The Cultural Web of Paterson's "Scotch Settlement"[i]

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Abstract
The claim "the best story-teller Scotland has produced since Stevenson" makes Neil Paterson (1915-1995) an interesting research subject. The result is somewhat disappointing since he seems to be forgotten, not being listed among the few hundred best Scottish authors ever. However, the author who won an Oscar for a screenplay (Room at the Top, 1959) and was widely read and translated in his time definitely deserves to be revisited. His best short story "Scotch Settlement" from the collection The China Run: A book of short stories (1951) is especially worthy of attention in the context of some traditional elements of Scottish culture preserved and persevering in settler Canada at the turn of the 19th century. Our aim is to explore a few facets of this interesting story in which two little boys steal a baby, in order to show how Paterson deals with the issues of religious devotion, family values, personal pride, orphaned childhood, kindness and love. The concepts related to Johnson and Scholes' (2008) Cultural Web model will be adapted to examine the cultural environment of a Scottish family and community in Canada in the hope that Neil Paterson will re-emerge as an author of relevance even today.

Keywords: Cultural Web model, Scotch Settlement, Neil Paterson.

> "The cultural self is the sum of the scenarios in which one participates."
>
> Jay Ruby

Introduction

It is easy to agree with Celeste Ray that today Canada is awash in Scottish memorabilia: "The Tartan days, clan gatherings, highland games, and showings of films like *Braveheart* indicate a sense of Scottish-ness that is informed by stories, narratives, or myths of the homeland's rural, resistant past" (2005). Scottish heroes of old live in the memory and imagination of the people worldwide, Scottish genius can be found behind many inventions and achievements that the world can boast of, Scottish intellect left a deep mark in literature, academia and science all over the globe, the Scots were the pioneers without whom the New World would have been different today. After Arthur Herman (2001) thus explained *How the Scots Invented the Modern World,* a number of authors such as Ken McGoogan (2011) focused on Scottish presence in Canada and showed that Scots created Canada as well. A substantial body of research corroborates the idea that the Scottish legacy in Canada has become the foundation of Canadian values (J. M. Bumsted 1997, L. H. Campey 2005, P. E. Rider and H. A. McNabb 2006, M. E. Vance 2012, J. Calder 2013). Herman's claim that being Scottish is a state of mind (2001: VII) is perhaps the most succinct tribute to the Scottish heritage, especially in Canada. In combination with the pioneering spirit, emphasized by Susan Warwick (1987), it creates the historical mythos that is the ground base for the emerging Canadian identity.

Clara Thomas is one of those researchers who clearly outline all facets of Scots' presence in early Canada:

> The Canadian mythology of the Scotch was based, of course, on a solid ground of fact – on the numbers of Scotch who were prominent in the exploring and settling of the

country, in its fur trade and later, on every level of government and financial enterprise; on the Presbyterian church, the Established Church of Scotland and so a prime and powerful institution to its people; and above all, on the pride of race and clan among the Scotch, a pride that distance from the homeland enhanced and fostered.

<div align="right">(Thomas 1977: 47)</div>

According to the editor of the magazine *Celtic Life International* (July 1, 2017), Scottish Canadians are the third-largest ethnic group in Canada and among the first to settle in Canada. *The Canadian Encyclopedia* quotes the results of the 2016 Census of Canada: a total of 4,799,005 Canadians, or 14 per cent of the population, listed themselves as being of Scottish origin (Bumsted 2018). Evidently, sheer numbers are impressive, and even more so the positions and impact of many individuals of the first and subsequent generations of Scottish immigrants. From the very beginning of their settlement, Scots have been highly visible both in politics and business, but also in education and religion. As Leslie Marion Campbell concludes "The complexity and the longevity of the Scots' influence in Canada is unquestionable" (2000: 111). In fact, it has become almost imperceptible because it has become part of the Canadian system of values.

