be counted and recorded, and therefore, are not easily visible to historians. With that being said, shared experiences of what can reasonably be termed as an 'emotional regime' can clearly be identified in the testimonies of those who were formerly in 'care'. And children finding themselves at an emotional frontier could also be visible to others through their behaviour and emotional expressions.

For instance, Margot (b.1948), who had worked in Smyllum for one year in c.1965 reflected on her experience working in a small children's home in Edinburgh in 1969.²¹⁰ Many of the children had previously been in large institutions, such as Smyllum, and struggled with the transition to an 'intimate environment.'²¹¹ Margot remembered that:

It must have been in the early days that one of the small boys wouldn't get in the bath. I could not get him in the bath. I can't remember how we resolved it, but eventually we worked that out. For him, and probably other children as well, one of their punishments had been, being put in a cold bath. He had been naughty up until bath time and I was thinking a that [sic] nice warm soothing bath, and calmness before bedtime would help. He thought that I was going to put him in a cold bath, and that this bath I had run was cold. This home was just so different, and yet, Smyllum was still open, still running in the same kind of way until 1981.²¹²

Conclusion

²⁰⁹ NRS, ED11/161, Committee on Homeless Children, Personal Memorandum from Mr C.H. Galletly, Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School.

²¹⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Margot" (b.1948), p.16.

²¹¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Margot" (b.1948), p.16.

²¹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Margot" (b.1948), p.16.

This chapter has utilised the concept of ‘emotional regimes’ and applied them to two case studies; Quarrier’s Homes and the Barns Experiment. Several former residents of the children’s homes considered throughout this thesis described them using the terms ‘regime’. Through an exploration of staff attitudes, knowledge and practices, this chapter has established a crucial insight into the ways in which emotional regimes were constructed, normalised and perpetuated over time, at times by the children themselves. Despite significant advances in child psychology in the years following the Second World War, changing ideas about best practice in child care, and from the 1970s, greater standardisation in standards of child care, many of the emotional regimes explored throughout this chapter were characterised by a complete inertia in practice and attitudes concerning children’s emotional wellbeing. From the 1940s onwards there were several tools at the disposal of children’s homes which may have helped to meet children’s emotional needs, such as child guidance services, educational psychologists, child psychiatrists and play and art therapies, but most chose not to use them. In some instances, Roman Catholic institutions such as Smyllum or Protestant institutions such as Quarrier’s, viewed the children’s emotional difficulties as spiritual difficulties. Children who appeared to have been ‘mixed up’ or ‘difficult’ may have found themselves in front of a Priest or a Minister, rather than a psychologist or a psychiatrist. Certain difficulties which plagued children’s homes, such as enuresis, continued to be viewed as bad ‘habits’ or medical issues when it was widely viewed as a psychological problem elsewhere, demonstrated by the proportion of referrals to child guidance clinics for this reason. For many children, this meant their emotional needs were not met and those who may have benefitted from the help of specialist services were instead subjected to harsh, punitive emotional regimes which were intended to be corrective rather than therapeutic.

Chapter Five

Leaving Care

Ronald was born in 1949 in a ground floor tenement in Leith. His father was a labourer and his mother a cleaner. Ronald's family were known to the welfare department of Edinburgh City Council. In 1950, Ronald was removed from the care of his parents and placed in Aberlour Orphanage, around 150 miles away. Ronald was only ten months old and, of course, has no memory of this; he has no memory of his life before Aberlour. With the exception of one month where Ronald was returned to his parents care on a trial basis, he spent all of his childhood years at Aberlour. Ronald spoke highly of his upbringing, he said: 'I was fed three times a day with good food. I was entertained, kept active, we had lots of things to do and constantly went for walks in the surrounding area.'¹ For Ronald, it was the experience of leaving care that was difficult. He was given no warning or preparation and was only informed on the day of his departure that he would be leaving the only home he had ever known. That morning, Ronald was taken on the train to Edinburgh by a children's officer whom he recognised from the failed trial return to his parents. The children's officer informed him that he would be getting a job as an apprentice electrical engineer. He was just shy of fifteen years old. Ronald told the Inquiry:

I was never prepared for the one day I would be leaving the orphanage and that this day had now arrived. As far as I was concerned an axe had come down, a door had been closed and I had no say in it.²

Leaving care was often one of the most difficult and vulnerable transitions in a person's life. Until relatively recently after care provisions have been somewhat neglected in studies of institutional care. Recent studies of after care in the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries have provided new understandings of the experiences of children leaving institutional care. Claudia Soares in a study of the Waifs and Strays Society (1887-1923) found that, contrary to previous assumptions, child welfare institutions did take an interest in where their children ended up.³ Using surviving letters to and from care leavers, Soares demonstrates that

¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ronald (b.1949), p.18.

² Ibid., p.22.

³ Claudia Soares, 'Leaving the Victorian Children's Institution: Aftercare, Friendship and Support', *History Workshop Journal* 87 (2019), p.94.

discharge from an institution could be a protracted process and often care leavers maintained long term emotional ties with staff and the institution. With that being said, Soares also notes that some care leavers severed contact with the institution upon leaving and surviving letters are likely to give an overtly positive view of the institution.⁴ In perhaps the largest study of after care, Barry Godfrey, Pamela Cox, Heather Shore and Zoe Alker's *Young Criminal Lives* (2017) studied the life courses of 500 children who passed through industrial and reformatory schools (1850-1927) in England and Wales. Although their focus is on the juvenile justice system, as they point out, many of those children would be considered 'care cases' today.⁵ And until the 1970s the juvenile justice system in Scotland was entangled with the wider care 'system'. The Nazareth House in Aberdeen, for instance, was an approved school for girls as well as a children's home; children were subjected to the same regime regardless of the reason for their admission. Godfrey, Cox, Shore and Alker's study found that very few children went on to commit further 'offences' in adulthood and the vast majority went on to live what could be described as 'successful lives'.⁶ This was defined rather modestly by the institutions themselves as being able to hold down a job, maintaining respectful contact with their aftercare officer and later, forming a family of their own.⁷ Rather than being disadvantaged by their time in institutional care the authors find that the children were more likely to experience a modest improvement of their life chances.⁸

In contrast, this chapter finds that aftercare in the Scottish care system throughout the period at hand was largely inadequate and inconsistent. In some instances, organisational policy actively harmed the life chances of those whom they were supposed to care for. It finds that people had vastly different experiences of aftercare and this was dependent on their personal relationships, personality and individual situation. Further, the consequences of some of the most egregious failures of the care 'system' are not easily salvaged from surviving letters to institutions, or in the census. On paper, many people may have met the institutions concept of 'success' but continued to struggle with their emotional life and relationships. There has been limited research on aftercare in the 1930s – 1970s, in part, this is owing to data protection issues as most studies of the earlier period use surviving correspondence to institutions. The

⁴ Soares, 'Leaving the Victorian Children's Institution', p.97.

⁵ Barry Godfrey, Pamela Cox, Heather Shore and Zoe Alker, *Young Criminal Lives: Life Courses and Life Chances from 1850* (2017), p.12.

⁶ Ibid., p.137.

⁷ Ibid., p.170.

⁸ Pamela Cox, Heather Shore, Zoe Alker, Barry Godfrey, 'Tracking the Gendered Life Courses of Care Leavers in 19th-Century Britain', *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies* 9:1 (2019), pp.115-128.

large public archive of testimony from those who were formerly in care created by the Inquiry has allowed for new perspectives on aftercare practices. The experiences of those who testified before the Inquiry – as you might expect – contradict the official narratives presented by the institutions. Published accounts, such as Quarrier’s’ *Narrative of Facts*, uses selected extracts of letters from former residents as a way to bolster their image and promote their work. The Inquiry is a welcome opportunity to hear from those who may never have written to their former homes and for whom leaving care was experienced as the coming down of an axe.

Before the 1970s, most children were discharged from children’s homes around the age of 15, in line with the school leaving age. Many of those who gave evidence to the Inquiry were moved from children’s homes to hostels or bedsits. Some, like Ronald, had support in finding work or an apprenticeship. Others had no support at all and were catapulted from their home back to sometimes abusive parents or in some instances, to rough sleeping. When children were discharged to their parents or another relative, they were not usually subject to any sort of aftercare. Of the 159 witness statements of those who were formerly in care, 111 gave details on the age in which they left care, their destination and their education or work upon leaving care. The majority left care once they reached school leaving age, between 15 and 16 years old. Those who left at younger ages, with the youngest being aged 6, were more likely to have spent a shorter time in care, from one month to a year. Overall, most people returned to live with one or both of their parents in the short term. A number of people lived in hostels or other temporary accommodation arranged by the institutions themselves or by social services. Live-in positions at hotels, or nursing college, or the armed forces were also frequently mentioned by those who gave evidence. Ronald’s feeling of being unprepared for leaving care was shared by many of those who testified before the Inquiry.

Table 7.1: Destinations of children directly after leaving institutional care

Residence directly after leaving institutional care	Number of children
Parents or relatives	68
Temporary accommodation	16

Live-in position	9
Other institution	9
Other rented accommodation	5
Foster care	2
Undisclosed	2

Table 7.2: Work, training and education of those who left institutional care aged 15 and above

Work, Training or Education	Girls	Boys	Total
Factory, Mill or Other Manufacturing	6	3	9
Secondary School	4	4	8
Retail	3	4	7
Undisclosed	1	6	7
College or University (including nursing school)	6		6
Apprenticeship or Youth Training Scheme	1	4	5
Armed forces		5	5
Agriculture, Forestry or Fishery		4	4
Domestic and hotel work	2	2	4
Clerical work	3		3
None	3		3
Other		2	2
Childcare	1		1

First, this chapter considers the difficulties of adjusting to life outside of the institution. It considers the experiences of those who become further institutionalised as adults, both voluntarily in joining the armed forces and involuntarily through incarceration. It also finds that a number of children were discharged from children's homes to long stay hospitals that may, at best, have been unsuitable for them and at worst, neglectful and abusive institutions. Second, it focuses on aftercare services and how these operated in practice. This chapter finds that, on the whole, aftercare provisions in the Scottish care 'system' were inconsistent and inadequate. The relationship between the child and the staff at the institution and later, social workers, are considered as a key determinant of the effectiveness of support given after care. Third, this chapter considers the work and training undertaken by those leaving care. It finds that despite increasing aspirations for their children from working class parents after 1948, those looking after children in institutional care continued to have very low expectations of the children. Drawing on witness testimony, it considers children's experiences of work arranged by the institutions or by social services. This chapter also explores the quality of schooling received by children in institutional care as it had a significant bearing on how children were able to navigate life after care. It finds institutional policy regarding education actively harmed the life chances of thousands of children in care.

Education

In 1948 the school leaving age rose to 15 and upon leaving schools were obliged to register their leavers with the new Youth Employment Service that helped them to find work.⁹ Despite increasing economic security, most working-class families could not afford for their children to continue their education. Over 70% of those aged 15 – 19 were in full time work between 1939 and 1970.¹⁰ Before the 1980s school attainment was not generally a prerequisite for employment.¹¹ Between 1951 and 1991 the UK witnessed a significant decline in manual jobs and simultaneously a rise in clerical occupations and professional and managerial professions.¹² Most girls leaving care were placed into factory work or domestic

⁹ Todd and Young, 'Baby-Boomers to "Beanstalkers"', p.455.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.454.

¹¹ Ingrid Schoon, 'Planning for the Future: Changing Education Expectations in Three British Cohorts', *Historical Social Research* 35:2 (2010), p.101.

¹² Ibid., p.99.

service and many of the boys into 'blind alley jobs.' By continuing the same old practices, a legacy from these institutions' Victorian origins, children in care were prevented from benefiting from the same encouragement and new opportunities that many of their peers outside of the institution were enjoying in the decade following the end of the Second World War.

Some institutions, such as Quarrier's, Smyllum and Aberlour had their own schools which only served to further the children's isolation from the local community. Quarrier's school was run and staffed by the local authority education department but was exclusively attended by children living in Quarrier's. The schooling at institutions with their own schools was often inadequate. In 1972 the Superintendent of Quarrier's described the 'education situation' as 'absolutely appalling'.¹³ The appalling 'education situation' and developmental difficulties of children at Quarrier's was recognised and discussed since before the Second World War. The Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School described in 1946 how there were 'reports of H.M.I., going back over many years,...[a] reiterated comment on "slow and dull speech"'.¹⁴ The Headmaster also identified different aspects of institutional life as being a significant reason for what he described as 'low level of educability'.¹⁵

In the early 1950s there were discussions as to whether the Orphan Homes for Scotland School should be reclassified as a Special School owing to the 'proportion of children of lower grades of intelligence'.¹⁶ The report found, however, that the longer a child stayed in institutional care, the more their 'intelligence' deteriorated.¹⁷ It also found that of the 124 children they deemed to be 'retarded', 5.6 per cent were actually of 'normal intelligence' and 'might have ceased to be retarded with some special attention' and 38.7 per cent of the children should really have been in a 'special class' and '4 of them should not have been in the institution at all'.¹⁸ There was one 'special class', Class IX, described in the memo as a 'dumping ground'.¹⁹ In this class, the report found, around half the children were 'mentally deficient' and should have been in a special school.²⁰ Children aged 12 to 15 years were

¹³ NRS, ED11/708/1, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports, 1972.

¹⁴ NRS, ED11/161, Clyde Committee on Homeless Children (Scotland), 1945-1946, Personal Memorandum from Mr C.H. Galletly, Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ NRS, ED11/288, Psychological Tests of Children in Voluntary Homes, 1951.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

‘spelling, reading and counting as children of 6 years.’²¹ And five children could not read at all and four were unable to count.²² In short, some children with learning difficulties received inappropriate schooling and others experienced developmental delays as a result of being institutionalised and also received an appalling quality of schooling. Some children may have been placed in institutions such as Lennox Castle as a result of the developmental harm caused by long term institutionalisation.

Total Institutions

Many of the institutions examined in this thesis have in common a sense of isolation from the wider community, both geographically, such as in the case of Quarrier’s Village and Smyllum, and socially and culturally. The isolation was deliberate; a legacy of the Victorian origins of many institutions where removing children from the ‘polluting’ and ‘corrupting’ influences of their city homes was part of the institution’s reformatory functions.²³ In the most literal sense, children who had grown up in heavily polluted industrial centres would experience fresh air and open spaces in places such as Smyllum. In a more symbolic sense, displacing children from their communities was viewed as an essential component of a reformatory regime. By putting a considerable distance between the children and their families of origin, the institutions could limit and control visiting and communication. The social and cultural isolation was so great that, as one former resident of the Nazareth House, Glasgow, Cathie (b.1937) described, the children developed their own dialect and had a different accent to other local children, marking them out as unusual.²⁴ Many of the institutions explored here have the characteristics of a ‘total institution’, first described by Erving Goffman in a 1957 paper. Later expanded in Goffman’s 1961 *Asylums*, a total institution is:

...a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life.²⁵

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ See Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family in Britain, 1800-1945* (1995).

²⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Cathie” (b.1937), p.7.

²⁵ Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (1961), p.11.

Goffman outlined four types of total institution:

1. Those that care for those who are unable to care for themselves and pose no threat to society, such as orphanages and nursing homes for the elderly.
2. Those that provide care for individuals who pose a threat to society in some way, such as closed psychiatric hospitals and sanatoriums.
3. Those that protect society from people who are perceived to pose a threat to it and its members, such as prisons or prisoner of war camps.
4. Those that are focused on education, training or work, such as boarding schools or military bases. Those that serve as retreats from wider society for spiritual or religious training or instruction, such as convents.²⁶

Voluntary children's homes such as Quarrier's, Smyllum and the Nazareth Houses straddle all types of total institution, with perhaps the exception of number two.²⁷ As institutions they were often contradictory, at once caring for children in need of protection but whom also represented a potential threat to society if not shaped into ideal citizens. Many institution's reformatory aims were delivered through a regimen of manual labour and religious instruction. And in the case of the Nazareth Houses and Smyllum, they were simultaneously convents and orphanages. Indeed, many former residents referred to them simply as 'the convent'. Total institutions can be described as breaking down the barriers ordinarily separating sleep, play and work. Children living in orphanages, like any other large institution, experienced 'batch living'. Goffman describes this as:

First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried out in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same things together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled with one activity leading at a pre-arranged time into the next, the whole sequence of events being imposed from above by a system of explicit, formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally the various enforced activities are brought

²⁶ Ibid., p.16.

²⁷ With the notable exception of Quarrier's which did have its own hospital, including a sanatorium.

together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution.²⁸

Cathie (b.1937), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow, described the difficult adjustment from ‘batch living’ to living independently when she left the home in the early 1950s. Cathie told the Inquiry:

When I left the convent, I was completely inadequate for independent living. I could make an urn of tea but not a cup of tea. I could light a furnace but not a home fire. I could scrub floors and kitchens, but I couldn’t cook. I couldn’t even use a bread knife to cut bread and I didn’t know how to buy meat. The only thing I could cook was scrambled egg, which I learned in the hospital. I had never used an iron...Everything was mass produced and there was no individuality. I had to be taught everything by my mother in law, other than scrubbing and cleaning.²⁹

By the time the Clyde Committee began its investigations into children deprived of a normal home life in 1945, it was widely accepted that large institutions were not good caregiving environments. Nevertheless, as this thesis has highlighted, children continued to be placed into large children’s homes until the 1980s. In giving evidence to the Clyde Committee, then Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School testified to the negative effect of institutional life on children’s development:

There are three or rather four, centres of interest. The church, the school, the cottage and football. Apart from these, the child’s hold on the ordinary things of life which everyone takes for granted, is slender in the extreme. For instance, the very ordinary idea of a shop hardly ever occurs in composition. The children rarely enter a shop, some of them perhaps never. Everything is supplied at the Store, and there is never any need for money transactions there. The difficulty of teaching the arithmetic of £.s.d. to children who neither see the use of it nor are interested in it may be imagined.

²⁸ Goffman, *Asylums*, p.17.

²⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Cathie” (b.1937), pp.23-4.

Simple facts are taught one day and are forgotten the next, because the facts are unrelated to the child's experience.³⁰

Some children would leave institutions such as Quarrier's having a very limited experience of life outside the institution; they would have little experience of managing or handling money, of shopping for food or clothing, of navigating a bus timetable, of asking for directions, some could not count very well, some could not read or write, and some children had never used a telephone. Living outside the confines of the institution could be overwhelming. There were few choices to be made in institutional life; the times you got up and went to sleep were predetermined; there was no choice when it came to food and your clothes were mostly chosen for you. Many institutions were unable to adequately prepare children for leaving home and living independently. Elizabeth (b.1955) talked about her experience of leaving Quarrier's:

I left Quarriers without skills to take on life's other challenges and deal with uncomfortable situations. We were left like dithering idiots. We were told what to do. They continued to take over and do my thinking for me. It was much more than not knowing where to sit. I didn't know how to spend money. I didn't know how to communicate and be sociable. I was so institutionalised, it was far too long to keep me in there.³¹

Louise (b.1954), who been in the care of Quarrier's, the Salvation Army and later, living in a hostel, reflected:

I remember [redacted] was the first person to ever ask me what I wanted to eat. It was weird to be asked that question. I had been used to all my meals being put down to me at particular times in Quarrier's, the Salvation Army home and the hostel.³²

Growing up in a 'total institution' meant that children became accustomed to their days being predetermined, with the day's activities tightly scheduled. Without adequate support, either

³⁰ NRS, ED11/161, Clyde Committee on Homeless Children (Scotland), 1945-1946, Personal Memorandum from Mr C.H. Galletly, Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School.

³¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Elizabeth" (b.1955), p.27.

³² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Louise" (b.1954), p.25.

from the institutions or from family networks, many children could not cope without the level of structure afforded in institutional life. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that a number of children went on to be further institutionalised both voluntarily, such as by joining the armed forces, and involuntarily, by being incarcerated.

Long Stay Hospitals

Where children could not be discharged back into the care of parents or other relatives, the local authority or institutions themselves were responsible for finding work and accommodation. In these instances, most children were placed into a hostel or another form of temporary accommodation, but a number of children were discharged to long stay hospitals. Analysis of the admissions registers for Royal Scottish National Hospital (1916-1951), Broadfield Hospital (1925-1965), Lennox Castle (1936-2004), and Craig Phadrig (1969-2000) reveals that children were routinely transferred from children's homes to long stay learning disability hospitals.³³ Amongst the previous abodes of the children were Aberlour Orphanage, Castlemilk Home, Eversley Home, Quarrier's Homes and Smyllum Park Orphanage. Perhaps surprisingly, none of the Nazareth Houses feature on the (extensive) list. Most of these institutions did not explicitly cater for children with learning difficulties.

Until the 1980s children and adults with learning disabilities were described in terms of 'deficiency'.³⁴ Children and adults were labelled as 'defective' and a number of subcategories were developed to describe the perceived extent of their deficiency.³⁵ Terms which are deeply offensive to us now were accepted medical terminology for much of the twentieth century. Under the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act 1913 four classes of 'mental defectives' were defined until they were abolished the Mental Health (Scotland) Act 1960. In order of severity of 'mental deficiency', these terms were; *idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons* and the seldom used, *moral imbecile*.³⁶

³³ Scottish Consortium for Learning Disability, The National Confidential Forum: Estimating the Number of People with Learning Disabilities Placed in Institutional Care as Children, 1930-2005, October 2014, pp.67-70.

³⁴ Ibid., p.8.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ See Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act 1913, s.1; It is worth noting that the category of 'moral imbecile' was used only a handful of times in Scotland until its abolition. The categories were identical to those in the English Act.

The definitions were vague and did not opt for a disease-based classification system or the use of intelligence quotients which were relatively novel at the time.³⁷ Thus, the labels attached to persons in long stay learning disability hospitals tell us little about an individual, their experiences or circumstances in which they were admitted to such an institution.

Lennox Castle Hospital

Lennox Castle Hospital was an institution for both children and adults deemed to have learning disabilities, operating from 1936 to 2002. At its height in the 1970s, Lennox Castle accommodated over 1,600 people in cramped conditions.³⁸ The quality of care was reportedly very poor, it was described as being overcrowded, underfunded and understaffed. A survey of Lennox Castle and associated hospitals, spanning the years 1936-1964, revealed a significant number of children and adults who died prematurely whilst in the care of these institutions. Those labelled as ‘imbeciles’ and ‘feeble-minded’ who were in-patients at Lennox Castle and associated institutions had an average life expectancy of only 46 years.³⁹ For those labelled as ‘idiots’, the average life expectancy was only 25 years.⁴⁰

In later years, a 1989 study published by the British Medical Journal found that a quarter of patients were grossly underweight and malnourished.⁴¹ Marie O’Connor, who spent 21 years in Lennox Castle but was later found not to have a learning disability, described mealtimes: ‘The patients would sit with a plate and the staff would throw a pie at them, like it was feeding time at the zoo.’⁴² The treatment reported by many former residents and some members of staff described a regime that was utterly dehumanising. In 1986 the then medical director of the hospital, Dr Alasdair Sim, said that he had never worked in a ‘worse pit’ and he was ‘sick to the stomach about the plight of these poor people.’⁴³ From the 1990s onwards,

³⁷ Matt Egan, *The ‘Manufacture’ of Mental Defectives in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Scotland*, Unpublished Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2001, p.116.

