CHAPTER III

Stylistic Layers - (i)

Expressionistic Design

The next phase of Eugene O'Neill's experimentation was the change from the Realism of the sea plays to Expressionism.

I - Definition

It is difficult to construct a coherent picture of Expressionism as, in fact, of any movement in the theatre. Paintings, poems, films, plays survive and are ready to be analysed - but theatre productions vanish. This general disadvantage is especially injurious in the case of Expressionism for two reasons: this movement did not lay claim to any continuous tradition as did realism (its results were assimilated into the prevailing styles). Secondly, this style in play-writing operated in the closest association with the practices on the stage - then in a state of artistic expansion - such as stylised settings, experimental lighting arrangements, stage movement approaching dance and choral mass scenes, in all of which the emphasis was on the productions, not on the preserved texts. During the second phase of German Expressionism (1914-18) revolutionary production and acting techniques were adopted. The action was in front of the curtain, in the glaring light of projectors, and the emphatically sharp acting style started by Frank Wedekind was followed.¹

Social and national factors add to the complication. The extreme form of expressionism emerged in post-war Germany, with its broken social order, unrest, and militant humanism. The roots of the style, closely associated with a new view of the world, were in Wedekind and Strindberg. Elsewhere, the movement gained some foothold in the Soviet Union, in France, in Italy, and America - practically none in England. As a result, there are several schools of nationally modified expressionism even called by different names.² Expressionism certainly includes plays of a large stylistic variety.

Consequently, most definitions of Expressionism are presented without
excessive self-confidence. In fact, Expressionism is usually defined in negative
terms: as a departure from realism, as anti-naturalism or post naturalism.

According to John Gassner Expressionism was used,
both in the general sense of anti-realistic dramaturgy and in the
specific sense of an extravagantly subjective style as the second
radical phase of dramatic modernism. 3

Oskar Kokoschka, one of the early Central European expressionists, a playwright as
well as a painter, states the experimenter's point of view in a manifesto that he
must hearken closely to our inner voice and all that is required of us is to release
control... He further states that all laws are left behind and that one's soul is a
reverberation of the universe. 4 Strindberg in the preface to The Dream Play also sums
up the expressionists' approach to drama:

Anything may happen, everything is possible and probable. Time and space
do not exist. On an insignificant background of reality, imagination
designs and embroiders novel patterns; a medley of memories, experiences,
free fantasies, absurdities and improvisations. 5

Expressionism denotes attempt on the part of the artist to give the spectator a direct
experience of the essence of life rather than a representation of its surface. According
to a critic:

Expressionism was an attempt to seize the essence of life, without
the content of life. In this, it reflects the anxiety, the soul-searching,
the sense of crisis and insufficiency, sometimes the hysteria of a
generation. 6

The action of Expressionistic drama tends to de-emphasize the situations that
had been the main concern of naturalism. An expressionistic play is not characterised
by any logical plot-construction bound by time and space and sequence of action. Its
structure is frequently chaotic and disconnected. Life, by an expressionistic play-
wright, is experienced in spurts and snatches rather in logically organised patterns.
The playwright's purpose is to show critical moments of man's career in a jagged series
of explosive scenes. Symbols used by this form are intellectually developed and meant
to be directly perceived and interpreted as such. They are not used for their sugges-
tive power, as in representational drama. The settings are distorted or fragmented,
always to be considered as aspects of the theme rather than as indicating the locale
of the action; characters are individuals transferred into stark symbols or allegorical
types-deprived of a personal name - figures called merely Man, Woman, The unknown, and so on. Else they are frequently masked and symbolically costumed to isolate the single aspect of the personality which is of concern to the playwright. The characters split, double, multiply, evaporate, solidify, diffuse, clarify. But one consciousness reigns above them all - that of the dreamer. In scene-design an hysterical view of environment "leaning walls, doors and windows at impossible angles, writhing trees in human shape" gave an unearthly aspect to the once-familiar world. The expressionist relied on spectacular, theatrical devices for a large amount of his effects. The phantasmagoria of weird landscapes, of dreams where images and symbols are projected in bewildering and exaggerated shapes, colours, and patterns made of Expressionistic drama a scene designer's and stage electrician's holiday. No greater technical change than the introduction of the switch-board had ever been known, and for a generation theatre people were - to mix the metaphor-drunk with electricity. New shapes and colours hovered before them. The theatre came to be thought of in terms of light and, evermore perhaps, terms of shadow. The theatre maniacs ... needed a drama without substance so that light and colour and design could have pride of place. The playwright's efforts to present in visual form the aberrations of a distracted mind encouraged the designer to experiment freely. For instance in Kokoschka's Hiob (Job) a parrot suddenly explodes and rises in the shape of a rosy cloud to heaven. In George Kaiser's From Morn to Midnight (1916) the stage directions read: "The wind shakes the branches of a tree and the snow clings to it, forming the shape of a skeleton". Eerie landscapes appear, merge and alter in the disconnected sequences of a nightmare in Strindberg's Dream Play. In one of the stage directions the background is lit up by the burning castle and reveals a wall of human faces questioning, grieving, despairing. As the castle breaks into flames, the bud on the root opens into a gigantic chrysanthemum. Theatricalism is vividly exploited in the opening scene of Transfiguration (Ernst Toller) set in a vast military cemetery at midnight where the skeleton figure of death-by-Peace wearing a top-hat, and his companion Death-by-War wearing a steel helmet and carrying a human thigh bone as his field marshal's baton are prominent figures.

The weird atmosphere of Expressionism is clearly created in The Hairy Ape by
O'Neill where Yank has emerged from the fireman's fore-castle of a ship to confront the social set on Fifth Avenue, New York ... an environment which completely baffles and frustrates the protagonist: "(The crowd from church enter from the right, sauntering slowly and affectedly ... with a clamoring din)."

In striving for effect, the Expressionist was sometimes carried away by an excess of fantastic experiments. Among the changes wrought by Expressionism in the structure and the texture of the drama, those that effected its language were specially notable. Dialogue was subjected to weird abbreviations and distortions so that it became frequently violent, telegraphic and enigmatic. There were short bursts of machinegun staccato speech long, lyric monologues, sometimes exploiting the possibilities of rhythm and sharply marked tempo. The expressionist does not make a statement; he lets loose what we have come to recognise as the expressionist Schrei (scream). The characters frequently shout or bark their lines at the audience rather than exchange dialogue with their fellow-actors. Such telegraphic, elliptical, language created an unusual effect reinforcing the off-beat atmosphere and the strange characterisation. In this regard the contribution of August Stramm was invaluable. His plays have extended monosyllabic dialogues like the following: "I", "You", "No", "Yes", "Who", "How", "Thus" and so forth. This kind of dialogue is merely a scenario for a display of emotions rather than a vehicle for meaning. Although none of the Expressionists were as radical in their linguistic usages as Stramm was, they did learn from him the value of language as an indicator of feeling. Stramm showed that language could be poetically and dramatically effective if it was purposefully vague instead of analytically descriptive.

In The Adding Machine the device of staccato speech is used to lampoon the inanities of social conversation. Kaufman and Connally (Beggar on Horseback) make effective use of another technique — ridiculing hackneyed small talk by the empty chatter of four characters talking at once.

Another effect of telegraphic speech is to remove the human content and to give the speaker and the dialogue a sense of automatism. Beggar on Horseback satirises the mechanical effect of big business men.

In Ernst Toller's play about the post-war uprising Man and the Masses (1919) the
dialogue reads as follows in Louis Untemayer's translation:

Chorus
Some one tell the doorman:
five hundred
Gay
Young girls
Wanted here.
Meanwhile.....
We donate
We dance!

Help
The unfortunate.
Schools.
Barracks.
War.
Always.

The Guards: To the wall with him.
Nameless one: Guns loaded?
The Guards: Loaded.
The Prisoner (against the wall): Life! Life!

However, the language of the Expressionist drama was responsible for its
demise because its intensely personal and lyric quality no longer found any response
in the temper of the times and more because of its being unethical and incomprehensi-
ble.

In short, the term Expressionism - originally chosen around 1900 as an antithe-
sis to Impressionism in painting - however, did not become current in drama till World
War I, more precisely until the 1920's. Chief among the forerunners of Expressionism
were Frank Wedekind (Spring's Awakening, produced 1891) and August Stramm (The Storm).
The first recognised Expressionist playwright was Reinhard J. Sorge (1892 - 1916), German
poet steeped in the literature of the times. At first a Nietzschean, later a catholic,
he was always in rebellion against Zolaist Naturalism and dissatisfied with the Neo-
Romantic reaction against it. If Zolaism was life without art, Neo-Romanticism was
art without life. A new synthesis was needed that would acknowledge both the earthly
roots and the celestial longings of mankind. From this intention, the Expressionists
proceeded to make a new literature with many individual variations.

Sorge's Der Bettler (The Beggar), written in 1911 and produced in 1917 was an
epitome of the self-centred drama and a plea for a new theatre.

Among other German dramatists were Ernst Toller, Georg Kaiser, Franz Werfel,
and Walter Hasen Clever.
The influence of Expressionism outside Germany, however, was minimal excepting of course Strindberg. It seems to have been a way of thinking, peculiarly fitted to the ethos of the German thinkers at that particular time. Such influence as it had outside Germany has been limited to adaptations of Expressionist style rather than philosophy.