Scottish Ethos in Canada

Canada's social and ethic fabric has been woven largely by Scotch settlers and immigrants whose efforts alongside people from other cultures contributed towards the creation of a distinct identity recognizable in Canada today. Though this contention is often disputed, Canadian identity being considered controversial and undeveloped (P. W. Bennett and C. J. Jaenen 1986, W. K. Carroll 1992, Nelson Wiseman 2013), it is unquestionable that the myth of the Nation-Builder Scotch (Thomas 1977: 38) belongs to the warp and weft of Canadian society. The Scots pioneer experience is well-documented since it left a deep mark in the imagination and memory of the people. All the hardships and successes of coming to terms with the land, of setting up prosperous crofts, of struggling with the climate and indigenous people, seem to have enhanced the pride of the settler Scotch who attributed their success to the glory of their clans. Far away from home to which they would never return, they exalted the old values which allowed them to prosper in the new homeland. Campbell lists industriousness, integrity, and thriftiness (2000: 11) as sample virtues which characterize the Scottish ethos and which are definitely sustained by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Its religious puritanism is supposed to be softened with generosity and hospitality, proclamation of the gospel of Christ and constant social reforms to the common benefit. The Kirk and its values were through the process of cultural translation (Gittings 1997) transferred to Canada where they encountered fertile soil to quickly regenerate and continue flourishing. Likewise, words set in gold on the ceremonial mace in the Scottish Parliament are not only the four founding principles of the Parliament but the values which Scottish people have always embraced for their governing body. The transition of compassion, wisdom, justice and integrity from Scotland to Canada also testifies to the uncompromising character of Scotch identity. Despite the pressure to integrate, they struck a fine balance between being accommodating and distinctive and to this day managed to remain recognizable in the cultural mix of modern Canada. Therefore, transposition of Scottish values to settlers' Canada proved existentially and culturally beneficial so that today Scots form an integral part of Canadian culture, and as Nation-Builders they still build the nation's ethos and economy.

The Cultural Web of a Scotch Settlement

During the 18th century a combination of push and pull factors brought the first significant numbers of Scottish immigrants to various geographical regions of Canada where their courage and determination made them stay, spread and prosper. Not all of them were poverty stricken nor did they all perish during the first winter.[ii] Quite the contrary, their success kept encouraging new waves of migrants throughout the 19th century so much so that Lucille H. Campey in her numerous books on Scottish history in Canada[iii] insists on regarding them as a founding people. However, the relocation inevitably caused changes which were not easy to deal with, especially because they were not related so much to physical survival as to psychological shifts. Maintaining the 'status quo' (Schein 2010) as a resistance strategy is short-lived and ultimately doomed to failure, since change and accommodation to new circumstances, however undesired, is still inevitable.

In their very influential study *Exploring Corporate Strategy* (1988), Gerry Johnson and Kevan Scholes identified a number of elements which can be used to describe, influence and change the culture of an organization. They created the Cultural Web model which consists of six interlinked elements that make the paradigm and that are represented graphically as six semi-overlapping circles which together influence the cultural paradigm. They are Rituals and Routines, Stories and Myths, Symbols, Power structures, Organizational Structure, and Control Systems. Though it is widely used as a management tool, we believe that the Cultural Web can help understand a specific cultural paradigm even outside of the corporate world. The model in question is the one of a Scotch settlement in Canada depicted in the story "Scotch Settlement" by Neil Paterson from the collection *The China Run: A book of short stories* (1951).

Along with Ralph Connor, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Alice Munro, and Margaret Laurence, Neil Paterson is among the first authors who tackled these challenges of cultural change in the context of Scottish migrations to Canada. The main characters are two brothers, Harry aged eight and Dave aged four, whose caregivers are their grandparents, James Mackenzie and his wife. When the granddaddy refuses to get them a dog, the boys steal a baby which leads to the climax of the story. In the end, the baby is safely returned and the brothers get their dog. Applying the Cultural Web model, the story will be analysed in terms of Cultural Paradigm, Rituals and Routines, Stories and Myths, Symbols, Power structures, Organizational Structure, and Control Systems exercised in the story in order to understand the complex interplay of factors influencing members of early Scottish communities in Canada.

Cultural Paradigm: Transposition of Scottish Values

Johnson and Scholes' cultural paradigm is a pattern or model of a work environment which emerges as a web of the six elements and which is easily recognizable for its values, mission and practices, or in the famous phrase of the McKinsey organization, that culture is "how we do things around here" (Denning 2018). A Scotch settlement in early Canada would perfectly fit this description, because a stock answer to any question related to the community's beliefs, attitudes, values or practices would be "this is how we do things around here." The cultural

paradigm developed in Scotland through long centuries of experience survives in the new environment and initially resists any change of the unwritten ground rules.