³⁸ Scottish Consortium for Learning Disability, *The National Confidential Forum*, p.14.

³⁹ David Primrose, *The Incidence of Mental Deficiency in a Community and A Study of the Natural History of Mental Deficiency in the Hospital Group Catering for that Community*, Unpublished Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1966, p.30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ N. J. Macdonald, K. N. McConnell, M. R. Stephen and M. G. Dunnigan, ‘Hypernatraemic Dehydration in Patients In a Large Hospital for the Mentally Handicapped’, *British Medical Journal* 299:6713 (1989), pp.1426-1429.

⁴² Marie O’Connor, interviewed as part of Lennox Castle Stories <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxJE4RCN65Y>> [accessed 31 March 2022].

⁴³ Michael McEwan, *The Shameful Legacy of the Lennox Castle Hospital*, *BBC News*, 7 January 2022 <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-59755040>> [accessed 31 March 2022].

patients began to be reintegrated into the community and some began to disclose the extent of abusive and neglected treatment they endured.

Those that have since spoken out about the abuse they experienced while living in Lennox Castle Hospital often have no idea why they were sent there. A number of the children and adults placed in Lennox Castle likely did not have learning difficulties. Some children and adults may have been deemed to have a ‘mental deficiency’ as a result of adverse experiences in childhood resulting in behaviour perceived to be difficult, disruptive or ‘beyond control’. Illustrative of this is a 1957 report entitled *Mental Deficiency in Scotland*, which stated that the main criterion for institutional care was not ‘the degree of intellectual capacity’ but ‘social maladjustment’.⁴⁴ As Pamela Cox notes, mental defect was framed by the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act as a ‘generalised moral debilitation’ and the cause of pauperism, alcoholism, promiscuity and criminality.⁴⁵ In some instances, girls were admitted to the hospital ‘to protect the patient from sexual exploitation’.⁴⁶ And some girls, such as Marie, were admitted for being ‘a teenager out of control’.⁴⁷ Unlike approved schools or other reformatory institutions for children, Lennox Castle had little expectation of ‘rehabilitation’ or discharge to work. Colin Sproul, a former member of staff at Lennox Castle from 1937-1975, noted that many of the patients were likely of ‘normal ability’ and would not have been in the institution were it not for a criminal record. Colin said:

You could have picked up any amount in Glasgow with the same IQ as them. See, they took them to Barlinnie and examined them in Barlinnie and if their IQ was slightly below, that was enough. It was one way of getting them off the streets, habitual criminals.⁴⁸

With the juvenile justice system and the care ‘system’ being so entangled before the 1970s, many children in care would have been placed in Lennox Castle Hospital by virtue of having already been in the care ‘system’. For instance, William Whyte (b.1937 or 1938) was placed

⁴⁴ Department of Health for Scotland and Scottish Health Services Council, *Mental Deficiency in Scotland: Report by a Sub-Committee of the Standing Medical Advisory Committee*, HMSO, 1957, p.8.

⁴⁵ Pamela Cox, ‘Girls, Deficiency and Delinquency’ in *From Idiocy to Mental Deficiency: Historical Perspectives on People with Learning Disabilities*, ed. Anne Digby and David Wright (1996), p.189.

⁴⁶ Primrose, *The Incidence of Mental Deficiency in a Community and A Study of the Natural History of Mental Deficiency in the Hospital Group Catering for that Community*, p.24.

⁴⁷ Marie O’Connor, interviewed as part of Lennox Castle Stories <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxJE4RCN65Y>> [accessed 31 March 2022].

⁴⁸ Colin Sproul interviewed by Howard Mitchell, 1996, The Open University.

into Quarrier's by his mother when he was one. Aged 12 he was sent to Lennox Castle Hospital. There is no record of why he was sent there or why he was released, 33 years later.⁴⁹ The decision to place a child in Lennox Castle could, to put it bluntly, condemn a child to a lifetime of being institutionalised. William said: 'Looking back...my life was ruined. I'm annoyed. All the years have gone by and I've just got older. If they hadn't put me in the castle I would have been away from Quarriers at 16.'⁵⁰

Armed Forces

Discharging children from care into institutions such as Lennox Castle was perhaps viewed as a 'solution' to the problem of finding both accommodation and work for children leaving care, particularly children for whom it might have been more difficult to cope with living independently. Live-in positions such as domestic service were favoured by staff as they offered a degree of supervision as well as providing work and board. A number of men who gave evidence to the Inquiry reported joining the army on leaving care, often at the encouragement of their care providers. Joining the armed forces was viewed as a positive outcome for working class boys. Many of those staffing children's homes had a military background and the regimes could be militarised in nature. For instance, Marion (b.1956) gave evidence to the Inquiry as her aunt and uncle had been houseparents at Quarrier's in the 1960s where she would visit them as a child. Like many houseparents, both her aunt and uncle had been in the army.⁵¹ Marion described her uncle as 'quite a military gentleman'.⁵² She recalled the regime in their cottage as being very strict:

I remember boys crying...I can remember my uncle shouting at the boys...It was shouting with military precision. The boys would literally stand to attention when my uncle shouted at them...My uncle Billy treated the children as if they were at boot camp.⁵³

⁴⁹ 'The Forgotten Man', *The Herald*, 3 July 1999 <<https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/12005261.the-forgotten-man-as-a-child-william-whyte-was-sent-to-lennox-castle-hospital-it-was-33-years-before-he-got-out-and-he-still-doesnt-know-why-he-was-put-away/>> [accessed 1 April 2022].

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Marion Smillie (b.1956), p.4.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid, p.16.

Godfrey, Cox, Shore and Alker found that many of the boys in their sample served in the military, with a number being sent to fight in the First World War.⁵⁴ They found that the boys who joined up after leaving reformatory and industrial schools had a very high rate of desistance (83%).⁵⁵ Participation in military service, particularly during wartime, could remove the stigma of past offending.⁵⁶ Throughout the period at hand children's homes and more explicitly punitive institutions such as reformatory schools were generally not distinguished between and all children in institutional care faced a degree of stigma. It is likely that military service offered the opportunity to all boys leaving care to 'launder' their stigmatised past.⁵⁷ With that being said, any form of military service during war times carried a serious risk to life. Illustrative of this, Mr Munro, then Superintendent of the Orphan Homes of Scotland, told the Clyde Committee: 'We had over 30 lads graduating from the Homes during the early years of the war as radio officers, and I am sorry to say that the number of losses is now into double figures among those.'⁵⁸

The regimes of some children's homes prepared boys for military service. Several respondents to the Inquiry noted the similarities in culture and regime in their children's homes and the armed forces. For instance, Billy (b.1945) told the Inquiry:

I joined the army in 1964 when I was eighteen. My reason for joining the army was to get away from my father. Army life was easy for me because I had been regimented and learned discipline when I had been at Smyllum. It was an easy transition for me to make, and it was all second nature to me.⁵⁹

John (b.1951), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen, joined the army in 1968, aged 16. He told the Inquiry:

A soldier asked me what home I had been in. I was stunned because I hadn't told anybody I had been in a home. When I asked how he knew, he told me that I was the

⁵⁴ Godfrey, Cox, Shore and Alker, *Young Criminal Lives*, p.120.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.122.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.118.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.122.

⁵⁸ NRS, ED11/172, Clyde Committee on Homeless Children (Scotland), Minutes of Evidence of Mr C. H. Munro, Superintendent of the Orphan Homes of Scotland.

⁵⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Billy" (b.1945), p.13.

only recruit who wasn't homesick and who fitted into the regimentation of army life quite easily.⁶⁰

Not all boys would have been well suited to the armed forces, however. But it was strongly encouraged by caregivers who were tasked with finding work and accommodation for children leaving care. Joining up after leaving care was almost an assumption for some. William, a former resident of Aberlour, said: 'You leave care when you are fifteen and you usually went to the forces. Mostly it was the army, navy or the RAF.'⁶¹ Johanna (b.1952) was a depute housemother at Quarrier's in the early 1970s.⁶² She told the Inquiry about her role in encouraging children to join the armed forces:

A lot of the children from Quarriers ended up going into the armed forces. I was with teenagers who went to the recruitment office and sat the exam. Sometimes, we were asked to bring them back because they'd failed it. I would take them back a second time and they passed it.⁶³

Johanna went on to state, implying she helped the children to cheat on the exam, that:

There are things I did that I'm not proud of. If a young lad goes along and sits the test for the army and isn't fit to be in the army, we should have been looking at what else was right for him. There was this pressure that the children were at an age that they had to leave. The forces was one of the best things because their accommodation was sorted.⁶⁴

Boys who were approaching the age where they would have to leave care – aged 15 - were coerced or at the very least, strongly pushed, towards joining the armed forces by their caregivers and recruitment officers. Children were encouraged to enlist in the armed forces that was, sometimes, against their best interests because of a care 'system' that did not know what to do with them. These predatory recruitment tactics shunted vulnerable boys from one institution to another.

⁶⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "John" (b.1951), p.12.

⁶¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "William" (b.1950), p.2.

⁶² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Johanna Brady (b.1952), p.1.

⁶³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Johanna Brady, p.15.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Today, the British armed forces purposefully recruit children from socio-economically deprived regions.⁶⁵ Most child enlistees arrive with multiple vulnerabilities associated with ‘adverse childhood backgrounds.’⁶⁶ Children who are in care can be enlisted without parental consent, requiring only the consent of the local authority.⁶⁷ Furthermore, children are actively sought for the most dangerous roles as a matter of recruitment policy.⁶⁸ There is evidence that British army recruitment officers targeted children’s homes until at least the 1970s. To put it plainly, the strategic recruitment of vulnerable, often traumatised, children into the British armed forces has a long history.

Prison

Care Experienced people are overrepresented in the criminal justice system in Scotland. It is clear from some people’s testimony that some of those who staffed children’s homes had an expectation that the children would end up in prison. For instance, Scotty’s (b.1944) housemother at Quarrier’s frequently told him that his ‘next home would be Barlinnie Prison.’⁶⁹ A number of those who testified before the Inquiry had been in prison at some point in their lives. None of those in the statements analysed here identified themselves as serving a sentence at the time of giving evidence to the Inquiry, those who did speak of prison spoke of it as a part of their past. For some people, being in prison as an adult was an extension of their experience of institutional care as a child. For instance, Ned (b.1962), told the Inquiry:

Throughout my life I have been in 24 institutions which include children’s homes, remand centres and adult prisons. Some were just short-term. There was no difference between the ones that were meant to care for me and the ones that were meant to punish me.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Child Soldiers International, Alternative Report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the Occasion of the UK’s Fifth Periodic Review Report: Recruitment, Use and Treatment of Children by the British Armed Forces, July 2015, p.3.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.13.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.6.

⁶⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Scotty” (b.1944), p.13.

⁷⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Ned” (b.1962), p.20.

In the present day, some practitioners estimate that around 50% of the adult prison population in Scotland have experience of care.⁷¹ The most recent surveys from the Scottish Prison Service (2021) show that around 40% of young people in custody report that they have been in care.⁷² However, as Who Cares? Scotland point out, due to the need for individuals to identify themselves as Care Experienced, these statistics can fail to represent reality.⁷³ The proportion of the adult prison population in Scotland who had been in care in the 1930s – 1970s is unknown but it is highly likely that those from an earlier care ‘system’ were just as overrepresented in prison as they are today. For instance, Michael (b.1960), a former resident of Smyllum, said: ‘I remember a prison officer saying to me that he could always tell when someone had been brought up in a home as the cell would be immaculate.’⁷⁴

Children in care have often had police involvement in their lives from a young age. In some instances, the police were involved in children being taken into care and a number of children had experience of a parent being in prison. The police were frequently called when children went missing from residential care. Research has shown that Care Experienced young people are three times more likely to go missing than their non-Care Experienced peers.⁷⁵ Running away was a constant feature of life in institutional care and is well documented in the records of all types of child welfare institutions. These incidents mean that children in care are more likely to be known to the police and more likely to be stopped in the future, causing young people to feel embarrassed and criminalised.⁷⁶ Ian (b.1948), a retired police officer who patrolled the area of Aberdeen with the Nazareth House in the 1970s, told the Inquiry:

On many nights when I worked there we received reports from the home that one or more of their residents had ran away...A lot of the missing girls were aged between fourteen and fifteen and a lot of them were right cheeky young girls. I think their attitude and behaviour towards us was to get themselves arrested so they would not have to go back to the home.⁷⁷

⁷¹ HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for Scotland, Annual Report 2008-2009, June 2009, p.14.

⁷² Scottish Prison Service, Vision for Young People in Custody: 2021, p.2.

⁷³ Who Cares? Scotland, ‘Statistics’, < <https://www.whocaresScotland.org/who-we-are/media-centre/statistics/> > [accessed 3 February 2022].

⁷⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Michael” (b.1960), p.22.

⁷⁵ Gwyther Rees and Jenny Lee, Still Running 2: Findings From the Second National Survey of Young Runaways, The Children’s Society, 2005.

⁷⁶ Who Cares? Scotland, Scotland’s Report on the Criminalisation of Care Experienced People, 2018.

⁷⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Ian” (b.1948), pp.1-2.

The police were also called at times for behaviour that in a non-institutional setting would not have resulted in police involvement. At times, this has resulted in children being charged by the police. For example, research by Who Cares? Scotland found that one young person was charged with assault for pinging a boiled carrot at a staff member with a spoon, and another young person was charged with criminal damage for smashing a plate.⁷⁸ Children in care face specific circumstances that lead to higher rates of criminal conviction at a young age.

Criminal records received in childhood strongly impact an individual's access to opportunities for employment, education and housing which only serves to further disadvantage those leaving care.⁷⁹ Once in the justice system, young people are far more likely to return to it. The number of children who had been in care in prison represents a substantial failure on the part of those who looked after them; the institutions themselves and later, the state.

Aftercare

The formal provisions for aftercare were inconsistent and often inadequate across the Scottish care 'system'. The Quarrier's inspection report of 1965 notes that aftercare of all children in the care of Quarrier's includes placing them in employment, arranging accommodation and supervising liaison with Local Authorities.⁸⁰ It also notes that a local authority resumes responsibility for children over fifteen years of age whom they have placed in Quarrier's Homes, but children placed voluntarily remain in the care of the Homes until they are eighteen years of age.⁸¹ The Child Care Department try to find suitable work and accommodation for them, and regular contact is maintained with the young person, employer and landlady.⁸² During the first year or two, the young person is subsidised by Quarrier's.⁸³ Although this level of aftercare did not always translate into practice, some former residents were not always aware of financial support provided by Quarrier's upon leaving care. For example, one former resident discovered from his records that Quarrier's had paid his aunt for his upkeep when he stayed with her after care.⁸⁴ Another former resident discovered through her records that Quarrier's had paid her fees for secretarial college, something she

⁷⁸ Who Cares? Scotland, Scotland's Report on the Criminalisation of Care Experienced People, 2018.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ NRS, ED11/708/1, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir: Inspectors' Reports, 1965.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Tom Shaw, Time To Be Heard: A Pilot Forum, 2011, p.66.

was unaware of at the time.⁸⁵ The financial support provided to some children upon leaving care was not usually enough to compensate for the deficit in less tangible forms of support. For those discharged back into the care of relatives, there was no support in finding work or other formal aftercare.

Around one third of participants in Time To Be Heard were discharged from Quarrier's to the care of their parents or another relative.⁸⁶ Discharge could be triggered by a child reaching school leaving age or when younger, a common scenario, as Tom Shaw highlights, was the marriage or remarriage of a parent.⁸⁷ Fiona (b.1963) was discharged from Quarrier's when she was 11 after her mother had remarried.⁸⁸ Fiona recalled: 'We had met our step-dad once...Nothing was done to prepare us for going home...I was delighted.'⁸⁹ Some children experienced abuse once discharged back into the care of their families. Fiona said: 'My step-dad had his own issues. He was an alcoholic. He never hit my mum, but he did hit us and was quite cruel verbally.'⁹⁰ After around four or five months, Fiona and her siblings were returned to the care of Quarrier's. Children who were discharged to abusive family situations who were beyond the statutory school leaving age were far less likely to be able to return to care or receive further support.

Some parents or family members removed children from care once they approached school leaving age. Often this was for their own benefit, either in financial gain from their wages or in unpaid labour through housework and childcare. In some instances, children had no memory of their life before care and had no relationship with their parents. In essence, they were removed from their home to live with a relative stranger. James Patrick Buckley (b.1945) went into care aged eight following the death of his mother. James told the Inquiry:

I was put out of Nazareth House when I was 15. I didn't want to go at that point...Sister [redacted]...told me that my father had said that I had to go home to Glasgow. I was put on a train and met at Glasgow by a man and a woman. I had a little case a name badge on. The man said "I'm your Daddy." I wouldn't have

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.67.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Fiona" (b.1963), p.21.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp.21-22.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.22.

recognised him. Both my father and the woman smelled strongly of alcohol and tobacco. I then had to go home with them to the house my mother had died in.⁹¹

Ruth (b.1934) was taken out of Quarrier's aged 13 by her aunt, she said: 'I think she wanted me to clean her house.'⁹² Some of those who returned to their parents were pressured to leave school and find work. For instance, Christina (b.1969), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow said:

Life was still terrible at home but I did really well at high school. I got voted onto the school council by the other pupils. I was well thought of at school. I wanted to stay on at school and finish my education. The school wanted me to stay on too. My guidance teacher...begged and pleaded with my mum to let me stay. He said "She could do anything she wanted" but my mum said "No she has to work."⁹³

Other parents removed their children from care due to financial pressure and to the detriment of their children's wellbeing. Louise (b.1954) went into Quarrier's in 1955 with her father paying a contribution of fifteen shillings a week for each of his three children.⁹⁴ Louise left Quarrier's in 1966, aged 12 to live with her father and his new wife. Louise said: 'I think the only reason my father agreed to take us was because [redacted] was old enough to work, [redacted] was nearly at that age, and I was at an age where I could babysit and be a slave for them.'⁹⁵ Louise reflected that Quarrier's had failed in their care of them while they were there but had 'failed big time when they put us out.'⁹⁶ She said:

I had never heard a swear word until I came to Dundee...My father smoked. I had never seen anybody smoke before. The three of us ended up with dysentery because the house was so filthy. We went from a clean environment in the country to complete squalor.⁹⁷

Louise's education also suffered as a result of returning to her father's care:

⁹¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of James Patrick Buckley (b.1945), p.8.

⁹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ruth" (b.1934), p.6.

⁹³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Christina" (b.1969), p.14.

⁹⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Louise" (b.1954), p.1.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.23.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.21.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.23.

They used to keep me off school and make me go to pick berries or potatoes and take all the money off me. I was the only child ever at the potato-picking. The school never did anything about me being absent. My father used to send me, in his place, to [redacted] to clean a place called the [redacted].⁹⁸

Things were so bad at home that Louise and her siblings tried to run away from Dundee to return to Quarrier's. Eventually her father 'threw me out and I lived on the streets for a while.'⁹⁹ Louise told the Inquiry:

I slept up closes and stole tolls and milk from doorsteps. A neighbour's wee dog used to come and find me and sleep with me in the closes...I think I would have preferred to have been in Quarriers for the rest of my life. At least I would have had a roof over my head.¹⁰⁰

Louise later found out from her records that people from Quarrier's had visited them in Dundee, but she has no recollection of this.¹⁰¹ Her records also show some involvement with a welfare worker, but it is unclear whether she was ever officially under the care of the local authority.¹⁰² Nevertheless, Quarrier's – who had looked after Louise since she was one year old – were unable to protect Louise and her siblings from a neglectful and abusive home situation.

Service to Quarrier's

In perhaps one of the most egregious examples of institutional policy which harmed the life chances of children was Quarrier's removal of children from school in order to work in service to the Home. In giving evidence to the Clyde Committee in 1946, the Headmaster of the Orphan Homes for Scotland School stated:

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.23.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p.24.

¹⁰² Ibid.

As soon as they reach the statutory leaving age of 14, the boys and girls are removed from school, no matter what class they have reached, and are given employment at a nominal wage as kitchen boys or girls, gardening boys, help in Baby Homes, laundry etc.¹⁰³

In an example of this, Thomas Hagan (b.1936) remembered that in his cottage at Quarrier's there was 'a boy who had finished at school who came in to do the cooking for us.'¹⁰⁴ The Headmaster goes on to state that although it was theoretically possible for a 'particularly bright boy or girl' to attend a senior secondary school, but almost always such pupils are removed before they have finished the course. He writes: 'I have searched the records of the past 20 years, and have found only three pupils who have obtained a Senior Leaving Certificate. One of these proceeded to the University and graduated, and is now a teacher...a highly credible performance, but unique.'¹⁰⁵ At this time Quarrier's essentially had a policy in which the children whom it looked after were indebted to them and in repayment they were removed from education at the earliest possible time and forced to work for a token amount of money. The Headmaster was vehemently against this policy of indentured service, writing:

It is difficult to see why the son of a soldier killed in action should feel duty bound to make any such return to the Orphan Homes. The theory is as unjustifiable morally as it is paralysing psychologically...The policy of removing promising boys and girls from school in order to place them in blind-alley jobs at the very time when their minds are most rapidly expanding cannot be too strongly deprecated.¹⁰⁶

Ann (b.1947) gave evidence on the behalf of her late mother (b.1923) who had been placed in Quarrier's aged ten where she stayed until she was nineteen.¹⁰⁷ Ann told the Inquiry:

In some ways, my mum was more fortunate than others because she got sent to Dunfermline Academy and was allowed to stay on at school...My mum was always told that she was very privileged for being able to stay on at school. She was,

¹⁰³ NRS, ED11/161, Clyde Committee on Homeless Children (Scotland), 1945-1946, Personal Memorandum from Mr C.H. Galletly, Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School.

¹⁰⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Thomas Hagan (b.1936), p.3.

¹⁰⁵ NRS, ED11/161, Clyde Committee on Homeless Children (Scotland), 1945-1946, Personal Memorandum from Mr C.H. Galletly, Headmaster of the Orphan Homes of Scotland School.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ann" (b.1947), p.1.

however, expected to pay for her education later by working in the Campbell Maltman Baby Home [a baby home in Quarrier's Village]. It wasn't a paid job. That was her payback to them for her education.¹⁰⁸

Ann's mother became the dux of Dunfermline Academy. In her mother's records, Ann found a letter which shows she asked permission from 'home number five' to train as a domestic science teacher in 1940.¹⁰⁹ It is unclear whether or not this permission was ever granted, but it is clear that Quarrier's held significant power over those in their care and could keep them indebted to them. Aged nineteen or twenty, Ann's mother was 'released' from her 'training' from the Baby Home after one year and joined the Auxillary Territorial Service as a plane spotter.¹¹⁰ Ann reflected: 'In some ways, the war breaking out saved her from a lifetime of working for Quarriers. There was always this belief that my mum owed them because she was been "privileged"; it appeared that they had a right to hold the children to whom they had given "special things."¹¹¹ Some people were indeed never able to leave Quarrier's. Ruth (b.1934) told how 'Some of the girls who didn't have family went on to live in a flat in the village and stay working in the laundry after they left school, and stay there until they were pensioners.'¹¹²

Struggles with literacy, numeracy and communication likely contributed to the difficulty many children had with work. Such low expectations of the children meant there was little imagination in the work placements found for children leaving care. Often, children had no choice in the kind of job or apprenticeship they were to do upon leaving care. Boys were frequently discharged from Quarrier's to farms, and girls to domestic service.¹¹³ Girls from orphanages, homes for unmarried mothers or workhouses were routinely placed in institutional care without consultation.¹¹⁴ The similar conditions in institutions of hard work and strict discipline meant that domestic service may not have felt materially very different for girls leaving care.¹¹⁵ Lucy Delap argues that unlike most twentieth century mothers, these institutions provided a socialisation that induced deference or acquiescence.¹¹⁶ Not all girls

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.8.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp.10-11.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.11.

