This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

ALIENATION AND DEHUMANIZATION IN PLAYS
OF EUGENE O'NEILL AND GEORG KAISER

presented by

Christian Graff

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in American Studies

James J. McCusker
Major professor

Date October 10, 1989

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
202		
APR 1 1 2008		

ALIENATION AND DEHUMANIZATION IN PLAYS OF EUGENE O'NEILL AND GEORG KAISER

By

Christian Graff

A THESIS
Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

College of Arts and Letters

1989

ABSTRACT

ALIENATION AND DEHUMANIZATION IN PLAYS OF EUGENE O'NEILL AND GEORG KAISER

By

Christian Graff

Expressionist dramatists have always been interested in the impact of industrialization upon man. One of the best-known plays of this genre, Georg Kaiser's Gas I (1918), offers a rural utopia as a possible escape from alienation and dehumanization through the machine. The vision is nonetheless dismissed because the proletarian masses submit to the technocratic ideal represented in the Engineer. Gas II resumes the antithetical discussion on a spiritual level; internalization is the message of Kaiser's "New Man" that appears rather as an intellectual game, a tranquilizer for the expressionist's feeling of social responsibility. O'Neill's The Hairy Ape (1922) employs an industrial setting to emphasize the primeval instincts of his protagonist Yank, who is spiritually lost in an industrialized environment. O'Neill focuses rather on the individual than on the alienated masses; nonetheless, The Hairy Ape resembles Gas II in the search for a spiritual "belonging" as well as in the failure of this quest.

Table of contents

A. Introduction

The first great wave of industrialization that reached Great Britain at the end of the 18th century, France a decade later and Germany in the 50's of the 19th century didn't change the structure of European societies decisively: the leading position of the old gentility remained intact. It was a second surge around 1895 that began to change the political structures and the established societies in Central Europe. The importance of new production methods, of industrial fabrication, and the consequent birth of a new class of industrial proletarians is mirrored in the shift of the employment figures in the agricultural and industrial field: in 1882, 42,7% of the employed population were working in agriculture and forestry, 39,5% in factories and mines. In 1895, the proportions had already shifted: 43,6% were now employed in modern industries while 35,7% were still working on farms (1907: 49,3% - 28,4%). This development was not exclusively due to a shift in the economic basis; there was also an increase in the population, through which Düsseldorf for instance grew from 95.000 inhabitants in 1880 to 358.000 in 1910. By 1900, the German economy had surpassed its old rival Great Britain in most economic fields and was second as an economic power only to the U.S.

The United States turned, accelerated by American war exports between 1914 and 1917, from a debtor to an European creditor. It nevertheless didn't assume Britain's former role in world economic importance: the protectionist Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922 didn't encourage an extension of the position in the world economy, but rather supported expansion in the home economy. The early decades of the 20th century witnessed the shift from an agrarian to an industrial base of the economy. The booming car industry became the pacemaker in terms of mass production, mechanization and automation. The assembly line in Henry Ford's factory in Detroit permitted new heights of productivity, but also brought monotonous work to the new class of industrial workers. Labor unrest was met by the Five-Dollar-Day, the reduction of work to eight hours a day and a profit sharing policy. Yet an increased speed of the production line and the expendability of the individual worker put enormous pressure on the industrial masses.

The expressionists, painters as well as poets and dramatists, have always been interested in the social and economic condition of man. They were concerned with the bourgeois society, criticized industrial system and financial power, rejected the worship of science and rationalism, and argued polemically against the institution church. Man was mostly seen as an isolated creature, imprisoned by the own "I" and isolated by the environment, exposed to poverty and disease, and thrown into alien,

unhospitable surroundings. Man's existence was defined through its deficiencies by the expressionists: the world is chaos, but not of fertile creation, but one of confusion and desperation.

Georg Kaiser's drama Gas I has been labeled the "most famous drama of all expressionist literature." It is commonly seen as part of a trilogy, the so-called "Gas-trilogy" --which Kaiser himself never intended-- consisting of The Coral (1917), Gas I (1918) and Gas II (1920). Although the thematic concerns especially of The Coral and the two later plays differ substantially, the family history of the Billionaire that pervades all three plays links the trilogy genealogically and provides a unifying continuity.

Eugene O'Neill's drama The Hairy Ape is generally not seen as part of a trilogy but rather as one of the expressionist plays that O'Neill produced in the 20's. Nonetheless, the playwright himself put the play into this context: "it is really the first part of a trilogy that will dig at the roots of the sickness of today as I feel it," announced O'Neill in a letter to George Jean Nathan in 1929. Although the trilogy was never completed in the anticipated sense, Dynamo, another of O'Neill's expressionist plays, is concerned with the same question of man's spiritual escape in an industrialized society.

Both the American and the German plays take place in an industrial setting. Gas I and Gas II especially reflect the historic conditions in which they came into existence. In the first part, the dependence on the all-generating gas reflects the accelerated military production at the end of the First World War and sets the dramatic background for the struggle between a humanist and a technocratic utopia. Gas II has the war itself for a theme; written after the defeat of the German Empire, it envisions an automatized industry/war-complex that dissolves itself in suicidal destruction.

O'Neill's The Hairy Ape plays on a transatlantic liner. While the Gas-trilogy extends itself spatially to assume --symbolically-- general validity, the American playwright consciously isolates his protagonist on the ocean only to confront him later with the antagonistic society in a series of rapidly changing scenes.

The thesis sets out to investigate the impact of industrialization and its implicit symptoms such as automation and mechanization upon man and his situation in society as they are reflected in the above mentioned plays. It will try to illustrate in how far both authors conceive of industrial work as a mutilating or dehumanizing factor in modern society. One thematic concern will therefore be the individual --not necessarily always the protagonist in the plays in question-- and its situation as well as the social and economic position of the industrial masses and

their interrelationship. The comparison between these two authors offers itself not only because they were in the same period concerned with the same themes and motifs, but also because critics have already compared some of their works for their common interest in the dehumanization of man. Some even identified them to the extent to call O'Neill "the Georg Kaiser of America."

Industrialization, technique, mechanization have always fascinated and abhorred men since they became not only dominant determinants in their daily working routine, but also began to influence political systems and the structures of society. / Karl Marx' theories of the individual's deformity through the industrialized society are always the background against which man's dehumanization is measured. I will focus on Kaiser's later parts of the trilogy, on Gas I and Gas II as well as on O'Neill's The Hairy Ape in this comparative study. The Coral and Dynamo are too individualized and rather refer to "particularities" of the industrial world: to the escape from one's past through an artificially constructed present respectively the worship of a maternalized machine-symbol, the dynamo. Where these two dramas affect the discussion of the main topic, they will nevertheless be considered. Otherwise, the focus will be on the individual, the individual within the mass and the mass as an entity in the context and under the impact of mechanization and automated work. Since we are dealing with dramas, some space shall be given to the discussion of stage

devices such as setting, language and dramatic structure, again with the emphasis on the comparative aspect and its bearing on the expressionist character of the plays.

B. Georg Kaiser

1. The Coral

The Coral, written in 1917, is the first part of what has come to be seen as the "Gas"-trilogy. The play, as critics have noted, stands "as a drama in its own right," not only because the conflict it poses is solved, but also because it differs considerably from the two "Gas"-plays in style (Benson, 137). The protagonist of the play is the capitalist Billionaire who is confronted by *Figuren* that are not personalized, but rather defined by their social function such as the Secretary, the Doctor and the Chaplain. The play opens in the *heiße Herz der Erde* , where the Billionaire's secretary distributes money and advice to the poor. With the Secretary, the Billionaire has found his perfect double that can only be distinguished by a piece of coral that the former wears at his watch-chain. The Secretary can thus substitute his employer in his charitable deeds as well as in negotiations with the factory workers. The creation of this *alter ego* serves to protect the Billionaire from the contact with poverty and despair: his wealth shall protect him from the memory of his unhappy childhood marred by desaster: after the father, a poor worker, had abandoned the family, the mother committed suicide, and the Billionaire's life has been a constant flight from this memory since then. He attempts to recapture "the happy childhood he never had

through his children, especially through his son." (Benson, 138)

When the son refuses this scheme, initiated to charitable work through the confrontation with the poor stoker on a vessel, and the daughter declares her desire to become a nurse, the Billionaire's dreams are shattered. He shoots the Secretary and takes the coral to symbolically inherit his employee's happy childhood and even rejects possible salvation when he is found guilty of "murdering his employer," only to appropriate the happy memories that he never had.

2. Gas I

In Gas I, written one year after The Coral, the focus shifts from the fate of the individual, the Billionaire, to the mass of industrial workers. It is an examination of the effects of industrial mechanization, but it also poses the question of an alternative political system, of socialism, and of an altruistic behavior of the individual in favor of the alienated and short-sighted masses.

The central figure is now the Billionaire's son, who has inherited his father's factories which are devoted to the production of gas as the universal source of power for the world's industries: it "feeds the industry of the entire world," (Gas I, 12) and an uninterrupted production is thus essential for the global economy. The Billionaire's

Son has established a social and economic experiment in an otherwise capitalist society: although he is the owner of the factory, he derives the same income as the other workers since the wages are distributed on a "syndicalist" basis according to each worker's age. The product of their labor, the gas, is odorless, invisible, not seizable and thus takes on a mystic quality as the center of the workmen's efforts.

It also takes centerstage when it explodes and fulfills the prophecies of the Gentleman in White from the opening scene. The formula does not work although all calculations are correct:" We have reached the limit - works out and does not work out." (Gas I, 20) The social experiment of the Billionaire's Son has failed even before the explosion occurs: the workers labor even harder in order to increase their share:" Clerk: The work must go on - not a moment's pause! We are working for ourselves - not for the pockets of others. No loafing - no strikes. The work goes on without a pause. There will always be Gas!" (Gas I, 12)

After the explosion, the Billionaire's Son undergoes a *Wandlung* and proposes not to rebuild the factory but rather to settle in rural communes. "For he sees it as his moral duty to protect them from themselves, and to free them from the domination of the machine even at the cost of bringing the industry of the world to a standstill by withholding its fuel." (Kentworthy: Myth, 53)

The workers, inaccessible to his plans, demand the dismissal of the engineer as a scapegoat and the rebuilding of the factory. The same demand is made by the Gentlemen in Black, representing government and capitalist society. In a rethoric showdown, the Billionaire's Son, as the advocate of human happiness, confronts the Engineer, representing infinite growth of human power. The masses succumb to the Engineer's technocratic vision, and the Billionaire's Son's attempt to keep the workers from returning to the machines is shattered when war impends; the drama concludes with the promise of the Billionaire's Son's daughter to give birth to the "New Man."