The location of the Scotch Settlement from the title of Paterson's short story is not specified but it is in a typical Canadian setting, by the lake with some hills in the background, probably in Nova Scotia or somewhere in New Brunswick at the turn of the 19th century where farming was still the primary source of livelihood.[iv] It seems that Granddaddy Mackenzie has an oat farm and that he does most of the chores on the farm by himself, his son and daughter-in-law having both passed away. His system of values is typical for a Scottish Presbyterian heritage and shared by the members of most Scotch communities in Canada, regardless of their actual denomination, as Raymond MacLean summarises:

> Their attitudes on education, their loyalty to the state, to institutions, to individuals, their conception of the role of religion, the maintenance of a folk culture and a strong attachment to their native soil — all these lived on with them and were reinforced in eastern Nova Scotia.
>
> (MacLean 1976: 102)

Indeed, the significance of education, religion, loyalty, and pride of origin cannot be overstressed when Canadian Scots are in question. The interplay of these elements creates a solid cultural paradigm which can withstand subversion and corruption.

Good education seems to be of utmost importance, and the elder brother Harry attends school in their Scotch Settlement despite the economic hardships of the family and the need for an extra pair of hands on the farm. Education was deemed necessary as a way to put one's faith into practice and serve the world in God's name. It is not surprising that there is a school in their Scotch Settlement because when immigrant Scots settled in a new place, they would try to build first a church and then a school. Mr. Mackenzie has no formal education himself, unlike his wife, but both of them gape in disbelief when they learn Harry was absent from school for two days. The principal insists that the boy be punished because he has sinned doubly, and Granddaddy immediately sends him to the woodshed, the place designated for beatings.

The cultural paradigm of the Scotch Settlement is mostly defined by the strict Presbyterian doctrine. Social cohesion at that time depended mainly on the Kirk, and the faith was governed by the moral ethos. "The evidence indicates that religion was the most important single factor influencing the lives of these people, for it permeated their homes as well as their churches" (MacLean 1976: 107). Even missing school is considered a sin, and even a child of eight is supposed to be physically punished for that sin, and for not confessing to it when asked: "You stand for judgment. Hev you aught to say?" (216), his Granddaddy solemnly and angrily declares.[v] Education and religion were tightly related and Mister McIver from the story is both a preacher and a dominie.[vi]

However, as Campbell explains, "the disturbing repressiveness fundamental to Calvinist-Presbyterian doctrine" as practiced in early Canada (2000: 11) is the cause of anguish and bitterness that lead to resistance even in a small child. Harry refuses to confess to his sins even though he believes in God. Later in court he says: "The Lord have mercy on me […] I am eight years old and a sinner, but I aimed at no harm" (221). Although more egalitarian in nature than other Christian denominations, and more tolerant to differences between churches due to pioneer conditions, the Scottish Presbyterian Church maintained a rigid patriarchal structure intolerant of any insubordination. For that reason, the brothers and their granny are expected to obey the will of the grandfather who is feared more than loved.

His stock answer is always "It's God's road" (207), reminiscent of "this is how we do things around here."

Loyalty to the Crown is another constitutive element of the Scotch Settlement cultural model. Granddaddy Mackenzie's views on patriotism are not explicitly given because as a Presbyterian he does not adorn his mantelpiece with the King's picture, and his loyalty is evidently with the Bible. Based on the interpretation of the Second Commandment that "God is a spirit and no image can do Him justice" (Strain 2016), strict Calvinist Presbyterians are not supposed to decorate their bodies or their homes. "Thus Christians in the Reformed tradition have focused on verbal images of God rather than visual ones though some verbal descriptions of God are no less idolatrous than visual images" (Miller 2018).[vii] However, the system of values cherished by the Granddaddy is passed onto his wards, and when they decide which name to give to the stolen baby Harry says: "I am goin' to call my babby George after the King," and they both agree that "George is an extra good name" (213). Still, in their great desire to have a pet, the boys violate the rule and commit a sin by acquiring a picture of a dog which they hide in Granddaddy's boot.

