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TEUTONS AND CELTS.—II.

WE concluded our first article with an instance of race prejudice, pure and simple, and Englishmen who fancy that by granting Home Rule to Ireland they can throw oil on the troubled waters might take a lesson from it. The French-Canadian has no grievance to complain of, whereas the Irishman can really make out a fair case on his own behalf. A large proportion of the Irish population is still purely Celtic. They have never received the blessings of modern civilization with enthusiasm, and if they prefer to live as their ancestors lived before them, it may be argued that they have a perfect right to do so. But will anybody venture to assert that it is the pure Celt who is the cause of all the trouble? The Norman-French *habitant* is quite as easily worked up on the Riel question and is really far more dangerous than the purer Celt who (following the Celtic instinct) has migrated to the towns, and, similarly, it is the mixed race in Ireland, the descendants of the Norman and Saxon-Irish who are by far the most troublesome. It is this mixed race, combining much of the stubbornness of the Teuton, with all the mental characteristics of the Celt, which now occupies the greater portion of the Continent of Europe; and England and Scotland are now almost the only countries into which the Teuton carried his conquering arms where the mental characteristics of the Teuton are still, to some extent, preserved. A glance at the map of Europe during the sixth century shows us the Gothic conquest so complete that the Celt might almost be supposed to have vanished from the scene. But the practical result has been far different. Where is the Goth now? "No race," says Mr. Green, speaking of the Celts, "has shown a greater power of absorbing all the nobler characteristics of the people with whom they came into contact." But they have done more than this. They have absorbed the Goth as a sponge absorbs water, and all the "nobler characteristics" of the Goth have gone to strengthen a race which always has been and always must be his most bitter enemy. This is precisely what has happened in the Ireland of to-day, and the practical results of this process may be observed in much that is now passing on the American Continent. It is of course a well-known historical fact that there are only two courses open to a conquering race if it wishes to preserve its conquests. It must either drive the conquered race before it and occupy the land as the Saxons did in Britain, and as the English did in Australia and America, or it must occupy the country as a military power, as the Romans occupied Britain, or as the English occupy India to-day. Any middle course has always resulted in the absorption of the conquering by the conquered, as is proved by the result of the Teutonic and Scandinavian conquests, and as is quite evident from the present state of affairs in Ireland. This perhaps is not very remarkable, but it does seem strange that although the Celtic man has always gone down before the Gothic man when the question was decided by force of arms, the mental characteristics of the Teuton have almost always disappeared before the more attractive or more powerful mental characteristics of the Celt, when the two races have settled down side by side. The sober-minded Teuton who reads the strange rhapsodies of Victor Hugo is very apt to look upon them as the outpourings of a disor-

dered brain, but he would make a terrible mistake if he overlooked the fact that they fairly represent what may be called the Celtic "idea" as opposed to the Teutonic "idea," and that the former is vastly more powerful over the mind of the average man than the former. Assisted by the spread of popular government,* which has, beyond doubt, largely increased the political influence of the Celt, he has practically reconquered Europe, and the conquest has been far more complete than that of the Goth in the sixth century. Even England and Scotland have succumbed, and the Englishman (preserving, in this respect at any rate, one of the mental characteristics of his German ancestry), sits stolidly down with his arms folded, while the Celt plays his old game of "shaking all States and founding none."

When we find a magnificent Empire like that of Great Britain (an empire whose history must stand out in the future as that of Greece and Rome does now) threatened with destruction by what is really a Celtic revolution, and when we find the Dominion threatened by a very similar although feebler agitation, it is surely about time that this question of nationality receive careful attention, and that men who value political stability should decide as to whether they are to be classed with Celt or Teuton. But, as has been pointed out before, Teuton and Celt have now become so mixed up that it is not very easy to separate them. Ethnology will not help us much and few men, even with the aid of the physiologist, could decide as to whether they were *dolichocephalous* or *brachycephalous*. There is one point however which stands out boldly and distinctly, and that is the marvellous difference between the mental characteristics of the two races, and on this point almost all writers are agreed. It is not merely that Celt and Teuton, *differ* in this respect—they are *absolutely antagonistic*; and it would appear as if Providence had deliberately sent two races on to the Continent of Europe (the one with a constructive, the other with a destructive intellect) for the express purpose of keeping up a sort of perpetual political motion and preventing Europe from settling down into a torpor like that of China and Japan. These mental characteristics have been frequently described by able writers, but there can be no harm in going over them again, as the subject should be interesting to anybody who considers that good government and political stability are desirable things. Roughly stated they are about as follows:

The Teuton loves freedom and personal independence, caring little for equality,—the Celt worships equality and will at any time sacrifice his personal independence for the sake of it. The Teutonic idea of liberty may be described as "you let me alone, and I will let you alone;" the Celtic idea is "I am as good as you, if not better." The Teuton is attracted by political stability and wherever he has carried his conquering arms he has almost invariably founded a stable government. The Celt dislikes political stability, and as Mommsen puts it, he has "shaken all States and founded none." The Teuton tends toward aristocracy, and is loyal to his leaders when once they have won his affections; the Celt's love of equality makes him dislike leadership of any sort, and he takes more pleasure in throwing his leaders over than in setting them up. He treats them as Louis XI did the little images in his hat; he first prays to them and then throws them aside.

The "light heart" of the Celt is well-known, but the Teuton is "dour," like the Scot, and cautious. The Teuton loves his home; the Celt loves the café, the boulevard. The Celt is gregarious, and when he submits to leadership of any sort he is easily led in masses. The Teuton, on the contrary, loves nothing so much as his own personal independence, and submits with reluctance to forming one of a crowd. The Teuton entertains a sincere and honest respect for women, but treats them with scant courtesy. The Teuton when he emigrates easily forgets his nationality and falls naturally into the position of a citizen of a new State. The Celt cherishes his nationality as if it were his most precious gift, and declines to be absorbed. †

* It must be remembered that modern popular government is something entirely new. The Roman Republic was always an aristocracy and the government of Athens, even under Cleon, was not a pure democracy. Neither Greeks nor Romans ever went the length of enfranchising their slaves, nor did they give political power to a conquered race before it was thoroughly subdued and amalgamated. It has been reserved for modern popular government to commit these follies.

† This point is perhaps open to question. The English have preserved their position in India by declining inter-marriage with the native races. The French lost themselves in this way, and the Portuguese of Bombay at the present day, can be distinguished from the natives only by their dress. It would appear almost as if the Celt would permit himself to be absorbed by any race so long as he was certain that it was not Teutonic.