¹¹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ruth" (b.1934), p.6.

¹¹³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Quarrier's Section 21 Response, p.51.

¹¹⁴ Lucy Delap, *Knowing Their Place: Domestic Service in Twentieth-Century Britain* (2011), p.33.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.34.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

were able to settle in domestic service, however. For example, one girl, aged 17, who was admitted to Corrybeg Children's Home in Glasgow, a local authority home for girls with learning difficulties in 1959 as being in moral danger, was not settling in to her position as a live-in domestic for the local doctor, the one whom attended the children in the Home.¹¹⁷ The girl, it was reported, 'found herself lonely and visited Corrybeg often, occasionally staying for weekends.'¹¹⁸ Delap argues that young women who were cared for in institutions suffered higher levels of exploitation because of their stigmatised origins and lacking the depth of the social networks that might offer some protection from 'bad places'.¹¹⁹ For many girls, this was true, but those who had good relationships with institutional staff could receive ongoing support and draw on institutional resources as a way to leave 'bad places'. In this instance, the matron arranged a hostel place for the girl at her request, the girl told the doctor that she 'hoped to find employment with other girls; she found her present job too lonely.'¹²⁰ A good relationship with the matron or other institutional staff could offer girls some degree of protection from unhappy or unsuitable work and living arrangements.

Not all children were able to benefit from such a relationship, and children usually had little influence over the initial choice of work placement. As a result, these were often inappropriate for the individual and sometimes even dangerous. Children in these situations were vulnerable to exploitation. For instance, William, whose date of birth is undisclosed, told the Inquiry how he was sent to work on a farm by Quarrier's, aged sixteen. William said:

This was my first job and was basically me in the process of leaving Quarriers...The farmer's name was [redacted] and he was an alcoholic...He was a vicious man...There was no vetting in those days and Quarriers simply put me out to the care of that man without any checks or supervision.¹²¹

On his first night there, William recalled, he lay there and cried as he had never been out of the home before, and the farmer shouted at him to stop crying.¹²² A man identified only as the 'tractor man' later witnessed the farmer physically abusing William and encouraged him to

¹¹⁷ NRS, ED11/559/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, 1966.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Delap, *Knowing Their Place*, p.35.

¹²⁰ NRS, ED11/559/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, 1966.

¹²¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "William", p.12.

¹²² Ibid.

return to Quarrier's, which he did.¹²³ From his records, William learned that the farmer either did not pay, or underpaid William and the authorities did not act on this.¹²⁴ Thankfully, William was later sent to a farm he was treated well.

For some, like William, leaving care could be a relief, despite poor treatment from those meant to look after them in a period of transition. It could also be a protracted process. It is unclear whether or not the 'tractor man' acted as an advocate for William or simply encouraged him to advocate for himself, but not all children would have been believed in these circumstances. Without vetting and minimal supervision, it was the toss of a coin whether placements such as these would be safe and beneficial or actively harmful.

Accommodation

The development of an in-house social work department at Quarrier's in the 1970s brought in some professionally trained 'outsiders' and a more formalised approach to aftercare. Ian Brodie (b.1950), a former in-house social worker at Quarrier's from 1977-1985, was involved with the children's aftercare.¹²⁵ He said: 'After-care was another responsibility with close links established with leaving care services and resources organised by local authorities. Quarriers developed some after-care services using landlords and local housing associations.'¹²⁶ Quarrier's also purchased a number of flats in Paisley where young people stayed and paid rent.¹²⁷ Another aspect of the changes to aftercare provisions in the 1970s was the conversion of one of the cottages into a hostel. This hostel was different to the long-established Overbridge, a satellite home in Glasgow which operated as a working boys' hostel in the 1940s and 1950s. The hostel intended to act as a 'halfway house' within the Village to prepare children for leaving Quarrier's. Alison (b.1950), a former resident of Quarrier's who later became a houseparent, told the Inquiry:

During my time in Quarriers, they put a lot of steps in place to help children prepare for leaving. When children reached fourteen or fifteen, and were about to leave school, they knew they would be moved into the hostel in Quarriers. I was involved in

¹²³ Ibid., p.13.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Ian Brodie (b.1950), p.7.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.7.

¹²⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Quarrier's Section 21 Response, p.52.

the preparation of moving them from the cottage to the hostel. I would have discussions about who their link worker would be and who would be helping them.¹²⁸

Alison said, ‘The hostel was introduced about half way through my time at Quarriers. The kids initially had a choice about whether to go to the hostel or to stay in the cottage. It then became compulsory. It was a good system.’¹²⁹ The hostel was described by Alison as a ‘training place for the outside world’; the children bought and cooked their own food and were helped to get jobs or to go to college, and travelled independently.¹³⁰ There may not have been this level of independence in practice, however. Johanna Brady (b.1952) was employed as depute housemother in Cottage 32 at Quarrier’s, which was the hostel for 16-18 year olds, in 1972-1979. Johanna describes the hostel as ‘quite a different style of living’ for those who had been brought up in Quarrier’s but the staff were still responsible for getting the children up for school or work and to feed them.¹³¹ Johanna told the Inquiry:

The staff ordered provisions and cooked the food. We fed the children breakfast. The ones who were at school came home to the cottage for lunch. The ones who were out at work had access to the food to make food for work, if they wanted. We cooked the children’s evening meal.¹³²

Nevertheless, the hostel did introduce a choice of food for the children, which was not something all children had been used to. She said: ‘Some of them had come from quite strict cottages, so to have that element of choice or to be able to leave stuff on their plate was a big thing.’¹³³ How children experienced the hostel was, in part, shaped by how strict a regime they were used to.

With the exception of sheets and towels, the children in the hostel were responsible for their own laundry.¹³⁴ The children also had a choice about going to church or not, and Johanna noted that some of the teenagers chose to have a long lie on a Sunday.¹³⁵ The children were

¹²⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Alison” (b.1950), p.33.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Johanna Brady (b.1952), p.9.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid., p.9.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.10.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

allowed to go into the village on their own, with a curfew of 10 o'clock on a school night, after which the front door was locked.¹³⁶ By Johanna's account there was certainly more freedom to be had than in some of the cottages, although this was largely dependent on the temperament of the houseparents.

Johanna described the hostel as 'quite an experimental unit' at that time; the money had been raised the previous year to build an extension onto an existing cottage; the boys were on the top floor and the girls were downstairs.¹³⁷ Johanna was unsure how or why the children were selected to go into the hostel but did note that sometimes it would be a teenage girl who was 'creating some difficulty in a cottage' and it was felt better for her to be with children her own age.¹³⁸ Not all children when they reached the age of fifteen or sixteen would move into the hostel. Johanna said: 'Some house parents held onto fifteen and sixteen year olds and others were pleased to see the back of them.'¹³⁹

From the late 1970s to early 1980s there was greater flexibility in terms of children leaving Quarrier's. Carol Ann McBay, a former houseparent at Quarrier's, told the Inquiry: 'As long as the child was happy and content, he or she remained in Quarriers.'¹⁴⁰ The internal social worker would discuss with the houseparents – without the participation of the child – whether or not the child should move to the hostel or begin preparations for moving on to 'the big, wide world.'¹⁴¹

Violet (b.1939), who arrived at Quarrier's as a houseparent in 1971, testified before the Inquiry. The length of time children were able to stay within Quarrier's could be dependent on the houseparents. She said:

When the children reached the age of sixteen they had the option of going to the Hostel within Quarriers village. Some of them stayed on with us, if they chose and we were happy to keep our children with us as long as they wanted. This was catered to by Quarriers. When the children were getting prepared to leave we would make plans

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.12.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.8.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Carol Ann McBay (b.1947), p.10.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.10.

with the local authority social work department. In some cases the children didn't want to leave. They wanted to stay with us. Some people within Quarriers thought that once a child reached the age of sixteen they should just go out to the Hostel. That wasn't my view. Most of the girls stayed on with us until they were married.¹⁴²

Thus, the quality of aftercare could be generally dependent on the relationship between a child and their houseparent. If a 'rebellious' or 'disruptive' teenager was causing 'difficulty' in a cottage then a houseparent could move them on as they pleased. For those children, the door was sometimes slammed shut. For others, a good relationship with a houseparent could ensure they experienced greater stability and a set up that more closely aligned with a family able to financially support its children past school leaving age. The process of leaving Quarrier's in the 1930s to 1960s was often the 'coming down of an axe' but it became less rigid and more responsive in the 1970s and 1980s. Ultimately, the houseparents, and to some degree, the social workers, had much more direct power over this process than the children themselves.

Aftercare Service

Unlike Quarrier's, Barnardo's had always operated a formal aftercare service.¹⁴³ In the 1940s and 1950s Barnardo's had a practice of a 'farewelling' ceremony for its children. The child or young person would spend a few days at the Headquarters and be gifted clothing, a suitcase and a Bible. They would also be invited to speak with a senior manager who would discuss the 'advisability or otherwise of contact with birth family'.¹⁴⁴ The 'farewelling' ceremony may not have met the needs of the children, however. It did little to address the needs of the other children who may have found their peers departures unsettling. For instance, Cathy (b.1958), a former resident of Balcary House, Hawick, told the Inquiry:

When it was time for anybody to leave, there was never anything like a party to say "Cheerio". One minute they were there and the next minute they weren't. There didn't

¹⁴² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Violet" (b.1939), p.13.

¹⁴³ Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming, *Dr Barnardo's Homes 1930s to 1990s*, Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, 2019, p.78.

¹⁴⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo's Part A Response, p.37.

seem to be any notice given and there was no fuss made. I can't remember saying goodbye to anyone when I left either, apart from the girls in my room.¹⁴⁵

The formalised aftercare services at Barnardo's may have been – in theory – exemplary at the time, but in practice, things that were important to children were overlooked. Having a chance to say goodbye to those whom they had lived with, sometimes for the majority of their childhood years, and their departure marked in some way was a need that was not met by Barnardo's. Most institutions failed in this sense, particularly as staff became used to children coming and going more frequently.

On paper, the Barnardo's After Care Department provided a significant amount of support to children leaving care in the 1940s to 1960s. Welfare Officers were employed to support young people in finding employment and accommodation, and they were to visit the children regularly.¹⁴⁶ Financial support was also available, with Barnardo's supplementing a young person's wages if needed.¹⁴⁷ From the 1960s, however, Barnardo's handed responsibility for discharge to the local authority in the majority of cases.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the organisational rhetoric continued to reflect the view that old boys and girls remained part of the 'The Largest Family in the World'.¹⁴⁹ To illustrate, the 1963 Report of the Regional Executive noted on aftercare that, 'When the older boys and girls leave our homes there is never any question of them leaving our care'.¹⁵⁰ As Lynn Abrams and Linda Fleming point out in their report for the Inquiry, it is difficult to piece together the precise nature of Barnardo's aftercare service and how it operated in practice.¹⁵¹ Although Barnardo's ran a number of training establishments intended to smooth the transition between care and employment, there is no concrete evidence of these being used for children in Scotland.¹⁵² Much like Quarrier's, by the early 1960s, Barnardo's was placing children into hostels in Glasgow and Edinburgh upon leaving care.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Cathy" (b.1958), p.14.

¹⁴⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo's Part A Response, p.37.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.32.

¹⁵⁰ Abrams and Fleming, *Dr Barnardo's Homes*, p.78.

¹⁵¹ Abrams and Fleming, *Dr Barnardo's Homes*, p.78.

¹⁵² Ibid., p.81.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.82.

By the 1970s the local authorities had most of the responsibility for managing children's discharge from care, but Barnardo's continued to make provisions for transitional arrangements, such as accommodation.¹⁵⁴ James (b.1964), who was formerly in the care of Barnardo's, left Glasclune in 1980 aged sixteen.¹⁵⁵ James told the Inquiry: 'I wasn't ready for the big bad world.'¹⁵⁶ James was placed in a supported Barnardo's flat in Edinburgh, where he lived with his friend who had also been in Glasclune and three other young people he did not know.¹⁵⁷ A Community Service Volunteer also lived with them; they were also a young person who received free accommodation in exchange for teaching life skills and assisting with things such as benefits claims.¹⁵⁸ Accommodation provided by Barnardo's to young people leaving care was conditional, however. For instance, one girl who left Glasclune in 1977 was given the tenancy of a Barnardo's supported flat in but she was asked to leave in 1982 owing to 'delinquency of boyfriends'.¹⁵⁹

In contrast to Barnardo's, Smyllum had very little in the way of aftercare provisions or any sort of defined process for a child leaving their care. In response to the Inquiry, the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul stated that there was evidence of trades being taught to the children in the 1930s but 'no evidence to show that support was offered after the children left the care of the establishment.'¹⁶⁰ The organisation went on to state that the reason they made no provision for aftercare was that when a child reached school leaving age the local authority or social worker assumed full responsibility for them.¹⁶¹ Many children entered institutions such as Smyllum by a private arrangement and were never under the care of a children's officer. And even those that were under the care of a local authority rarely interacted with their children's officer and certainly would not have had a relationship with them. Children's departments were often understaffed, underfunded and unable to provide after care. Glasgow Children's Departments, one of the biggest in Britain, was chronically under resourced. In 1965, Glasgow Children's Department listed only 10 'after care cases' out of 2413 children under its care.¹⁶² The 1965 inspection of the Department criticised children's homes for lacking in a clear policy for the discharge and aftercare supervision of

¹⁵⁴ Abrams and Fleming, *Dr Barnardo's Homes*, p.84.

¹⁵⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "James" (b.1964), p.44.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.45.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Abrams and Fleming, *Dr Barnardo's Homes*, p.84.

¹⁶⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul Response to Section 21, p.28.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² NRS, ED11/559/1, Glasgow Children's Department, Inspection of Child Care Service, 1966.

children.¹⁶³ Some children's homes, such as Smyllum, clearly believed that aftercare was the sole responsibility of the local authority, while the local authority believed this responsibility, in practice, fell to the institutions. For instance, Marie (b.1961) left Smyllum aged sixteen, she said: 'It was decided that I would move in with my older sister. There was no preparation from the social worker. I was not able to cook or do the simple things like manage money. I had been in Smyllum for eight years and it was all I knew.'¹⁶⁴ Children were sometimes given no preparation when leaving Smyllum by social workers or staff.

By the 1970s, much like Quarrier's, the religious order who ran Smyllum also ran a small hostel for young women in Glasgow. Where returning home was not an option, some girls from Smyllum would go to the hostel after leaving the institution.¹⁶⁵ Sister Julia (b.1942), who worked in Smyllum from 1963 to 1972 or 1973, and later, the hostel on Wilson Street, Glasgow, told the Inquiry there was not a particular process when children were discharged from Smyllum.¹⁶⁶ She said: 'The only place they would go to that we would have contact with was our hostel in Glasgow...It was primarily with Smyllum in mind that the hostel begun, although other homes used it as well. Children wouldn't leave us until they had a place to go. The hostel dealt with getting training or a job for the young person.'¹⁶⁷ Pat (b.1959) was discharged from Smyllum to a Catholic boys' hostel in Glasgow in 1976, he said: 'I was collected in a car one morning and taken to a boys hostel...There was no advance warning, it just happened one day. I wasn't able to say goodbye to the other boys. I had spent fourteen years in the same dormitory at Smyllum.'¹⁶⁸ As with other children's homes, there was often little regard for a child or young person's emotional needs in the discharge process at Smyllum.

The Nazareth Houses may have had a slightly more structured approach to discharge and aftercare than Smyllum. For instance, in response to the Inquiry, the Sisters of Nazareth stated that in at least one of the Nazareth Houses a Sister was designated the 'After Care Sister' with responsibility for keeping in touch with children who were about to leave or had left their care.¹⁶⁹ Before the 1950s, girls were often placed with families to work in the

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Marie" (b.1961), p.11.

¹⁶⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul Response to Section 21, p.28.

¹⁶⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Sister Julia" (b.1942), p.14.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Pat" (b.1959), p.12.

¹⁶⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Sisters of Nazareth Response to Section 21, Nazareth House Aberdeen, p.21.

kitchen or provide child care and boys were placed in apprenticeships.¹⁷⁰ After the 1950s, children were encouraged to undertake courses such as typing and nursing.¹⁷¹ For instance, Margaret (b.1943), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow said: ‘When I finished school I came out with quite good marks and went into a college doing tailoring in Glasgow. It was Sister [redacted] who said I was to do that. You didn’t get a choice.’¹⁷² In Aberdeen there was also a hostel for girls who went on to work but were not provided with accommodation. As with Quarrier’s, many children returned to their families when they reached school leaving age and they were not subject to any formal aftercare.

A key aspect of any aftercare service was keeping in touch with ‘old girls and boys’ of the institutions. Annual reunions were reportedly held at Nazareth House, Aberdeen and former residents were encouraged to visit and take holidays at Nazareth Houses.¹⁷³ Similarly, former residents of Quarrier’s often referenced return visits to the Village in their letters. Barnardo’s After Care Department ran a Guild membership which distributed a magazine 3-4 times a year with news of the homes and from former residents, such as marriage and birth announcements.¹⁷⁴ The Department also facilitated contact between former residents and funded wedding gifts for the girls when they got married.¹⁷⁵ Quarrier’s annual report entitled *Narrative of Facts* described the work of the previous year including published extracts of letters from former boys and girls. The intended readership was largely donors and subscribers, although a number of former residents were amongst them. The main function of *Narrative of Fact* was to highlight the success of Quarrier’s and as such, the letters are carefully selected to show the organisation in the best light. When difficulties are alluded to, they were to demonstrate how Quarrier’s assisted their resolution. For example, the 1964 edition of *Narrative of Facts* reads:

Every year “old boys” and “old girls” come and visit us... Our “old boys and girls” come in the joy and happiness of prosperity but they may also come in their desperation and in dire need. If we have been a Home to them where else would they come when in trouble? I have a letter last week from a girl in desperation who signed

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margaret” (b.1953), p.9.

¹⁷³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Sisters of Nazareth Response to Section 21, Nazareth House Aberdeen, p.21.

¹⁷⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Barnardo’s Part A Response, p.37.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

herself “Yours ---- ‘far from the fold.” She also remembered what she had been taught here --- the eternal truths of the Gospel remain. They are still taught here week by week.¹⁷⁶

The 1920 edition included a letter from a former boy who had emigrated from Quarrier’s in 1912. His letter expresses a curiosity about his parents, something that was often discouraged in institutional care. It also confesses that despite being in Canada for eight years he had not written since he arrived. In other words, the letter had a clear purpose. He wrote:

Just a line or two to let you know I have not forgotten you although I have never written to you since I came to Canada...I came out here when I was twelve years old. I worked for a farmer for seven years and eight months...I like it fine out here, but it is all due to the credit of the Homes sending me here. I am very thankful. I have been enquiring of Mr. Winters if he had any trace of my parents in his books, but he cannot find any. I was taken away from them when I was five years old. I was just wondering if you had any trace of them. I would be much obliged if you could find out in any way at all...The Home is a fine institution. There is no mistake about that. They gave me a fine training.¹⁷⁷

Most of the published letters express a similar sentiment of how well Quarrier’s prepared them, particularly in terms of spiritual guidance and religious training. For the most part, the published letters were writing to a particular script. Some letters may have been written primarily to request support or information, but etiquette demanded an update about their life and an expression of gratitude to Quarrier’s. As Claudia Soares notes in reference to letters to the Waifs and Strays Society, some letters may have embellished or fabricated success so as to be validated and recognised by staff.¹⁷⁸ Some former residents writing to Quarrier’s may have embellished their contentedness with life, particularly former child migrants for whom life was often extremely difficult in absence of a support network overseas.¹⁷⁹ The sentiments and tone of the published letters in the 1964 edition of the *Narrative of Facts* did not differ hugely from those shared around thirty years earlier in 1930. Of course, many other children

¹⁷⁶ Quarrier’s Homes, *Narrative of Facts*, 1964, pp.9-10.

¹⁷⁷ Orphan Homes of Scotland, *Narrative of Facts*, 1920, p.14.

¹⁷⁸ Soares, ‘Leaving the Victorian Children’s Institution’, p.97.

¹⁷⁹ See, for example, Gordon Lynch, *UK Child Migration to Australia, 1945-1970* (2021); Ellen Boucher, *Empire’s Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (2014).

would have chosen to sever contact with Quarrier's upon leaving and we have little insight into their experiences in the written historical record.

A number of former residents of Quarrier's kept in touch with their houseparents and some returned to the Village in times of need. For instance, one former resident told *Time To Be Heard* that six months before she got married she took a job that was not live-in and had nowhere to stay.¹⁸⁰ Quarrier's accommodated her in one of the old Baby Homes for a small rent.¹⁸¹ Again, this was largely dependent on the relationship between the child and the houseparents or other staff. For children with whom the relationship with houseparents had soured or broken down it is less likely that such assistance would have been sought or offered. Some children may have been unaware that this kind of help was available once they had left care. Maintaining contact with former boys and girls was not obligatory beyond the first work placement.

Those who were unable to stay with parents or other relatives were placed in temporary accommodation, such as hostels or bedsits. The After-Care Committee of the Scottish Advisory Council on Child Care visited a number of working lads' homes and girls' hostels in 1950.¹⁸² The Committee reported that nearly all of the institutions they visited were overcrowded, were experiencing staff shortages, a poor standard of equipment, a lack of amenity and that the young people were treated more as a group than as individuals.¹⁸³ They also noted the lack of privacy in the hostels and most had large dormitories, dining and common areas.¹⁸⁴ Only in two hostels, they noted, was there a room where a young person could read undisturbed.¹⁸⁵ In other words, these hostels also offered 'batch living' and often little support owing to overcrowding and staff shortages. They did little to transition young people to life outwith an institution.

