Expressionistic Elements in Walter Bauer's Early Works

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ABSTRACT

The German-Canadian writer Walter Bauer (1904-1976, immigrated to Canada in 1952) began his literary career nearly a decade after the literary movement Expressionism had lost its currency, yet his early works of poetry and prose are often reminiscent of the ardent temperament of the Expressionists, of some of the distinguishing themes and motifs of the movement, and, occasionally, of the excited literary style of Expressionism. This thesis examines three of Bauer's early works, Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich (1929), Stimme aus dem Leunawerk (1930), and Die notwendige Reise (1932), for marked expressionistic elements of temperament, theme and style. The chief findings are as follows: running through Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich and imbued with expressionistic pathos are the Expressionist theme of the inhumanity of the modern urban and industrial world and the Expressionist watchword of brotherhood with the downtrodden; distinguishing Stimme aus dem Leunawerk is a revolutionary undertone, evident not only in symbolic images of a proletarian socialist rising, but also heard in Bauer's avatar of the working class--"Hiob," or the proletarian Job--who speaks with an expressionistic voice from the heart and for a revolution of the spirit; and, finally, standing out in Die notwendige Reise is the

theme of the journey of inner transformation which can be compared with the progressive transformation of the protagonist toward becoming "der neue Mensch" in the typical Expressionist station drama, such as Ernst Toller's Die Wandlung (1919), insofar as the journey is a search for a new spiritual reality and for authentically human and morally sensitive community. These early works by Bauer cannot be called Expressionist, yet the many and notable expressionistic elements in them do indicate the important influence of Expressionism on Bauer's literary beginnings.

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Introduction

Although the German-Canadian writer Walter Bauer was born a generation later than the Expressionists and began his literary career nearly a decade after Expressionism had lost its currency, he grew up admiring the Expressionists and their works and came into intellectual maturity with inspiration fostered by Expressionist art and literature and its outlook. His early works, written in the late 1920s and up to 1933, often bring to mind the ardent temperament of the Expressionists, especially the familiar despair and outrage of many Expressionists over the then current state of civilization, their soaring idealism and the sense of mission of the artist to change profoundly the inner self and to change radically the world for the better. As well, Bauer's early works are in many places distinctly reminiscent of certain Expressionist literary themes and, occasionally, even of the excited literary style of the movement. However, Bauer has never been considered an Expressionist, and his early works, which exhibit the most evidence of any influence of Expressionism, cannot be described as wholly Expressionist. Nonetheless, the numerous expressionistic[1] elements of temperament, theme, and style evident in his early works are marked enough

to warrant being examined specially.

In what follows, the noteworthy expressionistic elements in three of Bauer's early works will be examined; these works are: Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich (1929), Stimme aus dem Leunawerk (1930), and Die notwendige Reise (1932). The anxious pathos, the revolutionary attitude, and the calls for moral renewal, for example, are typically Expressionist and are found in all three works. Certain themes that came to distinguish Expressionism are to be found also in these three works: the inhumanity of modern industrial and urban life, fraternal sympathy with the downtrodden, restoring the values of the heart to the world, active altruism at large, and the two themes for which Expressionism is chiefly remembered, the humanizing inner transformation embodied by "der neue Mensch," and the vision of a newer world where true community, unity beyond national borders and individual authenticity would be realized. Lastly, some expressionistic elements of style in the three works by Bauer will be examined, the most outstanding being the structure of the story Die notwendige Reise which resembles that of the typical Expressionist station drama; but also the expressionistic tone of stridency, found particularly in Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, and the language of emotionally-charged words, clipped and concentrated utterances, extravagant and disquieting images.