II - German Models and Parallelisms
(Points of contact)

The principal non-German experimenter with this technique was the American playwright Eugene O'Neill. In trying to find the correct context for his contribution in this field of experimentation, it is proper to quote at length Louis Broussard's introduction to expressionism which has strong overtones that make it appropriate as a definition of the American version of expressionism rather than of this style in toto:

Strindberg abandoned the photography of realism, the dramatic sequence of events, for a stream of consciousness in terms of stage symbols whereby the surface of life becomes disjointed, scattered, as in a dream, to suggest the inner reality which lies beneath that surface. Not concerned with externals, the dramatist explores the idea, the source of conduct until reality becomes a sub-consciousness and character mere abstraction. Scenes are often brief; they sometimes succeed one another without time sequence; they have neither order nor unity and they suggest as they alternate between reality and fantasy, between objective action and analysis, the disorderly, disconnected features of a psycho-analysis.

The passage is phrased more in terms of the individual than in terms of society; in fact, Broussard goes on to say that Hauptmann, Kaiser, Toller, and Capek added to this basic Strindbergian expressionism "social and economic issues". Linked to social causes the expressionistic plays were protests against the status quo, against materialism, mechanisation and militarism and were a plea for the rehabilitation of the human soul and the elevation of man. And this is one of the crucial points with reference to Eugene O'Neill.

O'Neill protested that he "did not think much" of Kaiser's plays because they were "too easy", and "would not have influenced me". Several American critics taking this denial at face value minimise his ties with the Germans and instead emphasise his indebtedness to Strindberg. Nevertheless, his attempts to objectify inner experiences by means of the forms of a stylised theatre have much in common with the techniques of the Continental Expressionists.
There is hardly any mention of George Kaiser in the indexes of recent books on O'Neill and even Robert Brustein who lists nine playwrights - from Audreiev to Wedekind - as the sources of O'Neill's inspiration, omits any mention of Kaiser and remarks that failure to account for the influence of the German Expressionists in general and Kaiser in particular makes it difficult to evaluate O'Neill's development as an experimenter with dramatic form. 15

O'Neill's acquaintance with German Expressionism dated back to his year at Harvard as member of George Pierce Baker's course in playwriting (1914-15). During his stay in Cambridge he learnt German in order to read Nietzsche and Wedekind in the original. Within a couple of years of his association with the Provincetown Players (whom he joined in 1916), O'Neill was thoroughly familiar with the new Continental drama. Mary Heaton Vorse, in whose fish-house on a Provincetown wharf the Players staged O'Neill's first play, is explicit in her and recollections of the discussion between O'Neill, Pierre Loving and herself, about several foreign dramatists, during which O'Neill told them "that he had just read the newer men in their original tongue". On her return from Europe in 1919 she also gave her impressions about the new German playwrights to O'Neill and other members of the Provincetown Group and described her meeting with the Expressionist play-wright, Ernst Toller and the International Socialistic Conference in Rome in February, 1919. 17 In June 1920, shortly before writing The Emperor Jones O'Neill himself admitted in a letter to George Jean Nathan that he was "familiar enough with the best modern drama of all countries". 18 O'Neill admitted having read George Kaiser's From Mom to Midnight (1916) before it was produced in New York in 1922 (though he denied having been influenced by it). 19 Indeed, between The Emperor Jones, and Kaiser's play there is a close resemblance in fable and form as suggested by Clara Blackburn. 20

In Kaiser's play, the seven relatively short scenes are held together by the figure of the cashier who has embezzled bank funds out of greed and is in flight like Jones. With the help of the monologues and the dizzy wanderings of this allegorical character, Kaiser presents the action of the play as seen through the eyes of the protagonist. When he thinks of death, for instance, a tree changes
into a skeleton and the skeleton appears again as a chandelier moments before the cashier commits suicide. Jones's shooting of the symbolic crocodile with the silver bullet is likewise a suicidal act. Similarly, the identically-dressed gentlemen at the bicycle races, the masked prostitutes in the cabaret scene and the Salvation Army penitents whose confessions reveal uncanny similarities with the Cashier's own situation, are emanations from the protagonist's unconscious mind, not unlike the vision of Brutus Jones. For the forest through which Jones must pass in order to reach safety is a jungle not only of physical trees but also of mental images ranging from the "Little Formless Fears" - an Expressionistic objectification of his guilty conscience which "creep out from the deeper blackness of the forest" i.e. from the inner recesses of his unconscious mind - to the crocodile god who rules over O'Neill's version of the heart of darkness.

These points of likeness between The Emperor Jones and From Morn to Midnight suggest the possibility that O'Neill may have been introduced to Kaiser's works by some acquaintance, who like Mary Heaton Vorse or later Robert Edmund Jones or Kenneth Macgowan returned from Germany full of enthusiasm for Continental drama and stagecraft. In the case of From Morn to Midnight, however, there was no need for O'Neill to read the German text because Ashley Duke's version of this work, the first German play to be translated into English after the War, was published in England in May, 1920. The same year (when O'Neill was working on The Emperor Jones), the same translation appeared in U.S.A. in the journal Poet Lore.

O'Neill himself revealed his Expressionistic technique in a letter to Harry Weinberger, written a little over a year after the completion of The Emperor Jones. Replying to Weinberger's query about the possibility of filming the play, O'Neill stated that the movie rights to Jones were not open at present and added by way of explanation:

I am working out a scheme for its filming along Expressionistic lines with the husband of my aunt-in-law - an Italian who worked for years as director of one of the biggest film companies over there. He has done some remarkable work in Italy along the lines that I would like to have Jones developed for the screen.

However, nothing came out of this project.
The opening scene of *The Hairy Ape* develops the cage image from the first scene of *From Mom to Midnight* and eliminates the "banality of surfaces" by requiring a setting that mirrors the distorted mental state of Yank. By specifying that the setting of the play "should by no means be naturalistic" O'Neill had probably in mind the stage techniques of the Continental Expressionists, for in a letter to Nathan the playwright expressed that Robert Edmund Jones ("Bobby" Jones) will do the eight sets which must be in the Expressionistic method.

O'Neill's use of nightmarish visual and aural effects in the stoke-hole and the creation of a subjectively distorted jeweller's window on Fifth Avenue are examples of his Expressionistic dramaturgy. The stoke-hole and the Fifth Avenue scenes are reminiscent of a scene in Kaiser's *Hell Road Earth* (Holweg Fode, 1919). It is noteworthy that O'Neill characterises the crowd of Fifth Avenue as "a procession of gaudy marionettes" and though his stage directions do not call for masks, he resorted to the use of this device in the original Provincetown production of the play in order to indicate the "identically haughty and vacant" faces of the people in the street.

At the end of this scene O'Neill objectifies in concrete, visual terms Yank's inner thoughts and portrays with symbolic action the outsiders' impotent attacks on organised society. Yank screams at the women, but "they seem neither to see nor hear him." He tries to jostle the man but he does not jar them, "rather it is he who recoll after each collision". He drives his fist into a fat gentleman's face, "but the gentleman stands unmoved as if nothing had happened". Finally, the fat gentleman announces that Yank's antics have made him lose his bus, and he calls for a policeman. In typically Expressionistic fashion, "a whole platoon of police man rush in" and subdue Yank.

The crowd at the window, continues O'Neill, have not moved or noticed this disturbance. The clanging gong of the patrol wagon approaches with a clamoring din.

Other scenes are less obviously distorted but when the play was made into a movie, O'Neill suggested the addition of an expressionistic scene to the script. "Yank after his frustrated I.W.W.experiences", *
wrote O'Neill to Robert F. Sisk of the Theatre Guild,

resolves he'll blow up steel all on his own. So, with this idea
in mind, he gets a job in the Nazareth works and you see him there
working for steel. ... He steals dynamite and sets it off. But
again, a fiasco and frustration. All his attempt does is to blow
down a section of wall and immediately an army of workers rebuilds
the wall up before his eyes (an expressionistic touch). 32

In addition to certain echoes from From Born to Midnight and Hell, Road, Earth,
parallels can also be drawn between The Hairy Ape and several other plays by Kaiser,
Yank's identification with steel at the beginning of the play, for example, can be
compared to the scene in Kaiser's Gas Part I (1918) in which a workmen's hand and
another's foot constantly making the same movement have come to dominate the machine-
controlled bodies and souls of these men. And as in The Hairy Ape, a key scene in
Kaiser's The Coral (1917) contrasts the idle rich on board a vessel with the toiling
stokers who suffer on deck below. 33 There is further similarity between Mildred and
the Billionaire's daughter from The Coral, whose knowledge of ships is confined to the
upper deck; and her brother, in a speech that reveals Kaiser's social conscience, gives
a preview of O'Neill's play:

There at the pier lies the 'Freedom of the Seas'. ... Flags, music.
Passengers in light clothes stroll on the decks - chattering; gay.
A few yards lower - hell. Men burn their quivering bodies in front
of fire - belching holes - so that we may have a speedy and snappy
ride! ... Idly we lie back in our chairs - and we wail about the
beat of the sun. We sip ice water. Dust does not irritate our
throats! ... And under the soft soles of your white shoes boils the
fever in semi-darkness! - Tear away this wall of wooden planks -
so thin, but dreadfully it divides! and look down - look down,
all of you! 34