3. Gas II

In Gas II, Kaiser dehumanizes his figures even more than in Gas I: the Blue and Yellow Figures, opposed in a war, are even stripped of their social functions in the process of depersonalization, and can only be identified through their different colors. The dehumanization is further emphasized through an automative repetitive behavior:

> Second Figure in Blue (at red pane). Report from third fighting-sector-Enemy concentration preparing (Pane dark.)
> First Figure in Blue (switches red plug).
> Fifth Figure in Blue (at green pane): Report from third works-production one lot below contract.(Pane dark.)
> First Figure in Blue (switches green plug).
> Third Figure in Blue (at red pane): Report from second fighting-sector-Enemy concentration preparing. (Pane dark.)
> First Figure in Blue (switches red plug).
> (Gas II, 3)

The three acts are constructed in symmetrical fashion: the Blue Figures of the first act are replaced by the Yellow figures in Act Two and Three who are virtually identical in language and behavior. Act Two opens, antithetically to the framing acts with a celebration of the possibilities of the workers that are briefly liberated from their working routine when they leave the shops, awakened to life through only a short interruption in the machine rhythm. After the Yellow Figures have replaced the Blue ones, it is the Chief Engineer who incites the rebellion among the workers. Once more the antithetical discussion is resumed, the anti-technocratic side taken by the Billionaire Worker who is the great-grandson of the Billionaire of The Coral and the new man promised at the end of Gas I.

The Chief Engineer, who has invented a poison gas that could destroy the masters, advocates annihilation of the enemy, while the Billionaire Worker rejects the temptation. Claiming that "your kingdom is not of this world," he urges the masses to be "martyrs in the works - freemen in yourselves." (Gas II, 40) Again the masses adhere to their instincts, inable to convert themselves to what is disclaimed by the Chief Engineer as drudgery and defilement (and not so different from their former life). Gas, that has been the center of the worker's occupation again dominates the scene:" Gas the magician works for you,"

claims the Engineer (Gas II, 41). This time, as all the time before, it works against them: the Billionaire Worker senses his defeat and seizes the opportunity to extinguish the masses and himself:" I am vindicated! I can fulfill!" (Gas II, 43). The attacking Yellow Figures turn the weapons against themselves, ending the play in self-extermination.

4. Dehumanization and alienation in the "Gas"-trilogy

Every reader or spectator of a drama set in an industrial environment will not only direct his attention to the question of man's situation in a modern industrialized society, but also focus on certain key terms. Alienation and dehumanization have become almost synonyms for the process of industrialization that set in in the middle of the 19th century in Germany and has been described by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The expressionist theatre has enhanced the image of man as a depersonalized creature who is alienated from the work process as well as from the product of its labor: it invented the term *Ich-Dissoziation* , the dissolution of the Ego under the influence of a hostile environment. The expressionist critique can not easily be laid aside as romanticism or belated Rousseauism: although it often rather focuses on deficiencies than to offer positive alternatives, it does not easily dismiss industrialism as inhumane. Expressionism has rather focused on the shift

from man's domination of nature to a system that dominates man and submits him rather than to provide new freedom. (Meixner, 35)

The idea of the alienated depersonalized individual is so apparent in Gas I, that it has been compared to Fritz Lang's futuristic motion picture *Metropolis* (1927), that contrasted workers broken and crushed by the monotonous work, living in an underground world of darkness, with the decadence and cruelty of the rulers (Gittleman, 28).

The typical expressionist father-son conflict --as in The Coral and in Dynamo-- provides the chance for the youth to experience the worker's situation and to confront the father as the representative of the ruling class. Gas I, as a comment on technology and society at the end of World War I, was intended by Kaiser "as a strong antiwar, antimilitary, antiindustrial statement about the abuses of technology." (Gittleman, 29) It differs in this regard remarkably from The Coral, where the focus is set on an individual's attempt to achieve happiness.

The exposition of Gas I sums up the whole dilemma of the workers in the factory of the Billionaire's Son. The Clerk who, interrogated by the Gentleman in White explains the working conditions in the factory, is himself an example for the unreflecting working mentality. He believes in the utmost productivity as well as in a continued production of gas without delay:" The work must

go on - not a moment's pause! (Gas I, 12) The idea of a discontinuation of the work process, for instance through a disaster like the explosion of the gas has never come to his mind. When the Gentleman in White articulates this possibility, the Clerk stares at him, speechless, and finally seizes the telephone, almost screaming for the Engineer. Although the Clerk is not even integrated into the work process itself, he nevertheless has been subdued by automation to a point where his thought process seems to be mechanical:

> Billionaire's Son: Are your fingers itching to play at the same old game? Can't you be anything but a Clerk?
> Clerk: I have my calling.
> B's Son: Don't you feel the call - for something more important?
> Clerk: I must earn my living.
> B's Son : And what if this particular "must" should be done away with?
> Clerk: I am a clerk.(...)
> B's Son: Because you have always been a Clerk?
> Clerk: It is my calling. (Gas I, 24/25)

Forced by the Billionaire Son to question his own identity and living conditions, the Clerk retreats into the protection of stereotypical answers that are unreflected and repetitive. His twofold argumentation consists of a pragmatic view of life, the need to earn a living, and a rather spiritual reason when he ascribes his occupation to a calling and thus shifts the responsibility for his apathetic life to a higher authority.

The explosion sets a caesura for the workers in Gas I. It hands them the possibility to awaken from the stupidity

of their work. Not only have their thoughts and actions, as a result of their enslavement to the machine become almost instinctively mechanical, (Kentworthy: Myth, 52) they do not even question the continuation of the labor after the catastrophe. While they send a delegation to the Billionaire's Son to demand the rebuilding of the factory and the return to production, it is the latter who defends what he thinks to be the workmen's own interests. Ironically they refuse to accept his attempts to change their working conditions: later, they will rather side with the technocratic vision of the Engineer.

In the fourth act, following the discussion between the Billionaire's Son and the Gentlemen in Black about the resumption of work, workmen and women assemble in the great circular hall. A Girl, a Mother, a Woman successively enter a platform and talk about their brother, their son, their husband, how they became alienated from them, how they became part of a machine or rather how only the part of their body that was necessary to do the work remained important while the rest of the body degenerated into a mere attachment:

> He plunged into work. And this work needed only one hand - one hand that lifted and depressed the lever - minute after minute - up and down, to the very second! He never missed a stroke - the lever was always true - always exact. And he stood in front of it and served it like a dead man. (Gas I, 63)

The hand that "kept making the same movement - day and night" (Gas I, 63) is all that remains of the brother to

the girl. The estrangement between brother and sister is brought about by the depersonification through the monotonous working process. It enhances the typification together with Kaiser's technique to deny the figures an individual characterization: the brother as well as the Engineer and the workman stand for a multitude of individuals and thus become at the same time depersonalized and achieve general validity as representatives of classes of human beings.

A mother deplores her son who was ground to pieces by the explosion:

> I did not know my son anymore - for I had buried him long ago - the first morning that he went to the works. - Are two eyes that had a fixed stare from looking at the sight-tube - are they a son? (Gas I, 64)

The plea of the woman who had only their wedding day with her husband before he left and became a part of the machine combines the two foregoing lamentations. The past, her wedding day, was the only bright day in her life, while present and future are dark:" We only got a wedding once - but the iron car rolls on for ever." (Gas I, 66) And as with the girl's brother, only one part of him is important, while the rest decays:" If only the foot were not so closely tied to the man! The man would have a chance to live - but his foot pins him to the car which rolls back and rolls forwards - day after day - with the man fastened by the foot." (Gas I, 67)

The three speeches are mirrored by the answers of three workmen, who offer themselves to replace the brother to the girl, the son to the mother, the husband to the woman. Yet the cry for revenge focuses on the dismissal of the Engineer rather than on a substantial change of the working conditions. Although the Billionaire's Son has already proved that the Engineer's calculations were correct and the flaw lies "in eternity": "But beyond this there rule forces which suffer no rule," (Gas I, 28) the workers insist upon the Engineer as the scapegoat for the explosion. Kaiser suggests that the workers' insistence to resume work depends not only on the necessity to earn a living, but also on a self-understanding that demands continued work almost as an instinctive reflex. (Kentworthy: Myth, 53) Pressed by the Billionaire's Son for their reasons, the workers retreat --very much like the Clerk-- into the engrained and inherited living conditions they are used to:

> First Workman (erecting himself): We must work!
> Second Workman: And our work is here!
> Third Workman: We are workers! (Gas I, 29/30)

The Billionaire's Son, as the representative of humanity and as the intellectually superior individual detects the instinctual habits of the workmen and exposes the self-sufficient character of their work. The failure of his social experiment of profit-sharing, that incited the workers to work even harder may be one reason for his emotional response to the workers' demands:

> Your work - and your wages in the hollow of your hands. That cheers you up - that spurs you on even beyond profit - that makes you work for work's sake. It is like an outbreak of fever, and it clouds the senses. Work - work - a wedge that is driven forward and which bores because it bores. To what end? I bore because I bore - I was a borer - I am a borer - and I remain a borer! (Gas I, 30)

And so even the workmen who promise to compensate the women for their losses demand the Engineer's dismissal rather than to boycott the work, as if they wanted to soothe their own conscience if they follow their instincts and resume work. Besides deploring the lost brother or son and replacing him to the mourning sister, mother or wife, they are also ready to replace him at his machine in his monotonous work. Although they know that every man is " a mere part, interchangeable with other parts," (Gas I, 67) they are ready to take the place of the hand or the foot that has been destroyed in the explosion:" I am lying under the ashes and dust--until you send me back to the lever--in place of your brother--who was blown up.--Here is his hand--broad and stiff, for gripping a jerking lever." (Gas I, 68)

Again, it is the Billionaire's Son who confronts the masses in their assembly and tries to expose their self-deceit:" ..one of you who was not already mutilated before the explosion?...You who were shattered before the walls fell--you who were bleeding from many wounds before the crash came--you who were cripples--with one foot--with one

hand--with two burning eyes in a dead skull--can the Engineer make this good?" (Gas I, 75)

Man's situation in the factory becomes clear when it is measured against the ideal of the Billionaire's Son. The goal that the latter suggests, and that he defends against the technocratic vision of the Engineer is humanity, the creation of man. The workmen represent humanity in the son, in the brother, in the husband, yet they are wounded in their humanity, crippled by the machine, subdued by automation, enslaved by monotony. The Billionaire's Son asks the workers to "realise Man" :" Do we not expect you to climb still higher? The peasant in you has been overcome--and now the Workman must be overcome--and Man must be the goal!" (Gas I, 82) What Kaiser pronounces is the creation of the expressionist "New Man", a human being that develops all his capacities to the utmost. It resembles and anticipates the ideas of the existentialists and is at the core of Kaiser's dramatic work. The emergence of the "New Man" or rather the failure of his prophesied rise will be discussed later.