The expressionistic elements to be discussed belong,

it must be kept in mind, to Bauer's early years as a writer; the three books named above were all written when Bauer was still in his twenties, trying to establish himself as a writer, experimenting with styles, and following the example of those authors he admired. Afterwards, Bauer quit the mildly militant and highly visionary tone that marks these earliest works. He went on to develop his own voice and became later in life somewhat conciliatory. Nevertheless, the expressionistic pathos and the appeal to humanity that stand out in the early works remained throughout his life's work a dominant feature. The most telling remark on the influence of Expressionism on Walter Bauer is his own, made in the later years of his life in a letter to a friend in which he tells of some lectures on literary Expressionism he gave at the University of Toronto:

> . . . doch über den Expressionismus sprach ich oder versuchte zu sprechen als über die Epoche meiner eigenen Jugend; denn die Stücke von Georg Kaiser, Hasenclever und Ernst Toller, den ich später dann auch kannte und sehr gern hatte, hatten mich ernährt und mich geführt, vielleicht auch verführt, denn ihre utopischen Hoffnungen, so wenig und wiederum verständlicherweise so wenig mit der Wirklichkeit verbunden und von ihr berichtigt und gedämpft, waren auch die meinen. Ich bedauere nicht, daß sie es waren; ich bin froh, daß ich als junger Mensch von ihnen entflammt war, auch wenn diese ikarischen Träume dann zersplitterten. Ich bin froh, mich an die Bilder von Marc, Kirchner, Heckel, Schmitt-Rottluff als Ereignisse meiner Jugend zu erinnern. Vielleicht drang etwas davon in das ein, was ich sagte. Wie großartig die Dichtung vor allem des frühen Expressionismus war.[2]

Chapter 1

Walter Bauer's Life and Work

Walter Bauer was born into a turbulent century, and like the Expressionists he became preoccupied for life to an amazing extent with the century's troubles. The great catastrophes and social issues figured predominantly not only in Bauer's writing but also in shaping the course of his life and his general outlook. Born November 4, 1904 in the Saxon town of Merseburg an der Saale in eastern central Germany, he lived through the First World War as a boy, watching his three older brothers march off to the fronts. In his first four books, three of which are to be discussed in this thesis, and in the autobiographical short story, Geburt des Poeten,[1] which he wrote late in his life, the war years of 1914-1918 contrast invidiously with the simple world of Bauer's childhood before the war. The war, which disrupted the entire framework of values and preconceptions for not only Bauer but the Western world, stands as a watershed in Bauer's life, opening his eyes to suffering in the world and opening his mind to an attitude of suspicion from which he never quite recovered. Thereafter Bauer dedicated himself to speaking out for those who suffer here and now, for human dignity, for social

fairness, and for responsible freedom for all.

Bauer's sympathies always lay squarely with the working class into which he was born, even though his profession as a teacher and writer brought him as a young man into the middle class.[2] He was born the fifth child of a teamster and a washerwoman. Both his parents had been raised on farms and were driven reluctantly to the city to search for work. As unskilled workers they joined the great numbers of other Germans who left the self-sufficiency of rural life for the growing industrial centers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, taking whatever wage-paying jobs could be found and living in modest tenement houses. The plight of these workers and the despair that inevitably followed the proletarianization of once proud farmers formed a decisive part of Bauer's otherwise happy childhood, shaping his destiny as an advocate for humanism. In "Auskunft über mich," a profile Bauer wrote about himself in 1948, he stated:

> Damit ist der Schicksalsgrund angedeutet, auf dem ich groß geworden bin, es war der proletarische. Damit ist auch gesagt, daß die ersten Gedichte nichts anderes sein konnten als Versuche, von dieser Welt zu sprechen, von der Kindheit in Mietshäusern, von der Arbeit, von der Fabrik. Sie konnten nichts anderes enthalten als gestammelte, ausbrechende Forderung, Anklage, Empörung. Jene Gedichte standen in den 1933 verbotenen Bänden "Kameraden, zu Euch spreche ich" und "Stimme aus dem Leunawerk". Mein erster Roman "Ein Mann zog in die Stadt" war von diesem Daseinsgrund bestimmt, im Grunde, meine ich, auch alle anderen Arbeiten, und was mir, wenn ich an künftige Versuche denke, vorschwebt, sind Romane, in denen

> ich Schicksalsdarstellungen von Menschen, von Einzelnen und Gruppen, geben möchte, die seit je die Last der Welt auf ihren Rücken trugen.[3]