O'Neill frequent use of rapidly moving short scenes has been compared to the
technique of the motion picture. Thus, Clifford Leech, 35 suggests that O'Neill's work
in The Emperor Jones and The Hairy Ape should be seen in relation to S. Eisenstein's
films Battleship Potemkin (1925) and October (1928) both of which post-date The Hairy
Ape. However, the basic principles underlying the form of The Hairy Ape may be more
profitably compared to those employed in the Expressionistic film, The Cabinet of
Dr. Caligari, created in Germany in 1919 and released in the United States in Spring
1921. The grotesquely distorted settings of the film including slanting walls, tilted
lanterns etc. painted by three Expressionistic artists affiliated with the Berlin
"Sturm" Group betny the deranged mentality of the protagonist and remind one of
O'Neill's settings for the forecastle and his use of the diagonal
row of prison cells in Scene Six. Like Caligari, The Hairy Ape is filled with juxta-posed areas of light and darkness. Whenever, for example, a furnace door is opened, the shadowy stoke-hole is illuminated by a flash of intense light. Mildred, a white apparition, is contrasted with the stokers, who are covered with black coal dust. The frail-looking heroine of the film is dressed in white to provide contrast with the subtle garments of her abductor. In the German film there is a scene in a prison cell, with light throwing a grotesque, geometrical pattern upon the crazily leaning walls. A prisoner, fettered to a huge chain and ball, sits in a cell in a sculptured posture. It is not inconceivable that O'Neill's lighting arrangements (and his use of the "Penseur" motif) was suggested by this Expressionist film, for he saw The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari in the summer of 1921 and communicated his reaction to a friend soon afterward: "I saw, Caligari and it sure opened my eyes to wonderful possibilities I had never dreamed before." O'Neill also admired the German Expressionist film Metropolis (1927) "for its camera effects." Six months later he recast an unpublished short story that contained "the germ idea" of The Hairy Ape in the form of a play characterised by Expressionistic distortions. In an interview published in November, 1922 O'Neill stated that the key to the understanding of The Hairy Ape was the fact that

the whole play is Expressionistic.

In another interview he remarked:

the real contribution of the Expressionist has been in the dynamic qualities of his plays,

for O'Neill felt that these plays expressed something in modern life better than did the old plays.

Then added,

I have something of this method in The Hairy Ape.

III - O'Neill's Distinctive Contribution

However, despite echoes of both German and Strindbergian style, O'Neill's Expressionistic technique has a distinctive character. While the German type Expressionism (Toller's Man and the Masses, Kaiser's From Mom to Midnight) was more
grotesque and the Strindbergian more permeating and fantastic (The Dream Play and The Ghost Sonata are the phantasmagoria of the author-poet in their entirety), Eugene O'Neill's was distinguished even from the American type.

In U.S. Expressionism was the last to arrive Strindberg's two most Expressionistic plays, The Dream Play and The Ghost Sonata, were published in 1902 and 1907 respectively. In Europe, on the other hand, it reached its peak between 1912 and 1925 and was paralleled in fiction by the work of Kafka and Joyce. In the American theatre its minor vogue occurred between 1920 - the date The Emperor Jones was published - and 1924, the date of Georg. Kaufman's and Marc Connelly's Beggar on Horseback.

Elmar Rice's The Adding Machine, presented on March 18, 1923 by the Theatre Guild projected the author's critical view of the American white-collar worker and commercial civilisation in dry, hard, Expressionistic symbols, not without mordant humour and emotion. Beggar on Horseback by George S. Kaufman and Marc Connel made hilarious fun of some of the same elements in an Expressionistic fantasy-rich, colourful, and high-spirited. In his review John Corvin remarked:

There are no beggars in this new Kaufman-Connelly comedy and, indeed, no horsebacks ... it bristles with sly and caustic satire, brims with novel and richly-coloured theatrical inventions. ... If it has any familiar element it is a dash of expressionism. ...

Howard Lawson's Processional (produced by the Theatre Guild in early 1925) was nearer the spirit of German Expressionism. It was described by the author as "a Jazz symphony of American life".

O'Neill's Expressionism was the result of an intense, inner, compulsive desire to say something, to dramatise a viewpoint, to devise a whole set of tools out of "some inner necessity". This outcry of the heart called for a new form of expression culminating into a perfect fusion of the style and subject matter. O'Neill explained his viewpoint in an interview:

The real contribution of the expressionist has been in the dynamic qualities of his play. They express something in modern life better than did the old plays. I have something of this method in The Hairy Ape.
In the same interview he makes an important distinction:

Expressionism denies the value of characterisation. ... As I understand it, expressionism tries to minimise everything on the stage that stands between the author and the audience. It strives to get the author talking directly to the audience. ... I personally do not believe that an idea can be readily put over to an audience except through characters. When it sees "A Man" and "A Woman" - just abstractions, it loses the human contact by which it identifies itself with the protagonist of the play ... the character Yank remains a man and everyone recognises him as such.

It is obvious that O'Neill discarded the Expressionistic faith in purely abstract characters, just as he violently opposed the shallow meticulousness of the naturalist which turned characters into mere individuals. When depicting characters, he always tried to strike a balance, a synthesis, between these two warring tendencies in the manner he tried to amalgamate the different styles in his plays.

O'Neill was acutely conscious of the difference between his own work in both The Emperor Jones and The Hairy Ape and that of the expressionists and was anxious to clear misunderstanding by critics—especially George Jean Nathan’s views of the term "realism". He, therefore, coined the term "Supernaturalism" which he felt adequately described Strindberg’s position (both historically and stylistically), his ability of transcending Naturalism without losing touch with recognizable reality. The term appeared in what might be called O'Neill’s first artistic manifesto, his programme note for The Spoon Sonata, produced on January 3, 1924, which deserves quoting in full:

Strindberg still remains among the most modern of moderns, the greatest interpreter in the theatre of the characteristic spiritual conflicts which constitute the drama - the blood - of our lives today. He carried naturalism to a logical attainment of such poignant intensity that if the work of any other playwright is to be called naturalism, we must classify a play like The Dance of Death as "supernaturalism"! ... Yet it is only by means of some form of "supernaturalism" that we may express in the theatre what we may express in the theatre; that we comprehend intuitively of that self-defeating self-obsession which is the discount we moderns have to pay for the loan of life. The old "naturalism" - or "realism" if you prefer (would to God some genius were gigantic enough to define clearly the separateness of these terms once and for all) no longer applies. It represents our Father’s daring aspirations towards self-recognition by holding the family Kodak up to ill-nature. But to us their old audacity is blague; we have taken too many snap-shots of each other in every greeseless position; we have endured too much from the banality of surfaces. We are ashamed of having peeked through so many key-holes, squinting always at heavy, uninspired bodies - the fat facts - with not a nude spirit
among them; we have been sick with appearances and are convalescing; we "wipe out and pass on" to some as yet unrealised region where our souls maddened by loneliness and the ignoble inarticulateness of flesh, are slowly evolving their new language of kinship.

Strindberg knew and suffered without struggle, years before many of us were born. He expressed it by intensifying the method of his time and by foreshadowing both in content and form the methods to come. All that is enduring is what we loosely call "Expressionism" - all that is artistically valid and sound theatre - can be clearly traced back through Wedekind to Strindberg's The Dream Play, There are Crimes & Crimes The Snook Sonata, etc.

Hence The Snook Sonata at our playhouse, one of the most difficult of Strindberg's "behind life" (if I may coin the term) plays to interpret with insight and distinction - but the difficult is, properly our special task, or we have no good reasons for existing. Truth, in the theatre as in life, is externally difficult, just as the easy is the everlasting lie. 44

By comparing this characterisation of Strindberg's work with O'Neill's description of the style employed in Welded, we will find virtually no difference between the two. Indeed O'Neill, as he strongly suggests in the Strindberg note, considered himself a (humble) pursuer of Strindberg's Supernaturalism. 45 Also we may not be wrong in substituting the term Supernaturalism for Expressionism in the case of O'Neill.

Here we should also note that O'Neill's use of the term "Supernaturalism" for The Dance of Death and reserving "behind life" for The Dream Play, There are Crimes & Crimes, and The Snook Sonata might suggest that he considered the mysticism, the departure from naturalism in the latter plays greater than in The Dance of Death. Such a reasoning presupposed that O'Neill uses both terms as descriptive of the form of the plays and was anxious to point out the difference in technique between them. Actually, there is no such thing. Most likely O'Neill considered the terms complementary and found the Supernaturalistic technique the fitting form for a behind-life drama, just as a Naturalistic technique would suit a play that limited itself to the description of surface reality.

O'Neill's The Emperor Jones and The Hairy Ape - manifestly Expressionistic contributions to this field of experimentation - as well as a group of others with meagre Expressionistic elements (most notably Welded, All God's Chillun Got Wings.
and Great God Brown) are not distinguished for mere theatrical effects but are a means towards an end, employed to underscore a plot situation - but more significantly - a character's state of mind.

In fact, the point of departure between O'Neill's Expressionism and that of others - the Europeans and even his American contemporaries - is that while he made his Expressionistic plays a study in character, others, it may be noted, subordinated character to purely theatrical gimmicks. The American playwrights used Expressionism as an auxiliary technique - as a means to an end - rather than as an end in itself as the German Expressionists did. Secondly, the American plays influenced by Expressionist technique are far more lucid and theatrically viable than their largely incoherent German counterparts.

For O'Neill characterisation was a recent artistic preoccupation and achievement. Unlike German leaders of the movement O'Neill as an Expressionist has his realistic plays behind him. Moreover, he had his very real experience as a sea-man: there was Driscoll, a friend of O'Neill as a model for Yank, while Jones is a man in a concrete situation and with a past (we certainly learn to know him better than, say, Sonja Irene L. in Ernst Toller's Men and Masses). O'Neill avoided the over-abstractness of the Germans. He wrote hero-centered plays, and his first Expressionistic hero Jones was not an idealised figure, rather he had affinities with the guilt-haunted heroes of O'Neill's earlier plays.