Andrew Hill Clark claims that "In pride of origin Nova Scotia Scots are equaled, if that is possible, only by the Norsemen overseas" (Clark 1960: 66). Truly, the Scotch cultural paradigm is primarily characterized by the pride of origin which gives the Scotch a distinct sense of identity, necessary during the creation of new social systems and stratification in Canada. Scottish traditions got firmly rooted and significantly impacted North American cultures and heritage, which in turn further contributed to a sense of nation pride (Jonak 1996: 86). This feeling of self-righteousness and self-worth stemming from Scotch origin permeates the story whose main characters are all powerful personalities. Granddaddy Mackenzie is an especially proud man who would never allow strangers to see him without his good boots on. His reputation of a stern Christian secures him a place of honour at any table and respect of the whole Scotch settlement.

Consequently, education, religion, loyalty, and pride of origin are the main building blocks of the Scottish cultural paradigm which is at the centre of the Scotch Settlement cultural web. Further, as the cultural paradigm influences and is influenced by the six inter-relating factors of the model, each aspect should be considered separately to see how they brought about the change in the community and in the Mackenzie family.

Rituals and Routines: Praying and Washing

Johnson and Scholes define rituals and routines as the daily behaviour and actions of people that signal acceptable behaviour. In an organization these are the unwritten ground rules as to how things are done and what is valued by management. In a Scotch settlement in Canada these would be the rituals related to religious observance and the welfare of the community. In Paterson's story these rituals, foremost praying, are the routines practiced by the members of the family. Following the Presbyterian tradition, the brothers say their prayers before and after every meal and before going to bed, just like their grandparents. This routine is strictly observed and even the four-year old Davy is made to go through it to the last Amen. The boys being so young, and especially in the absence of the granddaddy, the words of the prayer get mumbled and shortened,[viii] yet the prayer is never omitted. Belief in God becomes an integral part of their value system and daily practices so that when eight-year-old Harry gets caught, he spontaneously prays to God: "Lord sweet God, have mercy on me […] A poor sinner" (216).

Besides regular praying, regular washing is a routine repeated before eating and sleeping. It is grandmother's duty to teach them that cleanliness is next to Godliness, which she does rigorously. On a tub night, she scrubs them thoroughly and little Davy often hides the scrubber. "She rubbed the skin near off me" (207), he complains.

These rituals and routines reflect the core belief that faith should be practiced daily and that bodily cleanliness is related to the cleanliness of the spirit. The health benefits of these two practices are indubitable, and among other things they may have helped to sustain the Scotch communities in their early days of settlement.

Stories and Myths: Mommy and Grandaddy

Johnson and Scholes also explain the significance of stories and myths defined as the past and present events and people talked about inside and outside the company. The purpose of these stories is to convey a message about what is valued and what behaviour should be avoided. In "Scotch Settlement" there are allusions to different stories some of which gain mythical proportions for the two children, especially for Davy who is actually the main character.

The first one is the story of his late mother. Davy was too small when his mother died so he relies on Harry's and granny's stories about her. Harry's memory is good and he often describes their mother and father to Davy while lying in their bed, how big and clean their daddy was, and how beautiful and tender their mommy was. Harry remembers how he and his mommy changed Davy's nappies, how she would stroke him and lough with them. In a childlike and heart-rending way he relates the story of loss and longing that his grandparents do little to mitigate so the brothers quietly ache, yearning for any creature they could pour their love on. It is evident that Gramma also misses her daughter-in-law and has fond memories of her:

> Your mamma was somethin' special, even if she did marry our Alec. Remember always
> she was somethin' special, puir lassie; she had hands fine as a lady's.
> What are ladies' hands like, Gramma? I asked.
> Very clean, my gramma said.
>
> (213)

Based on these stories little Davy creates the myth of his mother as an ideal being from a picture book who becomes his idol. He would like to emulate her so he sometimes washes his hands even if he is not told to do so. He wanted to be something special too.

On the other hand, the granddaddy is a frightening authoritative figure and Davy confesses to his granny that he doesn't like him. He believes that the granddaddy is not on their side because he would not buy them a dog, but worse than that he is sure that he would eat the dog if they got it. Davy's imagination runs wild and when he sees the granddaddy with a gun he believes he would kill both the visitors and their horses. He admires the granddaddy for his forging skills, for his strength and the respect he commands but he is also convinced he would eat the dog skin and all. That is how he interpreted the granddaddy's reason why they could not have a dog: "A dawg is of no use [...] You can't eat a dawg" (206). In Davy's mind this dog-devouring becomes a haunting picture that terrifies him when the granddaddy discovers the baby they were hiding.