A sympathetic teacher fostered young Walter Bauer's intellectual development, enabling him in 1918 to attend teacher training college and thus climb out of the poverty of his upbringing. His youthful idealism was ignited by the contemporary literature with which he first became acquainted at the age of 15, above all, with Expressionist literature, as Hartmut Froeschle explains in his essay, "Walter Bauer: Sein dichterisches Werk."[4] Froeschle mentions, for instance, the humanistic plea Der Mensch ist gut by the anti-war Expressionist writer Leonhard Frank as having made a penetrating impression on Bauer at that age. The young pupil at teacher-training college was impressed also, according to Froeschle, by the political speeches and Expressionist plays of Fritz von Unruh, who, after serving in World War I, became a pacifist and advocate of universal love as a remedy to war; as well as by the novels of the critic of contemporary society, advocate of pan-European civilization, and one-time Expressionist, Otto Flake; by the Expressionist plays of Georg Kaiser; and by the Expressionist plays and poetry of Ernst Toller, in particular his Schwalbenbuch. Other formative influences on Bauer, according to Froeschle, were Erwin Piscator, the theatrical director and producer who founded "proletarian theatre"; the French novelist, playwright, biographer,

and socialist pacifist, Romain Rolland; the Belgian painter and illustrator Franz Masareel, who rendered expressionistic images to portray social evils, human tragedies, and to advance his humanitarian views; and Alfons Paquet, whose stories, essays, travel books, and Expressionist plays bear witness to his social and political convictions. Another formative influence on the young Bauer, mentioned by Froeschle, was the defender of the traditions of European humanism and champion of Expressionism, Stefan Zweig. As with the other authors who exerted an influence on Bauer, Zweig encouraged devotion to one's art, a will to action and a strong sense of moral responsibility while avoiding adherence to a rigid political creed. The poet, for Zweig, ought to be the "spiritual leader of his age."[5] About these authors and artists who exercised an inspirational influence on him, Bauer remarked:

> Sie antworteten auf etwas, was sich in mir regte, ohne ein Wort zu finden. Sie waren die Sprecher meiner Empfindungen, die Bestätiger dessen, was ich verworren empfand. Sie befreiten mich. Sie führten mich über die Grenzen.[6]

After finishing teacher's college Bauer took work as a packer in a factory, among other jobs, for a short time in order to earn enough money to travel. In 1925 he set out with a friend on the most memorable journey of his life, wandering on foot through Germany, Austria, and Italy, living as a wanderer and working odd jobs.

He called this journey a "notwendige Reise,"[7] a "necessary journey," which became for him a description of his life as a writer and a human being.[8] This proletarian grand tour provided the material for two books: Die notwendige Reise, Bauer's fourth book which will be discussed later, and Wanderer im Süden (1938).[9]

Returning to Merseburg as an unemployed teacher, Bauer studied Germanistics for a few semesters at Halle[10] with the money from a grant awarded to him for published accounts of his travels.[11] Thus began his literary career. To a local Merseburg newspaper Bauer contributed reports on community happenings, such as church events or book reviews, while he worked for a time as a private teacher for the family of a senior manager of a company.[12] At the age of 22 he wrote his first poems,[13] and in 1928, shortly after he turned 24, some poems of his were published for the first time in the Zwickau newspaper Sächsisches Volksblatt. It was a fortuitous opportunity for the aspiring writer that his poems caught the attention of the journalist, writer, and editor of that newspaper, Walther Victor, who took it upon himself to help Bauer start on a literary career.[14] In the following year, 1929, Bauer's first book appeared, the collection of poems Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich. In 1930 a second collection of poems was published in the book Stimme aus dem Leunawerk.