Both O'Neill and the German Expressionists rebelled against objective realism under the banner of Nietzscheanism. Yet under the influence of the recently initiated American realism O'Neill was closer - if at all - to Strindberg's "Psycho-expressionism" - especially in The Emperor Jones written in all probability with greater independence than its more consciously patterned descendant The Hairy Ape. The Emperor Jones belongs to that sect of Expressionism, sometimes called "monodrama", where the distortion is motivated "by a character's state of mind" and where that character is still a human being. From this point of view The Emperor Jones expresses stream-of-consciousness in terms of stage symbols: inner reality is suggested in dream-like fashion; the scenes are brief; they alternate between reality and
fantasy; stage-reality becomes subconsciousness, and sources of conduct are explored. Yet the hero does not become a mere abstraction. Here fantastic action and environment are dramatically related to the state of mind of an escaping Negro dictator while in the rather elementary Beggar on Horseback (which incidentally post-dated O'Neill's play) there is dissonance between real action and the main character's dream. Furthermore, in O'Neill's play there is a certain unity and order: the time proceeds backwards and the fear of the hero grows all the time. The play is out of the ordinary in that the theme is presented in a series of scenes or episodes rather than in the conventional three-act or five-act dramatic developments. The action is flashed upon the eye in a succession of pictures with dialogue accompaniment, and a symbolic or representative element in many of the scenes.

Further, the play was more easily amenable - than any of his other plays - to screen adaptations. When the screen version of The Emperor Jones was prepared by Du Bose Heyward, he submitted it to O'Neill, and the latter discovered that in many details it corresponded to the version he himself had in mind.

A brief analysis of the play will show O'Neill's independence of any models and the stamp of his personal style.

The play consists of a realistic exposition scene, a rapid series of six scenic pictures, all expressionistically shaped - and a return to realism - a familiar circular structure. Scene I set in the empty palace of the "Emperor" Jones, a ruthless robber, gives the first suggestion of a threat against him and is charged with ill-omens. Scene one is an opening pantomime in which are two sound effects - Jones's ringing the bell and "the faint, steady thump of a tom-tom, low and vibrating" starting at a rate exactly corresponding to normal pulse beat - 72 to a minute" and "gradually accelerating" to the very end of the play. This central scenic means of expression, the tom-tom - the play's pulse - is simply a sign that the Emperor's subjects have deserted him and gathered on the hills to start after him. The victim is still fully garnished in his uniform of self-importance:

He is a tall powerfully-built, full-blooded Negro of middle age with typically negroid
features and
an underlying strength of will, a hardy, self-reliant confidence in himself that inspires respect. ... He wears a light blue uniform coat...

(The palace setting interacts with the costume). Jones is, apparently, a man of stature. He has taken all the necessary precautions in case of a revolt; he has loaded his revolver with six bullets including the sixth mythical silver bullet which alone can kill him.

Thus the pendulum swing between self-assurance and fear gives an insight into Jones's character and is a central mental movement in the play. The hero's past is carefully narrated by O'Neill so as to enable us to place the ghosts of the forests, through which Jones takes flight, into their correct context. These details are given as hearsay, as legends surrounding a great man.

The visions of Scenes Three and Four are, thus, explained beforehand; after them the playwright is able to rely on the imagination of his audience. There is not, in fact, any abundance of distortion of the conventional type in this play; the non-realistic elements are based on the assumption that the audience will share Jones's visions and his fear of the ghosts of the past. Surrounded by the phantom creatures called "Little Formless Fears" which enter the stage from the forest, Jones embarks upon his fluctuating monologue which will last six scenes:

Cheer up, nigger, de worst is yet to come. ... 'Shat you gittin' fidgety about? (But he sits down and begins to lace up his shoes in great haste, all the time muttering re-assuringly) ... 54

As the play progresses and as Jones is stripped of his self-assuring costume, the ghosts are brought closer and closer to him, until he is made to participate in their action and the automaton effect utilized in scene after scene, is transferred to the description of Jones:

The expression of his face is fixed and stony, his eyes have an obsessed glare, he moves with a strange deliberation like a sleep walker or one in a trance. 55

The ghosts are mostly silent, so that the tom-tom beating all the time more wildly and the reports can be heard. To avoid over-schematisation O'Neill makes his hero use two bullets in a particular scene and lets him escape once (in the scene with
the negro slaves) without resorting to the weapon. This implies that Jones did not need to shoot because he belongs to their company. Another exception from a rigid patterning is a change in the "correct" time sequence. Jones goes further back in time, but the murder of the white guard, a recent but ominous crime, is presented after the scene with Jeff.

After dealing with Jones's individual past O'Neill explores the field of racial memory in order to build more and more horrible climaxes. Scene Five shows a group of Southern planters in an auction, about to sell Jones. The next glimpse transforms a claustrophobic forest setting into an interior of a slave ship. Jones joins his blood brethren in their chorus of despair; in his retrogressive flight he has now reached the level of "bush niggers". This remaining step from pantomime to dance is taken in this scene, in which a witch doctor performs an incantation. Jones is to be sacrificed to the crocodile god, present on the stage in his own person. To get rid of the charm Jones is compelled to fire his last bullet, the silver one, while the tom-tom reaches its mad climax.

Now it should be noted that The Emperor Jones primarily a play for two actors, a revolver, a tom-tom, a lighting apparatus, a cast of dancers, and several movable pieces of forest scenery is marked by a unique dramatic concentration partaking of fusion and interaction of various means of expression. It fulfills Peacock's definition of painting as

a unified image - pattern

where

all the elements of the scene are adjusted and assimilated to each other within one predominant visual purpose. 56

The device of the tom-tom as a striking, dominant sound effect in any O'Neill play,
though conveniently called "little more than a gimmick and not even a new gimmick" is, however, made here a part and parcel of the psychological action. At first on the realistic level, it is the call to war. The insurgent natives perform a war dance and get up their courage to pursue Jones. By beating the tom-tom, they work a counterspell to his magical powers. The sound strikes the first note of fear in him - "a strange look of apprehension creeps into his face", and his fear mounts with the beating growing faster and louder. Then it merges into Emperor Jones's vision of the slaves rolling to its beat; finally it becomes his own throbbing, feverish temples and all the while it is our heart beating more and more rapidly as we follow his fate. In establishing this sense of identification O'Neill combines plausibility with mystery to make his play something more than a case study in fear, to make of it, in fact, good theatre, since what is heard by Jones is heard also by us.

And the other sound effects in the play reveal a similar escalating pattern. The reports from Jones' revolver have an important unifying function: they climactically end each forest scene except one - the slave-ship scene - where instead a similar effect is gained by Jones's voice rising to "the highest pitch of sorrow, of desolation", as the scene ends. His wail carries over to the following Congo scene, thereby binding the two together. Similarly the Witch Doctor's shrills of "furious exaltation" as he demands Jones's sacrifice are echoed in the "savage exultant yells" of the natives as they kill Jones in the final scene; here the parallel sounds help to suggest the mysterious identity of Jones's killers and of his deaths.

There is the "brooding, implacable silence", the fateful 'sound' of the Great Forest broken only by (apart from the pervasive dream) the moaning of the wind and the "mocking laughter like a rustling of leaves" of the little Formless Fears. As a natural explanation of each sound we can say that Jones's fear is not yet desperate. A director, therefore, in order to create the desired effect in the theatre will aim at making the wind sound like a realistic, recognisable wind and like a moaning spirit that is he must strike a key in between, and aim at, an Expressionistic or Supernaturalistic effect. Similarly, the clicking sound in
Scene 3 should be such that it can be mistaken for a realistic forest sound; for we do not immediately see Jeff and cannot at once identify the sound as coming from his throwing of the dice. We thus, go through precisely the same mental process as does Jones a little earlier and must, along with him, admit that what is hallucinatory is also paradoxically what is real. In this manner, the sound effect contributes to establish the dictum of the play: that what man takes to be reality is only a surface underneath of which inscrutable forces - exterior and interior - are at work just as, the "brilliant" and "unruffled" surface of the Congo river is found to hide the horrifying crocodile God.

Scenes 4 and 5 are mediatory scenes and retain something unreal in their absence of sound.

The last two visions are not only seen but are also heard, and heard as plaintive human beings. Jones joins them in their high-pitched wail. The Witch Doctor's croon "rising to intensity" and "unruncated by shrill cries" is clearly a recapitulation of the continuous sound effect, both expressions of Jones's fear - the growing sound of the tom-tom punctuated by the revolver shots - just as his dance is a retelling of his flight through the forest. By joining in both Jones realizes the religious significance of his fate; and this recognition gives meaning to his sacrifice.