The stories of an angelic mother and a dog-eating granddaddy stand at the opposite ends of the ethical model developed in the Mackenzie family. They reinforce the family's

beliefs and traditions but also demonstrate the conventional gender roles in a Scotch settlement that helped preserve the stability of the community.

Symbols: Boots and Dawgs

The third element of Johnson and Scholes' Cultural Web are symbols, explained as organizational logos and designs, which also extend to symbols of power such as parking spaces and executive washrooms. These visual representations can become status symbols with certain rules and taboos attached to them. An unambiguous symbol in the story "Scotch Settlement" are Mr. Mackenzie's boots. They are his prize possession, worn once a year to the Convention, otherwise sitting on a shelf well-oiled. They are his source of pride because nobody in their community had such boots nor is he ever seen in public without them. The family knows he puts them on only when he needs to meet people to save wear and tear, but to everybody else it seems that he wears them all the time. Even in his reduced circumstances in Canada the granddaddy would like to preserve the image of a successful farmer, and his Scotch sense of pride will be hurt if the truth were revealed. Little Davy intuitively understands the implications of this symbol and dares not touch the taboo boots, and it makes him feel sick even to think of that. Such is the power of this symbol.

Another symbol in the story is the dog which the boys want so much, though they cannot explain why. They are not aware that the dog becomes a symbol of all the love they need to bestow on some living creature, but they desire it so much that Harry eventually kidnaps a neighbour's baby which they manage to keep for two days. The scenes in which the brothers feed the baby, choose a name for it, change its wet-cloth and take all the risks to sustain it show how precious the baby is to them. Not only the dog but even the picture of a dog which Harry brought to Davy is denied them by their strict Presbyterian granddaddy who exalts usefulness above any kind of pleasure, completely ignorant of child psychology and the damage he may cause by his rigidity.

These two symbols are related because they both indicate that the granddaddy, or the system of values of a Scotch settlement which he embodies, needs to change and adjust to the new circumstances caused by the loss of parents and relocation.

Power Structures: Church, School, and Court

The Cultural Web model also involves the pockets of real power in the company or formal and informal influences known as power structures. It is basically the issue of who makes decisions in an organization. If applied to the cultural environment of a Scottish family and community, the church, school, and court are easily identified as dominant power structures. In a Presbyterian community, catechism and pedagogy are closely linked which is in the story emphasized by the same person being both the preacher and the teacher. John McIver is highly respected and given license by James Mackenzie to educate and reform his grandchildren as he finds fit within the institutions of the church and the school. The Bible and the ruler underpin the structural organization of Christian settler communities as regards the young generations.

Yet, the court session is definitely unexpected in a story about little children, whatever their sins may be. Still, in "Scotch Settlement" Neil Paterson makes an excellent use of it to ridicule the inflexibility of the pioneer pursuit of law and justice, however justified the formal rigidity of legal institutions in a community trying to establish itself as law-abiding and

civilized in Canadian wilderness. The settlers recreate a court in a store whose owner Tom Cameron becomes the judge complete with a writer, a prosecutor and an audience of local people, and the trial procedure is followed step by step to the final verdict which should be hanging for abduction of a young female. Everybody realizes the absurdity of this verdict since the culprit is eight years old and the baby is absolutely unharmed. Harry even believed that the baby was a boy and gave it the name George. Yet, his crime becomes an example of unacceptable behaviour since a Presbyterian community highly valued female purity.[ix] The female body is a contested territory that the whole community struggles to preserve as in the case of a certain Sarah, taken to the woods by Arch Foster who was then made to marry her by the court.

The purpose of the institutions of the church, school, and court is to protect the core values of the community, or in the words of Johnson and Scholes, of the cultural paradigm through their formal or informal influences. Powerful persons operating through position or history are also instrumental in maintaining order in the community which is quite obvious with Mr. Mackenzie.

Organisational Structures: How to Use Power

Power structures are complemented with organizational structures which include reporting lines, hierarchies, and the way that work flows through the business, as Johnson and Scholes explain. In Paterson's story, all hierarchies are determined by the patriarchal system of a Scotch community. However important women may be, all power structures are governed by men like John McIver, John Cameron, or Joe Cullis who organized the search for the lost baby. Their role is to reinforce stability through smooth operation of all institutions. Subordination is prerequisite, insisted upon and trained for by the institutions and individuals. For example, granddaddy Mackenzie is supposed to observe the decisions of the priest and the judge, just as his two grandsons and his wife are expected to obey his will. These are unwritten conventions which help the community and the family perform their roles and organize their life in an orderly fashion.