The two books were met with an instant and enthusiastic

reception in literary circles, and in short time they established a reputation for the unknown writer as a fresh, able, and living voice for those who suffer and cannot speak for themselves. Well-known writers praised the works, including Kurt Tucholsky, Hermann Hesse, Ernst Wiechert, the Expressionist Ernst Toller, the one-time Expressionist Franz Werfel, and the champion of the Expressionist movement, Stefan Zweig,[15] who described Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich as "die menschlichste Arbeit der Lyrik, die ich in Deutschland kenne."[16] From these literary figures Bauer received much encouragement; Ernst Wiechert and especially Stefan Zweig promoted Bauer's works ambitiously. Max Tau, the German writer and chief editor of the Bruno Cassirer Verlag in Berlin, showed himself to be influential in advancing Bauer's literary ambitions, and, like Stefan Zweig, he became a sympathetic confidant.[17] In 1929 Bauer received a teaching position in the public schools, and in 1930 he married.[18] Looking back on this time Bauer wrote: "Was für eine Zeit damals--wie glorios--als wir anfingen."[19]

However, Bauer's first published poems and stories do not at all reflect the personal elation he may have felt at that time in his life. On the contrary, they describe and give voice to the misery of those who felt dispossessed of the world's comforts and of life's fullness; to their despair, sorrow, and loneliness which, in the

words of Ludwig Pesch describing Bauer's poetry in his 1963 review of Bauer's Klopfzeichen, emanates from the "isolated realm of individual existence," longing to be at home in the world and to find its natural place in the great order of Being.[20] This tone became a prevalent characteristic of Bauer's poetry for the rest of his life, at times gloomier and at other times in his half century of writing more hopeful.

In those years in Merseburg there were images enough of misery to rouse Bauer's poetic imagination. During the First World War the mainly agricultural make-up of the area around Bauer's Merseburg homeland was changed permanently by the building of the Leunawerk ammonia plant outside of the city. The abundance of coal in the area attracted industry, and in short time the Leunawerk became the centre of one of Germany's largest concentrations of industry. Farmland and farms were ripped up to mine the coal to power the Leunawerk. An army of former farmers and other labourers filed into the plant in round-the-clock shifts to work the machinery and, spent, filed out to return to their modest dwellings. Such images became the thematic material for Bauer's poems. Bauer lived among the workers, taught their children in the classroom, felt a fraternal sympathy for them, as expressed in the title of his first book, "Comrades, I Speak to You," and took it as his calling to speak for them, as expressed in the title of his second

book, "A Voice from the Leunawerk."

Bauer's first publications already gave witness to his socialist persuasion,[21] particularly in the opinion of the National Socialists, who banned his published works after coming to power on the grounds that they had pro-Communist content. Bauer's name was added to "die Liste des schädlichen und unerwünschten Schrifttums,"[22] and he was classified as "erzieherisch unzuverlässig" and posted to a school for backward children ("Hilfsschule").[23] By the time the Nazis came to power, Bauer's fourth book had appeared, the story Die notwendige Reise, in which the young author makes an impassioned plea against war and militarism and for European community and world fraternity. He avoided confrontation with the authorities, following instead the path of "innere Immigration" taken by many dissenting writers who did not emigrate from Nazi Germany. Although restrained, he steadfastly held to his beliefs. Right after the Nazi takeover in 1933 Bauer wrote in a letter to the chief editor, Max Tau, of his publisher at that time one of his most candid statements of his outlook:

> . . . die Ereignisse, die in ihrer Summe die grauenhafteste Knechtung des Geistes darstellen, übertürmen sich so rasend schnell, daß wir die Gründe vergessen haben, heute, die uns gestern zwangen, traurig zu sein und die Sache der Menschheit verloren zu geben. Nicht die Parteien nur haben verloren, obgleich sie es in furchtbarer Weise erfuhren--wir alle wurden geschlagen, wir Gutherzigen, wir Versöhnlichen, wir alle, die jemals das Wort "Menschheit" ausgesprochen haben, wir, denen das Vaterland nur eine Etappe auf

der großen Straße der Menschheit bedeutet.[24]