The greatest distinctive feature of The Emperor Jones, however, is its difference from a narrow orthodox German expressionistic play where heroes are only ciphers. It is impossible to imagine audiences not getting emotionally involved with Jones and Yank, two figures so powerfully characterised. Both of these monologue plays - The Emperor Jones and The Diary Ape - are constructed to have an emotional impact developed from the continuous presence of the hero on the stage and by a wide variety of scenic means employed such as the use of contrast and comparison - contrasts between the early integrity and the later disintegration of Jones, between the music of the spirituals and the beating of the tom-toms, between Jones in the chain-gang and on his throne, between Jones' prompt demonstration of his power as he assembles his gorgeous court and delivers doom and the ominous silence when
later he strikes the gong thrice to no avail; between the splendid costume he wears on entering the forest and his rags the next morning. The three white men - Harrington, Smithers, and the brutal prison guard - present opportunities for subtle comparison with Jones. Musical accompaniment to action on the stage intensifies its mood and atmosphere. The music, (as used in the film version) ranges from spirituals to the barbaric rhythms of the tom-tom. The stylistic resources are, thus, here turned to their best advantage by O'Neill, but it is a measure of the artistic independence of a maturing artist that he came across something in his age that prompted him to create a work that was to arouse an echo everywhere.

The Hairy Ape (1921), a direct descendant of The Emperor Jones and a study in man's alienation from primitiveness or state of 'belonging' and the ensuing tragedy apparently developed in the direction of Expressionism, yet never reached full-bledged German style. Its position is somewhere between the Expressionism of The Emperor Jones and that of playwrights like Toller and Kaiser. Realistic and stylised elements or Naturalism and Expressionism are here uniquely blended and there is still quite a lot of emphasis on characterisation. With it is also mixed another important feature (peculiar to the theme) - its social and sociological slant.

Mildred Douglas, the young daughter of the president of Nazareth Steel talks sociology and economics with her aunt in scene 2. And Yank in scene 7 hints at anarchy to the Secretary of the "Industrial Workers of the World, local No.57". To O'Neill the play seems to run "the whole gamut from extreme Naturalism to Expressionism - with more of the latter than the former". The Fifth Avenue scene is unmistakably Expressionistic. The style of some other scenes (e.g. Scene Two) on the promenade deck, and Scene Seven, in an "I.W.W. local") is not particularly distinguishable from Naturalism.

The Hairy Ape lacks the long realistic scene of The Emperor Jones; instead its first and fourth scenes can be described as typical examples of Expressionism.

The first shot fired in this direction without the familiar preparatory detail of nineteenth century realism "consists of twenty-nine short lines, mostly ejaculations of a word or two, assigned without specification, to 'voices'". In that
short space O'Neill succeeds in giving us a picture of three typical elements in the life of the stokers: drinking, telling stories about women, and fighting. In these barren sentences is present, by way of implication, collective stage action. Then the focus is transferred from the chorus to the individual, to Yank, who

seems broader, fiercer, more truculent, more powerful, more sure of himself than the rest. ... He represents to them a self-expression, the very last word in what they are, that's no tichly developed individual. 70

With this description O'Neill connects himself with the Expressionists: of his hero as a representative of a group of people. He also says that the

treatment of this scene or any other scene in the play, should by no means be naturalistic.

and wants the group of stokers to be stylised towards uniformity:

All the civilised white races are represented, but except for the slight differentiation in color of hair, skin, eyes, all these men are alike. 71

The character of this group, as an unspecified mass, is preserved throughout the play, by letting the speeches remain assigned only to "voices"; the roles are later inherited by groups of church-goers, prisoners - and, at long last, apes. In *Hairy Ape* the focus is turned on a girl and three stokers; the rest of the actors are not granted an opportunity to create three-dimensional character portraits - not at least by O'Neill. The contrast between an individual and a group is here established in a much more effective way than even in *The Emperor Jones*. The setting, reminiscent of a cage, is more intensifying than the claustrophobic forest scene.

The idea of cramped space, in fact, already employed in *Ile* and *Anna Christi* - though in a realistic manner - is here cast in a bold Expressionistic mould. The first description of the forecastle in *The Hairy Ape* sounds realistic; it reminds us of the forecastle in *Bound East for Cardiff*:

Tiers of narrow steel bunks, three deep, on all sides. An entrance in rear. Benches on the floor before the bunks. 72

But this is followed by an Expressionistic declaration:

The treatment of this scene or of any other scene in the play should by no means be naturalistic. 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 a steel framework of a cage. The ceiling crushes down upon the men's heads. They cannot stand upright.

The difference of technique reflects the difference in themes. In *Bound East for Cardiff*, Yank's precarious state is both physical and spiritual, and he fully realises his position. The setting at once enhances and objectifies his feelings of anguish and isolation. In *The Hairy Ape*, Yank enslaved by modern mechanised society and out of touch with the harmony of nature has primarily a spiritual problem. Moreover, when the play opens he is unaware of his situation; on the contrary he boasts of his being a ruling power in the modern world. This apparent contradiction in his attitude makes the forecastle scenery in *The Hairy Ape* much more conspicuous and emphatic than in *Bound East for Cardiff*. And this becomes all the more striking when Yank is made to give vent to his hubris by not standing upright like a man but forced to a "stooping posture" that "Neanderthal" position between beast and man.

Thus the room in its intensified and distilled version of a real-life forecastle is treated Expressionistically although apparently it is still recognisable as a forecastle. Shorn of its realistic properties, no light source is traceable. Even seaboots and oilskins would not fit into the overall impression of its being a cage and the men being not stokers but beasts in a cage.

The cage image, in fact, is all-pervasive, appearing in all the scenes in one form or the other, except in Scene II - the only one in which Yank does not figure. The image, in O'Neill's words, is an expression of Yank's struggle with his own fate for Yank is his own cage. From the initial forecastle resembling a cage, Yank moves to the human cage of the prison and from there to the animal cage in the Zoo. In the first scene the cage is merely implied, for Yank here is unaware of it, or at most only vaguely conscious, of his predicament. Later, as this becomes more clear to him, the cage in which he lives also becomes more obvious to us. The opening scene also stresses the universal validity of Yank's feelings of imprisonment by stressing the fact that "all the civilized white races" are to be found in the forecastle. A similar effect is produced by having the cages multiply "into infinity". In the IW Scene, the cage walls are formed by the black buildings surrounding the
narrow street in which Yank, gorilla fashion, comes to the realisation that the world owns him rather than vice versa.

In this setting, with its suggestiveness typical of the Expressionists, the "shouting, cursing, laughing, singing"79 of the stokers, resembling Neanderthal Man is given "a sort of unity, a meaning - the bewildered, furious, baffled defiance of a beast in a cage.80 Yank is perfectly in harmony with his primitive surroundings. He takes pride in his work; the passengers on board are just baggage. Who makes did old tub run? Ain't it us guys? Well, den we belong, don't we? We belong and day don't. Dat's all. 81

Dialogue is another stylistic layer used in this play. It employs the kind of telegraphese in true Expressionistic style, in the chorus of the stokers in the opening scene:

Gif me a trink dere, you!
'Ave a wet!
Salute!
Gesaudheit!
Skoal!
Drunk as a lord, God stiffen you!
Here's now! 82
Luck! ...

and so on for 28 consecutive speeches. The action, especially in the Fifth Avenue Scene, becomes increasingly frantic as well as unreal, as in the following episode in which Yank, the burly half-animal and half-human stoker, confronts the well-dressed men and women who have come out of Church:

Sure! I'm steel and steam and smoke and de rest of it!
It moves - speed - twenty-five stories up - and at de top and bottom ... 83

Also, in the second forecastle scene, where Yank's grappling struggle against the steel begins, a machine-like stoker chorus with human voices that have "a brazen metallic quality as if their throats were phonograph horns" spits out its monosyllables: "think", "love", "law", "God" - useless empty words in a materialistic world worthy only of "hard, barking laughter". The staccato expressions, in the true Expressionistic vein, supplement the mechanical sounds in the play and create aural effects. Paddy, an old Irish Stoker, is given in between an opportunity of voicing a lyrical outburst, a confession of love to the sea. It is Yank, however, who sounds the
Scene Two in the form of a throng of dirty fire-men in a narrow forecastle talking, singing, fighting, is a patch of colour added to the play. The contrast is provided by the two passengers in a section of the promenade deck. This is a setting in which Paddy, a kind of foreshadowing picture of the hairy ape in his old age, might feel at home.

The discussion between Mildred Douglas and her aunt adds a third kind of language layer to the two already employed in Scene one. Mildred, a social worker and daughter of the president of Nazareth Steel speaks artificially, as she should according to O'Neill's vision. Incidentally this scene adds another important feature to the theme viz. its social and sociological slant.

Scene Three is, without a doubt, the core of The Hairy Ape, where two totally different worlds clash in the central scenic picture of the play. Here the atmosphere is built up and intensified by fusing several scenic means of expression: lighting (specified overall as dim, as it is also in scenes Six and Seven), noises collective action. In this modern hell Yank is so proudly working as a self-appointed leader of his fellow stokers till an extraneous intruder shatters his primitive pride and he becomes conscious of his position. As in The Emperor Jones, O'Neill takes pains to first give his hero a kind of stature and then tragically demolish it. Yank is not only a personification of his profession, he even enjoys in Scene one a moment of exultant identification with his surroundings:

I'm de ting in coal dat makes it boin. ... And I'm steel - steel - steel! I'm de muscles in steel, de punch behind it! 86

Every single detail of the setting of scene Three confirms this identification and even enlarges the field of his ego even outside the stoke-hole.
The sound effects of the scene contribute immensely to the characteristic impressionistic quality of the play, but not without being integrated into theme and character. The sound has more of a dramatic than a theatrical effect. Fire, engines, and steel combine to create a dissonant yet rhythmic music of the modern machine age, which with special reference to *Dynamo* O'Neill declared in 1928:

> one would like to express as a background for lines in plays in overtones of characteristic, impelling and governing mechanical sound and rhythm. 87

Unobtrusively, O'Neill prepares us, by means of sound effects for the forthcoming conflict. We hear "the brazen clang of the furnace doors as they are flung open or slammed shut, the grating, teeth-gritting grind of steel against steel, of crunching coal". 88 The balance of powers is, however, soon disturbed by another mechanical sound which also disabuses Yank's mind of the view that the inferior or subrace alone pertakes of the steely strength: A whistle is blown - a thin, shrill note from somewhere overhead in the darkness. 89 Yank who had earlier claimed that he is "factory whistles" is intrigued by this whistle from his superior, the second engineer. This whistle from the darkness above merely suggests modern man's enslavement by the steel idol of materialism. It is significant that Yank's anger is first directed towards the invisible antagonist. Four times the whistle is heard, and each time Yank reacts more violently against it. The Scene ends on a note of crescendo on being insulted by Mildred, the steel magnate's daughter, Yank hurls his steel shovel after her towards the iron door, which has just clung shut imprisoning Yank, as it were, in the cage; the shovel "hits the steel bulkhead with a clang and falls clattering on the steel floor. From overhead the whistle sounds again in a long, angry, insistent command." 90 Yank's attempt to fight steel with steel - the world's materialism with his own - is doomed to failure.