However, human spirit is by nature insubordinate which is well illustrated in the story. The granny herself is a powerful figure and she sometimes manages to sway her husband's decisions. She was the one who persuaded him to buy the dog after all, and she criticizes him for his harshness towards Harry and Davy. She often saves the children from his wrath though she failed to save their own estranged son. Her power is informal and subversive of her husband's authority but constructive within the family organization. Harry also undermines the authority of the granddaddy which affects the organizational structure of their family. He breaks the rules, disobeys, and refuses to tell the truth which leaves no choice to the granddaddy but also proves that cultural change is necessary. Finally, Mr. Mackenzie himself manifests similar insubordination when he shows contempt of court by publicly threatening Tom Cameron that he will shoot him. All these instances indicate the negative effect of excessive rigidity of the Presbyterian system of values, and the need to change the cultural paradigm.

Control Systems: Crimes and Punishments

The last element in Johnson and Scholes' cultural paradigm are the control systems, which they explain as the ways that the organisation is controlled including financial systems,

quality systems, and rewards. In everyday terminology, these are the processes in place to monitor what is going on. Naturally, the significance of control for a good management cannot be overstressed so it is equally important when the cultural paradigm in question is that of a Scottish settlement in Canada.

Since the individual who needs to be subjected to control is an orphaned child of eight, the control systems applied are those of the educational system and the family. In both cases, the methods are the same. Both the school teacher and the granddaddy use physical punishment for whatever transgressions the boy may have made. Whether for missing classes or stealing a baby, Harry will be beaten, sometimes till the blood comes, and kept in the woodshed without food "until he sees the error of his ways" (217). Handling the control systems is a contested issue, and Mr. Mackenzie insists on strict division of domains:

> "The boy has sinned doubly. He has been absent two days," the dominie said, and he limbered his arm. "I maun thrash him, Jim."
> "Ay," my granddaddy said, "you maun thrash him, John. This is fair an' fitten since you are his dominie, but you will thrash him in the school's time, I say, an' not in mine."
>
> (216)

The control systems are definitely firmly in place in a Scotch settlement because disobedience and defiance have to be eradicated in the youngest members of the community. The problem arises when control is abused and exaggerated as when Harry is taken to court with a possible death-by-hanging verdict. Common sense prevails and the alternative to that is sending him to a correction school in order to reform him. Control measures taken in Harry's case are supposed to reinforce desirable behaviours and discourage whatever was considered harmful for the community. It is evident that the elements of a cultural paradigm often overlap. As Johnson and Scholes suggest, power structures may depend on control systems, which may exploit the very rituals that generate stories, proving that a cultural web consists of tightly interwoven elements.

Conclusion: Change of Paradigm

Another significant researcher in the field of corporate strategy, Edgar H. Schein (2010), describes culture in different terms, but like Johnson and Scholes maintains that cultural change creates high levels of anxiety. In his theory, when change happens different forms of resistance are manifested, of which trying to maintain the status quo is most prominent. In Paterson's story James Mackenzie is the dominant individual backed up by the whole Cultural Web practiced in their Scotch settlement, who believes that by resisting change he can preserve the core values of their community. Changes inevitably happen: his son and daughter-in-law both died, the family moved to Canada, little Harry grows… but the granddaddy remains strict and harsh as if his personal resistance could stop the course of nature. Believing that the status quo should be preserved at all costs he punishes Harry (and Davy), and allows the teacher to also punish him at school.

However, when Harry is taken to court and threatened by being sent away to a reform school, Mr. Mackenzie defies the system and induces a change of verdict. This act of subversion indicates a shift in his system of values in the sense that the rigid rules which up to that moment he applied to all and sundry got relaxed. Crime should not necessarily be followed by punishment. Instead, kindness and support may take the place of hardness and

unconcern. At that moment finally the granddaddy did not see a criminal in front of him but his own grandson who needed some understanding and love. The turning point in Mr. Mackenzie's transformation happened on the night he discovered the stolen baby when little Davy cracked, convinced their furious granddaddy would eat it:

> I clawed at his leg, but his leg was movin' and I fell.
> "It's ourn," I said. "Ourn."
> My grandaddy pushed open the door and went in the house, and I fell on the step and was too tired and sad to git up. I jest lay screamin.' "Don't eat it, Grandaddy," I said. "Tain't fitten. Please, please don't eat it."