During the Nazi years Walter Bauer continued to write, but he became quite withdrawn.[25] His next novel, Das Herz der Erde (1933), and his collection of stories, Die Horde Moris (1935), were deemed pro-Communistic and prompted the authorities to ban all Bauer's published works and to monitor the manuscripts he submitted for publication. In 1937 the ban was partially lifted.[26] Despite these difficulties, Bauer published an impressive number of diverse works up to the end of the Second World War, including novels, biographies, essays, collections of poetry and short stories, books for children, diaries, travel accounts, and reviews. A total of 52 of his contributions appeared in the magazine Das innere Reich, of which 15 were essays and 35 were reviews.[27] Bauer's name appeared also during these years in the magazine Die Kolonne. As one of the "Kolonne group" of writers, he contributed poetry in the so-called "Naturmythologismus" style. Poems in this style contrasted idyllic non-human nature with abject human nature, much in the same vein as the political skepticism and nostalgia of Ernst Wiechert.[28]

Yet Bauer "attempted to keep burning a tiny flame of the human spirit throughout those dark and terrible years," in the words of Henry Beissel in his introduction to Bauer's The Price of Morning.[29] The tiny flame of the human spirit was found by Bauer to shine in the decisive

moments in the lives of famous writers, artists and humanists, and he portrayed these figures as human beings in fateful times of crisis in a number of essays that, based on fact and fiction, depict the courage of the heart, free from national or social bounds. Among his many essays to appear in the next two decades are those on Goethe, Hölderlin, Elise Lensing, Georg Forster, Livingstone, Nansen, Pestalozzi, Michelangelo, Flaubert, Giorgione, Rembrandt, and van Gogh.[30] These biographical essays reflect the perspective of the historical biographies of Stefan Zweig, depicting "Sternstunden der Menschheit," as the title of Zweig's 1928 book proclaims, in which the indomitable human spirit, standing on the foundation of the cultural past, prevailed against daunting adversity and found a meaningful present.[31] Bauer saw his mission to be in those years to write books that bear witness, "daß kein Volk ohne die anderen lebt; daß Europa größer sei als das Deutsche; daß das Menschliche und das Geistige keine Grenzen kennen"; and, as already expressed fervidly in Die notwendige Reise, he still felt himself to be "ein Freund aller Völker, ein Sohn der Erde."[32]

Bauer's own "Schickssalstunde" came in 1940 when he was inducted into the army to serve the regime he disliked. Given his reputation, to not serve meant execution. Following in the footsteps of his teamster father, Bauer served as a truck driver in France, Russia, Albania, Greece, and

finally Italy where he was promoted from corporal to lieutenant and placed on the staff on account of his knowledge of Italian. During his years as a soldier he continued to write poetry and he kept diaries; the diaries written in Russia, Italy, and France were eventually published, of which the first, Tagebuchblätter aus Frankreich (1941), was a popular success.[33] These years until 1946, including one year as a British prisoner of war in Italy, fatefully tested the courage of Bauer's own heart. The war provided for him a "Weckstimme des Lebens,"[34] according to Hans-Martin Pleßke in his lecture "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk"; it also "deeply and permanently scarred Bauer's psyche," according to Henry Beissel in his introduction to Bauer's The Price of Morning.[35]

In his essay on Bauer's poetic work, mentioned above, Hartmut Froeschle says that Bauer ceased to believe any more in "der neue Mensch" of early Expressionism after 1945, but he did see the end of the Second World War as a chance to advance the vision of an anti-bourgeois socialist future.[36] Unlike some left-leaning writers, though, he did not embrace the Soviet model. He also did not return after the war to his wife and home in Halle in eastern Germany.[37] Nor did he return to his profession as a teacher, deciding instead to practice writing as a full-time occupation.[38] After his release from internment he wished to make a fresh beginning for himself as well as

for Germany and Europe--to embark on another "notwendige Reise." Bauer went first to Munich and later to Stuttgart. He remained in close contact in those years with Ernst Wiechert, and he married Wiechert's stepdaughter.[39]