The note of steel made audible is heard again in the Fifth Avenue Scene where the domineering whistle is heard supplemented by another metallic sound, literally signifying Yank's loss of freedom:

> Many police whistles shrill out ... and a whole platoon of policemen rush in on Yank from all sides. He tries to fight but is clubbed to the pavement and fallen upon. ... The clanging gong of the patrolwagon approaches with a clamoring din. 92
In the prison Scene, Yank's breaking out of his cell is opposed by 'the steel'; from the hose, turned on full pressure "is a splattering rash as the stream of water hits the steel of Yank's cell".  

It is characteristic that the curtain drops before we see Yank escape which means that symbolically he remains imprisoned.

Whereas in The Emperor Jones O'Neill needed seven scenes to strip his hero bare, now he is trying to do the same in a single scenic picture i.e. the brief encounter between Yank and Mildred in the stove-hole charged with all the dramatic force and intensity. While Mildred is paralysed with horror, terror ... by the terrific impact of this unknown, abyssal brutality, naked and shameless, Yank feels himself insulted in some unknown fashion in the very heart of his pride. He roars 'God damn Yuh.' and hurls his shovel ...  

Scene Four returns us to the fore-castle. Yank, who 'belonged' in scene one now sits hurt "in the very heart of his pride" unwashed, "in the exact attitude of Odin's 'The Thinker'". The chorus and the sound effects are used by O'Neill in order to bring closer to us the feeling of alienation experienced by his inarticulate hero. Cut away from his natural surroundings, Yank begins his search for revenge and a renewed sense of belonging. Let loose in society, he is followed by Long.

Scene five, as far as the action of the secondary characters is concerned, is the most clearly Expressionistic sequence in the entire play. The group of churchgoers Yank and Long meet on Fifth Avenue give the impression of uniformity and automatism:  

A procession of gaudy marionettes, yet with something of the relentless horror of Frankensteins in their detached, mechanical unawareness.  

As Yank deliberately lurches into this group, made more homogenous by identical clothes and voices, he is barely noticed until he commits a crime at which he is promptly arrested. The prison is another Expressionistic setting:  

The cells extend back diagonically from right front to the left rear. They do not stop, but disappear in the dark background as if they ran on, numberless into infinity.  

Yank rejects a social or religious solution of his problem:
He is also disillusioned with his membership of the I.W.W. the American Labour Union which dubs him an agent provocateur when he preaches his idea of a violent revenge. Yank is now close to his grotesque death in Scene Seven in the zoo through the murderous hug of the gorilla. The play is closed as it was opened - by a chorus - after which O'Neill is not able to resist the whim of including a comment on the action of the play in his last stage direction:

The monkeys set up a chattering, whimpering wail. And, perhaps, the Hairy Ape at last belongs. 102

Like The Emperor Jones, The Hairy Ape is a play of tensions achieved by using a wide range of variations in the lighting and settings. The bright out-door scenes (Two and Five) are placed between dimmer interiors, while the two final scenes, even if wholly or partly out-doors belong to the dimmer and of the scale with their moonlight and twilight. Of equal significance is the narrowness of the ship interiors: rows of cages going on ad infinitum, without consolation, do not disrupt this formula of settings. The characters in both the plays are placed most appropriately in their respective settings. The theme of not belonging is carried by several means of expression as well as by Yank's monologue in The Hairy Ape, which posed a dilemma for O'Neill but which is solved rather by writing genuine poetry than perhaps anywhere else in the whole canon and which achievement stamped his Expressionism in this play with a new distinctive character.

Yet another stylistic layer in The Hairy Ape is provided by its greater intricacy of structure, its more ambitious social commitment than its predecessor although the emotional experience offered by this ironic play is hardly as overpowering. It has also elements of greatness in the stoker's tragedy evoked by a subjective analyses of the characters. Subjectivism in Expressionism agreed with O'Neill's interest in so far as it gave him an opportunity to give his characters monologues. It was natural for him to write monodramas of the type The Emperor Jones and The Hairy Ape. The mixture of different stylistic layers has led to a remarkable design. In fact the stylistic flexibility of The Hairy Ape is the measure of O'Neill's appre-
ciation of and indulgence in the dynamic character of Expressionism. How this experiment succeeds on the stage depends exclusively and decisively on the imagination of the stage director and the skill of the actors. After all, it is their responsibility to make the outbursts of Yank and Paddy—respectively clumsy and high-flown on the written page—sound effective in stage surroundings. Further, it depends on their share in the creative process whether Yank can be taken as a character or a cipher—an eagerly disputed question. The first production of the play in 1922 evidently utilised these elements with great skill.

To a certain extent The Great God Brown (O'Neill's most successful play with masks) also incorporates Expressionistic technique. Reduced to its simplest outline, the action of the play involves the traditional triangle, which seems at first, however, to have four sides in the form of Dion Anthony, the sensitive, idealistic artist, Margaret, his wife, Cybel, the "full-breasted wide-hipped" whore who "chews gum like a sacred cow," and William Brown, the successful, hollow materialist, the modern business man, his rival with both women. After a long conflict, however, artistic and spiritual values represented by Dion expire in the embrace of materialism, represented by Brown, making the seemingly four-sided structure a triangle after all.

That Dion Anthony and William Brown are merely Expressionistic objectifications of a multiple personality (anticipating the more-obviously presented split between John the believer, and Loving, the atheist in Days Without End) is suggested on several levels throughout the play. Dion Anthony and William Brown, same age and same height, shared the same room in college and studied for the same profession. Interrupting Dion Anthony and Cybel in Act 1 and Scene 3 Brown seems to act as Dion's conscience, trying to get Dion to leave Cybel's room. Later, when Dion accuses Brown of attempting to steal his "love of the flesh," just as he is stealing Dion's ideas, Cybel suggests that they are "brothers, I guess somehow." Posing as Dion in Act IV, Brown says to Margaret, who comments on the likeness of their suits, "we're getting to be like twins." When the dying Dion demands a drink, Brown says "All right. It's your funeral." Dion replies "And William Brown's! When I die, he goes to hell."
When Dion and Brown stare at each other just before Dion announces his "last will and testament", leaving, "Dion Anthony to William Brown", Dion says to Brown, "Ah! Now he looks into the mirror! He sees his face!"112 Later, realising that Marga­ret will always love Dion, Brown says, "You're dead, William Brown. ... It's the Dion you buried in your garden who killed you, not you him."113 The last sentence of this speech is somewhat puzzling because Brown did not physically kill Dion. It makes sense, however, when we look at the death of Dion as the triumph of the materialistic half of the Dion-Brown personality over the artistic one. This interpretation is re-inforced by Brown's pointing to the Dion's mask in the last act and saying, "I am his murderer and his murdered."114 Similarly, Cybel refers in the same scene to Billy Brown as, "Dion Brown". That Dion and Brown are an Expressionistic objectification of a multiple personality is further suggested by the text of the telegram O'Neill addressed to John Barrymore, asking him to play the lead in this play:

Am taking liberty to send you my latest play, The Great God Brown, thinking may interest you as vehicle. Dion in first half and Brown in rest of play should be played by same actor, but you alone could do this ... 115

The genesis of Dion - Brown's dual personality probably goes back to O'Neill's enthusiastic reading of The Picture of Dorian Gray. In 1920, when O'Neill was questioned about his early reading, he answered: "In College, a work which made an indelible impression on me was Wilde's Dorian Gray".116 But the Expressionistic treatment of this theme in The Great God Brown suggests an even closer affinity with George Kaiser's The Coral (Die Koralle) performed in Germany in October, 1917.117 In this play the Billionaire coveting his Secretary's (i.e. his alter ego's) secure, happy childhood symbolised by a piece of coral the latter wears on his watch chain murders him and takes the coral, thus assuming the dead man's identity. Confused with the man he has killed, he is tried and put to death for having murdered the Billionaire (i.e. himself). This is an exact account of what may be assumed to have taken place prior to the beginning of the action on Walter Hasenclever's Humanity (Die Menschen), 1918, to which O'Neill's play owed something although The Coral undoubtedly acted as an inspirational force both on Humanity and The Great God Brown. In Humanity, the murderer mistaken for the murdered Alexander118 by virtue of the dead man's head (or identity) which the
murderer is wearing, has been executed and his corpse buried. But in the "stations" of Alexander's journey which constitute the action of the play, the situation is exactly reversed; society persistently confuses him with his murder.