What is the environment that this "New Man" shall exist in? The Billionaire's Son suggests a Rousseau-like back-to-nature movement that shall provide man with the chance to find himself, to develop his abilities, to become "Human." Manfred Durzak has shown that Kaiser's friend Gustav Landauer probably influenced the dramatist's rural vision. In his Aufruf zum Sozialismus (1911), Landauer had

presented the idea of a humane socialism that integrated the principles of anarchy and federation in a society model described as a "cooperative community;" it envisioned community life without authoritative pressure and capitalist power. (Durzak: Drama, 156) Interestingly enough, the same ideas can be found in the industrialized United States of the 20's and 30's. Henry Ford, who announced that "The real future of America is in the land," who promoted clichées such as "God made the country and man made the town," and who believed that the country developed man's character better, represented to many American farmers the ideal of the " anti-corporation, pro-labor, democratic industrial genius and common man." (Wik, 12) As a reaction to the depression of 1929/30, Ford promoted decentralization of industry and a back-to-the-farm movement. Farm and factory were natural allies, announced Ford, who thus resumed a concept of the French social utopists Saint-Simon and Fourier from the end of the 19th century. The village shops nevertheless remained provincial in scope: in the late 1930's, they employed no more than 10.000 workers. (Wik, 232)

The Billionaire's Son obviously sees the economic conditions that dominate the factory work as responsible for the dehumanization of the workers. If man wants to realize his own humanity, he has to experience a different environment.

Gas II transcends the images that Gas I uses in terms of man's deformation and dehumanization insofar as it intensifies the typification; it nevertheless does not resolve the pending conflict. As already mentioned, the figures that are responsible for the running of the factory and for the approaching war are not even differentiated from their opponents anymore except for their color. The robot-like behavior of the Blue Figures from the First Act is exactly repeated by the Yellow Figures after they have occupied the factory in the Third act. The explosion in Gas I fulfills two functions: on the one hand, it illustrates human limitations, especially the limits of technocracy:" The thing passed beyond the limits of the human," asserts the Billionaire's Son. (Gas I, 28) On the other hand, the explosion provides the dramatic opportunity for the antithetic clash between the technocratic Engineer and the humanist factory owner. Yet as we have seen, the dilemma is not resolved since no party is decisively defeated: while the Engineer triumphs for the moment by appealing to the workers' pride --"you would be peasants, slaves to grubbing toil!" (Gas I, 82)-- the Billionaire's Son keeps up the vision of the "New Man" with the announcement of his daughter that she will give birth to him.

In Gas II, the awakening that the Billionaire's Son had asked for eventually occurs. The collapse of workers at pressure gauges, at switch-blocks, at levers can not be

explained by disease, lack of food or disappointment over the profits. The Chief Engineer, whose predecessor was the advocate of machine labor in Gas I explains the stupifying effect of the routine work:

> Movement creates its own law. Excessive repetition of single action blunts the onspurring will to work. Gas is no longer a goal-purpose vanished in the little motion which repeated and repeated became purposeless, part without whole. Planless the man at his tool-the work withdrew ever farther out of sight as the man slipped day by day ever deeper into sameness and monotony. (Gas II, 7)

When the advantage over the advancing enemy is lost, the Blue Figures decide to fight to the end:" Attack and resistance to the last on either side. Adversary against adversary to the last drop of blood, and they fall together." (Gas II, 9) Kaiser draws an apocalyptic spectacle of the technocratic society in this scene. The absence of any ideology --except for the production of gas-- or virtues that are defended enhances the impression of a senseless slaughter that brings annihilation for both sides. War and industrialism melt together in a technocratic complex of horror. The mobilization of last resources conjuncts industrial and military vocabulary:

> Increase in production of gas without consideration of man, woman or child. No more shifts--let one shift overlap the other without release. Every last hand mobilized from collapse to collapse. No rest, no respite. Let the last dead hand fall from the lever, the last dead foot slip of the switch, the last glazed eye turn sightless from the pressure-gauge--let this table here show: the last enemy wiped off the face of the earth, our last fighter dead at his post. (Gas II, 9)

It is eventually the machine itself that brings about rebellion. Kaiser does not provide the workers with the energy to change their condition: the machine rhythm doesn't even provide them enough time to reflect upon their situation. It is rather the machine itself that, running wild at a different rhythm, breaks down the old pace and allows the break that is necessary:" The new distribution of time has disturbed the old pace and drags it down to seconds which suffice for remembrance to remember themselves! Lightning flashes in heads and illuminates the path they have been driven along these years upon years!" (Gas II, 16) The workers leave their shops, the work stands still. As a first sign of their awakening to life, the women pull the kerchiefs off their heads and begin to smooth their hair.

In Gas II even more than in the preceding drama, Kaiser draws the Chief Engineer as the representative of an industrial progress that has run amok. The Billionaire's Son of Gas I has become the Billionaire Worker in Gas II. He is an ordinary worker and preaches a message of martyrdom, of internalization, of suffering:" Martyrs in the works--freemen in yourselves. (Silence.) Build up the kingdom." (Gas II, 40) This kingdom obtains a spiritual quality, reminding of Christian symbolism:" Not from outside can you protect the greatness within you-you cannot pen it in with colony and colony-your kingdom is not of this world!" (Gas II, 40)

C. Eugene O'Neill

1. The Hairy Ape

The Hairy Ape, written in 1922, is the story of the stoker Yank who works on a transatlantic liner. Broader, fiercer, more powerful and more sure of himself than the other stokers, he is their undeclared leader. His view of life is elaborated in the discussion with Paddy, who nostalgically longs for the past with its beautiful ships, "clippers wid tall masts touching the sky," and Long, a revolutionary socialist who preaches against the capitalist class. Against these representatives of past nostalgia and political utopia, Yank lives in the present and "belongs." He is proud to be a part of the ship, to be the power that moves it.

His self-assurance is destroyed when Mildred Douglas, daughter of the steel trust owner, enters the stokehole in an impulse of curiosity and charitable help. Superficial as this feeling is, she faints when she sees the ape-like Yank, exclaiming "Oh! the filthy beast." (The Hairy Ape, 192) Yank, losing his security and his feeling of "belonging," tries to revenge himself by attacking a snobbish church crowd on Fifth Avenue who refuse to bother with him and have him thrown in jail. Trying to find another group to belong to, Yank joins the "Industrial Workers of the World" but is rejected and thrown out

because they suspect him to be a spy. Eventually he walks to the Zoo, opens a gorilla cage and, offering an embrace to at least some living creature, is crushed to death:" And perhaps, the Hairy Ape at last belongs." (The Hairy Ape, 232)

2. Dynamo

While The Hairy Ape still emphasizes an industrial setting and the implicit consequences such as deformation and dehumanization for the workers, Dynamo reveals a spiritual, almost religious dimension of the individual's search for integration. It is therefore not as important for our topic as The Hairy Ape and the two Gas-dramas, but since it exemplifies man's *Ich-Dissoziation* in an extreme case, the contents shall be described briefly.

Reuben Light, son of a minister, rejects the conservative religiosity of his father because Lucifer, the "God of Electricity" is "more modern in his methods" than his father's God (Dynamo, 45). Initiated by the contact with Light's neighbor Five, a proletarian atheist and his daughter Ada, Reuben choses electricity as his new God and becomes fascinated by dynamos, that reveal "the secret of life, what God is" when one listens to their song. (Dynamo, 126) The father-son conflict forces Reuben to leave his home. When he comes back, his mother --who Reuben feels in accordance with O'Neill's psychological thesis more attached to-- has died, also converted to the

God of electricity. Reuben identifies the dynamo with a female goddess: it appears "with something of a massive female idol about it, the exciter set on the main structure like a head with blank, oblong eyes above a gross, rounded torso." (Dynamo, 125)

Electricity becomes the "Great Mother of Eternal Life" and the dynamo her divine image on earth to Reuben who, in a Christian tradition, wants to purify himself to atone for the death of his mother. Interestingly enough, the dynamo promises eternal life and thus the same vision as Christianity. The identification of the the mother with the dynamo heads to a suicidal climax where Reuben merges with the dynamo and "is lost in its hum" in an attempt to reunite himself with the dead mother. (Blackburn, 132)

The play articulates the ideological conflict between the generations --that has always been a favorite expressionist topic--, elements of Freudian sexual psychology that O'Neill had already employed in Mourning Becomes Electra and, most important, the worship of the machine in the course of the individual's search for an object to identify with, to belong to. The spiritual sphere, that is already alluded to in Yank's complaint to the man in the moon in The Hairy Ape is more elaborated and occupies the center of the dramatic development in Dynamo.

3. Dehumanization and alienation in The Hairy Ape

Although O'Neill's intention in the play differs substantially from Kaiser's view, the depiction of industrial mechanization and its influence upon man is similar. Resembling Kaiser furthermore, O'Neill uses an expressionist setting and an illustrative language, in this case dialect, to depict a certain social and economic environment. The typification or depersonalization is not as far developed as in the "Gas"-dramas, mostly because O'Neill pays more attention to the individual's fate and does not pursue an image of general validity.

The description of the workers and their working conditions evokes the same impression of dehumanized labor as in the "Gas"-trilogy:

> The ceiling crushes down upon the men's heads. They cannot stand upright. This accentuates the natural stooping posture which shoveling coal and the resultant overdevelopment of back and shoulder muscles have given them. The men themselves should resemble those pictures in which the appearance of Neanderthal Man is guessed at. (The Hairy Ape, 166)

The working process itself is mechanical and repetitive:" They bend over, looking neither to right nor left, handling their shovels as if they were part of their bodies, with a strange, awkward, swinging rhythm." (The Hairy Ape, 178) Yet there is a determining difference in the working attitude between the workers in Kaiser's gas

factory and O'Neill's Yank. The key term in this context is "belonging". Yank, as the ideological opponent of Paddy and Long identifies with the machine, with his work that moves the ship, with speed:

> I'm at de bottom, get me! Dere ain't nothin foither. I'm de end! I'm de start! I start somep'n and de woild moves! It-dat's me!-de new dat's moiderin' de old! I'm de ting in coal dat makes it boin; I'm steal and oil for de engines; I'm de ting in noise dat makes yuh hear it; I'm smoke and express trains and steamers and factory whistles; I'm de ting in gold that makes money! And I'm what makes iron into steel!
>
> (The Hairy Ape, 177)

There is a further difference between the gas-workers and the stokers in terms of their humanity. Kaiser's workers are subdued by the machine, but they are nevertheless human beings. The stokers in The Hairy Ape are ape-like creatures who are not aware of their humanity anymore. For the gas-workers, it is at least possible to re-awaken to the consciousness of their humanity, while the stokers are reduced to their instinctual behavior; it is this primeval condition of man that makes it possible for Yank to identify with an inanimate thing such as steel.