(220)

In an instant, the granddaddy understood the fears and needs of his little boys, their tender years, motherless childhood, and their misunderstanding of the words the grown-ups so carelessly say before children. Paterson does not elaborate on this at all because it would be structurally unconvincing, the story being told by Davy. Instead, he ends the story with Mr. Mackenzie selling his precious boots and ordering a red setter dog for his grandsons. The whole family is engaged in this decisive act of writing the letter which rounds up the leitmotif of who is on whose side in the family. The brothers compare the relationships in other families with theirs and believe that the granny and the granddaddy always support each other while nobody's on the side of the children. They obviously feel unloved and abandoned, so the best thing Mr. Mackenzie could have done to bring the family together was to buy them a dog and show them they are all on the same side. In the last paragraph of the story Davy says: "I stood close up with my chin on the table, watchin'. I was mighty content, not only on account of the dawg, but on account of I now knew ours was a good family, not like some. In our family we was all on the same side" (226).

This is how Davy validates that change may be good for the cultural paradigm of the community. Family cohesion is re-established, the bonds are strengthened, and no harmful compromise has been made. When Mr. Mackenzie sold his boots and walked home barefoot, his wife was worried that people saw him disgraced, but he self-confidently replies: "They are clean […] My good name is in God's hands and my pride does not rest in ornaments" (226). This summarises several elements of the Scotch ethos, such as cleanliness, faith in God, repudiation of ornaments, personal and national pride. It is evident that these values are reaffirmed even though change has been effected. Taboos are broken down, rules are violated, and principles betrayed to the benefit of individuals and paradoxically for the preservation of the whole cultural web of Scotch Settlement. Neil Paterson consequently emerges as an author of relevance even today when Scotland considers serious shifts of its cultural and historical paradigm.

Notes:

[ii] Letter by David Burns written June 23, 1873, published in The Stonehaven Journal July 31, 1873 describes the first experiences of immigrants during the crossing and in the colony: "Meantime, assuring my friends that the Colony is a success, everything in a thriving state, although all the

colonists are not equally advanced, there being some working in groups who have great clearings made, crops sown and planted, while those working singly are not making so great progress, but all are doing well. Live stock is being daily added to the colony and thriving well as far as can be seen."

[iii] *A Very Fine Class of Immigrants: Prince Edward Island's Scottish Pioneers, 1770-1850 (2001); An Unstoppable Force: The Scottish Exodus to Canada (2008); With Axe and Bible: The Scottish Pioneers of New Brunswick, 1784-1874 (2007); Les Écossais: The Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada, 1763-1855 (2006); The Scottish Pioneers of Upper Canada, 1784-1855: Glengarry and Beyond (2005); After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852 (2004); The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River (2003); Fast Sailing and Copper-Bottomed: Aberdeen Sailing Ships and the Emigrant Scots They Carried to Canada, 1774-1855 (2002).*

[iv] It is interesting that today there are four communities (or at least geographical locations) bearing the name of Scotch Settlement and one Scotch Lake in the area of New Brunswick, and one Scotch Settlement in Ontario.

[v] Little Dave is the narrator in the story and this is how he perceives his granddaddy: "My grandaddy was death on sin. He had eyes sharp as a woodcock for wrong-doin', and when he saw a sin he raised his voice to Heaven and said so, and if it was us had done the sins he took us into the wood-shed and beat us. Once he beat Harry justly till he bled. My grandaddy was a just and terrible man" (202).

[vi] Dave describes the local preacher as equally terrible: "That man was Mister McIver the preacher, and he was the dominie too. He was a true Christian like my grandaddy, he was fierce as a wolf, and his beard was red" (215).

[vii] David Morgan in his book *Protestants & Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture and the Age of American Mass Production* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) describes the paradox of the rise of these images, regardless of doctrinal expectations.

[viii] "Lord," Harry said, "Father chart hum hum bout to receive hum hum blessed portion hum hum hum umhum day and night. Amen" (204).

[ix] The judge, Tom Cameron, uses this opportunity to say: "Sex crimes too. Our women rate high with us in this community and, rightly, a woman's purity is a hangin' matter. It was time we showed the wild elements that this is so, and a man tampers with women-folk gits his just deserts" (222).

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