Precisely this happens in The Great God Brown. In this play Brown, who wants to acquire his rival's identity, begins to wear Dion's mask upon the latter's death. Posing as Dion he soon casts off (i.e. "kills") his own mask (i.e. his real self) and is shot by the police - who mistake him for Dion - for murdering Brown (i.e. himself). Kaiser's characters have identical physical features except for the distinguishing mark of a small piece of red coral worn by the Secretary on his watch chain.

O'Neill handles the change in personality with the skilful use of masks which, according to Stark Young, are both economical and meaningful in terms of artistic expression. O'Neill's views on the mask were published in 1952 in his Memoranda on Masks, the first of the series of essays written by him for The American Spectator, which reveals his affinity with the German Expressionists. In these essays he speaks of "a non-realistic imaginative theatre" in terms of "inner drama", "a drama of souls" and "inner reality". The use of the mask is one method of objectifying the states of the ego as does Kaiser in From Morn to Midnight. The German's description of the German playwright Yvan Goll in 1920 with characteristic Expressionistic terseness:

> 'We have altogether forgotten that the first symbol in the theatre is the mask. In the mask lies a law, and this is the law of drama. The unreal becomes real.'

And in the words of Lothar Schreyer, one of the Sturm Expressionists:

> 'The mask is the outer veil of man, covering not only the face, but the entire body and the whole essence of man. Persona is another name for it.... The stage mask is a poetized emanation of the idea of being, an emanation that proclaims this idea in form and colour.'

It is in the representation of subjective reality - in this case Margaret's failure to understand her husband, her inability to see beyond his external persona - in terms of concrete stage reality, that O'Neill's use of masks may be called Expressionistic.

The Expressionist playwright's search for the essential or inner reality was made accessible through distortion, by which objects were no longer viewed photographically but symbolically through sound effects and music, and through lyric dialogue.
that was stripped of all but the essential words. If there by any poetry in O'Neill's plays, it is certainly to be found in The Great God Brown, notably in Dion's mourning speech about his parents in the 3rd scene of Act I which, significantly, O'Neill chose one year before his death to represent him in an anthology called "This is My Best". The abbreviated language occurs most noticeably in Dion Anthony's ecstatic outbursts in the Prologue. Making free use of the disconnected yet highly suggestive speech of the Expressionists, O'Neill compresses into a few lines of dialogue the essence of Dion's and Margaret's final sexual union:

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I love, you love, we love!
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Says Dion to Margaret adding:

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Come! Rest! Relax! Let go your clutch on the world! Dion and Dinner!
Fading out in the past behind! Gone! Death! Death! Now! Be born! Awake!
Live! Dissolve into dew - into silence - into night - into earth - into space - into peace - into meaning - into joy - into God - into the Great God Pan!
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After a moment of intense blackness and silence,

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the light gradually comes on again and once more we hear Dion's voice:
Wake up! Time to get up! Time to exist! Time for school! Time to learn! Learn to pretend! Cover your nakedness! Learn to lie! Learn to keep step! Join the procession! Great Pan is dead! Be ashamed!
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Then Margaret answers with a sob:

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Oh, Dion, I am ashamed.
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Though O'Neill's use of pure sound in his plays reached its most forceful expression in the haunting beat of the tom-tom in The Emperor Jones and the juxta-position of clanging shovels and churning engines in The Hairy Ape, the aural effects in The Great God Brown are in keeping with the Expressionistic technique. The play opens and closes to the sound of lapping water and distant dance music, and the sentimental tunes of the player piano furnish a musical counterpoint to the intense scenes between Dion and Cybel.

The symbolic lighting effects, hinted at in several places in the dialogue, help the Expressionistic design. Thus, in the Prologue, Dion notes that "the days are dimmer than they used to be!" and later, referring to himself he tells Brown:

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When Pan was forbidden the light and warmth of the sun he grew sensitive and self-conscious and proud and revengeful - and became Prince of Darkness.
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Dion is a Lucifer unjustly barred from a blissful heaven. The defiant Mephistophelean mask serves as protection against the horrors of the darkness. Life is a blinding darkness for both Dion and Brown. At his death Brown tells Cybel:

"It was dark and I couldn't see where I was going..."

Cybel tells him consolingly that once he is dead, the sun of love and grace will be rising again.

Thus no scene in the play is set in clear sunlight and most of them are set in darkness (evening or night). The "dim, street-lighted view of black houses" behind Brown's office in Act II.2 visually confirms Dion's remark in the Prologue. In Act III.2 Brown "can be heard feeling his way in through the dark" of his library - an illustration of his groping through life. The moonlight of the Prologue and Epilogue, we should note, does not set a romantic mood. The nights are not only dimmer but also colder than they used to be, as confirmed by Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Anthony, Dion, and Margaret. And while Dion's "old-fashioned" grandmother could still believe that "the full of the moon was the time to sow", his father finds the moonlight merely "bringing on (his) rheumatism". Instead of being experienced as a fertile promoter of life, the moon is felt to promote sickness. The intimate oneness with nature has been lost.

Lighting in the play, thus, determines and reinforces its mood which is of sombre darkness.

O'Neill's comment on The Great God Brown was that in Dion Anthony struggle Dionysus - representing "the creative pagan acceptance of life" - and St. Anthony embodying the "life-denying spirit of Christianity". Cybel whose roots extend back to Cybel, the grand nature-goddess of ancient Asia Minor, is the Earth Mother in the disguise of a prostitute. Margaret is O'Neill's image of the modern direct descendant of the Marguerite of Faust - the eternal girl-woman with a virtuous simplicity of instinct, properly oblivious to everything but the means to her end of maintaining the race. Billy Brown stands for the modern business man whom the playwright characterised as "the vision deified god of our new materialistic myth".

O'Neill's concern with the universal, the typical, rather than the individual
parallels Ernst Toller's comment about the characters in the new drama:

In the expressionist drama, man was no incidental private person. He was a type, applying to man by leaving out their superficial features. By skinning the human being one hoped to find his soul under the skin. 137

Notwithstanding the Expressionistic features of *The Great God Brown*, the two definitive Expressionistic plays of O'Neill which broke holes in the fourth wall were, however, only *The Emperor Jones* and *The Hairy Ape*.

O'Neill's Expressionistic design raises the question - vital from our point of view and with which we are really concerned in this study - whether his Expressionistic plays make good and effective theatre. The question, in fact, embracing Expressionistic drama in general, which with its pure abstraction, its seemingly plotless, episodic, fragmentary structure, its rapid succession of emotional, pantomimic, and exaggerated scenes with their symbolic settings borrowed from the silent films, its characters reduced to types, its high voltage, staccato dialogue, and the harshly rhythmic style of the whole is that it can never be a commercial success despite Ernst Boyd's prediction in 1925 of the success of *Humanity* on the stage:

... Until *Humanity* has been seen on the American stage, we may refrain from wasting our astonishment or indignation upon lesser wonders. 138

But while Broadway with its eye on the box-office shied away from such plays, the experimental, "off-Broadway" American theatre with all its resourcefulness has never flinched from unconventional or challenging stage productions such as *Back to Methuselah*, *From Born to Midnight*, *The Adding Machine*, *Saint Joan*, *Death of a Salesman*, *Camino Real* and O'Neill plays. Their success on the stage and subsequent revival testifies to their inherent theatrical qualities and imaginative production potentialities.

Hasenclever in *Humanity*, for instance, achieves unique and, often grotesquely dramatic or, at their worst, blatant melodramatic - effects by means of many antithetical devices. Sunset (death, despair, hate, greed) and sunrise (rebirth, hope, love, sacrifice) are the most obvious symbolic manifestations of darkness and light
respectively. To represent this in actual production, the now very-familiar
impressionistic stage composed of two or more separate acting areas or sets is
used. One of these is lighted and played on at a time while the others remain
dark. Frequently, the scenes associated with the humanitarianism or human pleasures
are played on stage right, whereas scenes depicting greed, selfishness, disease, or
grim horrors are played on stage left. Similarly the juxtaposition of power and
pathos used in the plot to heighten the theme of social protest is represented with
the help of light and stage levels.

These and similar other theatrical devices which characterized several
German and American Expressionistic productions were mere stage gimmicks meant
to impress the spectators and dealing, at best, with the 'banality of surfaces'.
O'Neill's Expressionistic plays (like, in fact, all his plays) aimed at discovering
'behind life' meaning. In The Great God Brown, for instance, the idea of Everyman
(Bion-Brown), or transfer of personality, is conveyed in the modern theatre by means
of the masks, for which all his symbolist predecessors from the Greeks to Strindberg
and Kafka and Kaiser (in The Coral) had established precedent.

In addition, the device of the mask (discussed in detail elsewhere in this
study) and ingenious manipulation of the lighting apparatus also contributed greatly
to the achievement of the desired effect.