Neither Paddy's nostalgia nor Long's class antagonism can divert Yank from his view. He has left his parents who were both drunkards at an early age; the past doesn't exist for him. He rejects Paddy's longing for the beauty of the past:" He's dead, but I'm livin'(...)Hittin' de pipe of de past, dat's what he's doin! He's old and don't belong no more." (The Hairy Ape, 176) Working on a

steamship is a man's job, according to Yank; it belongs, and so does the stoker. His language during the work mirrors his excitement, his involvement, his integration:" Come on, youse guys! Git into the game! She's gettin' hungry! Pile some grub in her. Trow it into her belly!" In attributing a sex to the machine, the work even obtains erotic overtones just as in Dynamo:" We goter feed de baby!" (The Hairy Ape, 190) Speed is also a central topic: moving at twenty-five knots per hour, Yank feels superior to the passengers of the first class, who are "only baggage" while he runs the engine:" We move, don't we? Speed, ain't it?" (The Hairy Ape, 179)

The insistence upon speed, vitality, power and the predominance of the present compared to the nostalgic longing for the past reminds the reader obtrusively of the ideas of the Italian futurists. In their Manifesto of 1909, F.T.Marinetti describes the feeling of the founding members, their compliance "alone with stokers feeding the hellish fires of great ships, alone with the black spectres who grope in the red-hot bellies of locomotives launched down their crazy courses.." (Marinetti, 19) The Manifesto itself celebrates aggressive action, the racer's stride, the punch and the slap and announces the beauty of speed that has replaced the antique symbols of beauty: a racing car is now more beautiful than the *Victory of Samothrace.* "Time and Space died yesterday. We already live in the absolute, because we have created eternal,

omnipresent speed". (Marinetti, 22) Under the last point of the actual manifesto, Marinetti once more magnifies speed, power and energy:

> We will sing of great crowds exalted by work, by pleasure, and by riot; we will sing of the multicoloured, polyphonic tides of revolution in the modern capitals; we will sing of the vibrant nightly fervor of arsenals and shipyards blazing with violent electric moons; greedy railway stations that devour smoke-plumed serpents; factories hung on clouds by the crooked lines of their smoke; (Marinetti, 22)

The importance of the Italian futurists for expressionism, dadaism and surrealism has often been stated. (Arnold, 16) Yet while the futurists found the big city as a topic, technique as an object and integrated them into their pathos of an asthetic revolution, the expressionists dealt with the same objects under reversed premises and criticized industrialism. (Meixner, 34)

Nonetheless, both authors employ the vitalism of the futurists in their play; the difference lies in the respective antagonistic opponent for the technocratic *credo* . In O'Neill's play, the protagonist himself is the representative of the worship of vitality and speed, of energy and break with the past; in the "Gas"-dramas, the advocacy of these virtues is left to the Engineer. The basic situation is similar: Yank identifies instinctually with his labor because it provides him with the security to "belong." Kaiser, who is mostly concerned with the industrial masses in the gas-plays, establishes the same mode of integration: the workmen demand the rebuilding of

the factory and the resumption of work because it is an engrained habit. In both cases, negligent of the fact that especially Yank is an exponent of a life in the present, the worker's attitude is a consistently conservative one: they tend to follow their engrained habits respectively instincts in their behavior and attitude towards change. The primitive condition of the stokers in The Hairy Ape further enhances the impression of instinctual habits. Since the workers in Gas I and Gas II are most of the time inarticulate, Kaiser provides them with a mouthpiece that declares the vitalist vision as their goal: the Engineer, as the humanist's counterpart, evokes the pride and identification of the factory workers with their labor in a language that nearly copies the Futurist Manifesto and anticipates The Hairy Ape:

> It is *your* work which creates these miracles in steel. Power, infinite power, throbs in the machines which you set going-Gas!-*You* give speed to the trains which go thundering your triumphs over bridges which *you* rivet. *You* launch leviathans upon the seas, and *you* divide the seas into tracks which *your* compasses decree! (Gas I, 79)

The Engineer thus allows the workers the self-identification as the moving power of the world:" Here you are rulers--in these works where the motive power of the whole world is born--you create Gas! There is your rule, your mastery--the empire you have established--shift upon shift--day and night--full of feverish work!" (Gas I, 81)

It is rather a rhetorical than an ideological victory that the Engineer achieves. By appealing to their emotions

and their pride, he can persuade the workers to reject the idea to become peasants again, but he declines to argue with the Billionaire's Son on a non-emotional basis. He rather displays cynicism when he asks the workers to dare new devastation:" Come out of the hall!!--back to the works!--From Explosion to Explosion!!--Gas!! (Gas I, 84) He foreshadows the technocratic fanaticism of the Chief Engineer in Gas II who rather destroys the enemy than to attempt cooperation.

When Yank loses his sense of "belonging," it is not only through the intervention of someone who is in his view "only baggage," but who doesn't "belong" in her own estimation. Mildred complains in the discussion with her aunt:" I would like to be sincere, to touch life somewhere. But I'm afraid I have neither the vitality nor the integrity...I'm a waste product in the Bessemer product like the millions. Or rather, I inherit the acquired trait of the by-product, wealth, but none of the energy, none of the strength of the steel that made it." (The Hairy Ape, 182/83) It is therefore surprising that the incident in the stokehole can change Yank's self-perception so fundamentally. The mechanical quality of the stoker's work, the obedience to the engineer's whistle and the ape-like appearance of the stokers seem to contradict Yank's self-assured feeling of superiority; (Egri, 85/86) they rather seem to confirm Paddy's view of a slave-like existence compared to the free sailors of the past.

It is interesting to see this shift from the Gas-trilogy to O'Neill's drama: it is not the industrial proletarian who is alienated from his work and from himself, but the member of the rich *bourgeoisie* . While Kaiser depicts the worker as directed by engrained instincts and the factory owner as the intellectually superior humanist, who wants to think for the workers and improve their living conditions, the Mildred of The Hairy Ape is --as a member of the ruling class-- inferior to the instinctual habits of the proletarian. Degenerated and aimless, she has no contact to humanity. It should not be forgotten that although the expressionists focused on the industrial society, they were themselves a marginal group of the *bourgeoisie* who saw themselves as alienated; the *Ich-Dissoziation* is by no means only an attribute that the expressionists used to characterize the industrial masses. (Meixner, 36)

Yank loses his inner balance, his sense of "belonging" in the encounter with Mildred (however inconclusive this scene may appear); he has seen himself as a part of the machine, of industrialized society so far, an image that is now inacessible for him. The drama describes, in the dramatic form of the expressionist *Stationendrama,* how Yank tries to re-integrate his image of himself in the contact with different groups of society: with the high society, with the "Industrial Workers of the World," with the ape in the Zoo. O'Neill presents a line of degenera-

tion between two extremes: between the "gaudy marionettes" on Fifth Avenue, representing modern society, and the gorilla in the cage, illustrating primeval conditions of mother nature. The attempt to associate himself with either of these groups fails and leads to Yank's death. In an interview with the New York Herald Tribune of March 16, 1924, O'Neill explained:

> The Hairy Ape was propaganda in the sense that it was a symbol of man, who has lost his old harmony with nature, the harmony which he used to have as an animal and has not yet acquired in a spiritual way. Thus, not being able to find it on earth nor in heaven, he's in the middle, trying to make peace, taking 'the woist punches from bot' of 'em'...Yank can't go forward, and so he tries to go back. This is what his shaking hands with the gorilla meant. But he can't go back to 'belonging' either. (Cargill, 111)

O'Neill employs a scenic image at the opening of the play to enhance this medial position between animality and humanity: the ape-like appearance, brought forth through the stooping posture and the hairy chest, is juxtaposed by Yank's attempt to think amidst all the turmoil of the first act. Although he grins cynically when he comments on his attempt, the pose of Rodin's "Thinker" will become typically for him throughout the play once he has begun to question his own position:" I ain't in oith and I ain't in heaven, get me? I'm in de middle tryin' to separate 'em..." (The Hairy Ape, 231)

The ape-image runs through the play like a leitmotif. Mildred calls Yank a "filthy beast," inciting his thought process:" Sure, 't was as if she'd seen a great hairy ape

escaped from the Zoo!" (The Hairy Ape, 197) Walking along Fifth Avenue, Yank sees a monkey fur in a show window. In the prison, a voice reads an article from a newspaper that blames the Wobblies that they would make a shambles out of civilization in which man, God's masterpiece, "would soon degenerate back to the ape!" (The Hairy Ape, 217) The "Industrial Workers of the World" themselves call Yank a "brainless ape" until he finally, visiting the gorilla in the Zoo, seems to accept this image of himself:" Ain't we both members of de same club-de Hairy Apes?" (The Hairy Ape, 229)

The final scene stages the integration with the ape-image that Yank has tried to reject for so long. He sees himself, once he loses his sense of "belonging," as somewhere between heaven and earth: the man in the moon, Yank's spiritual sphere, is as far away as the world of steel, represented by Mildred. Even more important, they are both unresponsive: Yank never gets an answer or a chance to integrate himself since neither the marionettes on Fifth Avenue nor the man in the moon answers. The sense of "belonging" is the central motif in the play. Doris V. Falk goes as far as to say that for O'Neill "the motion and the spirit that impels all thinking things is the search for identity." (Falk, 33) To escape the responsibility for one's own destiny is impossible because man can only belong to himself. Since no spiritual order exists, man has to create his own values and moral concept, he has

to find his own meaning of life. O'Neill has expressed his emphasis in a letter to George Jean Nathan:

> [The play] is a symbolical and factual biography of what is happening in a large section of the American (and not only American) soul right now. It is really the first play of a trilogy that will dig at the roots of the sickness of today as I feel it - the death of the old God and failure of science and materialism to give any saticfactory new one for the surviving primitive religious instinct to find a meaning for life in, and to comfort its fear of death with. (Cargill, 115)

O'Neill's own comment makes clear that The Hairy Ape is no criticism of the industrialized society respectively the effects that modern technique brought for man's identification with his labor. It is rather a critique of the loss of a spiritual refuge in this society. Therefore the industrial setting of the play rather establishes a certain *milieu* than it would denounce the dehumanizing effect of the mechanized work. To be sure, the workers in The Hairy Ape are apish brutes, rather animals than human beings. But O'Neill's criticism focuses on their spiritual loneliness, not on the working conditions. The fact that the stokehole only serves as a stage setting for the first four of eight scenes emphasizes this fact; in Kaiser's drama, the entire action takes place within the factory.