Homelessness

¹⁸⁰ Shaw, *Time To Be Heard*, p.66.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² NRS, ED11/426, Scottish Advisory Council on Child Care, Report of the After-Care Committee, 1950.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

A number of those who testified before the Inquiry describe being placed into temporary accommodation with no ongoing support and no way to feed and clothe themselves. David (whose date of birth is undisclosed) was in a number of institutions as a child, including Smyllum, he told the Inquiry about his experience of leaving care: ‘I was put in a bedsit with three other lads and that was it. We were abandoned. We had no money, no bedclothes – we had absolutely nothing. Three of the lads ended up in prison within six months.’¹⁸⁶ And David (b.1953), a former resident of Aberlour, talked about the experience of leaving care:

It was a horrible thing, all these kids had their lives mapped out. They were fed, they were clothed and they were told what to do every minute of the day. Then suddenly on their fifteenth birthday they had a small case, long trousers and it was cheerio. So many ended up in jail what else where they going to do. I remember my brother said the strangest thing he found was that he didn’t even know how to use a phone.¹⁸⁷

Children leaving care were at a significant risk of homelessness. In Scotland today, Care Experienced young people face a nearly 50/50 chance of becoming homeless.¹⁸⁸ For some, homelessness was temporary in early adulthood but some of those who testified described different periods of homelessness throughout their life, meaning the risk was ongoing. Donna (b.1969), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow, said: ‘My sister [redacted] left the home at sixteen but has never been out of care her whole life. She has had alcohol and drug issues and has been in homeless units and prison her whole life.’¹⁸⁹

Pamela Cox, Heather Shore, Zoe Alker and Barry Godfrey have argued that – in contrast to the present day - girls passing through the care system in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries experienced a modest improvement in their life chances.¹⁹⁰ Some of the difficulties experienced by girls leaving the care system are not easily detected in archival records, however. Many instances of domestic violence, periods of homelessness, struggles with relationships or parenting or mental health would never have left a trace in the written historical record. Young people leaving care could be without any real support network and therefore were especially vulnerable to exploitation and abusive relationships. Although it

¹⁸⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “David”, p.22.

¹⁸⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “David” (b.1953), p.23.

¹⁸⁸ Who Cares? Scotland, Outcomes for Care Experienced Children and Young People, 2016, p.2.

¹⁸⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Donna” (b.1969), p.13.

¹⁹⁰ Cox, Shore, Alker, Godfrey, ‘Tracking the Gendered Life Courses of Care Leavers’, pp.115-128.

was typical for working class women in the 1940s 50s and 60s to marry at a relatively young age, some young women leaving care married whilst still in their teens to often much older men. There are both emotional and structural reasons for this. For instance, in spite of greater opportunities for work created by war conditions and near full employment in the 1950s, working class women still had far fewer options for work than men. Moreover, low wages for women made it difficult for a single woman to support themselves to live independently.

Marriage and Relationships

The post war housing crisis, particularly acute in Glasgow, was another reason for young women to marry quickly.¹⁹¹ By the 1960s many children in institutional care were discharged to the care of their parents or other relatives and therefore were not subject to any formal aftercare. Many children were forced to return to overcrowded households who could not accommodate them. For some girls, marriage was a way to escape to such situations. Alison (b.1949), a former resident of Smyllum, remembered: ‘I married my husband [redacted], just to get out of the house. It was an escape route. We lived in Glasgow at first then moved to East Kilbride.’¹⁹² Marie (b.1961), who was also a former resident of Smyllum, said: ‘After I met my future husband...we managed to get a house together. I had no space at my sister’s. It was a great relief to have my own house.’¹⁹³ For some young women marriage was a ‘ticket away’¹⁹⁴ or a route to experience more freedom and independence. Lydia (b.1961), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen, told the Inquiry: ‘I should never have got married. I did it so I could get out of the front door and come and go as I wanted.’¹⁹⁵

A number of women who testified before the Inquiry spoke of marriages where their husbands abused them. The context of the Inquiry suggests that women viewed their experiences as relevant to their time in care. Some respondents to the Inquiry were more explicit about this connection than others. For instance, Anne (b.1962), a former resident of Nazareth House, Lasswade, reflected that:

¹⁹¹ See Lynn Abrams, Ade Kearns, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright, *Glasgow: High-Rise Homes, Estates and Communities in the Post-War Period* (2020).

¹⁹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Alison” (b.1949), p.29.

¹⁹³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Marie” (b.1961), p.12.

¹⁹⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Paula Chambers, p.30.

¹⁹⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Lydia” (b.1961), p.21.

I think my experiences had a lot to do with why I split from my ex-husband. We were together for sixteen years. He used to hit me. I don't know why I married him. He knew what had happened to me and he used it as a weapon. He verbally abused me about it. It was constant. He was always saying things like he was doing me a favour being married to me, because nobody else would want me.¹⁹⁶

There are few – and some may argue no - aspects of humanity that cannot be separated from its cultural and historical context but, although the form it may take changes across time and place, most people have a desire to be part of a family of some description. Sheryl (b.1961), a former resident of Nazareth House, Kilmarnock, said: 'I seemed to move from one volatile relationship to another and I think I was just simply looking for somebody to love and who would love me in return. I've never fitted in anywhere and have moved all over Dundee all my life.'¹⁹⁷ As Chapter Two highlighted, a number of children experienced domestic violence at home prior to entering residential care. Some young people in institutional care may never have experienced or witnessed a healthy relationship or family dynamic. The widespread failure to meet children's emotional needs in institutional care only compounded the vulnerability of children in care to exploitation and abusive relationships. Rose (b.1943), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen, also made an explicit link between her experiences in 'care' and her marriage:

I think what happened to me in my relationships was connected with my childhood experiences. [redacted] was the first person who was nice to me. I thought it was love. I was 19. He was 34. I had never been loved. I never knew what love was. I married [redacted] within 6 weeks of meeting him.¹⁹⁸

Those who have perhaps experienced some of the gravest difficulties as a result of their experiences in care, and a lack of support upon leaving care, are least likely to be heard by the Inquiry. We get glimpses of their lives in the testimony of others, many of whom mention peers who have died or remained institutionalised as a result of their experiences in care. For a child, entering care is a substantial loss and it is clear from people's testimony before the Inquiry that loss could be a frequent and ongoing part of their life. Many people had lost

¹⁹⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Anne" (b.1962), p.18.

¹⁹⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Sheryl" (b.1961), p.16.

¹⁹⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Rose" (b.1943), p.9.

siblings and friends prematurely as a result of failures of the care 'system'. Margaret (b.1953) told the Inquiry: 'My brother [redacted] died through drink, which I believe was brought on from his experiences in Smyllum.'¹⁹⁹

Jim (b.1961), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen, told the Inquiry:

Life in care had a huge impact on my brothers and I lost two of them through addictions to drink and drugs. My brother [redacted] collapsed and died in 2010. My brother [redacted] died [redacted] through HIV while he was in prison in Perth.²⁰⁰

One former resident of Quarrier's, testifying before Time To Be Heard, illustrated the severe consequences of the failure to provide adequate support for children leaving care:

I want to express my disgust at my brother being abandoned and receiving no further help after he left Quarriers. You can't throw children away like a toy. My brother died at 21. When he left Quarriers he was put into a bedsit in Ferguslie Park, Paisley. He was mentally unstable and the area was known to be very rough. He had been so cossetted he had no ability to cope and got in tow with another former resident. He offended and went to jail. I always suspected he had been abused in care. My main grievance has been the lack of after care and lack of preparation for the outside world. I felt that my brother and I were abandoned and given no further help after the age of 15.²⁰¹

Conclusion

The establishment of a comprehensive welfare state - which the establishment of children's departments were a part of - meant many families attained economic security for the first time in the decade following the end of the Second World War. People were encouraged to raise their social and economic expectations and especially their aspirations for their children.²⁰² British teenagers enjoyed a high level of disposable income and new forms of

¹⁹⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Margaret" (b.1953), p.10.

²⁰⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jim" (b.1961), p.7.

²⁰¹ Shaw, Time To Be Heard, p.67.

²⁰² Selina Todd and Hilary Young, 'Baby-Boomers to "Beanstalkers": Making the Modern Teenager in Post-War Britain', *Cultural and Social History* 9:3 (2012), p.454.

leisure during the decade following the war.²⁰³ Selina Todd and Hilary Young found that working class teenagers enjoyed an usual degree of parental encouragement in Britain.²⁰⁴ In contrast, those looking after children in institutional care generally had very low expectations and aspirations for the children. Rather than receiving an optimistic encouragement, children in care were often told that they ‘wouldn’t amount to anything’ or that they were ‘useless’.²⁰⁵ Many children left care with a decimated sense of self-esteem.

Adults who had experienced care as children were found to be more than 70% more likely to die prematurely than those who did not. A study of more than 350,000 people spanning the years 1971 – 2013 found that the likelihood of dying earlier among those with care experience has increased over time, as the general population experienced a decline in mortality risk.²⁰⁶ Many of those who passed through institutional care during the period at hand were let down time and time again by adults who were supposed to look after them. Even those who had positive experiences of care, such as Ronald, could have their lives destabilised because of a lack of preparation for discharge and aftercare. Some of the gravest failures of the care ‘system’ cannot easily be detected in letters to institutions from former residents. Some difficulties in adult life are only connected to childhood experiences in hindsight, and many of those difficulties were, in a literal sense, experienced behind closed doors, or in a figurative sense, never externalised. The testimony heard before the Inquiry challenges the narratives found in the official records of institutions, and even in the letters from some former residents. The chasm between the narrative presented in parts of the written historical record, such as letters from former residents published by Quarrier’s, and the recollections heard before the Inquiry is, at times, vast. This chapter has placed the testimonies and perspectives of those with experience of care at the heart of its analysis. Many of the biggest failings of the care ‘system’ in the decades following the end of the Second World War were only apparent in the period after someone had left care.

²⁰³ Ibid., p.455.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p.454.

²⁰⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Trisha” (b.1948) and “Arthur” (b.1950), p.17, p.7.

²⁰⁶ Mark Townsend, ‘Childhood in UK Care System Makes You Twice as Likely to Die Earlier, Study Shows’, *The Observer*, 24 May 2020 < <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/may/24/childhood-in-uk-care-system-makes-you-twice-as-likely-to-die-earlier-study-shows> > [accessed 1 April 2022].

Chapter Six

Recalling Care

The stories we tell, based on our memories, are always as much about the present as they are the past.¹ As we have heard in Chapter One, the context of the Inquiry significantly shapes the testimonies of those who give evidence before it. The resulting public narrative on institutional care in the past is largely one of abuse, particularly associated with homes run by religious organisations. A majority of those who testified before the Inquiry, having felt compelled to do so, situate their memories within this wider public narrative on institutional

¹ Lynn Abrams, 'Memory' in *Oral History Theory* (2016).

care. The Inquiry may be the framework in which those stories are told, but the lenses through which they are told are an ever-changing oculus of subsequent experiences and historical moment. For instance, a number of child rearing practices that were widely accepted in the past would now, to our 2020s sensibilities, be considered harmful. Indeed, during the time of writing this thesis Scotland outlawed the physical punishment of children.² The so-called ‘smacking ban’ highlights not only a shift in attitudes towards children but a state’s willingness to ‘interfere’ with disciplinary practices in the homes of more than those under the supervision of social services, something politically unthinkable just a few decades ago. When it comes to children, the social, political and cultural landscape has shifted dramatically since 1945, with perhaps some of the biggest shifts witnessed in the last two decades. Childhood experiences previously thought to be unremarkable have been re-examined and rescripted by those who testified before the Inquiry. As Alessandro Portelli famously said, ‘What is really important is that memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meaning.’³

This chapter has two aims. First, to consider the role of personal records in the process of remembering experiences of care. Second, to explore people’s experiences of family life after care, particularly parenthood and grandparenthood, and assess how these shape memories of care. At first glance, these two aspects may seem slightly dissonant but fundamentally they are related to larger questions of identity and personal history that are at the heart of this thesis. The relationship between identity and memory has been particularly vexed in research about those who have grown up in care; people’s stories have often been ruptured, especially when knowledge about their family of origin is fragmentary.⁴ Care experience is, in many ways, lifelong and does not end when a child officially leaves care. As so many people eloquently testified to the Inquiry, childhood experiences of care can ripple through not only that person’s life but the lives of their families, their children and sometimes even their children’s children. A history of children’s experiences of care must take heed of this.

² Children (Equal Protection from Assault) (Scotland) Act 2019.

³ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (1991), p.52.

⁴ John Murphy, ‘Memory, Identity and Public Narrative: Composing a Life-Story After Leaving Institutional Care, Victoria, 1945-83’, *Cultural and Social History* 7:3 (2010), p.297.

The impacts of adverse experiences in childhood on both the individual and, through parenting, on their children are well recognised in research across a number of disciplines. The literature is frequently framed around breaking a cycle of poverty, abuse or care, or of preventing the transmission of intergenerational trauma.⁵ This framing can place considerable accountability on individuals - overwhelmingly mothers - and pays little attention to wider structural forces or historical context. The existing literature on Care Experienced people's experiences of parenthood – again, overwhelmingly of motherhood – has a myopic focus on young parents of young children and ultimately the prevention of early parenthood. However, the vast majority of Care Experienced parents do not have their own children taken into care and do not repeat the 'care cycle'.⁶ People who are abused as children are more likely to be abused as adults, not more likely to become perpetrators of abuse.⁷ The dominant narrative of difficulty found in the literature overlooks that for a number of people, subsequent experiences of family life could be cathartic and healing as well as challenging. If anything, the testimonies analysed for this chapter reveal the messiness and complexity of human experience and memory; rarely could you categorise with confidence someone's experiences as wholly 'good' or 'bad'. This chapter does not seek to categorise or analyse experience in this way but to consider how subsequent experiences actively shape people's recollections of the past. It recognises the link between past and present made explicit in the testimony heard before the Inquiry.

⁵ See Kayla Herbell and Tina Bloom, 'A Qualitative Metasynthesis of Mothers' Adverse Childhood Experiences and Parenting Practices', *Journal of Paediatric Health Care* 34:5 (2020), pp.409-417; Howard Steele, Jordan Bate and Miriam Steele, 'Adverse Childhood Experiences, Poverty and Parenting Stress', *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 48:1 (2016), pp.32-38; Maria Khan and Kimberly Renk, 'Mothers' Adverse Childhood Experiences, Depressive Symptoms, Parenting, and Attachment as Predictors of Young Children's Problems', *Journal of Child Custody* 16:3 (2019), pp.268-290; John Burke, Mark Fitzhenry, Sharon Houghton, Donal G. Fortune, 'Breaking the Cycle of Intergenerational Trauma: Evaluating the Impact of Parental Adverse Childhood Experiences on Parenting Group Outcomes Using a Mixed-Methods Approach', *Children and Youth Services Review* 130 (2021), pp.1-12.

⁶ Jade Louise Weston, *Care Leavers' Experiences of Being and Becoming Parents*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2013, p.15.

⁷ Office for National Statistics, 'People Who Were Abused as Children are More Likely to be Abused as Adults', 27 September 2017

<<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/peoplewhowereabusedaschildrenaremorelikelytobeabusedasanadult/2017-09-27>> [accessed 25 August 2022]; With that being said, the consequences of abuse in childhood result in an increased likelihood of a number of risk factors for child maltreatment; on an individual level, these are experiencing anxiety, depression, emotional difficulties, addiction and mental illness, and more broadly, being in poverty or living on a low income, living with step-parents, isolation, early separation from mother and young parental age; See Kevin Browne, Catherine Hamilton-Giachritsis, Shannon Vettor, *The Cycles of Violence: The Relationship between Childhood Maltreatment and the Risk of Later Becoming a Victim or Perpetrator of Violence*, World Health Organisation, 2007, p.8.

Ghosts and Angels in the Nursery

In 1975, Selma Fraiberg, a clinical social worker and child psychoanalyst, wrote: 'In every nursery, there are ghosts. They are visitors from the unremembered past of the parents; the uninvited guests at the christening.'⁸ The concept of ghosts refers to the transmission of childhood trauma of abuse and neglect from one generation to the next. Fraiberg's concept was expanded by Alicia Lieberman in a 2005 paper entitled 'Angels in the Nursery', in which she wrote: '...self-affirming influences move silently in the lives of children, wrapping each successive generation in the security that comes from being loved, accepted and understood.'⁹ Both metaphors usefully describe two sides of the same phenomenon: experiences in one's own childhood can re-emerge through interactions with children in adulthood. Ghosts and angels co-exist.¹⁰ Remnants of childhood experiences can play out in the present and those interactions actively shape memories of the past.

Ghosts are an apt metaphor and one which is drawn on by a number of those in recalling their childhoods. For some people, ghosts inhabited physical spaces as well as everyday interactions. For instance, David, whose date of birth is undisclosed, told how he visited Smyllum Orphanage as an adult to 'try to put some ghosts to rest.'¹¹ And Michael (b.1951) described his visit to Smyllum as an adult, by then a derelict building. He said: '[My wife and I] managed to get in through a broken door and we walked through the ruins. Well the hairs on the back of my neck stood up with the ghosts in there.'¹² The physical spaces of the buildings often loom large in people's testimony.¹³ Some construct their narratives through mentally retracing their steps through the hallways, dormitories and refectories where they spent their childhood years. Others will physically retrace their steps in a return visit to their childhood homes. Recalling his visit to Smyllum, Mike said: 'It wasn't good, it brought back memories. It was silence but there wasn't silence. You could hear pupils crying, screaming

⁸ Selma Fraiberg, Edna Adelson and Vivian Shapiro, 'Ghosts in the Nursery: A Psychoanalytic Approach to the Problems of Impaired Infant-Mother Relationships', *J Am Acad Child Psychiatry* 14:3 (1975), p.387.

⁹ Alicia F. Lieberman, Elena Padròn, Patricia van Horn and William W. Harris, 'Angels in the Nursery: The Intergenerational Transmission of Benevolent Parental Influences', *Infant Mental Health Journal* 26:6 (2005), p.506.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "David", p.6.

¹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Michael" (b.1951), p.34.

¹³ See Shurlee Swain, 'Institutionalised Childhood: The Orphanage Remembered', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8:1 (2015), pp.17-33.

and playing football, but it was derelict.’¹⁴ In some narratives, the past could seep into the present.

For a number of those who were formerly in care, their own childhood experiences were remembered through their relationships with the children in their lives as adults. Many of the testimonies analysed here were given by those who had adult children, and many were now grandparents. They were not ‘in the thick’ of raising young children where one might have had less time to contemplate the past. In hindsight, however, many people remembered their experiences of parenting young children as a time where the legacies of their own childhoods in care were crystalised. Some consciously parented their children in a very different way to how they were raised in care. Others expressed regret at replicating aspects of their own upbringings. For some people, their childhood experiences went largely unexamined until much later in life. A number of people had accessed their records for the first time as part of the process of giving evidence to the Inquiry, whilst others had said their search for answers about their past was prompted by their children or grandchildren. Throughout this thesis the testimonies of those who were formerly in care have been contextualised, where possible, using archival records, such as those created by institutions or by children’s departments or regulatory bodies. These records only give minor glimpses into the circumstances of individual children and as has been discussed at length throughout this thesis, the insights into children’s perspectives or feelings are rare. Owing to data protection, records of individual children and families have not been accessed as part of this research. The content of individual records often plays a significant role in shaping people’s testimonies, however.

Photographs, Personal Records and Memory

For most of us, we have very few or no memories from before the age of around two and a half years old.¹⁵ Memories from before the age of ten can fade with time. Our understandings of our early years are pieced together from stories told by those who were adults at the time, often parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles or older siblings or cousins. Photographs, a childhood toy or book or other objects can also act as a prompt for childhood memories. As

¹⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Mike”, p.34.

¹⁵ Recent research has found that, on average, we can recall memories from two and a half years old, a year earlier than previously thought. See Carole Peterson, ‘What is your earliest memory? It depends’, *Memory* 29:6 (2021), pp.811-822.

Nell Musgrove has pointed out, those who have spent their childhood years in care do not always have access to the usual memory prompts.¹⁶ This can make piecing together your childhood years and forming a coherent life story a challenge. Alan (b.1957), a former resident of Quarrier's, told the Inquiry: 'I only have one picture of when me and my brother were in Quarriers. It's the only thing I have to say "this is who we were."' ¹⁷ The number of family photographs in possession of any working class family in the 1950s and 1960s was generally limited. Many people who grew up during this time will have a handful of photographs of themselves as children. Those who grew up in care during this period may have never seen a photograph of themselves as a child.

Institutions, particularly those who relied on donations, were no strangers to photographing the children in their care. Unlike family photographs, these pictures were not usually shown to or given to the children but served to document and promote the philanthropic activities of the institution. For instance, Billy (b.1945), a former resident of Smyllum Park Orphanage said: 'They took quite a lot of photographs, but I never got to actually see them. To this day I still don't have a photograph of me in the orphanage.'¹⁸ The photography of children in institutional care has a somewhat sinister history. In 1877 Dr Barnardo was accused of producing 'fictitious representations of destitution' for 'the purposes of obtaining money.'¹⁹ In other words, Dr Barnardo and his staff had taken a number of staged photographs of children they had claimed to have 'taken from the street.'²⁰ The children and their clothing were generally arranged in such a way to look as 'ragged' as possible. Dr Barnardo's Boys' Home, Stepney Causeway even had a photography studio on the top floor where, from the late 1880s every child was photographed on their admission to the Home, and again when they left. These 'before and after' photographs were printed and reproduced, intended to illustrate the power of Dr Barnardo's homes to 'transform' children from 'little vagrants' to 'little workmen'.²¹ Although none of the Scottish children's homes considered throughout this thesis replicated such a practice, a number did use photographs of the children in their

¹⁶ Nell Musgrove, 'Locating Foster Care: Place and Space in Care Leavers' Childhood Memories', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8:1 (2015), p.111.

¹⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Alan" (b.1957), p.23.

¹⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Billy" (b.1945), p.7.

¹⁹ Seth Koven, 'Dr Barnardo's "Artistic Fictions": Photography, Sexuality, and the Ragged Child in Victorian London', *Radical History Review* 69:6 (1997), p.25.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.26.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.27.

promotional materials, and one former resident of a Scottish Barnardo's home, Glasclune House, in the 1960s-1970s did recall having their photograph taken on arrival.²²

Several respondents to the Inquiry provided photographs as part of their evidence, or referred to them in their statements, although these were not included as part of the public record. For some, the photographs were a treasured possession. Hugh McGowan (b.1948), for instance, was a former resident of Quarrier's who was migrated to Australia. He said: 'I have passed to the Inquiry a photograph of me and other children who were in the cottage...I have treasured this photograph as it is the first photograph of me.'²³ Many other former residents of children's homes lamented the absence of photographs from their childhood years. William (b.1953), a former resident of Craigerne Residential School, Peebles said: 'I would like to see if there are any photographs of my time in care. It would give me something tangible from my past.'²⁴ William, whose date of birth is undisclosed, a former resident of Quarrier's said: 'I now believe Quarriers robbed me of three things – my childhood; my family and my file. I don't even have a photograph of myself as a child to look at.'²⁵ William was unable to remember what his mother looked like and told the Inquiry he hopes to be able to see a photograph of her before he dies.²⁶ It was not only the absence of photographs of oneself as a child that was felt by those who were formerly in care, but the loss of photographs of family members.

Photographs were viewed as significant to the process of, and ability to, construct a life story by several of those who testified before the Inquiry. Fiona (b.1963), a former resident of Quarrier's, said:

Parts of my life are missing, and I don't know what I looked like at different stages in my life because no photographs were taken. Something like a memory box would have helped me to have a clearer picture of my life.²⁷

²² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Susan" (b.1959), p.2.