The first half decade following the end of World War II saw Walter Bauer become one of West Germany's more successful authors, and these years were also some of the most productive of Bauer's literary career. In the first ten years after the war he published twenty-six books, including volumes of poetry, one novel, volumes of short stories, journals, plays, monographs, biographies, and children's stories.[40] He was the editor of three volumes,[41] and he published some 20 radio plays which were heard not only in the German-speaking countries but elsewhere in Europe as well.[42] His biography of the Norwegian arctic explorer, scientist, statesman, and humanitarian, Fridtjof Nansen (Die langen Reisen, 1956), was awarded the Albert-Schweitzer Prize for Literature.[43]

In contrast to Bauer's early works is the inclination in Bauer's post-war works toward searching analysis of the post-war reality. Two examples of this are the collection of stories Das Lied der Freiheit (1948) and the novel Besser zu zweit als allein (1950),[44] although these works, too, are not without pathos, in particular, the suffering of privation, disillusionment, and frustration endured by the individual who must live in a flawed social order.

In those post-war years, according to Henry Beissel in his introduction to Bauer's A Different Sun, Bauer held on to a vision of the transformation of Europe into a community of peoples where human decency and dignity would prevail, where freedom and social fairness would be assured, where the shame of the past would be squarely faced and would serve to inspire the building of "a human world."[45] Bauer saw his task to be that of "Hilfe geben . . . , nicht mehr verzweifelt zu sein. Muß doch der Dichter den anderen den Schritt in die Hoffnung voraus sein."[46]

Such a transformation did not come as Bauer had hoped. Europe not only remained divided into nations, it became divided into two hostile blocks. In the one the brutality of Communism became apparent; in the other the acquisitiveness and the greed for success and security of pre-war times returned. Worst of all for Bauer, the past had not been reckoned with. The Europe Bauer loved was recidivist and had become intolerable for him. He decided to embark on yet another "necessary journey," to emigrate to Canada. He wrote about his decision in a letter to a friend:

> Ich wollte nicht vor Scham, Ekel, Zorn und Resignation ersticken. Ich wollte dem Tisch entfliehen, an dem die Wasser immer dünner, immer vergifteter wurden. Das Morgenrot, das wir erhofften, ist nicht gekommen. Restauration und Reaktion sind im Begriff, die Plätze einzunehmen.[47]

According to Günter Hess in his article "The German

Immigrant Writer Walter Bauer," one of the "deeper reasons" behind Bauer's decision to emigrate was the hope that he could save the broken marriage to his second wife, Jutta, Ernst Wiechert's stepdaughter, who, incidentally, suggested emigrating to Canada.[48] The fresh start did not save the marriage. Bauer came to Toronto alone, with little money and prospect for establishing himself. He lived in solitude in rooming houses and took jobs as a labourer in a chocolate factory, as a dishwasher, a packer, whatever could be found.[49] He learned English, then in 1954 began to study Modern Languages and Literature (German, French, Italian) at the University of Toronto where in 1958 he finished a Master's degree. From then until he retired in 1976, Bauer worked at the University of Toronto, first as an Instructor, then Lecturer, Assistant Professor, and finally as Associate Professor for German language and literature.[50]

During the years in Canada Bauer continued to write, publishing about one book a year for the last 24 years of his life, which were spent in Toronto.[51] He continued to write mainly in German and to write the same sorts of books: volumes of poetry, collections of short stories, children's books, and his popular biographies. His popularity in general, however, began to wane in Germany because he slowly grew estranged from the land and its people. At the same time Bauer never made himself at home in the English language and therefore failed to find an audience

to replace the one he was losing in Germany.[52] This is not to say that he did not try to write about Canada. Among the many works that are specifically Canadian in content are the Canadian diary Ein Jahr: Tagebuchblätter aus Kanada, a volume of short stories called Fremd in Toronto, the biography of Grey Owl entitled Der weiße Indianer and the biography of Sieur de la Salle entitled Folge dem Pfeil, the collection of poetry entitled Nachtwachen des Tellerwäschers, and three volumes of poetry which were translated into English: A Slight Trace of Ash, A Different Sun, and The Price of Morning.[53]