D. Individual and masses

The discussion of the individual and the masses as well as their interrelationship in a drama that plays in an industrial setting, has protagonists belonging to a

certain class and class antagonism as a theme, is as necessary as complex. In the observation of the individual and his affinities to the mass, the audience learns about man's fundamental situation, his longings, his sociability. The masses themselves imply a complexity of their own: in their relationship to an individual, often a *Führer* , they can be seen as an individual itself, as a homogeneous entity, or as a complex, heterogeneous accumulation of individuals. Individual and mass infiltrate each other, influence each other, try to direct each other.

Expressionism has not been the "inventor" of the masses. It was rather naturalism that tried to reflect on amassement as a consequence of the 19th century industrial revolution and its succinct problems. Many expressionists, especially poets didn't consider the emergence of the proletarian masses as a literary topic at all. (Hohendahl, 123) Those who tried to cope with it mostly refused the naturalists' theory of man's genetic and biological determination and even modified the formers' concept of an accumulation of individuals as mass: they rather tried to see mass as an autonomous being with its own character traits and wanted to show that mass was more than the sum of its elements. (Hohendahl, 124) The individual, confronted by the mass has often only two alternatives: to become a part of it or to confront it and be destroyed by it.

"Mass" in an industrial context denotes the proletarians, who cannot produce and sell their own products but rather offer their labor energy to their employer, the capitalist who, according to Marx, owns the necessary capital and machines to initiate the working process. The worker is not self-, but other-directed: he becomes alienated from the work process and the product of his labor, that does not belong to him. The industrial production of the 19th century is based on the division of labor: the individual worker becomes a part in a work process that he can't control anymore, he becomes a cog in the machine, a part of the mass. Being in a fixed relationship to their employer, the workers don't develop a relationship to their co-workers; alienated from the product of their labor, they become alienated from themselves. (Bussmann, 30/31)

The economically based amassement infiltrates the individual insofar as it tends to dominate his social and private sphere; it influences his will, his feeling of responsibility, his activity. (Bussmann, 32) The individual who is a part of the mass --as opposed to the individual as *Führer* -- loses his personality, becomes an anonymous part that acts collectively. His characteristic traits are normally described as negative designations, as losses compared to his former status. The mass is generally described as less intelligent than the *Führer* , dominated by subconscious instincts, lacking personality

and susceptible to irrationality, suggestion and emotionality. (Hohendahl, 125)

Apart from the social implications of the amassement and the expressionists' interest for its consequences, the industrial milieu and especially the class antagonism offers a wide array of dramatic and stage-technical possibilities. Both the American and the German dramatist employ antithetic dialogues between the individual, the *Führer,* and the industrial masses. The extent to which one of the antagonists occupies the discussion or triumphs over his opponent illustrates the respective author's emphasis on either the situation of the individual and his quest for self-identity, or the alienation of the industrial masses with the focus on social circumstances. These two aspects are of course not totally discernible: especially if the mass is not seen as an entity, but rather as a number of individuals, the alienation of the single proletarian touches the question of his integration and identity.

Both authors, as critics have mentioned, have been influenced by the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. The interpretation of the antique drama as well as the "social philosophy" of the German philosopher is present in both dramas. There are obvious congruities as well as differences between Nietzsche's concept of the "superman" and Kaiser's "New Man." Apart from that, Nietzsche understood tragedy, as he explained in The Birth of Tragedy, as an

"amalgamation of 'barbarous' Dionysianism and Apollonianism," (LaBelle, 436) that was reflected on stage in the dialogue between chorus and individual. Although the differentiation does not exactly occur in the expressionist drama, both plays have impressive chorus-scenes: in The Hairy Ape, the Dionysian celebration among the workers in the stokehole sets the background for the antagonistic clash between Yank's vitalism and Long's socialist vision respectively Paddy's nostalgia. In the "Gas"-dramas, the confrontation takes place on a stage in the factory: the opponents, Billionaire's Son and Engineer try to persuade the workers of their technocratic ideal respectively the humanist utopia; the masses repeat the key terms of the discussion chorus-like. A comparison of the plays shows that both authors employ the same mode of automatic repetition that displays the automation of their working and thinking habits as well as the tendency of the mass to act collectively and to submit to irrationality and suggestive persuasion:

> Yank [Resentfully] Aw say, youse guys. Lemme alone. Can't youse see I'm trying to tink?
> All [Repeating the word after him as one with cynical mockery] Think! [The word has a brazen, metallic quality as if their throats were phonographic horns. It is followed by a chorus of hard, barking laughter.]
> (The Hairy Ape, 194)

> Billionaire Worker: (...) Roll the dome clear!
> (Silence.)
> Voices upon Voices: Roll the dome clear!
> All the Voices Together: Roll the dome clear!
> Billionaire Worker: Stretch the wire that shall flash your message around the earth's circle!
> Voices: Stretch the wire!
> Voices upon Voices: Stretch the wire!
> All the Voices Together: Stretch the wire!
> (Gas II, 25)

Apart from the importance for the dramatic dialogue of the play, the chorus also has a unique quality in terms of a scenic impression upon the audience. In the Second Act of Gas I, following the explosion, three workmen come to see the Billionaire's Son. They come as representatives of all workers and demand the rebuilding of the factory and the resumption of work. In this scene, the mass evolves as a homogeneous entity. Not only do all workers want to resume work although the explosion has killed many of them, but the three delegates also act in perfect oneness:

> First Workman: The Engineer must go!
> Second Workman: He must go today!
> Third Workman: His going must be announced at once!
> (Gas I, 27)

Yet there are more individualized traits in the mass. The Fourth Act, in which different workers appear on the platform to tell the mass of their mutilations, of the alienation between them and their brothers, sons or husbands has already been described. Not only are some of the workers here personalized to a certain extent, but they also show an awareness of their situation. But they nevertheless still figure as an entity and the different speakers rather proclaim the feelings and thoughts that dominate the mass at this moment: they act as mouthpieces of the collective. (Hohendahl, 128) The different orators do not divide the mass into a differentiated social structure, but rather provide it with the possibility of

an interior monologue. (Hohendahl, 128) This is obvious in the solidarity that the speakers experience from their fellow workmen: men offer themselves as brother to the girl, as son to the mother and the workers from the circumvening factories also declare their solidarity.

The scene also emphasizes the workers' susceptibility to emotions while their intellectual capacity seems to be rather limited, a fact that foreshadows the eventual triumph of the Engineer's rethoric persuasion. As already mentioned, the workers' delegates do not understand --or want to understand-- the Billionaire's Son's logic when he attempts to explain to them the futility of a dismissal of the Engineer. Limited in their intellectual scope because they are used to concentrate on the lever, the sight-tube, the switch-block, the workers do not understand the complicated vision and explanations of the factory owner; the dismissal of the scapegoat is the easiest way to relieve themselves of the memory of the dead and of the awareness of the next dooming catastrophe in the rebuilt factory. (Bussmann, 81)

The argument between the Billionaire's Son and the Engineer in the Fourth Act of Gas I illustrates the behavior and the intellectual capacities of the mass because the workers are the object that the opponents try to persuade to accept their vision: the workers response to the orators defines their social and intellectual position. The Billionaire's Son tries to awaken the

awareness of their own humanity in the workers. "Be human" is his demand to the masses, anticipating the existential philosophy of Karl Jaspers in the urge to develop all human capacities within oneself. Interestingly enough, the Billionaire's Son himself designates the workers as a homogeneous entity:" A thousand ties bind you to all about you. Now you are parts--each is a perfect unit in the great Commonwealth. The whole is like a body--a great living body." (Gas I, 76) The difference to the well-known image of man as a cog in the machine is that in this case the imaginary body describes humanity and not the working process; it is therefore according to the Billionaire's Son's vision man's longing to be a part of this greater body. Nonetheless, the parts are even here not individualized but remain a part of a greater unit. The fact that the Billionaire's Son has to remind the workers of their humanity tells the story of their labor conditions and the implicit dehumanizing effect. He offers the vision of a rural commune, in which a new beginning can be made:

> All that you demand--I will grant--To-morrow you shall be free human beings--in all their fulness and unity! Pastures broad and green shall be your new domains. The settlement shall cover the ashes and the wreckage which now cover the land. You are dismissed from bondage and from profit-making. You are settlers --with only simple needs and with the highest rewards--you are men--Men! (Gas I, 77/78)

The announcement of the new freedom and the urge to leave the hall, to come into the open, is greeted by

silence. The Engineer climbs the platform. He appeals to the emotions of the mass. He awakens the pride of the workers by dismissing the "New Man" of the Billionaire's Son as a peasant and evokes a negative association with the rural dream of his opponent. Offering his own dismissal to re-integrate the crowd into the technocratic utopia, he supports the self-identification of the proletarian with his labor:" It is *your* work which creates these miracles in steel!" (Gas I, 79) The scenic image supports the impression of the Engineer's rhetoric: while he addresses the mass from the platform, the Billionaire's Son, who has descended from the stage answers from below. The irrationality of the workers in this scene is absolute. Not only do they accept the Engineer whose dismissal they had demanded only hours ago as their leader; they also respond to the incitement for a self-identification with their work although they had announced their awareness of the mutilating effect of the machine and the dehumanizing effect of the work in the preceding act.

The mass submits to the vision of the Enginer because his ideas are based on well-known conditions; while the ideas of the Billionaire's Son are new and unknown, the Engineer appeals to restorative and conservative behavior among the workers who are not open to innovations. In addition, his thoughts are simple and practical as well as easy to understand while the utopia of his opponent is abstract and complicated. (Bussmann, 83)

In The Hairy Ape, the mass is not functionalized to the same extent as in Gas I or in Gas II. In the opening scene, the workers are shown in accordance with Nietzsche's concept of the Dionysian chorus: they are shouting, cursing, laughing, singing and enjoying themselves without any reflection upon their working conditions. They act as homogeneously as the workers in the "Gas"-trilogy only that they are even less aware of the dehumanizing conditions of their work. They act instinctively, do their mechanized work and swear against the Engineer rather as an instinctual resentment against drudgery than in conscious revolt. Their animal-like behavior is enhanced in their mocking irony towards human behavior and emotions; chorus-like, they repeat the words "Think" and "Love" with cynical mockery.