²³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Hugh McGowan (b.1948), pp.4-5.

²⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "William" (b.1953), p.12.

²⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "William", p.15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.16.

²⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Fiona" (b.1963), p.34.

Oral historians often use photographs as prompts or aids in the interviewing process. As Alexander Freund and Alistair Thomson point out, while oral historians have traditionally battled prejudice against oral sources as being fraught with problems of memory and therefore unreliable, they must now battle the popular assumption that photographs are objective because ‘the camera never lies’.²⁸ Indeed, some of those who were accused of mistreating children in their care presented photographs to the Inquiry as evidence of a lack of wrongdoing. In response to an accusation of treating one child and their siblings as ‘the black sheep of the house’, one former houseparent at Quarrier’s, Violet (b.1939), told the Inquiry: ‘Nonsense. All I can say is nonsense. The photographs in the bundle show that she was treated the same as others.’²⁹ Similarly, Margaret White (b.1954), a former volunteer at Nazareth House, Aberdeen, told the Inquiry: ‘I have an album of photographs with contemporaneous descriptions from my time at Nazareth House. I am happy to share this with the Inquiry. The photographs show that the children at Nazareth House were happy and looked after.’³⁰ Such photographs do not speak for themselves, however. They are not objective depictions of past reality, but artefacts produced by people with interests and agendas at a specific time and place.³¹

The testimony of some former residents of voluntary children’s homes highlighted the gulf between their childhood memories and the scenes depicted in such photographs. To illustrate, Maureen (b.1953), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow said:

When I was about twelve we were all photographed together. We all wore nice dresses and blue ribbons. The dresses were taken off us as soon as the photo had been taken. In the photo it looks as if we are all smiling but it was forced. We only smiled because the nuns told us that we better had do.³²

Jenny (b.1951), a former resident of Quarrier’s, also remembered being dressed up for photographs.³³ As Maureen alluded to, the threat of punishment loomed over the children who did not comply with adult demands when posing for photographs. Jenny said:

²⁸ Alexander Freund and Alistair Thomson, *Oral History and Photography* (2011), p.10.

²⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Violet” (b.1939), p.15.

³⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Margaret White (b.1954), pp.13-14.

³¹ Alexander Freund and Alistair Thomson, *Oral History and Photography* (2011), p.10.

³² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Maureen” (b.1953), p.14.

³³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jenny” (b.1951), p.13.

I have shown you a copy of a photograph... You can see the girls have white gloves on and their hands are clasped to the front while the boys are standing with their hands behind their backs. That's how we were told the stand. My sister has her hands to the back, like the boys... she was standing the wrong way. I had to watch my sister get a beating from Miss [redacted] for that.³⁴

Rather than being a treasured photograph from childhood or a visual representation of one's memory, Jenny said: 'Every time I look at that picture all I think about is my poor sister.'³⁵ The role of photographs in the process of remembering is complex. For those who did not have photographs, their absence could be a hinderance in constructing their life story and understanding who they were – or what they looked like – as children. The absence of family photographs more broadly could also serve as a further reminder of the loss of family connections and a sense of belonging. For some, the few photographs they have from their childhood years are to be treasured. But for those like Jenny and Maureen they are a false representation of their experiences in care. Or as one former resident of Smyllum put it: 'a complete fabrication'.³⁶

Those with no-one to corroborate their memories or without relevant records to consult are often left with dislocated memories, without context. This phenomenon is described by George Higgins (b.1930), a former resident of Bellevue, when he said: 'My memories of my time in the convent are not necessarily in chronological order. You have to realise that I was only a young child at the time and what I have is a collection of memories rather than an ordered recollection of my time there.'³⁷ Difficulty in situating specific memories within a wider narrative is evident in a number of testimonies. For example, Gavin (b.1943), formerly in the care of Barnardo's and migrated to Australia, said: 'I have another memory from my childhood when I think I was very young. I was hiding in a large coke bucket and was in terrible fear. I remember that I was covered in soot or coke. I don't remember which home this was in. It's just an image that I have.'³⁸ In trying to remember her life before care, Elizabeth (b.1955), a former resident of Quarrier's, said: 'I have very few memories... One is

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of William Connelly (b.1948), p.12.

³⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of George Higgins (b.1930), p.2.

³⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Gavin" (b.1943), p.5.

of running up the street with bare feet. I also have a memory of a coal fire, a bed, a dull room with no light on and a lady with a chair wearing glasses. I was small and trying to get up on the lady's knee.'³⁹ These kinds of memories are characteristic of very early childhood memories but without the context of family lore or photographs they remain unintegrated into a chronological life story.

Particularly in the first few years of life, some people have drawn heavily on their records to construct their life story. To illustrate, Joseph Andrew Currie (b.1953), a former resident of a number of children's homes, including Nazareth House, Aberdeen told the Inquiry: 'The only way I am able to tell you about the early days in Nazareth House is by looking at my records and trying to put together how I ended up there.'⁴⁰ Mary (b.1957), a former resident of Aberlour has also used her records to understand her early life. She said: 'There are lots of things I don't remember myself and I have used the records to fill in the gaps in the memory.'⁴¹ Others who testified before the Inquiry spoke of their hopes for accessing their records. Stephen (b.1961), a former resident of Smyllum said:

I would like to see my records from my time in Smyllum. Everything is still so confused in my mind about that time. I'm not even sure exactly how long I was there for... This information should help me start to put things together.⁴²

For some, their records are their only source of information about their early years. Rod Braydon, who grew up in Australian children's homes in the 1950s and 1960s, said he was 'left to ponder and try to put together the jigsaw puzzle of his childhood through old documents.'⁴³ He described his records as 'as precious as a family photo album'.⁴⁴ Not everyone shares this regard to their records, however. In some instances, those seeking to 'fill in the gaps' with their personal records find that they are scant, inaccurate and sometimes hurtful in their descriptions of them and their families. For example, Elizabeth (b.1954), formerly in the care of Barnardo's, said:

³⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Elizabeth" (b.1955), p.1.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Mary" (b.1957), p.1.

⁴² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Stephen" (b.1961), pp.13-14.

⁴³ Vikki Petraitis, *Salvation: The True Story of Rod Braydon's Fight for Justice* (2009) as quoted by Suellen Murray, *Finding Lost Childhoods: Supporting Care-Leavers to Access Personal Records* (2017), p.42.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

It was quite hurtful and upsetting reading the social work minutes of meetings with my parents at our home, the social worker's views of my parents and comments about them. The social workers talked about my sisters and I, what we looked like and how we behaved. It was like looking at, and talking about, somebody else. You know it's about you but it's like an outsider looking in.⁴⁵

The language used by child welfare professionals in the past can be, to put it bluntly, completely callous. Marie (b.1960), a former resident of Aberlour, described the experience of reading her records as bringing 'back horrible memories'.⁴⁶ Marie described the contents of her records from when she was aged nine:

I have read in my records, from Aberlour, all these things like, [redacted] a misfit, [redacted] the ugly duckling of the family, [redacted] sexually active, [redacted] promiscuous, [redacted] attentions seeking." The list goes on, and on, and on. The things I've read are awful.⁴⁷

Records from a child's time in care are reflective of a set of professional interests and practices specific to a time and place; they were never intended to be read by those who were written about, or to be used as a memory aid. The contents of these records, frequently stigmatising in their descriptions of families in crisis, can cause psychological harm to those who later read them. Writing on Australia, Shurlee Swain and Nell Musgrove found that some officials who were responsible for releasing files to those who were formerly in care expressed ethical concerns at doing so when the information had the potential to cause psychological harm.⁴⁸ In one instance, Mary Brownlee was blocked from accessing her personal records by an official who told her that she 'would not like to see what had been written in my records, but don't say I told you that.'⁴⁹ As Swain and Musgrove point out, however, the risk of the potential harm caused by the release of distressing information must be balanced with the inevitable harm that is the legacy of gaping holes in people's life stories.⁵⁰ Personal records may be the only source of informing one's understanding of early

⁴⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Elizabeth" (b.1954), p.19.

⁴⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Marie" (b.1960), p.23.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Swain and Musgrove, 'We are the Stories we Tell About Ourselves', p.9.

⁴⁹ Forgotten Australians Submission 57: Mary Brownlee, cited by Swain and Musgrove, 'We are the Stories we Tell About Ourselves', p.9.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

family life and therefore their own narratives can reflect the language and views of child welfare professionals in the past. To illustrate, Cathy (b.1958) said: ‘I was taken into care when I was one year old because I was neglected. My dad was in and out of jail and living off my mum’s immoral earnings, according to my records’.⁵¹ What could be some of the most difficult, emotive and defining experiences of one family’s lives could represent one case in several hundred in the case load of a children’s officer. Nevertheless, personal records can be the only source someone has to draw on and therefore they can have a significant impact on how someone constructs their understanding of the past.

For some people who were formerly in ‘care’, viewing personal records can help make sense of the past.⁵² But they can also be distressing and at odds with people’s memories.⁵³ For instance, John (b.1959), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen told the Inquiry:

We left in [redacted], 1971 but the Nazareth House records say 1970. They are wrong. When I came out of Nazareth House, we all got back together, my mum, dad and sisters. Nazareth House records state I went to [redacted] with a William McCaw. I’ve never heard of him! I don’t know how I got home.⁵⁴

Similarly, Ned (b.1962), a former resident of a number of homes including Nazareth House, Aberdeen said: ‘I thought that the first place I was in care was Quarriers village however my sister [redacted] who has some social work records told me that I was in Smyllum.’⁵⁵

The record keeping practices in some institutions and departments were so poor that a child’s records could amount to no more than a few impersonal lines. Fiona (b.1963), a former resident of Quarrier’s, told the Inquiry: ‘I have the Quarriers records. They are so disappointing. I can’t believe they cover four years of my life. There’s nothing in them. You could read them and you wouldn’t know who I was.’⁵⁶ James (b.1964), formerly in the care

⁵¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Cathy” (b.1958), p.1.

⁵² Shurlee Swain and Nell Musgrove, ‘We are the Stories we Tell About Ourselves: Child Welfare Records and the Construction of Identity among Australians Who, as Children, Experienced Out-of-Home ‘Care’’, *Archives and Manuscripts* 40:1 (2012), p.11.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.9.

⁵⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “John” (b.1959), p.11.

⁵⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Ned” (b.1962), p.2.

⁵⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Fiona” (b.1963), p.31.

of Barnardo's said: 'I wanted to get my records because I didn't have an identity. I knew nothing about my childhood. It had all been erased from my memory.'⁵⁷

Those without care experience are more likely to have adults who remember them as children who could tell stories about what they were like as a child or provide photographs. The loss of this is a lifelong consequence of poor record keeping practices of the Scottish care 'system' of the past. On the experience of accessing his records, "James" concluded:

I had expected to learn about me from my file, like I was reading a book about myself. In a normal family, there's photos around the house and this whole history of stories and tales about children growing up. None of that exists for me. I remember one statement that was written by a staff member which said, "This boy is as thick as two short planks and will amount to nothing."⁵⁸

If a child was in the care of a voluntary home, such as Aberlour, while under the care of a local authority then their case file would rest with the local authority. Some children were unaware they had a children's officer and had no relationship with them. The inspection practices of local authorities meant that while a children's officer may have visited a voluntary home, they did not necessarily speak to the child themselves. David (b.1953), a former resident of Aberlour, told the Inquiry:

My records show many visits to Aberlour from Miss Talbot, my children's officer, but they weren't to see me. She would have had many other children to deal with at the time so perhaps that's why her visits are recorded but I didn't see her as many times as it states on those records.⁵⁹

At best, records could offer a glimpse into family circumstances before being taken into residential care, or at moments between different homes. For the day-to-day in a children's home the archival records can be muffled or entirely silent. For instance, Annemarie (b.1960), a former resident of Smyllum and the Nazareth Houses in Glasgow, Kilmarnock and Aberdeen said: 'My records say why we were put into care and there are records about

⁵⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "James" (b.1964), p.61.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "David" (b.1953), p.12.

our transfers from one place to the next. There is no mention of what my life was like in care.’⁶⁰ And John (b.1940), a former resident of Smyllum told the Inquiry: ‘There is no record of what went on in the home. It’s just records of when I went in and came out and when [redacted] and [redacted] went in and out. That is really it.’⁶¹

For those who were in voluntary children’s homes by a private arrangement, any records held by those organisations are likely the only record of their time in care. Indeed, as Julie Grier states, the Children Act 1948 failed to define the position of the voluntary homes in relation to the state and those in care by a private arrangement could be treated differently.⁶² For children who were in the care of voluntary homes by private arrangement it is even more likely that their records have not survived, if they ever existed beyond an entrance log. In one case, Quarrier’s had no record that Troy (b.1951) was ever a resident. Troy told the Inquiry: ‘They said they’d checked the records and I wasn’t listed as being there. They eventually found an ex-Quarrier’s boy who confirmed to them that I’d been there.’⁶³ Many staff members of children’s homes did not see record keeping as a major part of their role which was primarily focused on the day-to-day of running a home and looking after children. Alison (b.1950), a former resident and later houseparent at Quarrier’s, told the Inquiry that no records of the children were kept within the cottage. She said: ‘I don’t know if they were kept in the office because we had nothing to do with that. I wasn’t given any and I didn’t keep any.’⁶⁴ Alison also told the Inquiry:

I vaguely remember that towards the end, we had a folder with an individual page allocated to every child, and we were supposed to record any incidents in it when they occurred. If everything went along well, then there would be nothing to record.⁶⁵

To put this another way, children’s records may comprise of either nothing at all or a list of negative incidents. On the experience of reading his records from Aberlour, David (b.1953) said: ‘It’s like I ceased to exist in a positive way, once I made my complaint about Mrs

⁶⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Annemarie” (b.1960), p.26.

⁶¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “John” (b.1940), p.42.

⁶² Julie Grier, ‘A Spirit of “Friendly Rivalry”? Voluntary Societies and the Formation of Post-War Child Welfare Legislation in Britain’ in *Child Welfare and Social Action from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Lawrence and P. Starkey (2001), p.241.

⁶³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Troy” (b.1951), p.17.

⁶⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Alison” (b.1950), p.9.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

[redacted]. It's like they've taken my life and written a few really negative comments which are entirely untrue.'⁶⁶ Children who were deemed to be 'naughty' or troublesome were more likely to leave a greater archival trail owing to the practice of only noting 'incidents'. If these are the only source to inform one's understanding of our childhood selves, we are left with a wholly negative impression of who we were.

The consequences of poor record keeping in the past are very much felt in the present and can have profound effects on someone's sense of self and identity. If you have no one to ask, getting even basic information, such as your date of birth or where you were born, can be impossible. Paul, a former resident of several children's homes including Smyllum and a Nazareth House, does not know how old he is or the name he was given at birth. He said: 'The name I use is [redacted]. I'm not one hundred percent sure about that however. I found out about three or four years ago that my first name was given to me by a nun.'⁶⁷ Paul also told the Inquiry: 'I have three dates of birth that I have been given down the years. [redacted] 1959, [redacted] 1960 and [redacted] 1958.'⁶⁸ And Jennifer (b.1948), who was placed in the care of Nazareth House, Glasgow alongside her twin sister said:

Nazareth House had virtually no records of me and my sister at all...The sisters told us that we were born in Ballymena, County Antrim but our birth certificates stated that we were born in Robroyston in Glasgow. It's possible that we were born in Ireland but registered in Glasgow. We really know very little about our family background.⁶⁹

A number of those who were formerly in care are left unable to answer these basic questions about themselves; who they were, who they are now, where they came from or where they belong. This could result in lifelong struggles with identity as well as more practical implications, such as family medical history. Finlay, whose date of birth is undisclosed, a former resident of Quarrier's, told the Inquiry: 'I have no recollection and I don't know my family medical history. I also feel that I have no history.'⁷⁰ Gerry (b.1957) was taken into the

⁶⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "David" (b.1953), p.27.

⁶⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Paul", p.1.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jennifer" (b.1948), p.34, p.1.

⁷⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Finlay", p.14.

care of Bellevue, and later Smyllum, aged two.⁷¹ Gerry cannot remember his life before care but was told later in life that his mother had suffered a mental health breakdown. He said: ‘It was no wonder, left alone, poor, with three children of mixed race. She lived in a pretty hostile racist environment... We found out later she was ostracised by her own family.’⁷² This information did not come from his records, however. On receiving his records from Strathclyde Council in the 1990s, Gerry said: ‘...I got an A4 sheet of paper with two lines on it about my history of why I went into care.’⁷³ Gerry was never given the opportunity to know his father; those who looked after him refused to answer his questions about his father and he was told he was unwanted by both parents.⁷⁴ He said:

In the lack of record keeping, there was an airbrushing of my history. It was an emotional abuse of my identity as a person, who I was and where I came from. There was a complete denial of me as a human being. I had no narrative, no history...⁷⁵

We are the stories we tell about ourselves. For many people an understanding of who they were as children is often constructed from the memories of those who knew them. A surviving childhood toy or blanket, or a finger painting done with tiny hands, or perhaps a much-loved picture book with grubby marks where the pages have been turned can also be key to piecing together our early childhood years. Many children who entered the care ‘system’ have no surviving teddy, paintings or books from their childhood. Thus, both the content of existing records and the absence of records play a significant role in how people understand their experiences of care. The records authored by child welfare professionals can undermine someone’s memories of their past. In some instances, these records are the only source they have of their early childhood years. They can aid as much as hinder the process of remembering. Questions on identity and personal history can come to the fore as much as be settled in the formation of a family – whatever form that may take – in adulthood. The remainder of this chapter explores subsequent experiences of family life, particularly raising children, and its influence on how people remember their childhood experiences of care.

⁷¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Gerry” (b.1957), pp.1-2.

⁷² Ibid., p.1; see also Lynn Abrams, “Blood is Thicker Than Water”: Family, Fantasy and Identity in the Lives of Scottish Foster Children’, in *Child Welfare and Social Action in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: International Perspectives*, ed. Jon Lawrence and Pat Starkey (2001), pp.195-216.

⁷³ Ibid., p.2.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.23.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.24.

Experiences of Care and Family Life

It is perhaps stating the obvious, but those who grew up in the 1930s, 40s and 50s who went on to raise their children in the 1960s, 70s and 80s did so in a very different world to the one in which they inhabited as a growing child. Some practices relating to children which were widely accepted in the past, such as sending a child to bed without supper as a punishment or driving with a toddler on your knee, would later be reframed as harmful and unacceptable - at least in public discourse. More broadly, social and economic conditions were radically different in the 1940s than the 1980s. The wider historical context of war or of accelerating deindustrialisation also had some bearing on how children were treated in society and raised by their parents or caregivers.⁷⁶ Tracking changes in parenting or childrearing practices across time is not an easy task. What people said and what people did are not necessarily one in the same.

The post war years witnessed an explosion of popular literature on child rearing, perhaps most famously Dr Spock's *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, first published in 1946 and the second edition in 1957, apparently marking the shift towards a permissive parenting style. The advice was not consistent, however, and mothers were under pressure to conform to conflicting models of care.⁷⁷ For instance, contemporaneous to Dr Spock's book was *The Intelligent Parents' Manual*, first published in 1944 and reprinted by Penguin in 1953; it describes 'spanking' or a 'well-administered slap on the hand' as being 'not only excusable but beneficial'.⁷⁸ This attitude towards corporal punishment was not universally held, however. As Deborah Thom pointed out, Penelope Leach, author of the successful manual, *Baby and Child* (1977) persistently campaigned against violence to children in the name of discipline since the 1960s.⁷⁹ Corporal punishment can be a useful barometer for children's position in society over time,⁸⁰ but it also highlights the difficulty of differentiating practice from discourse.

⁷⁶ See Mathew Thomson, *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (2013).

⁷⁷ See Angela Davis, *Modern Motherhood: Women and Family in England, 1945-2000* (2012).

⁷⁸ Florence Powdermaker, Louise Grimes, *The Intelligent Parents' Manual* (1953).

⁷⁹ Deborah Thom, "Beating Children is Wrong": Domestic Life, Psychological Thinking and the Permissive Turn' in *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, ed. Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin, Abigail Wills (2009), p.262.

⁸⁰ Deborah Thom, "Beating Children is Wrong": Domestic Life, Psychological Thinking and the Permissive Turn' in *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, ed. Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin, Abigail Wills

Despite changing legislation in Scotland and a wider shift towards nurturing and child-centred approaches in public discourse and policy, corporal punishment remains common practice in many homes as it once was in schools. To illustrate, a recent YouGov survey of 2152 adults in Great Britain found that 93% had been smacked or spanked as a child. Of those born before 1967, 93% had been smacked as a child, 24% had been hit by an object, and 5% had been made to wash their mouths out with soap or another unpleasant substance.⁸¹ For those born 1967-1976, 95% had been smacked or spanked as a child, 29% had been hit with an object, and 9% had been made to wash their mouths out with soap or another unpleasant substance.⁸² By the early 2000s parents in Great Britain were certainly still smacking their children, with 90% of respondents to the survey born between 1997-2003 being smacked or spanked as children, 23% being hit with an object, and 9% being made to wash their mouths out with soap or another unpleasant substance.⁸³ The public discourse may have shifted, but behind closed doors corporal punishment has never really gone away. Thus, surveying historic parenting manuals and other such literature can only tell us so much about childrearing practices. Moreover, some of the practices found in the institutions examined throughout this thesis were decidedly out of step with childrearing practices accepted by professionals at the time. It is challenging to situate some of these experiences – both of being parented and parenting – within a wider historical context of parenting cultures. This chapter is fundamentally about how we remember the past; it is not a study of childrearing or parenting cultures. For some, memories of their own childhood are now intrinsically linked with experiences of looking after children in their adult lives. The purpose of this chapter is not to try and pull those apart but to understand how those experiences interact and inform the process of remembering. Subsequent experiences of family life, sometimes taking place in a radically different historical context, can have transformative effects on the meaning of memories.

(2009), pp.261-291; Andrew Burchell, 'In Loco Parentis, Corporal Punishment and the Moral Economy of Discipline in English Schools, 1945-1986', *Cultural and Social History* 15:4 (2018), pp.551-570; Philip Gardner, 'The Giant at the Front: Young Teachers and Corporal Punishment in Inter-War Elementary Schools', *History of Education* 25:2 (1996), pp.141-163; Jacob Middleton, 'The Experience of Corporal Punishment in Schools, 1890-1940', *History of Education* 37:2 (2008), pp.253-275.