Walter Bauer died of cancer on December 23, 1976, only months after his retirement, leaving behind some 75 book titles.[54] His oeuvre resists being brought into any particular category; he sought his own way, though always acknowledging the influence on his writing of those writers and genres which he admired. Among those writers and genres which he admired most, apart from certain poets such as Walt Whitman and Bertolt Brecht whose lifeworks resist being grouped with any one literary movement or style, Bauer speaks most respectfully of the Expressionists and of Expressionism.[55] He admired the political-social commitment of the Expressionist poet, "who proved"--Bauer wrote in English in his 1965 article "German Poetry Today"--"by his own life as well as by his writing, that poems are also documents of compassion, of human responsibility."[56]

Chapter 2

Expressionism

Expressionism, or what was called Modernism in the English-speaking world, was the culmination of a Modernist revolution in the arts, in Europe primarily, which began toward the end of the nineteenth century in reaction to the approaches of Naturalism and Realism of the period, although the achievements of Naturalism and Realism provided some of the foundation for Modernism. As such an anti-realist movement, Modernism, or what especially in the German-speaking countries was called Expressionism, describes the height of a visionary approach to art and literature which was current from about 1910 to 1925. The Modernist revolution was set in motion by Symbolism and Impressionism[1]; but the artistic development of what came to be known as the modern in German literature and art was, in Walter Bauer's words in his 1965 article "German Poetry Today," "the glorious intellectual and poetic revolution which began about 1910 and to which Germany contributed splendidly her Expressionist poetry and painting."[2]

As the culmination of a revolutionary development in the arts, Expressionism as a movement did not come suddenly into existence; rather, poets and painters who were

groping for a new approach began to make works that later came to be called Expressionist.[3] The first Expressionist poets in Germany launched what Bauer described in his 1965 article as "the great epoch of modern German poetry" in

> its first phase from about 1910 to the outbreak of the First World War, when a band of young poets, Georg Heym, Ernst Stadler, Franz Werfel, Alfred Lichtenstein, Jakob van Hoddis, Georg Trakl depicted in their verses the decay of the complacent bourgeois world and demanded spiritual renewal.[4]

Expressionism was thus modern in the aesthetical sense of the word in that the Expressionist artists, including literary figures, saw themselves as the "avant-garde" in revolt against the social, political, and cultural order--as a "spirit at war," in the words of the historian Mordris Eksteins.[5] This self-image was quite modern: that the artist is as much an ardent reformer of human affairs as a seeker, creator, and critic of beauty and truth in the earlier customary view.

This sense of mission of the artist is the feature of Expressionism that most appealed to Walter Bauer. For him "avant-garde" poetry, he stated in his article "German Poetry Today," "always meant political-social commitment,"[6] and the modern in poetry is marked by a "personal synthesis of sorrow, scepticism and provocation."[7] In a word, Expressionism was for Bauer, as it was said by Patrick Bridgwater in his Twentieth-Century German Verse for the Expres-

sionists, "a political credo as much as an aesthetic."[8] It is elements of this rebellious, reformatory aspect of the Expressionist movement that are most recognizable in Bauer's early works. In Germany the Expressionist political credo grew out of the radical opposition to the Wilhelmine age, still more to the spirit of the era, that is, to the spirit of nineteenth-century bourgeois civilization. With this anti-bourgeois outlook, also, Bauer was of the same mind.[9]

Partly because of the tendentious temperament behind Expressionism, the movement encompassed an extraordinary diversity of individual styles which makes defining the movement by any single artistic style difficult; instead of defining the movement by style, it is usually characterized by the fervid spirit of the artists. Inflamed with ethical and utopian zeal alongside unbridled iconoclasm, the first Expressionists set out in the first decade of the twentieth century to jettison all that they had been taught to believe, and to remake the world. Beyond being a means for expressing ecstatic and apocalyptic visions, the Expressionist approach to literature became itself a means of shocking the middle class. "The early Expressionists," explains Walter Bauer in his "German Poetry Today," "had shaped the artistic means: the dynamic, illogical syntax, the disjointed and split-up language."[10] These stylistic characteristics were a conscious attack on the

decorum of bourgeois language. "A-logical bombs undermine traditional sentence structure, the bourgeois architecture of language," stated Johannes R. Becher, one of the most important Expressionist poets and later president of the "Kulturbund" in the German Democratic Republic.[11] Established stylistic conventions and traditional ideals of beauty and competence were disregarded in the attempt to loosen literary expression from old ideas and set forms. This loosening--or revitalizing--of the language is perhaps the most enduring contribution of Expressionism to twentieth-century literature.