Undoubtedly, the switch-board is a magic tool in the modern stage artist's
armory. It is especially so in the hands of an Expressionist. The "auras of
egoism'' in Welded which emphasize and intensify Eleanor and Michael throughout the
play139 are picked up by two circle of movable light. "There is no other lighting.
the two other people and the room are distinguishable only by the light of Eleanor
and Michael". This spotlighting of the main characters naturally throws their stage
positions into marked relief; their movements toward and away from each other, their
merging and separation are by this device given a greater dramatic emphasis. Michael
draws attention to the meaning of the spotlights in the harmonious beginning of
Act I:

It began with the splitting of a cell a hundred million
years ago into you and me, leaving an eternal yearning to
become one life again. 141
This gives us a visual illustration of an almost unified cell. A little later, as the Capes embrace, the coalescing light circle symbolise how they have become, as it were, "one life". After the John intermezzo they sit in separate chairs which means that the reunification has failed. The act ends with Eleanor's growing hatred of Michael which is expressed by the concomitant separation of the light circles. Thus, in Welled, lighting enables the dramatist to give a definite rhythm to the act of alternating separateness and oneness, freedom and dependence, hatred and love, the final note being separateness.

The lighting effects alone constitute the play's Expressionist element, which feature was explained by O'Neill as a sort of super-realism ... that is realistic in the sense of symbolic universality and truth, but not realistic in presentation.

He called for "a stage effect" consisting of "two circles of light, like auras of egism to pick out and follow Michael and Eleanor throughout the action of the play". 

It is clear that the Expressionistic elements of O'Neill's plays, in no way, inhibit production; on the contrary they call for a greater imaginative conception of the tonal and atmospheric effects of the theme to be conveyed by the producer to the spectators through visual presentation.
References

1. Otto Mann has called Expressionism the first modern movement to create plays that could be given "only on a stylised stage". Hermann Friedmann and Otto Mann, ed. Expressionismus (Verlag, Wolfgang Rother, Heidelberg, 1956), P.232.


3. Gassner, Directions in Modern Theatre and Drama, P.124.


5. Anthology of 9 plays (London, Faber and Faber, 1947), P.266.

6. Simmel as quoted in Bentley The Modern Theatre - A Study of Dramatists and the Drama, P.62

7. Gorelik, New Theatres for Old, P.253


10. The Readers Encyclopaedia of world Drama, ed. Gassner and Quinn, P.258

11. Louis Broussard, American Drama: Contemporary Allegory from Eugene O'Neill to Tennessee Williams (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1962), P.5.


22. January 26, 1922 at the Yale University Library.
23. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 256.
26. Ibid., p. 495.
27. The Hairy Ape, p. 258
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 259.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. March 21, 1935, at the Yale University Library.
33. Some of these parallels have been noted by Blackburn, pp. 118-19. See also
   Robert F. Whitman, "O'Neill's Search for a Language of the Theatre", Quarterly
   Journal of Speech, 45 (April 1960), 159.
34. George Koeler, Die Koralle (The Coral), trans. by the author (Berlin, 1918)
   pp. 61-62.
35. Leech, p. 27.
36. Letter to Ralph Block (June 10, 1921). At the Walter Hampden Memorial
   Library, New York.
37. Richard Watts Jr., "Regarding Mr. Eugene O'Neill, As a writer for the
38. According to a notation which concludes the Ms. of The Hairy Ape (at Prince-
   ton), this play was begun on December 7 and finished on December 23, 1921. For
   the short story see O'Neill's letter to Richard Dana Skinner printed in
40. Eugene O'Neill talks of his own and the plays of others", New York Herald
   Tribune, Sect. 8, (Nov. 16, 1924), 14.
42. Clark, p. 22.
43. Corcelli et al., p. 111. From an interview originally published in the
   New York Herald Tribune (March 15, 1924)
45. Only a few critics have used the term supernaturalism with regard to
   O'Neill's work. (See Clark, p. 52. Also Donald Clive Stuart, The Development
46. The presence of identifiable human beings in American Expressionistic drama
47. According to Sokel the "declamatory and pseudo-biblical Nietzsche from Thus Spake Zarathustra was the prophet of the naive expressionists". Sokel, P. 30. Thus Spake Zarathustra, O'Neill writes, "has influenced me more than any book I've ever read". Gelbs, P. 121.


49. "One might almost say that O'Neill has a premonition of the ultimate screen version, and that he was preparing the way for it". Max J. Hersberg, William Levin and Max J. Hersberg, The Emperor Jones (Appleton-Century-Crafts, New York, 1949), P. 5.

50. Gelbs have probed some of the sources of The Emperor Jones. Apart from artistic models O'Neill's own experiences while prospecting for gold in a tropical forest, combined with scattered reading and discussion a decade later, started his imagination working. Pp. 125, 458-59.

51. The Emperor Jones, P. 184.

52. Ibid., P. 175.

53. Ibid., P. 139.

54. Ibid., P. 186.

55. Ibid., P. 200.

56. Peacock, P. 11.


58. The Emperor Jones, P. 184.

59. According to Carpenter, the crescendo arrangement in the play is rather like that of Ravel's Bolero. Carpenter, P. 91.

60. The Emperor Jones, P. 199.

61. Ibid., P. 202.

62. Ibid., P. 205.

63. Ibid., P. 187.

64. Ibid., P. 190.

65. Ibid., P. 199.

66. Ibid., P. 201.

67. The operatic version of the play by Louis Gruenberg was produced at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York in January 1933.

68. The Hairy Ape, P. 245.

69. Gelbs, P. 490.

70. The Hairy Ape, P. 208.
74. In the Fifth Avenue Scene the procession of marionettes constitutes "a cage against the bars of which he (the Yank) beats in vain". Blackburn, p. 117.

75. Blackburn, p. 117.

76. Margaret Gump, "from Ape to Man and From Man to Ape", Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly, 4 (1937), 183. Yank, in this respect, is a representative O'Neill character, reminiscent of such autobiographical figures as Eben Cabot in Desire Under the Elms, for whom "each day is a cage in which he finds himself tranced but inwardly unsubdued" (Desire Under the Elms, p. 207), and Dion Anthony in The Great God Brown, who asks himself: "My must I live in a cage like a criminal ..." (p. 264). In Lazarus Launched, the feeling is universalised: "Life is for each man a solitary cell whose walls are mirrors". (p. 309).

77. The Hairy Ape, p. 207.

78. Ibid., p. 239.

79. Ibid., p. 207.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., p. 212.

82. Ibid., p. 208.

83. Ibid., p. 238.

84. Ibid., p. 212.

85. Alexander Woollcott finds "the greatest visible contrast in social and physical circumstances" in the first two scenes of The Hairy Ape. (Miller, Playwrights' Progress, p. 31. A reprint from New York Times (March 10, 1922).

86. The Hairy Ape, p. 216.


88. From a realistic point of view the stoking, as Carless Jones points out, may be altogether incorrect. (Jones, 12 (Feb. 1935), 228.) The point is, of course, that what interested O'Neill was not how stokers work but what they, as symbols of mankind, feel. Commenting on the scene he told Mullett: "Stokers do not really shovel coal that way. But it is done in the play in order to contribute to the rhythm. For rhythm is a powerful factor in making anything expressive." Mullett, 94 (November 1922), 118.

89. The Hairy Ape, p. 223.

90. Ibid., p. 216.

91. Ibid., p. 226.
97. Peter Szondi has written about a paradox immanent in German Expressionism: extreme subjectivism leads to a situation in which all heroes are more or less alike. What is revealed is not a character, but a milieu seen through this character — in many cases a big city. Peter Szondi, Theorie des Modernen Dramas (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1959), Pp. 30-39, 90-97. O'Neill is more profoundly involved in the development of his hero than in Yank's surroundings. Again we can see that O'Neill's Expressionism is of a special kind: he is satisfied with just a glimpse of the big city expressionistically distorted.

98. According to Mann, in a purely expressionistic play only the play is real: "what is shown as a surrounding on the stage is only pictures arising from his inner world". Mann, P. 227.

99. The Hairy Ape, P. 236.

100. Ibid., P. 239.

101. Ibid., P. 245.

102. Ibid., P. 254.

103. Kemelman calls Yank a symbol, not a man. H.G. Kemelman, "Eugene O'Neill and the Highbrow Melodrama", Playwright's Progress (Killer, 104). To Margaret Gump, Yank "remains very human to the end in his tragic search for his place on earth". Gump, P. 185. Blackburn (p. 117) emphasizes that Yank is more typified than Jones.

104. Cf. Walter Prichard Eaton (Killer, Playwright's Progress, pp. 35-35) who approved of the stylistic mixture employed in the play and in whom the original production awoke "a profound pity".


106. Ibid., P. 287.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid., P. 316.

109. Ibid., P. 295.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., P. 308.

112. Ibid., P. 299.

113. Ibid., P. 305.
114. Ibid., p. 320.

115. July 6, 1925, at the Dartmouth College Library.


119. See also Blackburn, p. 125. For a parody of the mask and the murders in The Great God Brown, see Act II, scene iv of E.E. Cummings' Him.


122. Preface to The Immortals (Die Unsterblichen, 1920), trans. W.H. Sokel as "Two Superdramas" in An Anthology of German Expressionist Drama, pp. 9-11. Also trans. M. Esslin in his The Theatre of the Absurd (New York, 1961), pp. 268-269. "We have forgotten entirely that the stage is nothing but a magnified glass ... that the primary symbol of the theatre is the mask. The mask is rigid, unique and impressive. It is unchangeable; it is Fate. Every man wears his mask, wears what the ancients called his guilt. ... The new drama must have recourse to all technological props which are contemporary equivalents of the ancient mask. ..." (Sokel, p. 10-11).


124. Ibid., p. 594.


126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid., p. 262.

130. Ibid., p. 297.

131. Ibid., p. 322.


134. Ibid., P. 306.
135. Ibid., P. 261.
139. Welded, P. 443.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid., P. 449.
142. Gelbs, P. 520.