⁸¹ Connor Ibbetson, 'Smacking: Parents Who Were Physically Punished as Children are More Likely to Punish Their Children', *YouGov*, <<https://yougov.co.uk/topics/lifestyle/articles-reports/2021/09/27/smacking-parents-who-were-physically-punished-chil>> [accessed 9 August 2022]; for a history of corporal punishment in Britain see Owen Emmerson, *Childhood and the Emotion of Corporal Punishment in Britain, 1938-1986*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 2020.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

A number of those who testified before the Inquiry stated that they had not characterised their childhood experiences as abuse until much later in life. In part, this is reflective of changing attitudes towards children and childrearing practices. Recollections of poor caregiving practices in institutions were frequently attributed to ‘different times.’ For example, Tess (b.1961), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow reflected: ‘Yes, I got the strap and the belt when we were there, and at school, but that was commonplace at the time. I would never have lifted a hand to my own children.’⁸⁴ Similarly, Ann (b.1949), when remembering her home life, said: ‘My father was a disciplinarian and did use the belt on us now and again, though I suppose that was considered normal in those days.’⁸⁵ Ann also understood her experiences in Nazareth House, Glasgow in the context of historically contingent norms and practices, she said: ‘The reason I came forward to the Inquiry was to try and get people to understand that Nazareth House itself was a sign of the times. The whole environment was wrong but in those days it was normal.’⁸⁶ This was also expressed by Anne (b.1962), a former resident of Nazareth House, Lasswade: ‘It was a different era when I was in Nazareth House. There was a different way of thinking towards children.’⁸⁷ On corporal punishment, Esmerelda (b.1953), a former resident of Quarrier’s, concluded: ‘It was normal to strap children hell for leather.’⁸⁸ On disclosing abuse, George (b.1954), a former resident of Quarrier’s, said: ‘I never reported the abuse at the time. There was no-one I could speak to, it was simply not a topic of conversation in those days. Children should be seen and not heard.’⁸⁹ The recognition of changing norms did not mean a wholesale acceptance of past experiences, even those that were everyday occurrences such as the use of the belt.

Remembering Parenthood

Many of those who testified before the Inquiry spoke of their experiences of parenthood. The metaphor or both ‘ghosts’ and ‘angels’ in the nursery is apt for the influences that one’s own childhood has on the experience of parenting. Parenting is a complex, multidimensional process that actively integrates elements of the self, family of origin, culture, socioeconomic

⁸⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Tess” (b.1961), p.18.

⁸⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Ann” (b.1949), p.1.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.12.

⁸⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Anne” (b.1962), p.20.

⁸⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Esmerelda” (b.1953), p.8.

⁸⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “George” (b.1954), p.13.

status, and society.⁹⁰ For those with experience of care, parenting is also influenced by experiences of being looked after within the care ‘system’. The little existing research on Care Experienced people’s experiences of parenting have overwhelmingly focused on those who had recently left ‘care’.⁹¹ It also focuses largely on young women who were parents to very young children. There is even less research on Care Experienced people’s experiences of fatherhood.⁹² Those whose testimonies are analysed here were mostly parents to adult children, many of whom had expressed their own feelings on their childhood to their parent. Perhaps not unusually, the children’s accounts of their upbringing sometimes conflicted with a parent’s recollections. For example, Louise (b.1954), a former resident of Quarrier’s, told the Inquiry:

I think having been brought up in care has affected my relationships with my children. I love my kids as much as I could love anybody, but I’ve not got a good relationship with my daughter. She has told me that I am the worst mum ever. I thought I had been as good a mum as I could be.⁹³

For some of those who gave evidence to the Inquiry, the deficits and failures of their care in childhood meant that they were conscious of their potential ‘ghosts’ and actively sought to protect their own children from the same harms they had experienced as children. In some instances, attempts to mitigate against such ‘ghosts’ through protective measures could be perceived negatively by the children who were being parented. To illustrate, Margaret (b.1936), a former resident of Smyllum Park Orphanage, reflected:

⁹⁰ Helen G. O’Brien, ‘The Intergenerational Transmission of Parenting Styles of Irish Immigrant Mothers’, *Journal of Family Social Work* 13:5 (2010), p.395.

⁹¹ See Jade Louise Weston, *Care Leavers’ Experiences of Being and Becoming Parents*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2013; R. Barn and N. Mantovani, ‘Young Mothers, and the Care System: Contextualising Risk and Vulnerability’, *British Journal of Social Work* 37:2 (2007), pp.225-243; Jennifer Connolly, Marina Heifetz and Yvonne Bohr, ‘Pregnancy and Motherhood Among Adolescent Girls in Child Protective Services: A Meta-Synthesis of Qualitative Research’, *Journal of Public Child Welfare* 6:5 (2012), pp.614-635.

⁹² The very limited research on Care Experienced men’s experiences of parenthood also focuses on young men; Emma Dandy, Jacqueline Knibbs, Felicity Gibley, ‘“Mad, Sad and Bad” to “Dad”: Care-Experienced Men’s Experiences of Fatherhood’, *Adoption & Fostering* 44:3 (2020), pp.285-300; Paul Tyrer, Elaine Chase, Ian Warwick and Peter Aggleton, ‘Dealing with it’: Experiences of Young Fathers in and Leaving Care, *The British Journal of Social Work* 35:7 (2005), pp.1107-1121.

⁹³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Louise” (b.1954), p.26.

I was a good mother. I was creating something to keep my family in and protect them. I'm still doing it. I understand why I do that. It's a protective thing. My daughter sees my behaviour as controlling but it isn't.⁹⁴

For some of those who testified before the Inquiry becoming a parent was something that happened in fairly quick succession after leaving care, or even whilst still in care. For instance, Jack (b.1965), born in Glasgow and a former resident of a number of children's homes, including Smyllum, told the Inquiry:

I had started going out with my ex-wife in Glengowan. By seventeen, eighteen, we were engaged. At nineteen, twenty, we were having our first daughter. We should never have been together. We were too young. We were just frightened kids. We grew up in a horrible environment. She had the same kind of background as me, violence in the family then into the homes.⁹⁵

Although not an inherently negative experience, teenage parenthood is associated with adverse socio-economic and health outcomes. For instance, women who give birth in their teenage years are more likely to be living in poverty than women who delay parenthood.⁹⁶ Today, children and young people who are under the care of a local authority are more likely to become parents for the first time between the ages of 16-19 years old than their peers without experience of care; between 20-50% of 16-19 year olds with care experience will become parents compared with 5% of the general population.⁹⁷ The reasons for this are complex. There is often an assumption that teenage pregnancy is unplanned but in the context of widespread access to effective contraception many teenage pregnancies are indeed planned, and much wanted.⁹⁸ A 2006 study conducted by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, although not explicitly focused on Care Experienced parents but those from poor and

⁹⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Margaret" (b.1936), p.16.

⁹⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jack" (b.1965), p.19.

⁹⁶ UNICEF, A League Table of Teenage Births in Rich Nations, 2001, Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy cited by Gillian Mezey, Fiona Robinson, Steve Gillard, Nadia Mantovani, Deborah Meyer, Sarah White and Chris Bonell, 'Tacking the Problem of Teenage Pregnancy in Looked-After Children: A Peer Mentoring Approach', *Child & Family Social Work* 22 (2017), p.529.

⁹⁷ Gillian Mezey, Fiona Robinson, Steve Gillard, Nadia Mantovani, Deborah Meyer, Sarah White and Chris Bonell, 'Tacking the Problem of Teenage Pregnancy in Looked-After Children: A Peer Mentoring Approach', *Child & Family Social Work* 22 (2017), p.529.

⁹⁸ Suzanne Cater, Lester Coleman, 'Planned' Teenage Pregnancy: Perspectives of Young Parents from Disadvantaged Backgrounds, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, June 2006.

disadvantaged backgrounds, found that most of the young women were pleased with their decision to become a parent.⁹⁹ Most of those interviewed for the study were parents to a child less than one year old.¹⁰⁰ For instance, one parent, aged 13, said:

I – I had a really, really bad childhood – like, (um) I was in care and I – I just – ‘cos my parents aren’t very good parents [laughs] so – and (um) I – I just thought a baby would give me that stability and also give me something that would love me unconditionally – you know – never thought it would leave me and – ‘cos it’d be mine – nobody could take it away or – and it would be mine...I was the only kid at the age of nine, planning to have a baby...Like, my destiny...I had my baby that I wanted – I – you know, I wanted B [baby son] – I was desperate for B and I had him, and I – I’ve enjoyed him so much.¹⁰¹

Many of those who gave evidence to the Inquiry spoke clearly about the emotional deficit of growing up in care. This is not true for every child, as some children were able to forge affectionate and meaningful relationships with those who looked after them. But as a whole, the care ‘system’ and those institutions within it did not create the conditions where these kinds of relationships could form over time. Children were frequently moved around and the people who looked after them could change just as often within the same institutions. In an attempt to keep order in a place where adults were outnumbered several times over, children were subjected to harsh disciplinary regimes, and in some instances, in an attempt at fairness where adults could not possibly give individual attention to so many children, they were instead all deprived of affection and comfort. Again, this was not true for all, but generally, it is fair to say that children’s emotional needs were not met in the Scottish care ‘system’. It is therefore an understandable choice to seek to create one’s own family unit at a relatively young age. Planning a pregnancy could be, for some, planning for a loving family of one’s own. Early motherhood can be perceived as a means of rectifying early negative life experiences.¹⁰² In some instances, however, having a child as a means to right the wrongs of one’s own childhood could be a source of distress and conflict in a parent-child relationship.

⁹⁹ Cater, Coleman, ‘Planned’ Teenage Pregnancy, p.43; see also Sam Parsons, Ingrid Schoon, Descriptive Profiles of Mothers by their Experience of Out-of-Home Care in Childhood: Evidence from the UK Millennium Cohort Study, UCL Social Research Institute, Quantitative Social Science, December 2021.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p.44.

¹⁰¹ Suzanne Cater, Lester Coleman, ‘Planned’ Teenage Pregnancy: Perspectives of Young Parents from Disadvantaged Backgrounds, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, June 2006, p.30.

¹⁰² See M. McMahon, *Engendering Motherhood: Identity and self-Transformation in Women’s Lives* (1995).

Care Experienced parents can face stigma and a higher likelihood of scrutiny from external agencies such as social services.¹⁰³ Parenthood can, therefore, be wrapped up in a deep fear of losing your children. Understandably, there was considerable mistrust of social services expressed by a number of those who testified before the Inquiry, particularly women. For instance, Paula Chambers (b.1973), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow said: ‘I hate the social work. They have used my past in care against me. My greatest fear was always having my kids taken from me and them being put into care.’¹⁰⁴ Paula went on to say, ‘When you have been a child in care, social work have a hold over your life, you can’t disagree with them. They have control over you and over your children.’¹⁰⁵ Some women proactively engaged social services because of this fear. For example, Mary (b.1957), a former resident of Aberlour, told the Inquiry:

When [redacted] was a baby I was threatened by my brother [redacted], and I was afraid that he would report me for being a bad mother and he would tell the cruelty people. I was then living in a bed-sit in [redacted]. I decided I had to do something in case I lost [redacted] and he was taken into care. I went into a social services office and explained the situation. A woman called [redacted] came to the flat to take my case and she said there’s no problem with me having the baby. Because I had been in care myself, I felt there was a stigma attached to me bringing up my own baby.¹⁰⁶

In other instances, the fear of social work professionals making assumptions about someone’s parenting abilities due to their personal history can mean Care Experienced parents are unable to access services when they need them.¹⁰⁷ These anxieties are far from unfounded as, to this day, many local authorities have a policy of automatic pre-birth assessment for any children born to parents with experience of care. This is certainly the case in Scotland.¹⁰⁸ In October 2021 Harrow Council in England became one of the first local authorities in the UK

¹⁰³ A ‘surveillance bias’ is also recognised in Australia. See Jade Purtell, Philip Mendes, Bernadette J. Saunders, ‘Where is the Village? Care Leaver Early Parenting, Social Isolation and Surveillance Bias’, *International Journal on Child Maltreatment* 4 (2021), pp.349-371.

¹⁰⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Paula Chambers (b.1973), p.34.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Mary” (b.1957), pp.24-25.

¹⁰⁷ Who Cares? Scotland, Care Experienced Parents: Findings from our Annual Participation Programme, June 2022, p.3.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.20.

to move away from this policy.¹⁰⁹ Some women with experience of care reported being strongly encouraged to terminate their pregnancies as a result of this stigma. One parent told *Who Cares? Scotland*: ‘Was made to feel inadequate and questioned what kind of life I could provide to my unborn child by GP.’¹¹⁰ Another parent said: ‘I was told by social worker to get a termination as they said I would never get to keep him.’¹¹¹ Rather than being offered support or encouragement, expectant mothers with care experience were stigmatised. It is therefore unsurprising that while a recent study of Care Experienced mothers in the UK found no difference in parenting behaviours between those with experience of care and those without, Care Experienced mothers still thought they were less competent parents.¹¹²

A further challenge is that parents with experience of care may not have wider family support networks available which would usually offer support and guidance, childcare and sometimes additional finances.¹¹³ Moreover, it sometimes means that the children themselves do not have relationships with grandparents or other relations on one or both sides of their families. Tess (b.1961), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow reflected: ‘I didn’t have my mum to bring me up, my daughters don’t have a gran and no granddad now.’¹¹⁴ The consequences of a child being in care can be felt for several generations. Margaret (b.1953), a former resident of Smyllum, said: ‘I stopped being angry with everything and was determined to look after my children and make sure none of them ended up in care. Unfortunately through circumstances outwith my control I could not stop my grandchildren going into care.’¹¹⁵ Most children with one or both parents with experience of care will not enter care themselves, but they are significantly more likely to do so than the general population. A 2022 study entitled ‘Born into Care in Scotland’ analysed data for 2849 infants who entered the care system via a Children’s Hearing before they were a year old between April 2013 and March 2020, and looked in depth at the circumstances of 70 of those children and their families. It found that over a third (37%) of mothers and a quarter (24%) of fathers were Care

¹⁰⁹ Terry Galloway, ‘Care Experienced Parent Charter Launches, Care Leaver Local Offer’ <https://www.careleaveroffer.co.uk/blog_articles/3318-care-experienced-parents-charter-launches> [accessed 8 August 2022].

¹¹⁰ *Who Cares? Scotland*, Care Experienced Parents, p.25.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Sam Parsons, Ingrid Schoon, *Descriptive Profiles of Mothers by their Experience of Out-of-Home Care in Childhood: Evidence from the UK Millennium Cohort Study*, UCL Social Research Institute, Quantitative Social Science, December 2021, p.18.

¹¹³ *Who Cares? Scotland*, Care Experienced Parents, p.3.

¹¹⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Tess” (b.1961), p.17.

¹¹⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Margaret” (b.1953), p.10.

Experienced.¹¹⁶ An even higher proportion of mothers (57%) and fathers (33%) were known to have experienced abuse and or neglect during their own childhoods.¹¹⁷

More broadly, cultural ideas about motherhood also informed women's narratives on raising children. This could lead to disappointment for some as the reality of parenting was not always as expected. Helen Holland (b.1958), a former resident of Nazareth House, Kilmarnock, reflected on her experience of motherhood:

The impact of having my children was massive. Something that was supposed to be the best experience of a woman's life, something that is supposed to be the connection between a mother and a child, I was terrified the whole way through.¹¹⁸

And CC (b.1959), born in Aberdeen, who was in a number of children's homes, including Aberlour, told of her experiences of motherhood. Like a number of those who testified before the Inquiry, CC's father had also been brought up in care. She was taken into care after her mother seriously assaulted her resulting in life changing injuries.¹¹⁹ In 1970, following a decision by the children's panel, CC was returned to live with her mother who continued to abuse her.¹²⁰ By all accounts, CC was let down by almost every adult who was meant to look after her, and repeatedly in adulthood by those in positions of authority. She told the Inquiry:

I was abused when I was a child in care and it has never actually stopped – it's just been abuse, abuse, abuse since leaving care. I get it from the police, the council and even when I go to my local hospital.¹²¹

Like several others who testified before the Inquiry, CC was explicit in that the impact of her experiences in care went beyond herself. She said:

My experiences have also impacted severely on my son. He was a planned baby. I wanted to be a mum and just be normal. I knew I wasn't normal and that's why I

¹¹⁶ Linda Cusworth, Jade Hooper, Gillian Henderson, Helen Whincup, Karen Broadhurst, *Born into care in Scotland: Circumstances, Recurrence and Pathways*, April 2022, p.20.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Helen Holland (b.1958), p.51.

¹¹⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "CC" (b.1959), p.2.

¹²⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "CC" (b.1959), p.12.

¹²¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "CC" (b.1959), p.27.

deliberately had him...I didn't realise how much my experiences in life would impact on him. I thought I was going to sail through motherhood. That wasn't the case... I didn't feel I was the same as the other mothers. I didn't do normal things with him. All he saw was a depressed mum who cried and shouted all the time.¹²²

Although the impact of past experiences of care on parenting were sometimes only apparent in hindsight, many of those who testified were fully aware of their ghosts in the nursery and stated that they parented in opposition to their own upbringing. For instance, Christina (b.1969), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow, told the Inquiry:

I have tried to bring the cycle of abuse to an end and tried to raise my son differently. I am still hyper-vigilant about him. He has suffered badly from my mental health difficulties. He has definitely borne the brunt of what happened to me.¹²³

Several of those who spoke about parenthood stated that they had given their children what they did not have. Pauline (b.1948), a former resident of Aberlour, said: 'I never treated my children the way I was treated in Aberlour. I never hit them. I gave them everything I didn't have. They were spoiled rotten.'¹²⁴ William, whose date of birth is undisclosed, a former resident of Quarrier's, reflected on the influence of his experiences in care on his abilities as a parent, he said: 'I actually think it may have helped me be a better parent myself once I realised that there were other good people in the world when away from Quarriers.'¹²⁵

In many people's narratives, experiences of parenthood were intertwined with experiences of being a child. The contrast between your own childhood and that of your children could be revelatory. Reflecting on her experience of being a parent, Pat (b.1960), a former resident of Quarrier's, said: 'Having [my daughter] grounded me in some ways. In other ways, when [she] was younger, it made me think of my childhood again.'¹²⁶ Pat went on to say:

I think the reason I came forward to speak to the Inquiry is to do with my daughter [redacted]. Seeing [her] for the last sixteen years growing up has made me recognise

¹²² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "CC" (b.1959), pp.28-29.

¹²³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Christina" (b.1969), p.20.

¹²⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Pauline" (b.1948), p.15.

¹²⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "William", p.16.

¹²⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Pat" (b.1960), p.28.

such a contrast and disparity in care with my childhood. It's made me recognise that I know the wrong way to do it and therefore I do it the right way.¹²⁷

A common experience amongst those who were heard before the Inquiry was the difficulty of expressing love and affection and instead expressing this through material things. This is considered elsewhere in the thesis, but it is clear from people's testimonies that the emotional deficit of care had, for some, lifelong implications that could span several generations.

Yvonne Lawrie (b.1942), a former resident of Nazareth House, Glasgow told the Inquiry:

It was all discipline in the convents, there was no love. As a result I didn't know how to show my daughters that I loved them. I can see traits of that in the relationships both my daughters have with their own children. It doesn't stop with one generation it goes on.¹²⁸

As we have seen throughout this thesis, there was a widespread failure to meet the emotional needs of children in care. This deficit of love meant that some people struggled with the emotional demands of parenthood. This was explicit in several people's testimonies. For instance, Lucy (b.1932), a former resident of the Nazareth House, Aberdeen said:

My daughter [redacted] confirms that I was unable to be demonstrably affectionate as a mother towards my children. I blame this on my own experiences in care at Nazareth House. For example there were no cuddles, no love and no affection. However, my children were well looked after, protected if they were in trouble and given the best of everything. They were never slapped. I was a good mother to all of my children. I wouldn't hear a bad word against them.¹²⁹

It was not only women who struggled with this, but men too as fathers to their children. Of the limited research on Care Experienced people's experiences of fatherhood, one study found that in order to protect themselves from psychological harm, some men did not

¹²⁷ Ibid., p.34.

¹²⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Yvonne Lawrie (b.1942), p.28.

¹²⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Lucy" (b.1932), p.10.

emotionally invest in relationships, which initially affected their relationship with their children.¹³⁰ Jim (b.1961), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen told the Inquiry:

I try not to think about my time in care. I have made sure that my children would not have this kind of life and ensured they would never end up in care. I did find it difficult to show love and affection to my kids as this was nothing I had been shown through experiences in care.¹³¹

Several men whose testimonies were examined here chose not to become a parent owing to their childhood experiences. This was, in some ways, an act guided by compassion as they spoke of not wanting to inflict on a child what they had endured. Patrick (b.1966), also a former resident of Smyllum, who made the choice not to have children, he said: ‘I never ever wanted to have children because I was too frightened that I would turn out like my father.’¹³² This decision was not always without regret, however. David, whose date of birth was undisclosed, a former resident of Smyllum said:

I decided not to have kids because I didn’t want to pass on how I was. I knew there was something wrong with me but I didn’t know what it was. The very things I needed were love and kids and I’ve denied myself for whatever stupid reason. A lot of people who’ve been abused find love in their own families and that helps them heal. I don’t know why I didn’t do it.¹³³

David shared a memory of watching his friend with her children. He said:

I remember around eight years ago I was sitting watching her and her daughter interacting together and I thought “So that’s what love is”. That was my first experience of that kind of love. I was fifty years old and that was me just finding out what love was, what it meant. It’s just so wrong that people can strip you so naked

¹³⁰ Emma Dandy, Jacqueline Knibbs, Felicity Gibley, “Mad, Sad and Bad” to “Dad”: Care-Experienced Men’s Experiences of Fatherhood’, *Adoption & Fostering* 44:3 (2020), p.290.

¹³¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Jim” (b.1961), p.7.

¹³² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Patrick” (b.1966), p.20.

¹³³ Ibid., p.24.

that you don't experience that. The people who were supposed to be looking after me did that. Nobody has the right to take that from you.¹³⁴

Some men did have children but expressed regret at not being an active parent. The difficulties with parenting and showing affection are explicitly linked to the homes' regimes by several of those who testified. For instance, Frank (b.1934), a former resident of Bellevue and Smyllum said:

When I watch TV and see pictures of children smiling at their parents, I can get emotional. It is the way the kids are looking at their dad. I think I had my chance of that and I didn't take it.¹³⁵

... I could have had a loving family if I had had an ordinary life or upbringing. I could have had my wee girl hold me and I could have walked with my kids. I think it was being in these homes and learning their regimes that was the cause.¹³⁶

To return to the metaphor of ghosts in the nursery, several respondents to the Inquiry told of re-enacting the past, although not always consciously at the time, through interactions with their children. For instance, Margaret (b.1950), a former resident of Smyllum, said:

I think back now to certain rituals I did as the children were growing up, like I had a compulsive disorder. They must have thought I was nuts. I still have rituals that I need to go through with things. Everything is institutionalised and everything has to be done a certain way. I have never been late for anything.¹³⁷

Remembering for a Parent

A number of people gave evidence on the behalf of their late parents or other relatives. Ann (b.1947), who gave evidence on the behalf of her late mother, a former resident of Quarrier's, told how her mother never disclosed to her children in detail about her experiences but that

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.23.

¹³⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Frank" (b.1934), p.17.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.19.