O'Neill uses two human abilities that essentially distinguish a human being from an animal: his reason and the ability to love. At the beginning of the play, Yank is respected for his superior strength because he is "broader, fiercer, more truculent, more powerful, more sure of himself than the rest." (The Hairy Ape, 166) He is nevertheless one of them and not a *Führer* in the sense of the intellectually superior Billionaire's Son: as their "most highly developed individual," he represents their instinct in a more "sophisticated" way yet he cannot take responsibility for them. His position is insofar parallel to the one of the Engineer in Gas I as he

represents continuity of the work process, pride in one's own labor, identification with the machine. Both Yank and the Engineer try to destroy what they feel to be an obstacle to their feeling in harmony with technique: Yank wants to blow up the steel trust by joining the I.W.W., and the Chief Engineer of Gas II invents the poison gas to destroy the Figures in Yellow. Yet there is a basic difference: the Engineer respectively Chief Engineer is sure of his position whereas Yank struggles to find his place in the environment he was born into, once this feeling of "belonging" is destroyed.

When Paddy mocks Yank for having fallen in love, this is not am entirely false statement. Although Yank is rather puzzled and bewildered by Mildred's appearance in Scene Four, love will be one of the options for him when he gropes for a new direction in life. Desperate as he is, Yank shifts between destruction of the enemy by attacking the Gentlemen on Fifth Avenue or by joining the I.W.W. and love: the concluding scene in the Zoo, anticipating Edward Albee's Zoo Story is a passionate attempt to find the self through the affection of any other creature. The fact that it is an animal that Yank addresses himself to only emphasizes the desperation and his isolation. As he can't seem to belong to either the spiritual or the animalistic sphere, he has to try different escapes from this solitude.

Both Paddy and Long are not members of the group of stokers who acts in solidarity like the "Gas"-workers. Whereas the girl, the mother and the woman are exponents of feelings that all the workers share, Paddy and Long represent alternatives to the existing conditions just as the Billionaire's Son and the Billionaire Worker do. Long, the socialist, tries to abandon class consciousness and blames the "damned Capitalist class" for the worker's life in hell. (The Hairy Ape, 171) He embodies some of the ideas that the Billionaire's Son may have considered when he introduced the concept of profit-sharing in the factory. It should nevertheless be kept in mind that Gustav Landauer, who most probably provided his friend Kaiser with his socialist-utopian ideas, rejected Marxism that according to Landauer didn't abolish the organization strategies of capitalism, but rather adopted them and only exchanged the power positions. (Durzak: Drama, 157) Consequently the socialist experiment in Gas I runs aground: the workers labor even harder to increase their share of the profit and thus increase automation and dehumanization.

While Long represents the future, the classless socialist society, Paddy longs for the romantic freedom of the past. His vision may come closest to the one of the Billionaire's Son. He emphasizes freedom of man and the soothing influence of nature upon man. A comparison between the two shows that their ideas are congruent

except for the existentialist impetus of the former:

> Paddy: For the day that was, was enough, for we was free men-and I'm thinking 'tis only slaves do be giving heed to the day that's gone or the day to come ...And there was the days, too. A warm sun on the clean decks. Sun warming the blood of you, and wind over the miles of shiny green ocean like strong drink to your lungs. (The Hairy Ape, 174)

> Billionaire's Son: The peasant in you has been overcome-- and now the Workman in you must be overcome--and Man must be the goal! (Gas I, 82) In you the heavens reflect themselves and the surface of the Earth is covered with the garment of many- coloured grasses--as with a flood. The Day's work is great and full of gladness... (Gas I, 77)

A further difference lies within the very position of the two speakers within the play. The Billionaire's Son is an alternative to the Engineer's mechanized world; the mass is audience to an antithetical dispute that is dissolved in the workers' decision to follow the Engineer. In The Hairy Ape, Paddy's restorative nostalgia and Long's socialist utopia are readily dismissed by Yank as long as he still feels that he belongs to the machine. It is only later when he has lost his former security that Yank tests these alternatives. The attempt to join the I.W.W. resumes Long's anti-capitalist tirades. The brotherly embrace with the gorilla is not only an escape back to nature as Paddy proclaims it, but it is also a step back into the past, down the ladder of human evolution into primeval times.

Interestingly enough, Long and Paddy never address themselves to the workers in The Hairy Ape. While the Engineer and the Billionaire's Son in Gas I try to persuade the masses to accept their vision, the proletarians in O'Neill's drama are never the center of the dramatic development. It is only Yank who defends his identity against socialism and nostalgia. The focus is obviously rather on the individual than on the industrial masses in The Hairy Ape. O'Neill emphasizes this concern through two basic intellectual conditions: on the one hand, Yank is not sophisticated enough to function as a real leader in an intellectual argument: he can represent his machine-identity, but he is not able to argue ideologically. On the other hand are the masses even more stupefied than the "Gas"-workers: their complacency diminishes their importance for the drama and further enhances Yank's position.

E. Metaphysical and social alienation

Besides the above mentioned different mental conditions, there is also a difference in the dramatic structure of the plays in hand that support a different emphasis. In Kaiser's Gas I, the "attack," that poses the major dramatic question:" Does technology reach beyond human limits?" comes with the explosion of the gas. The rising action leads to the crisis that peaks with the ideological dispute between the Billionaire's Son and the Engineer. The resolution is marked by the workers' deci-

sion to follow the Engineer, yet the announcement of the daughter of the Billionaire's Son that she will give birth to the "New Man" keeps the outcome open and foreshadows Gas II.

In The Hairy Ape, O'Neill poses the central dramatic question:" Where does man belong to?" The "attack" comes with Mildred's descent into the stokehole and the confrontation with Yank; the action henceforth rises to the tragic climax in the gorilla cage, that embodies a final solution. The discussion of technocracy versus humanity thus occurs before the major dramatic question is posed. Yank's dismissal of Paddy's and Long's ideals, and the apathy of the workers decides the fate of the masses before the drama shifts to its dramatic concern for the individual, for Yank and his "belonging." The industrial context thus loses importance: the socialist respectively nostalgic ideals rather serve to emphasize --in the juxtaposition--Yank's integration and "belonging" in the beginning.

In Kaiser's drama, the antithetical discussion that is at the center of Gas I as well as Gas II poses the question of the fate of the industrial masses: although the existentialist "humanization" of the individual has some bearing on the behavior of the mass, the focus is nevertheless on the mass as a social entity. The impression that both authors conceive of different questions and problems in the context of industrialization and dehumani-

zation is nevertheless not only founded in the observation of a different dramatic structure.

As already shown above, the situation of the proletarian gas workers resembles the theories that Marx brought forth concerning the alienation from the product of one's work and from oneself. The girl, the mother and the woman tell how their brother, their son, their husband became mutilated, became alienated from them, became a part of the machine:" Is not every man a mere part, interchangeable with other parts--and the works go on?" (Gas I, 67) If we consider the whole trilogy, we can distinguish a development from The Coral to Gas II. In The Coral, social misery of the masses remains in the background: the opening scene where the secretary distributes charity to the poor only serves to show how the Billionaire has replaced himself with a perfect double in order to escape from social misery, from the memory of his unhappy childhood. The individual problem of the Billionaire, his attempt to rebuild a happy childhood through his secretary and his son, and the eventual murder of the secretary occupy the center of the play. (Steffens, 116) The drama thus starts in a "purposefully sociological air" only to retreat into the problemacy of the individual. (Kentworthy: Ambiguity, 108)

The Coral thus seems to resemble The Hairy Ape more than the other "Gas"-dramas. We are nevertheless not to forget that while Yank tries to find his identity and

attempts to re-integrate himself into some place in society, the Billionaire artificially creates his own world around himself: it is rather escapism than true search for self-identification that pervades The Coral.

Gas I and Gas II shift the focus to the fate of the industrial masses. Nonetheless there are still individuals dominating the stage; but these individuals try to influence the mass and direct them towards their vision. Even when it comes to the idea of the renewal of man, of the creation of the "New Man" and the focus shifts to the individual, it still assumes general validity: the Billionaire Worker as the "New Man" wants to lead the masses towards the fulfillment of the ideal of humanity and is insofar only a representative of an utopia that encompasses all human beings.

Although O'Neill criticized capitalism for "its exploitation of labor, politics and religion for their support of the status quo," (Lewis, 38) he was not essentially concerned with the fate of the industrial workers. Only some critics, such as Virginia Floyd in her new assessment of O'Neill's plays, have mixed up engaged criticism of capitalism and an industrial setting that emphasizes a primeval, instinctual habit of man (just as Tennessee Williams could use the jungle in The Night of the Iguana (1961) for a similar purpose). Floyd asserted that O'Neill, like Strindberg and the Central European expressionists, depicted man as "exploited and forced to cope

with social inequities." (Floyd, 238)

In an interview in 1924, O'Neill made clear that Yank rather struggles to assert himelf as a human being:" The only point involved in that play was did I or didn't I realize the stoker 'Yank'...did I convey, make visual, his struggle to affirm himself, to 'belong,' to make his 'I' mean something?" (Lewis, 39) This struggle obviously goes beyond 'social inequities' and labor conditions. Whereas Kaiser wanted to create the "New Man" as the basis for a new society, O'Neill focuses on the individual who wants to belong in a society that doesn't offer spiritual help; who wants to fulfill man's most urgent need: to have contact with another creature. The workers in Gas I are not isolated; they are members of a community. But Yank is alone in his world: rejected by the world of steel that he thought he belonged to, mocked by his fellow workers, patronized by the high society, misunderstood by the socialist workers, "misunderstood" also by the animal in the Zoo, and misunderstanding himself. To be sure, the dehumanizing effect of the machine in The Hairy Ape is not different from the one in Gas I. But Yank can nonetheless identify with steel as long as nothing infiltrates into this own world. Once he is attacked in this integrity, he has to learn that one can not identify with an inanimate thing such as steel. (Das, 59) So it comes down to the question what modern society has to offer as a substitute for the spiritual security that it has destroyed. This is

once more O'Neill's concern, "the death of the old God and failure of science and materialism to give any satisfactory new one for the surviving primitive religious instincts to find a meaning for life in.." (Cargill. 115)

The emphasis on the spiritual aspect that is hinted at in Yank's appeal to the man in the moon is further enhanced in Dynamo. Here, the machine has replaced the spirituality that it has destroyed with itself: the machine itself becomes the new God, made visual in the idol-like structure of the dynamo. Dynamo nevertheless doesn't offer a conclusive utopia since Reuben perishes when he wants to identify with the machine to the very extreme: the machine can't replace the human affection that he used to get from his mother whom he idolizes in the image of the machine. The mixture of spiritual search and Freudian motives of sexual psychology does not resolve any problem; the worship of the machine rather appears comparable to the technocratic fanaticism of the Chief Engineer in Gas II.