¹³⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Margaret" (b.1950), p.19.

they would come out in the course of everyday interactions.¹³⁸ For instance, “Ann” said: ‘...she would make us re-peel the skins of the potatoes if we had taken too much potato away. I never knew why she did that until I started writing things out and making sense of it.’¹³⁹ Everyday life was littered with constant reminders of the past. The frugality described by Ann is a reflection of both wartime conditions and rations and practices of many institutions where budgets were tight. Ann remembered:

nothing was ever allowed to be wasted and we weren’t allowed choices... We weren’t allowed to have butter and jam; it was one or the other, and only a scraping of it. It sounds silly now, but I remember my mum saying to us “Do you want bread with that jam?” There were always these constant reminders of her past.¹⁴⁰

Mary, whose date of birth is undisclosed, also gave evidence on behalf of her late mother, a former resident of Smyllum. Mary did not know when her mother entered Smyllum but stated she left aged 15 in 1928. She described how one day ‘out the blue’ her mother told of her experiences in Smyllum.¹⁴¹ Mary’s mothers’ experiences in Smyllum are strikingly similar to those recalled by residents fifty years later: ‘She said that if she wet the bed, the nuns would put her in a cold bath and just leave her sitting there, summer or winter.’¹⁴² This story was told to Mary sometime in the 1960s, when Smyllum was still very much in operation. She said: ‘I found what she was saying unbelievable as I thought Smyllum was a nice little convent school...’¹⁴³ Several years later, when running a bed and breakfast, Mary described a conversation with a guest that again challenged her perception of Smyllum: ‘I remember a man who stayed with us telling me that Smyllum was a terrible place...I was so shocked because I had always thought it was a nice place. I felt so guilty for not doing anything and I think about that quite often.’¹⁴⁴

The evidence given by the children of former residents of children’s homes are sometimes most remarkable in the reflections on the intergenerational impact of those experiences, as well as providing evidence on periods outwith living memory. In hindsight, some aspects of

¹³⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Ann” (b.1947), p.12.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of “Mary”, p.2.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

everyday life are remembered as a consequence of institutional care. For instance, Mary spoke of her mother visiting family members: ‘...she would hide biscuits or cake, all wrapped up, down the side of her armchair. She would hide biscuits in her bag and take them away home with her. Then she would hide them under a cushion at her house.’¹⁴⁵ Mary understood this as ‘a knock-on from Smyllum where she didn’t have food, therefore she was holding on to it, as it was so precious.’¹⁴⁶ Mary described her own childhood as very happy but described difficulties with affection:

My mum lost out from it the most but I feel we all lost out. I feel we lost the affection that some people have with their mums and that wasn’t mums fault. I just don’t think she ever saw any affection herself and as a result she just didn’t know how to give it to others.¹⁴⁷

These ghosts or relics from her mother’s childhood could also be felt several generations down the line. Mary told the Inquiry:

I felt I wasn’t as affectionate towards my older child having not had a hug or a kiss at times. I don’t ever remember having a kiss goodnight and I know that would impact on my parenting...So I know it had an impact with mum, and through to us as well.¹⁴⁸

Ghosts are perhaps most visible in people’s memories of looking after children, but it can also be at points where someone requires care that the past can re-emerge. Experiences of institutionalisation, particularly in a care home, may have parallels with childhood experiences of being looked after in a children’s home. Indeed, a number of Nazareth Houses were also care homes for elderly people. It is not impossible that a number of former residents may, at the end of their lives, be looked after in a very similar institution to the one in which they grew up. Jemima (b.1948), who gave evidence on behalf of her late father (b.1908-1994), a former resident of Smyllum, said:

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p.4.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

At the end of his life [redacted] had to go into [redacted] Nursing Home...There was a nurse called Helen who took a great deal of time with him. He said to me, "I'm going to call Helen, Sister Helen because the only nun who was ever kind to me at Smyllum was Sister Helen."¹⁴⁹

And Ann (b.1959), who gave evidence on behalf of her late mother, a former resident of Smyllum, told of her mother's brother, who had also been resident in Smyllum, she said: '...he is now suffering from Alzheimer's. I know he did not want to go into a home but that is where he is now...He seems to be re-living his life from his younger days...It's awful, it is like he is going through all those experiences all over again.'¹⁵⁰ We are very unlikely to hear from those who experience institutionalisation in old age or as they near the end of their lives but these small glimpses suggest the earlier life experience of residential care could shape subsequent experiences.

Remembering Grandparenthood

The experience of grandparenthood was one of the most pivotal and clarifying in several people's testimonies. In part, it is likely because of the life stage people were in. At the time of giving evidence, many people had young grandchildren with whom they were closely involved with. Some people also described turbulent and stressful lives at the time their own children were growing up, likely leaving little space for reflection. Jean (b.1950), a former resident of Bellevue, told the Inquiry:

I wanted my records because of the way I feel about my life and how it could have panned out. As a teenager you don't really care. When you've got kids you're too busy. It was really when my granddaughter reached the age I was when I was put in Bellevue that it became more important to me to find out. That's why I've been dedicated to finding the records, to try and get answers for me.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jemima" (b.1948), p.4.

¹⁵⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ann" (b.1959), p.5.

¹⁵¹ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jean" (b.1950), p.13.

In some instances, it was projecting their own experiences onto their grandchildren that made people reframe what had happened to them as children. For instance, Louise (b.1954), a former resident of Quarrier's said:

Before I decided to speak to the Inquiry, somebody said to me that what he did to me was sexual abuse. I hated the fact he'd done it and that I'd burst my face and broke my tooth, but I had never thought of it like that. I certainly didn't know those words as a child. It was only when I was asked how I would feel if someone did this to my granddaughter that I realised it was abuse.¹⁵²

Jack (b.1965) told the Inquiry about abuse perpetrated by nuns at Smyllum:

I'm not here to crucify that nun. I'm here to tell the truth...I believe it was just the way it was in those days. I believe she wasn't the only one and that many of them did it. I try to understand why you would do that. I can't for the life of me imagine doing that to my grandchildren.¹⁵³

A number of those who testified before the Inquiry spoke of relationships with grandchildren that had a profound effect on how they understood themselves and their childhood experiences. Ann (b.1947), gave evidence on the behalf of her late mother (b.1923-1996), who had been in Quarrier's. She said: 'Little bits of healing also came in unexpectedly in the generational line. It was my daughter who my mum sat with and wept over the loss of one of her babies.'¹⁵⁴ Rose (b.1943), a former resident of Nazareth House, Aberdeen said: 'I never knew what unconditional love was until I had grandchildren.'¹⁵⁵ Rose talked of her experience of returning to the home as an adult. She said:

I went to see Nazareth House a few years ago with my sister. I collapsed outside the wall. I was surprised that the walls were small. They were not as big as I remember. I could've climbed them. Neither were the buildings as big as I remember.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Louise" (b.1954), p.22.

¹⁵³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jack" (b.1965), pp.25-26.

¹⁵⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Ann" (b.1947), p.16.

¹⁵⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Rose" (b.1943), p.11.

¹⁵⁶ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Rose" (b.1943), p.11.

Adults will never again inhabit a body as small as when they were a growing child and memories of towering walls, buildings and ginormous picnic blankets are very much through the eyes of a child. Just as the buildings were smaller than remembered, adults have difficulty conceptualising just how small and vulnerable they were as a child. Sometimes, it is only through interactions with children that adults realise the magnitude of their early experiences. Alison (b.1949), a former resident of Smyllum, told the Inquiry:

I'm really close to my grandkids. I look at them and think about what I went through as a child. I can't bear the thought of them being treated like that. My youngest granddaughter is four. I'd hate for anybody to touch her or chastise her, yet the people who were supposed to look after me had the right to do that to me.¹⁵⁷

Conclusion

Subsequent experiences of family life profoundly shape how people remember their own childhoods. Children's experiences of care continue to evolve into adulthood as memories are reframed, reshaped and sometimes, relived through their own children and grandchildren. Some ghosts are malevolent, and some are benevolent; some make their presence known at the time and others, only in hindsight. The legacies of the Scottish care 'system' of the past continue to be felt not only by those who grew up within it, but by their children and perhaps even their children's children. Relics of the past can inhabit the present, and the future, replayed through everyday interactions. Traces of past experiences, sometimes from many decades before and absent from conscious memory can be re-enacted for generations. As one respondent to the Inquiry put it, 'The abuse is not historical. It's being passed down the generations.'¹⁵⁸ Selma Fraiberg describes families who come to be 'possessed by their ghosts':

The intruders from the past have taken up residence in the nursery, claiming tradition and rights of ownership. They have been present at the christening for two or more

¹⁵⁷ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Alison" (b.1949), p.32.

¹⁵⁸ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Gerry" (b.1957), p.25.

generations. While no one has issued an invitation, the ghosts take up residence and conduct the rehearsal of the family tragedy from a tattered script.¹⁵⁹

This is perhaps best articulated by Frank Docherty, a former resident of Smyllum and without whom there would be no Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, who said: ‘What you have to realise is that the abuse of a child is like throwing a pebble into a pool. The effect ripples through the whole family.’¹⁶⁰ This is not a history that can be confined to the past.

Conclusion

¹⁵⁹ Fraiberg, ‘Ghosts in the Nursery’, p.388.

¹⁶⁰ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Frank Docherty, p.32.

As historians we are, unsurprisingly, focused primarily on the past. A degree of temporal distance from the subject of our inquiry is fundamental to the discipline. Although our studies often aid our understanding of current events or allow us to contextualise present society, culture, practices and phenomenon, we are most adept at contributing to our understanding of past societies, cultures and events. We seek, as far as possible, to interpret the actions, impulses, emotions, practices and ideologies of people in the past in their own terms through reconstructing the specific contexts in which they lived. The process of writing this thesis and working closely with the narratives of those who spent some or all of their childhood years in the care ‘system’ has posed significant challenges to conventional historical methodologies which assume strict temporal boundaries and seek to establish linear narratives. This challenge is best illustrated by the testimony of Frank Docherty, whose words were shared in the introduction to this thesis. Frank said: ‘I’m 72 years old but it is 9 year old Frank who is sitting here talking to you just now.’¹

By adopting experience as the primary category of analysis, it became increasingly clear that the barriers between past and present were often porous. Not only in the way in which people recalled their past experiences, which is widely understood by oral historians to be a dynamic and ongoing process whereby our memories are very much moulded by the moment in which they are told, but *how* people experienced things or moved through life. As Chapter Six demonstrated, nowhere is the ongoing presence of the past more visible than in experiences of being parented or parenting, whereby the attitudes and practices of past generations influences subsequent generations, often unconsciously. This thesis has sought to establish new interpretative strategies and methodological tools which can account for this blurring of past and present in people’s experiences. With a focus on methodology, Chapter Three makes the case for the use of ‘experience’ as a category of analysis that may bridge a conceptual gap between histories of childhood, emotions history and sensory history. Making a more direct contribution to the field of emotions history, Chapter Four tests out William Reddy’s concept of ‘emotional regimes’ in relation to children’s homes, finding that there was a widespread and catastrophic failure to meet the emotional needs of children in residential care throughout the period at hand.

¹ Ibid., p.17.

The study of children's experiences perhaps brings an additional layer of complexity in the aspiration of a historian to understand those in the past in their own terms. Children's abilities, capacities and development are constantly evolving throughout the course of their childhood years. Moreover, as many of the experiences being recalled by those who were formerly in care were potentially damaging to children's development, any assumptions of a child's abilities based on chronological age are on unstable ground. Taking account of this necessitated a move away from a purely linguistic concept of experience; this thesis has looked towards a concept that could give 'voice' to those who may not have had the ability to speak. Where children were not permitted a 'voice' in any conventional sense within the historical record, this thesis has explored non-verbal communicators which are visible in the archival records, with behavioural communications such as running away, compliance or non-compliance with adults, or with other bodily manifestations of feeling such as wetting the bed. As well as being of interest to historians of children and childhood, these strategies could be adopted and adapted by those working in fields where their subjects have a limited 'voice' in conventional terms in the available source materials.

This methodological approach was only made possible because of those who told their stories to the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, creating a large public archive of witness testimony.² Any historian of children and childhood faces some difficulties with the available source material. This thesis joins a growing body of literature which seeks to navigate such methodological challenges but is one of the first studies which has used testimony from an official child abuse inquiry in this way. Children were not generally creators of the official record in the past. This was certainly the case for the main archival source materials consulted for this thesis – the records of child welfare professionals. This study chose to give the greatest analytical weight to the perspectives and recollections of those who were formerly children within the Scottish care 'system'. The archival sources were analysed in conjunction with the testimonies heard before the Inquiry, but this thesis has not actively sought to use the official record to corroborate or 'prove' people's recollections. At times, the official record has corroborated the narratives of those who were formerly in care but more often their narratives have served to highlight the distortions, silences, and often inaccuracies, of the official written record when it comes to children in 'care'. This is something that is frequently highlighted by those who have accessed their personal records and is explored

² All witness statements gathered by the Inquiry are publicly available online at childabuseinquiry.scot.

most fully in Chapter Six. The consequences of poor record keeping and preservation by children's homes and local authorities in the past have had significant consequences for a number of those who were formerly in care. Perhaps most notably for those seeking financial redress which usually requires evidencing your time in care. During the time of writing this thesis, Scotland opened its Redress Scheme for people abused in care as children in the past.³ For those where institutions have no surviving record of them ever being in their care, they are likely to face some difficulty in accessing the Scheme.

By following the threads running through people's recollections as the guiding force for the direction of study, it is hoped that this thesis is a history of the Scottish care 'system' shaped by those who were children within it, rather than by the narratives found in the official records of child welfare professionals in the past. This study picks up many of the themes in Lynn Abrams' *The Orphan Country* (1998), presently the only monograph on the history of care in Scotland, which presented a series of oral history interviews with those who were formerly in residential and foster care. The political landscape and rhetoric surrounding the history of institutional care in Scotland has shifted considerably since its publication.

In the late 1990s Scotland was only just beginning to publicly acknowledge the widespread abuse and mistreatment of children in residential care in the past. The Nazareth House in Aberdeen was one of the first to receive considerable public attention as survivors and victims of abuse approached local and national newspapers who covered their stories extensively. A number of those who may not previously have conceptualised their own experiences as abusive began to do so as they heard others frame their experiences in this way. It also prompted some to report their abuse to the police or to seek compensation through civil action. For instance, Pat (b.1959), a former resident of Smyllum told the Inquiry: 'It all came about because I had seen an article in the News of the World newspaper. The article was so similar to my own experiences.'⁴ For others, their childhood experiences in care were not something that had readily occupied their mind until the stories of other former residents became visible in the press and other media. Stephen Findleton (b.1958), a former resident of Quarrier's Homes, said: 'Everything was fine until 2003, which is when I saw a programme on television about Quarriers. It was about one of the house fathers abusing

³ Redress for Survivors (Historical Child Abuse in Care) (Scotland) Act 2021.

⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Pat" (b.1959), p.15.

children.’⁵ This prompted Stephen to request his records from Quarrier’s and was the catalyst for a mental health crisis. Stephen reflected:

I was a normal father as my kids were growing up. I would go to work and come home and look after the children, I had a normal life. I even worked as a carpet fitter at Quarriers a few times, but nothing bad was in my head. There was nothing there until 2003, when I saw the programme about Quarriers, and that’s when it all came out.⁶

Today, the abuse of children in institutional care in the past has never been more visible. This thesis was written in the context of the ongoing Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry whose findings are a frequent feature in the newspapers and on the evening news. And although high profile cases of vulnerable children who were failed in some way by adults in positions of authority are not only a recent phenomenon, the frequency of such incidences has notably increased in recent years.⁷ We, the public, are continually exposed to commentary on the abuse, neglect and mistreatment of children. Public awareness of child abuse has, arguably, never been higher but this seems to have done little in terms of prevention. This visibility has, however, as Chapter Six highlighted, made many people reflect on their childhood experiences and sometimes come to understand what happened to them as at the very least, wrong and sometimes as abusive. With an official Inquiry and the National Confidential Forum providing an official platform for those who were abused in care to be heard, there is both a greater willingness and greater opportunity for people to tell their stories in Scotland today than there has been in the past.

This thesis is also, in large part, a history of Care Experienced people who were born in the years from 1930 to the 1970s. During the course of this project I worked with colleagues

⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Stephen Findleton (b.1958), p.17.

⁶ Ibid., p.19.

⁷ There have been a number of high-profile cases involving failures of the child protection system in the UK in recent years, with several being reported over the course of writing this thesis. In 2008 the death of Peter Connelly, Baby P, following abuse and neglect by his mother, her boyfriend and her boyfriend’s brother led to reviews of social services in England. Just two years later in Scotland, the NHS commissioned a serious case review following the death of baby Declan Hainey, who was known to social services. More recently, in 2020, the murders of two vulnerable children previously known to social services in similar circumstances led to a national child safeguarding practices review. Both Star Hobson, aged one and Arthur Labinjo-Hughes, aged six were murdered by their parents’ new partners, both were known to social services and had extended family who had expressed concerns.

locally and internationally to deliver the first ever Care Experienced History Month in April 2021,⁸ modelled on the observances such as Black History Month and Women's History Month. Moreover, there is a growing campaign for care experience to be considered a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010, as race, gender, age and disability are.⁹ It is not my intention to assign an identity to someone that they did not explicitly choose but instead to recognise the shared experiences amongst those with experience of care. It was stated in the introduction of this thesis, but it is worth reiterating here: if we do not have experience of care ourselves then each of us will know, work with and perhaps love someone who does. As initiatives such as Care Experiences History Month increase the visibility of this history and more people with experience of care come to see themselves as part of a shared community, we may one day see Care Experienced history emerge as a field of study within its own right. This would move away from a focus solely on experiences of childhood and move towards an approach that looks more broadly at all life stages and that intergenerational connection that links us all with the past and theoretical future. It may also provide a useful framework for research which can begin to better understand and recognise the consequences of the history told in this thesis.

The true scale of the harm caused by the widespread failures of the care 'system' in the past to those who were once children within it, to their families and wider communities and, as Chapter Six alluded to, the potential impact on subsequent generations is potentially immeasurable. Some of the most alarming research to be published in recent years comes from a finding from researchers at University College London who tracked more than 350,000 people between 1971 and 2013; they found that while the general population experienced a decline in mortality risk over this period, those with experience of care had an increasing likelihood of dying earlier over the same period.¹⁰ People who spent time in care as children are almost twice as likely to die prematurely than those who did not.¹¹ This is perhaps the most stark illustration of the gravest consequences of historic failures. Some consequences of damaging practices of the historic care 'system', such as the loss of

⁸ See careexperiencedhistorymonth.org.

⁹ BASW, 'Campaign to Make "Care Experience" the Tenth Protected Characteristic Under the Equality Act', <<https://www.basw.co.uk/resources/psw-magazine/psw-online/campaign-make-care-experience-tenth-protected-characteristic-under>> [accessed 12 December 2022].

¹⁰ Emily T. Murray, Rebecca Lacey, Barbara Maughan and Amanda Sacker, 'Association of Childhood Out-Of-Home Care Status with All-Cause Mortality up to 42-Years Later: Office of National Statistics Longitudinal Study', *BMC Public Health* 20:735 (2020), pp.2-10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

relationships with siblings, the impact of harsh discipline of a child's emotional development or of the low expectations of adults when it came to a child's aspirations for the world of work and education, are far more difficult to quantify on a population level.

The Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry is largely focused on understanding what happened in the past. However, many of those who gave evidence did so with a firm eye on the future. Jack (b.1951), a former resident of an unknown institution, told the Inquiry: 'I just don't want these things to happen to any other wean. That's the main reason I'm speaking to the Inquiry...I just want to get it on the record that this happened to me and happened to a lot of other people.'¹² All of the voluntary institutions named throughout this thesis are no longer looking after children, although a number are still operating as homes for the elderly. A number of the organisations, such as Quarrier's and Aberlour Child Care Trust, do still provide services for children and are in receipt of public funds to deliver these. Comparative to the period before the 1980s, relatively few children in care are in residential care in Scotland today. These changes were recognised by a number of those who testified before the Inquiry. For instance, Finlay, whose date of birth is undisclosed, said: 'The reason that I am speaking to the inquiry is that I don't want children to be treated in the same way I was. I don't want children to be hit, told not to talk and things like that. I know that things are different these days but I want to help anyway.'¹³ The political, legislative and cultural landscape in terms of Scotland's care 'system' are substantially different to the period in which those who testified were in care. With that being said, there are a number of experiences recalled by those who were in care in the 1930s to those in care in the 1970s that may be familiar to a child in care today.

For instance, many of the recollections of leaving care heard in Chapter Five are echoed in the experiences of children leaving care today. The Promise, the resulting report of the Independent Care Review in Scotland, shared Dylan's experience of leaving care:

Dylan left care when he was 18 and has lived alone ever since. He enjoys having his own flat but has found it difficult to settle in. That was mostly because the flat he lives in isn't very nice and doesn't have all the things he needs. There was nothing to cook

¹² Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Jack" (b.1951), p.14.

¹³ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of "Finlay", p.15.

with... When he first moved in, he realised he didn't know much about what seemed like really basic things like food shopping, paying bills or how to look after himself. It didn't seem to be anyone's job to help him with these things. He tried to get in touch with a staff member from the residential home he lived in but she doesn't work there anymore and he can't get a hold of her.¹⁴

The failures to support and prepare a child leaving care for independent living, such as how to shop for food or pay a gas bill, and the total absence of support from those who once looked after him, would be very familiar to someone who left residential care 40, 60 or even 80 years ago. The legislative and policy landscape may be very different today but the fundamental powerlessness of children within the care 'system' may have changed in rhetoric but not usually in practice. Although not the main focus of this thesis, the staffing, training and cultural issues, and resource limitations at both an institutional and local authority level which plagued the care 'system' of the past continue to do so today. Helen Holland (b.1958), a former resident of the Nazareth House in Kilmarnock, told the Inquiry:

I think the social work department make bad decisions due to the pressures on them. For every bad decision that has been made you have got a child whose life has been destroyed. I think the government needs to look at the care system afresh. I think they need to strip the whole thing back and start again. None of the Children's Acts have been followed through, they are not having the desired impact that people expect.¹⁵

Scotland is at somewhat of a crossroads when it comes to its care 'system'. An Independent Root and Branch Review of Care, driven by those with experience of care, published its concluding report in 2020: *The Promise*. It heard from over 5500 individuals, over half of which had experience of care. *The Promise* ultimately concluded that Scotland should not aim to fix a broken 'system' but 'set a higher collective ambition that enables loving, supportive and nurturing relationships as a basis on which to thrive.'¹⁶ It calls for a fundamental change in the way in which decisions are made about children and families.¹⁷ Scotland, it writes, must look to changing the purpose of its care 'system' from protecting

¹⁴ Independent Care Review, *The Promise*, 2020, p.90.

¹⁵ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry, Witness Statement of Helen Holland (b.1958), p.60.

¹⁶ Independent Care Review, *The Promise*, 2020, p.6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7.

against harm to protecting all safe, loving respectful relationships.¹⁸ As we have heard throughout this thesis, by design, most of the decisions made by child welfare professionals in the past, and in the policies and practices of institutions, sought to isolate children from their families and communities of origin. At times, the severing of loving and nurturing relationships between siblings, with grandparents, aunts and uncles or teachers were the collateral damage of removing a child from a parent who was unable to look after them. Reflecting on the harm caused by the care ‘system’, The Promise stated:

Despite the system being focused, above all else, on protecting against harm, it can prolong the pain from which it is trying to protect. Some children who have experienced trauma told the Care Review that being taken into care and growing up in the “care system” was among the most traumatising experiences they had ever had, exacerbated by being separated from their brothers and sisters, living with strangers and moving multiple times.¹⁹

Several years on from the conclusion of the Care Review in 2020, the pace of change has been slow. The Scottish Government published its Keeping the Promise Implementation Plan in March 2022, making a raft of commitments to improve the care ‘system’ in response to the Review.²⁰ The oversight board, set up to monitor improvement, urged the Scottish Government to ‘urgently pick up the pace of change’ to ensure effective reform takes place by 2030, as promised.²¹ Similarly, Who Cares? Scotland published the views of Care Experienced people on the Scottish Government’s plan to Keep the Promise in June 2022 and shared concerns at the lack of progress.²² For an adult, two years may seem like a short period of time but for a child this could be a very long time indeed and a substantial proportion of their life so far. Children in care in Scotland today cannot afford to wait for change and the form that change must take is likely far wider reaching than changes to the legal framework.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.8.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.7.

²⁰ Scottish Government, Keeping the Promise Implementation Plan, 2022.

²¹ Joe Lepper, ‘Urgent Action Needed in Scotland to Meet Care Review Promises, Watchdog Warns’, *Children and Young People Now*, 2022 < <https://www.cypnow.co.uk/news/article/urgent-action-needed-in-scotland-to-meet-care-review-promises-watchdog-warns> > [accessed 6 March 2023].

²² Who Cares? Scotland, Paving the Way: Care Experienced People’s Views on the Scottish Government’s Plan to Keep the Promise, 2022.

If nothing else, the history told in this thesis is a stark warning about the ability of legislation to enact changes in practices and ultimately, to influence children's experiences. On paper, the Children Act 1948 and the introduction of children's departments was a radical restructuring of the care 'system', bolstered by the ambitions of decision makers to move away from large institutions and improve the life chances of children who could not be looked after at home. The Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 was similarly radical in its restructuring, creating large general social work departments and establishing the Children's Hearings System and ultimately, the foundations of the present-day care 'system'. The majority of the childhood experiences examined throughout this thesis were sandwiched in between these two landmark pieces of legislation. And yet, they do not tell the story of a period where there were rapid and fundamental shifts to child welfare practices or experiences for children in the care 'system', but rather, it is a story of inertia and continuity from the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. Radical changes to culture and practice and ultimately, changes in how adults interact with, view and treat children in society as a whole do not come easily and must be enacted, on a wide scale, through human relationships and cannot be legislated for. As *The Promise* so aptly put it: 'Scotland cannot legislate for love and nor should it try.'²³

The future of Scotland's care 'system' is much like its past; any changes are enacted and best detected through relationships and in everyday life. This thesis has explored children's experiences of care through an examination of the day-to-day in care. It has asked what children ate for breakfast, what it felt like to go to bed in itchy sheets in a noisy dormitory in a children's home, how it felt to be reunited with an older sibling after leaving care, or for memories of the sand between your toes on a day trip to the seaside, how it felt to receive a Christmas gift from a kind auntie or the taste of that boiled sweetie you snuck from the pockets of an unsuspecting houseparent; all of this ostensibly ordinary information amounts to an important part of our history. It is significant both to our knowledge of children's care in the past and in how we approach writing such a history. The seemingly mundane, repetitive, rhythmic or sometimes chaotic and confusing events of everyday life amount to the experiences that shape us and how we move through life. It is also amongst the ordinariness of the day-to-day routine that we find some of the most harmful and damaging caregiving practices and incidences of abuse of children. Many of the abusive and neglectful

²³ Independent Care Review, *The Promise*, 2020, p.8.

practices recalled by those who testified before the Inquiry were a part of the fabric of everyday life, often hiding in plain sight. The most profound changes can be subtle, incremental and protracted; they can be bold, rapid and radical, or somewhere in between. Historical change is what happens as we live our day-to-day lives, actively shaped by the ways in which we move through the world. History is made by children as they walk to school, when they excitedly open up the latest comic book, as they tuck into their squished jam sandwiches and when they instinctively reach out to take the hand of their granny before crossing the road. There is serious history to be found in the everyday.

APPENDIX A

Numbers of Children in the Care of Local Authorities, 1945-1969

Categories of Children and Young Persons Deprived of a Normal Home Life; the Government Departments concerned; and the Relative Acts of Parliament¹

- I. *Department of Health for Scotland*: Number, not being lunatics nor certified mental defectives, on the Poor Roll at 15th March 1945, who are being maintained away from their parents:---

(1) Boarded out to foster parents or relatives by Public Assistance Authorities	5,377
(2) Placed by Public Assistance Authorities in Voluntary Homes under	
(a) S.E.D. inspection	192
(b) S.H.D. inspection	767²
(3) Placed by Public Assistance Authorities in Public Assistance Institutions or Special Institutions run by Public Assistance Authorities for Children and Young Persons, less 137 included in II(2)(d) below	749³
(4) Children in Voluntary Homes under D.H.S. Inspection, less 15 included in II(2)(c) below	100⁴
(5) Children under nine years of age taken for reward	1,363⁵
(6) Children under nine years of age taken without reward with a view to Adoption	114⁶

	8,662

- II. *Scottish Education Department*: Number of Children and Young Persons as at 15th March 1945:---

(1) In Approved Schools	2,140
(2) Boarded out by Education Authorities as fit persons in Voluntary Homes---	
(a) Under S.H.D inspection	208
(b) Under S.E.D. inspection	30
(c) Under D.H.S. inspection	15
(d) In Poor Law Homes	137
(e) In Education Authority Homes	94
	----- 484
(3) Boarded out with foster parents by Education Authorities	

¹ Figures taken from a scoping report commissioned by the Scottish Government to inform the National Confidential Forum; Andrew Kendrick and Moyra Hawthorn, National Confidential Forum for Adult Survivors of Childhood Abuse in Care: Scoping Project on Children in Care in Scotland, 1930 – 2005, June 2012, pp.84-85.

² Poor Law (Scotland) Act, 1934, Section 10.

³ Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1937, Section 100.

⁴ Poor Law (Scotland) Act 1934, Section 10.

⁵ Children and Young Persons (Scotland) 1937, Part I.

⁶ Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act 1939, Section 7.

	As fit persons	1,077 ⁷	
	(4) In Institutions under Educational Endowment Schemes, Less 192 included in I(2)(a)	591 ⁸	----- 4,292
III.	<i>Scottish Home Department</i> : Number of Children and Young Persons:---		
	(1) In Voluntary Homes, less 208 included in II(2)(a) and less 767 included in I(2)(b), less 89 in (4) below	3,476 ⁹	
	(2) In Remand Homes at 15 th March 1945	80	
	(3) Committed to care of fit persons other than Education Authorities	16 ¹⁰	
	(4) Placed on Probation with a Condition of Residence	89 ¹¹	
	(5) Young Persons in Borstal Institutions as at 15 th March 1945	62 ¹²	----- 3,723
IV.	<i>Ministry of Pensions</i> : Number of Children and Young Persons:---		
	(1) Boarded out with other than relatives	23 ¹³	
V.	<i>Board of Control</i> : Number of children under sixteen :---		
	(1) In Certified Institutions	901 ¹⁴	
	(2) Under Guardianship with other than relatives	6	----- 907
			----- 17,607

(Scottish Home Department, 1946, pp.40-1)

Table A1: Children in residential and foster care, 1945¹⁵

(Scottish Home Department, 1946)

Year	Foster care	Residential care	Total
1945	7,976	9,631	17,607
%	45%	55%	

⁷ Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937, Section 61(1)(b)/Section 66(2)(b) as read with Section 80(1). Care and Training Regulations under Section 88(2) & (3) of the Act of 1937.

⁸ Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937, Section 61(1)(b)/Section 66(2)(b) as read with Section 80(1).

⁹ Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937, Part VI, Section 96 to 99. Sections 40(3), 41, 47, 56, 71(1), 82(1), 99(3) and 110.

¹⁰ Sections 61 (1)(b) and 66(2)(b).

¹¹ Probation of Offenders Act 1907, Section 2(2) as amended by Criminal Justice Administration Act 1914, Section 8. Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937, Section 64.

¹² Prevention of Crime Act 1908 Part I, Sections 4 to 9 as amended by Section 42(8) of the Criminal Justice Administration Act 1914 and the Criminal Procedure (Scotland) Act 1938, Section 8.

¹³ Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1937, Section 80(2).

¹⁴ Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1943, Section 2.

¹⁵ Figures taken from a scoping report commissioned by the Scottish Government to inform the National Confidential Forum; Andrew Kendrick and Moyra Hawthorn, National Confidential Forum for Adult Survivors of Childhood Abuse in Care: Scoping Project on Children in Care in Scotland, 1930 – 2005, June 2012, p.32.

Table A2: Children in local authority care on 15th November 1948¹⁶

Year	Boarded out with foster parents	In local authority children's homes	In voluntary homes	Other (child guidance centres, hospitals, convalescent homes or National Assistance premises)	Total
1948	5,623	1,112	1,480	281	8,496
%	66%	13%	18%	3%	

HC Deb 15 February 1949 vol 461 c935

Table A3: Children in local authority care on 15th November 1949-1951¹⁷

Please note that the total is greater than the sum of children boarded out and in local authority and voluntary care.

Year	Children boarded out	In local authority children's homes	In voluntary homes		Children in local authorities' care
			Total number of children in residence	Number of these children placed by local authorities	
1949	5,519	1,322	5,578	1,633	9,068
1950	5,581	1,482	5,075	1,794	9,537
1951	5,958	1,571	4,677	1,941	10,031

Scottish Home Department, 1959

Table A4: Number of children in care in Scotland at 30 November each year 1952-1969¹⁸

¹⁶ Figures taken from a scoping report commissioned by the Scottish Government to inform the National Confidential Forum; Andrew Kendrick and Moyra Hawthorn, National Confidential Forum for Adult Survivors of Childhood Abuse in Care: Scoping Project on Children in Care in Scotland, 1930 – 2005, June 2012, p.45.

¹⁷ Figures taken from a scoping report commissioned by the Scottish Government to inform the National Confidential Forum; Andrew Kendrick and Moyra Hawthorn, National Confidential Forum for Adult Survivors of Childhood Abuse in Care: Scoping Project on Children in Care in Scotland, 1930 – 2005, June 2012, p.46.

¹⁸ Figures taken from a scoping report commissioned by the Scottish Government to inform the National Confidential Forum; Andrew Kendrick and Moyra Hawthorn, National Confidential Forum for Adult Survivors of Childhood Abuse in Care: Scoping Project on Children in Care in Scotland, 1930 – 2005, June 2012, p.48.

Year	Children in care of local authorities					Children not placed by local authorities	All children in care
	Boarded out in foster care	In authorities' homes	In voluntary homes	Elsewhere	Total	In voluntary homes	Total
1952	6,062	1,618	1,542	1,028	10,250	3,090	13,340
1953	5,990	1,772	1,498	888	10,148	2,850	12,998
1954	6,185	1,702	1,391	966	10,244	2,670	12,914
1955	6,190	1,687	1,275	918	10,070	2,665	12,735
1956	6,117	1,688	1,244	909	9,958	2,625	12,583
1957	6,037	1,658	1,225	905	9,825	2,659	12,484
1958	5,849	1,679	1,340	782	9,650	2,355	12,005
1959	5,902	1,623	1,355	738	9,618	2,144	11,762
1960	5,900	1,622	1,282	876	9,680	2,100	11,780
1961	5,875	1,706	1,516	845	9,942	1,808	11,750
1962	5,950	1,706	1,546	810	10,012	1,823	11,835
1963	6,165	1,719	1,474	805	10,163	1,835	11,998
1964	6,305	1,735	1,513	776	10,329	1,458	11,787
1965	6,298	1,749	1,646	764	10,457	790	11,247
1966	6,385	1,775	1,832	662	10,654	774	11,428
1967	6,300	1,799	1,791	750	10,640	673	11,313
1968	6,207	1,743	1,841	851	10,642	579	11,221
1969	6,092	1,976	1,976	953	10,797	424	11,221

APPENDIX B

Tables of Witnesses

Table B1: Number of Witnesses by Care Provider

Care Provider	Number of Witnesses	
Sisters of Nazareth	59	
Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul	45	
Quarrier's Homes	28	
Aberlour Child Care Trust	13	
Barnardo's	15	
		TOTAL
		160

Table B2: Gender of Witnesses

Witnesses	
Men	Women
84	76
52.5%	47.5%

Table B3: Number of Witnesses by Decade of Birth

Date of Birth by Decade	Percentage	Number of Witnesses
1930s	8%	12
1940s	23%	36
1950s	36%	58
1960s	26%	41
1970s	3%	5
Unknown	5%	8

Table B4: Witnesses Giving Evidence Relating to the Sisters of Nazareth

Name	DOB	Gender
Alan	1961	M
Angela	1968	F
Anne	1949	F
Anne Marie Carr	1954	F
Anne	1962	F
Anne	1956	F
Annemarie	1960	F

Bernie	1964	F
Bob	1957	M
Caroline	1962	F
Cathie	1937	F
Christina	1969	F
Christopher Booth	1941	M
Christopher Gerald Daly	1964	M
Clare	1960	F
Donna	1969	F
Edward Calvey	1954	M
Elizabeth	1938	F
Graham	1962	M
Helen Holland	1958	F
James Buckley	1945	M
James	1968	M
Janice	1953	F
Jennifer	1948	F
Jill	1957	F
Jim	1961	M
Joanne Peacher	1968	F
John	1961	M
John	1959	M
John	1959	M
John	1951	M
Joseph Currie	1953	M
Kenny	1957	M
Lucy	1932	F
Lydia	1961	F
Margaret	1943	F
Margaret	1940	F
Margaret	1949	F
Mary	1957	F
Maryann	1933	F
Maureen	1953	F
Michael	1946	M
Mike	1956	M
Ned	1962	M
Olive	1969	F
Paul	1946	M
Paula Chambers	1973	F
Poppy	1944	F
Rose	1943	F
Sarah	1966	F
Sarah	1959	F
Sharon	1969	F
Sheryl	1961	F
Steven Craig	1972	M

Terence	1951	M
Tess	1961	F
Tommy	1957	M
Trisha	1948	F
Yvonne O'Donnel	1942	F

Table B5: Witnesses Giving Evidence Relating to the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul

Name	DOB	Gender
Alison	1949	F
Alison	Unknown	F
Bill	1959	M
Billy	1945	M
Chief	1949	M
David	Unknown	M
Dexter	1943	M
Duncan	1966	M
Fergie	Unknown	M
Fiona Young	1967	F
Frank Docherty	Unknown	M
Frank	1934	M
George Higgins	1930	M
George Quinn	1955	M
Gerry	1957	M
Graham	1965	M
Greig	1964	M
Jack	1951	M
Jack	1965	M
James	1950	M
Jean	1950	F
Jim Kane	1942	M
Jimmy	Unknown	M
John	1948	M
John	1940	M
June Smith	1965	F
Leon Carberry	1944	M
Margaret	1950	F
Margaret Crawley	1962	F
Margaret	1936	F
Margaret	1953	F
Marie	1961	F
Meg	1939	F
Michael	1951	M
Michael	1960	M
Pat	1959	M
Patrick	1949	M

Paul	Unknown 1958-60	M
Rondo	1950	M
Stephan	1960	M
Theresa	1939	F
Victor	1944	M
William Francis Connelly	1948	M
William Whicher	1948	M

Table B6: Witnesses Giving Evidence Relating to Quarrier's Homes

Name	DOB	Gender
Alan	1957	M
Alison	1950	F
Alison	1962	F
Arthur	1950	M
David	1963	M
Elizabeth	1955	F
Esmerelda	1953	F
Finlay	Unknown	M
Fiona	1957	F
Fiona	1963	F
George	1954	M
Hammy	1960	M
Hugh McGowan	1948	M
Jennifer	1959	F
Jenny	1951	F
Jok	1947	M
Joyce	1949	F
Ken	1971	M
Louise	1954	F
Matt	Unknown	M
Pat	1960	F
Ruth	1934	F
Samantha	1973	F
Scotty	1944	M
Stephen Findleton	1958	M
Thomas Hagan	1936	M
Troy	1951	M
William	1948	M

Table B7: Witnesses Giving Evidence Relating to Aberlour Child Care Trust

Name	DOB	Gender
Adam McCallum	1950	M

Amber	1949	F
Angela	1958	F
CC	1959	F
David	1953	M
Marie	1960	F
Mary	1957	F
Pauline	1948	F
Phoenix	1953	M
Rab	1953	M
Ron Aitchison	1949	M
Ruth	1956	F
William	1950	M

Table B8: Witnesses Giving Evidence Relating to Barnardo's

Name	DOB	Gender
Amy	1943	F
Cathy	1958	F
Diane	1952	F
Elizabeth	1954	F
Gavin	1943	M
James	1964	M
John	1953	M
Kenneth	1960	M
Michael Bulla	1976	M
Richard	1943	M
Roderick MacKay	1934	M
Susan	1959	F
Veronica	1952	F
William	1953	M

Witness Statements of Those Not Formerly in Care

Table B9: Number of Witnesses by Care Provider

Care Provider	Number of Witnesses	
Sisters of Nazareth	24	
Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul	15	
Quarrier's Homes	13	
Aberlour Child Care Trust	2	
Barnardo's	2	
		TOTAL
		56

Table B10: Witnesses Who Were Not Formerly in Care

Name	DOB	Institution(s)	Role(s)	Relevant Period
Adrian Snowball	1954	Aberlour	Senior Protection Worker; Convicted of indecent assault of a child in 1970; Convicted of possessing child pornography in 2017	1975-2011
Alice Harper	1961	Quarrier's	Chief Executive	2014-present
Ann	1949	Smyllum	Housemother	1975-79
Anne Galloway Black	1942	Aberlour	Board Member	1999-2012
Charles William Coggrave	1964	Quarrier's	Head of Safeguarding and Aftercare	2017-present
Doris Walker	1945	Quarrier's	Mother's Helper	1964
Elizabeth Aitken	1918	Smyllum	State Registered Nurse	1939-unknown
Eric McBay	1946	Quarrier's	Housefather	1973-81 or 83
Helen	1935	Quarrier's	Housemother	1965-70
Ian	1948	Grampian Police	Police Officer covering Nazareth House, Aberdeen	1970s

James Murray Haddow	1925	Smyllum	Children's Officer, Dingwall; Assistant Director of Social Work, Greenock, Divisional Organiser for the Clyde Region	1964-74
Jane	1941	Nazareth House, Glasgow; Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Collecting; Housemother	1963 and 1973-78
Jasmine Anne Thomson	1946	Balcary Children's Home, Hawick	Care Assistant	1963-66
Johanna Brady	1952	Quarrier's	Depute Housemother	1972-79
John	1938	Quarrier's	Housefather	1964-70
Margaret White	1954	Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Volunteer	1974-77
Margot	1948	Smyllum and Barnardo's	Care Assistant	1965-69
Marion Smillie	1956	Quarrier's and Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Niece and frequent visitor of Quarrier's houseparents and speech therapist and 'befriender' to child in Nazareth House, Aberdeen	1962-66 and 1981-83
Mary Ann	1944	Smyllum	Assistant Housemother	1966-68
Neil Smillie	1953	Nazareth House, Aberdeen	'Befriender' to child in Nazareth House, Aberdeen	1981-3
Norma Valerie Barnes	1931	Craigerne Residential School	Teacher	1960-71

Sister Anthony MacDonald	1936	Nazareth House, Lasswade; Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Housemother, Teacher	1953-97
Sister Antoinette	1926	Nazareth House, Glasgow	Catering	1970s
Sister Bridgette Cunningham	1941	Nazareth House, Aberdeen; Nazareth House, Lasswade	Assistant Housekeeper	1963-68
Sister Bronagh	1934	Nazareth House, Glasgow; Nazareth House, Lasswade	Housemother	1977-98
Sister Carole Kane	1925	Smyllum	Housemother	1957-64
Sister Clio	1945	Nazareth House, Glasgow	Junior, Housemother	1967-73
Sister Elimear	1947	Nazareth House, Lasswade	Housemother	1966-67
Sister Elizabeth	1943	Nazareth House, Glasgow	Housemother	1964-unknown
Sister Elizabeth Hackett	1940	Nazareth House, Glasgow; Nazareth House, Lasswade	Housemother	1970-78
Sister Esther	1944	Smyllum	Housemother	1969-76
Sister Evelyn Anne Warnock	1947	Smyllum	Assistant	1965
Sister Georgina Anne Mullin	1951	Nazareth House, Kilmarnock	Junior Sister	1974-76
Sister Gwendoline	1934	Nazareth House, Glasgow	Housemother	1973-74
Sister Josephine	1932	Smyllum	Housemother	1967-81
Sister Julia	1942	Smyllum	Housemother	1963-73
Sister Katrina	1942	Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Housemother	1978-79

Sister Linda	1950	Nazareth House, Lasswade	Housemother	1975-76
Sister Margaret	1944	Smyllum	Housemother	1968-75
Sister Margaret Riordan	1938	Nazareth House, Lasswade	Collecting	1981
Sister Maria Lanigan	1931	Smyllum	Sister Servant	1979-81
Sister Mary	1933	Nazareth House, Glasgow	Housemother	1963-78
Sister Mary	1940	Smyllum	Housemother	1961-71
Sister Mary Vaughan	1935	Nazareth House, Glasgow; Nazareth House, Lasswade	Housemother	1959-71
Sister Monica	1941	Nazareth House, Glasgow	Housemother	1965-70
Sister Nora O'Sullivan	1938	Smyllum	Housemother	1958-61
Sister Oliver Joseph Larkin	1936	Nazareth House, Glasgow; Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Housemother	1971-73
Sister Oonah Hanrahan	1942	Nazareth House, Kilmarnock	Housemother	1977
Sister Philomena	1934	Nazareth House, Lasswade	Housemother	1977
Sister Rita	1938	Nazareth House, Glasgow; Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Housemother	1971-74
Sister Rosalie Crowley	1941	Smyllum	Catering	1962-71
Sister Zara	1942	Nazareth House, Aberdeen	Housemother	1968-75
Stuart McKay	1944	Quarrier's	Assistant Youth Leader; Leisure Officer; Residential	1973-2004

			Social Worker; Manager	
Tom Shaw	1940	Quarrier's	Chair, Time To Be Heard	2009
Violet	1939	Quarrier's	Housemother	1971-unknown

Table B11: Witnesses Giving Evidence on the Behalf of Others

Name	DOB	Relative	Relative's DOB	Institution(s)
Ann	1959	Mother	Unknown	Smyllum
Ann	1947	Mother	1923	Quarrier's
Jemima	1948	Father	1908	Smyllum
Mari Ann	1967	Aunt	1939	Nazareth House, Glasgow; St Clair's, Aberdeen
Mary	1938	Mother	1913	Smyllum

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