Kaiser's "New Man" has been described as one who dismisses envy, egotism, greed, as one who takes the bible quote "love thy neighbor" seriously, as an ideal Christian. (Arnold, 120) The philosophy of the Billionaire Worker in Gas II certainly includes various Christian elements such as the martyrdom and the renunciation of self-defense. Yet even the protagonist's assessment "your kingdom is not of this world" does not necessarily produce

a Christian vision; it rather designates a possible spiritual refuge for the workers and is thus closer to The Hairy Ape than Gas I that deals entirely with the social and economic conditions of the workers. Yet the Billionaire Worker fails, the possible spiritual escape is soon dismissed and the Engineer triumphs.

Taking Kaiser's sympathy for the Billionaire's Son and the Billionaire Worker, who embodies his "New Man" for granted, it becomes obvious that the dramas rather deplore the dehumanizing effect of industrialization than they would offer an actual alternative with the "New Man." The "extension" that runs through the "Gas"-trilogy illustrates how the dominance of industrialization --and the negative aspects associated with it-- increases regardless of the small spiritual hope that the Billionaire Worker announces. The Coral deals with an individual within the sphere of the factory, Gas I focuses on the mass of the proletarian workers, and Gas II eventually illustrates the human catastrophe that is brought about through the ultimate belief in technology. It is therefore the technological development that --just as in The Hairy Ape-- replaces spiritual and humanist ideals.

F. O'Neill and German Expressionism

The relationship between O'Neill and German Expresionism, especially Georg Kaiser is at the first glimpse confusing. On the one hand, critics have called O'Neill "the Georg

Kaiser of America" and described The Hairy Ape as "unthinkable without Kaiser and Toller." (Reger, 30/31) Many critics have also commented on the obvious similarities between Kaiser's From Morn to Midnight and O'Neill's The Emperor Jones. On the other hand, O'Neill was quoted as saying that he had never had a high opinion of the German play and that he hadn't known Kaiser's work prior to the New York production of From Morn to Midnight in 1922 which he "attended after he had already completed The Emperor Jones and The Hairy Ape." (Frenz: Kaiser, 172) O'Neill's Nobel Prize address, in which he emphasized his indebtedness to Strindberg reinforced the denial of a strong influence of the German expressionist theatre.

Mardi Valgamae has shown that O'Neill's acquaintance with the German theatre dates back to a course in playwriting with George Pierce Baker at Harvard. O'Neill began at this time to learn German in order to read Nietzsche and Wedekind in the original and admitted in a letter to George Jean Nathan in 1920 that he was "familiar enough with the best modern drama of all countries," among them obviously German expressionism. (Valgamae, 28/29) Horst Frenz, in his Eugene O'Neill, has compared The Emperor Jones and From Morn to Midnight:

> Thematically, both plays deal with the externalization of internal emotional states, the radical, subjective transformation of objective reality as a result of an extreme psychological crisis. The central figure in each play is driven by an overwhelming emotional force, which, growing increasingly stronger, finally shatters the conscious, rational control of the intellect in the apprehension of reality. (Frenz: O'Neill, 33)

Structurally, the jungle scene in O'Neill's drama and the snow scene in From Morn to Midnight resemble each other; in addition, the former play, like Kaiser's drama --and like Gas I and Gas II-- adheres to the form of the *Stationendrama* , initiated by Strindberg and later adopted by the German expressionists. (Frenz: O'Neill, 33)

Frenz doesn't see O'Neill as a mere imitator because he perceives important differences. O'Neill thus focuses on the individual rather than on the industrial masses while Kaiser and most of the German expressionists were essentially social reformers:" As O'Neill himself has pointed out, the crucial problem of his plays is not the individual's relationship to society, but rather the individual's relationship to some superior power, to God." (Frenz: O'Neill, 33/34) Interestingly enough, when The Emperor Jones was produced in Berlin in 1924, "reviewers were amazed at the idea of importing such a play, for 'expressionist distortions of emotion were prevalent enough in Germany.'" (Valgamae, 30) The Hairy Ape received similar criticism. The contemporary English critic William Archer wrote that "in his opinion, 'The Hairy Ape' was a little too much in the latter-day German style." (Lewis, 37)

Similarities between The Hairy Ape and the "Gas"-trilogy, especially The Coral, are obvious. In both plays, a key scene contrasts the idle rich on deck of a vessel

with the hellish life of the workers in the stokehole. Nevertheless, whereas in The Hairy Ape Mildred descends into the stokehole and faints at the sight of Yank, in The Coral the stoker is brought to the upper deck and causes a *Wandlung* of the Billionaire's daughter to assume charitable tasks. Paddy's provocative question "Is it a flesh and blood wheel of the engines you'd be?" reflects the reduction of the machine workers in Gas I to a hand, a foot, an eye at the sight-tube, to an interchangeable part of the machine. (Blackburn, 118) Last but not least, critics have compared the split personality of Dion Anthony and William Brown in The Great God Brown and the transfer of personality from one to the other after the former's death with the Billionaire and his double, the Secretary in The Coral.

The influences are obvious and in an interview in 1924, O'Neill disclosed "that he employed the dynamic quality of German expressionism" in The Hairy Ape, "having gained familiarity with this technique primarily from his reading." (Cargill, 111)

There are also similarities in the dramatic devices that both authors employ. I have already mentioned the *Stationendrama* as one congruity. The importance of this dramatic structure lies in the substitution of --rather than the preparation for-- broader dramatic units through a series of scenes:" This is its means and method of reflecting a state or view of the world in which reality

has no truth any longer, and truth has no reality yet, and in which, therefore, truth can only be guessed at in spite of reality.." (Egri, 101) Both authors also employ an expressionist stage decoration that enhances the impression of enclosure. Especially in The Hairy Ape, the image of the cage or the prison runs through the whole play. The exposition describes the noise that the workers produce as "the bewildered,furious,baffled defiance of a beast in a cage." (The Hairy Ape, 165) O'Neill continues:" The effect sought after is a cramped space in the bowels of a ship, imprisoned by white steel. The lines of bunks, the uprights supporting them, cross each other like the steel framework of a cage." (The Hairy Ape, 165) The image of the cage prevails in the prison that Yank is thrown into as well as in the cage in which he symbolically eventually dies. Kaiser describes his setting in Gas II as a concrete hall, in which dusty beams of light fall from an arc-lamp. The impression is deliberately juxtaposed to the moment when the dome is opened in the Second Act to emphasize the contrast between nature, embodied by the sunlight, and the cold industrial atmosphere of the concrete dome.

Finally, we have another expressionist stage property, the typification of the actors. Kaiser used the "accepted expressionist device of labelling his figures according to their function, instead of distinguishing them individually by name." (Kentworthy: Ambiguity, 97) One effect that the expressionists searched for was a more imminent impression upon the audience. In an interview with the

New York Herald Tribune, published on March 26, 1924, O'Neill rejected this device:

> the newest thing now in playwriting is the opposite of the character play. It is the expressionist play. For expressionism denies the value of characterization. As I understand it, expressionism tries to minimize everything on the stage that stands between the author and the audience. (Cargill, 111)

O'Neill himself disagreed with this idea and claimed that the character Yank "remains a man and everyone recognizes him as such." (Egri, 99) Perhaps it is not only a question of the impression made upon the audience, but also one of the tasks that a play undertakes. The extreme typification of Kaiser's *Figuren* assumes a general validity for the conditions and developments that he illustrates in his plays. The focus on the individual and his situation as we have seen it predominantly in O'Neill's drama doesn't require a depersonalization since it doesn't aim at a goal as far-fetched as the creation of a "New Man" as the basis of a new society. Nevertheless, critics have marked that the stokers, the figures on Fifth Avenue and even Yank himself are only insufficiently characterized. (Frenz: O'Neill, 182)

Some years later, O'Neill changed his mind concerning the use of masks and the value of characterization. In his essay "Memoranda on Masks," that was published in 1932 in the American Spectator, he alluded to the use of masks as "the freest solution of the modern dramatist's problem

as to how --with the greatest possible dramatic clarity and economy of means-- he can express those profound hidden conflicts of the mind which the probings of psychology continue to disclose to us." (Cargill, 116) In the very same article O'Neill also recommended the use of masks for The Hairy Ape. The mask, that Kaiser had already used in From Morn to Midnight , should be used in a 'non-realistic theatre' in terms of 'inner drama' and 'inner reality': the theatre should 'be a refuge from the facts of life which...have nothing to do with the truth' and drive us 'deep into the unknown within and behind ourselves.' (Cargill, 116)

These are beliefs that O'Neill shared with the expressionists. It was always the goal of the anti-bourgeois theatre to get beyond ordinary truths and to probe under the surface of things. The typification nevertheless has yet another context for the theatre of Georg Kaiser. Critics have often claimed that Kaiser's drama lacks a coherent structure of thoughts in its theory, that it even had implicit contradictions. (Durzak: Theorie, 30) This view derives from Kaiser's assessment that equated expressionism with art itself, saw it as the climax of a historical development of art and excluded an artistic activism from the beginning. The goal of art thus became the progression of thinking while the object of the process became less important. The increasing typification of Kaiser's *Figuren* is thus only the expression of an increasing process of abstraction that reduces the drama-

tic action to a mere "intellectual game." (Durzak: Theorie, 34) Kaiser claimed:" writing drama means: to pursue an idea to the end," (Benson, 144) a theory that renders the "New Man" into an object that is only realizable in the ivory tower and remote from reality. (Benson, 142) An example for Kaiser's "intellectual game" is the establishment of the system of profit-sharing in Gas I, that, after it has failed, is easily dismissed in Gas II. The play thus seems to become a mere vehicle for an intellectual social experiment. In this respect, O'Neill's concern for the Hairy Ape and his situation appears a lot more sincere than Kaiser's humanist utopia.

Some questions concerning the validity of Kaiser's "ideology" remain. Wilhelm Steffens criticizes Kaiser's sociological critique of the industrialized society as emotional and pathetic. The political *verve* of the expressionists was, according to Steffens, often only the emotional structure over an illusionary and often non-political subjective basis. (Steffens, 45/46) He thus accuses Kaiser of exactly the faults that the latter attributes to the primitive, instinctual proletarians who submit to the emotional appeal of the Engineer. The expressonist look "inwards" implies the abandonment of any belief in external modifications as a tool towards the regeneration of man:" now social reform must start with the spiritual regeneration of the individual." (Kentworthy: Ambiguity, 96) Kaiser's pseudo-Rousseauan

idyll is therefore an inappropriate means to achieve the "New Man"; even more important, Kaiser's "reactionary pastoralism" is not even central to the Expressionist vision. (Sokel, 195)

This fact becomes even more obvious if we look into Kaiser's own essays from the years 1920-1922. In "Ein Dichtwerk in der Zeit" (1922), Kaiser emphasized his non-historic view of literature in general. He rejects the "costume" and "decoration" of history that only distorts the view of literature on life. This attitude produces a preference for the present, that is again comparable to the Futurists and their aesthetic revolt:" We will destroy the museums, libraries, academies of every kind.." (Marinetti, 22) In the following, Marinetti rejects the idea that antique art has any bearing on the condition of modern man:"

> And what is there to see in an old picture except the laborious contortions of an artist throwing himself against the barriers that thwart his desire to express his dream completely?...Admiring an old picture is the same as pouring our sensibility into a funerary urn instead of hurling it far off, in violent spasms of action and creation.
>
> (Marinetti, 22)

I have already shown how the question of nostalgic past and utopian vision occupies Yank once that his security to belong into the present is destroyed. In Kaiser's trilogy, it is The Coral that reminds the reader of the Futurist Manifesto. Act Two finds the Billionaire, his Daughter, the Museum Director, the Doctor and the Captain on board

of the Billionaire's yacht. The Museum Director refuses to accept an old painting offered by the Billionaire and incites a discussion with the doctor:

> Museum Director: In the new museum I am to be the director of, my aim is to achieve a complete break with the past, however recent[...] And that very circumstance will be a spur to new productions. Emphatically a beginning. Which means especially no more dissaproving criticism based on comparisons with what has gone before. We are all sitting in that shadow - in one way or another it is a source of torment to us all. (The Coral, 29)

This is the "new moiderin' de old" that Yank proclaims. The difference between O'Neill and Kaiser lies in the respective bearing of this view for man and his situation; while Yank will learn that his self-identification was wrong, Kaiser uses the present as a place to experiment for the future. Gas and workers are only means of the present to reach into infinity, into the sphere of Kaiser's "New Man." (Kaiser: Stuecke, 678) In another essay called "Der kommende Mensch" (1922), Kaiser described man as the strongest figurative expression of energy; drama, on the other hand, is a form of energy and its highest goal is to express this energy. This emphasis moves Kaiser's view of man close to the Futurists. He is probably closer than most expressionists that, as I have mentioned, reversed the premises of Futurism and criticized capitalism for its exploitation of man. Kaiser's intellectual artifact deals with man and his condition as a presupposition, but he never seems seriously concerned for his protagonists.

The abandonment of a mode of production is obviously not the way to realize the "New Man" who wants, as opposed to the vitalist's action for its own sake, "action guided by reason in the cause of love." (Sokel, 173) The industrial modern society may be a place where man's inhumanity towards man is more obvious than in another environment, but the change must nevertheless come from within. This is the lesson Kaiser learns between Gas I and Gas II: the rural utopia of the former play, that only cures the symptoms but not the disease is replaced by the urge for internalization in the latter drama. It is only that Kaiser's "New Man" still remains an artifact and never seems to become a real alternative. His clashes with reality always end with destruction or suicide; he therefore appears rather as the embodiement of an idea like many of Kaiser's *Figuren* than as an actual human being. (Schürer, 102) Brian Kentworthy goes so far as to see Kaiser's "New Man" as a "tranquilizer of his social conscience," as a method to evade reality very much like the Billionaire in The Coral protects himself from the reality of his past:

> It seems, then, that the ethical attitudes of the New Man are the artistic means of salving the dramatist's conscience, of resolving the tension arising out of a sense of social responsibility and the recurrent temptation to escape from this harsh world into a world of fancy. The concept of the moral regeneration of humanity embodied in Kaiser's New Man may well be a compensation for this uneasy sense of guilt..
> (Kentworthy: Ambiguity, 105/106)

O'Neill follows a different path since he does not attempt to imagine a solution for the spiritual isolation of the individual. His heroes perish very much like the expressionist "New Man:" Yank is crushed to death, and Reuben Light dies in the electric current of the dynamo: both have not achieved spiritual harmony. The congruities between O'Neill and Kaiser seem nevertheless to be more prevalent than formerly thought. We have already seen that O'Neill employed many expressionist stage devices and properties and was obviously more influenced by the German drama than he wanted to admit. But furthermore, the differentiation that critics have made between Kaiser as the activist who is concerned with "the liberation of man from social and political evils" and O'Neill as the "mystic, concerned with the liberation of man's soul," (Frenz: O'Neill, 182) is inappropriate. Especially in Gas II, Kaiser focuses on man's inner *Wandlung* as the presupposition for a new society. It is true that for Kaiser the impact of the machine and its dehumanizing effect is more important as a disease to be done away with; it is also true that he is rather concerned with the industrial masses than O'Neill. But while Gas I attempts a liberation of man from the industrial bondage and believes that it can thus create a free human being, Gas II and The Hairy Ape show some congruities: in the former, internalization is offered as utopic salvation for the individual within the mass as the basis of a new society; in the latter, an industrial setting serves to emphasize

the primeval condition of an apish brute, that has lost its spiritual belonging and cannot find a sphere to "belong" to. In both dramas, human beings who identify instinctively with their work are awakened to the consciousness of their spiritual alienation. Both authors believe in a spiritual regeneration of man; yet O'Neill's individual protagonist as well as Kaiser's industrial masses eventually perish. Man has lost his spiritual security, and neither Yank nor the gas-workers find something new that they can "belong" to.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Kaiser, Georg. The Coral. 1917. New York: Ungar, 1963.

" Gas I. 1918. New York: Ungar, 1957.

" Gas II. 1920. New York: Ungar, 1963.

" Stücke. Erzählungen. Aufsätze. Gedichte. Ed. Walter Huder. Koeln, Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1966.

O'Neill, Eugene. Dynamo. New York: Horace Liveright, 1929.

" The Emperor Jones. 1921. Anna Christie. 1922. The Hairy Ape. 1922. New York: Vintage, 1972.

Secondary Sources:

Arnold, Armin. Die Literatur des Expressionismus. Sprachliche und thematische Quellen. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966.

Benson, Renate. German Expressionist Drama. Ernst Toller and Georg Kaiser. London: Macmillan, 1984.

Blackburn, Clara, "Continental Influences on Eugene O'Neill's Expressionistis Dramas." American Literature, 1941 (May), 13. 109-133.

Bussmann, Rudolf. Einzelner und Masse. Zum dramatischen Werk Georg Kaisers. (Monographien Literaturwissenschaft Band 41) Kronberg/Ts.: Scriptor, 1978.

Cargill, Oscar (Ed.). O'Neill and His Plays. Four Decades of Critizism. New York: New York University Press, 1961.

Das, P.N., "The Alienated Ape." The Literary Half-Yearly, 1970, Vol. XI (1). 53-69.

Durzak, Manfred. Das Expressionistische Drama. Carl Sternheim-Georg Kaiser. München: Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978.

" , "Georg Kaiser's Theorie des Dramas." Georg Kaiser. Ed. Armin Arnold. (LGW-Interpretationen 49) Stuttgart: Klett, 1980. 30-36.

Egri, Peter, "'Belonging' Lost: Alienation and Dramatic Form in Eugene O'Neill's *The Hairy Ape* ." Critical Essays on Eugene O'Neill. Ed. James J. Martine. Boston: Hall, 1984. 77-113.

Falk, Doris V. Eugene O'Neill and the Tragic Tension. An interpretive Study of the Plays. New York: Gordian, 1982.

Floyd, Virginia. The Plays of Eugene O'Neill. A New Assessment. New York: Ungar, 1985.

Frenz, Horst. Eugene O'Neill. New York: Ungar, 1971.

" , "Eugene O'Neill and Georg Kaiser." Eugene O'Neill. A World View. Ed. Virginia Floyd. New York: Ungar, 1979. 173-185.

Gittleman, Sol, "Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* and Georg Kaiser's *Gas I* : Film, Literature, and the Crisis of Technology." Die Unterrichtspraxis 1979 (Fall), Vol. XII (2). 27-30.

Hohendahl, Peter Uwe. Das Bild der bürgerlichen Welt im expressionistischen Drama. Heidelberg: Winter, 1967.

Kentworthy, Brian J. Georg Kaiser. (Modern Language Studies. Ed. J. Boyd) Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957.

" , "Georg Kaiser: The Ambiguity of The Expressionist New Man." Georg Kaiser. Eine Aufsatzsammlung nach einem Symposium in Edmonton/Kanada. Ed. Holger A. Pausch & Ernest Reinhold. Darmstadt, Berlin: Agora, 1980. 95-111.

LaBelle, Maurice M., "Dionysus and Despair: The Influence of Nietzsche upon O'Neill's Drama." Educational Theatre Journal 1973 (December), Vol. 25 (4). 436-442.

Lewis, Ward B. Eugene O'Neill. The German Reception of America's Forst Dramatist. (Germanic Studies in America, No. 50) New York, Frankfurt: Lang, 1984.

Marinetti, F.T. "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism 1909." Futurist Manifestos. Ed. Umbro Apollonio. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973. 19-24.

Meixner, Horst, "Drama im Technischen Zeitalter - Die Expressionistische Innovation." Expressionismus - sozialer Wandel und künstlerische Erfahrung. Ed. Horst Meixner & Silvio Vietta. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1982. 30-40.

Reger, Erik, "The Georg Kaiser of America (1929)." Eugene O'Neill's Critics. Voices from Abroad. Ed. Horst Frenz & Susan Tuck. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1984. 30-32.

Schürer, Ernst, "Die Gas Dramen." Georg Kaiser. Ed. Armin Arnold. (LGW-Intrepretationen 49) Stuttgart: Klett 1980. 92-110.

Sokel, Walter H. Writer in Extremis. Expressionism in Twentieth-Century German Literature. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1959.

Steffens, Wilhelm. Georg Kaiser. Velber: Friedrich, 1969.

Valgamae, Mardi. Accelerated Grimace. Expressionism in the American Drama on the 1920's. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1972.

Wik, Reynold M. Henry Ford and Grass-roots America. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972.