Taken broadly, Expressionist poetry became a concentrated succession of concrete images with all the inessentials--articles, prepositions, conjunctions--removed in order to intensify the emotive effect. Grammatical subjects and nouns were avoided in favour of dynamic verbs, often combined with prepositions or adverbs to form neologisms. Poetic rhythms were compressed and irregular. The result was a tense, staccato effect, rich in colours and dreamlike fragments. Drama also disintegrated into a strange dreamlike series of vaporizing scenes and irrational figures who often speak in sentence fragments with distorted syntax. The figures in drama are presented as types or caricatures who find themselves in bizarre settings of abstract forms and symbolic colours. There is a fondness for outcries and stuttering repetition of words. Like poetry, a play

had to express an inner vision, to transform external reality, hence "Expressionism,"[12] and therefore consisted of "pictures" in loose connection rather than acts in a unified action. Narrative prose replaced the logically developed plot with stream of consciousness or parable with its contrived plots and characters. These forms lent themselves to arousing the emotional intensity and conveying the ethical commitment that the Expressionists desired to achieve. Echoing this modern temperament, Walter Bauer speaks with admiration in his 1965 article "German Poetry Today" of the poet Hans Magnus Enzensberger whose works are the voice of "an enraged moralist who tore off the mask of complacency,"[13] and of the poet Bertolt Brecht who was for him a "fighter for humanity and against injustice which he felt like a crack in his soul."[14]

The technique of Expressionist art and literature was as ruthlessly practiced as its ethos. Bourgeois restraint, prudence, and practical sense were jettisoned along with all the philosophical goods of the bourgeoisie. The representation of nature in Expressionist art is often distorted, for example, not only to express an inner vision but also to defy the belief in objective reality and the notion that art is an imitation of nature. In literature the bizarre distortion of reality, often with grotesque, apocalyptic images, was favoured over the realistic depiction of events in logical sequence, and an ecstatic, emo-

tionally intense style, often with rebellious verses, took the place of the conventional approach of the era with its preference for familiar sentiments and muted emotion. Expressionism was a "Bürgerschreck,"[15] intended to shock contemporaries into transcending their selves for the sake of realizing a new humanity.

Characteristic of many Expressionist literary works is passion aroused to an unrestrained, primal and speechless "Schrei" of ecstasy. Jethro Bithell describes it particularly well in his book Modern German Literature: 1880-1950:

> . . . the Expressionists live their life with a fiery heart full to overflowing; and their expression of this life is 'ein geballter Schrei', a clenched cry of ecstasy, a spate of ideas too fierce and young for dignity, so rushing and rapid that they would be profaned by beauty and form--there can be no calm and patient shaping in the white heat of ecstasy. In short, the idea is to give the palpable essence of things, their qualities sharply intensified, not their appearance in reality.[16]

The objective of the Expressionists was to arouse the same ecstatic emotions in others as in themselves. If others could be stirred to feel the same expansive love for all humanity and the same feeling of totality of life and belonging in the world, so their reasoning went, then a vibrant new age could be realized. Modern life, they believed, had impaired the natural capacity for feeling such love, totality, and belonging. For the Expressionists, the modern world demanded the creation of new values that

would generate a new human consciousness, a new sense of human community; and it would be the task of the artist to create them.[17]

The language and the images of Expressionism convey the urgency of the message that the world is out of joint, doomed to destruction, but also on the threshold of a possible millennium of prosperity and peace. As can be imagined, such idealism and almost preternatural self-assurance sprang from a young, restless, and self-confident generation. Most of the Expressionists were born between 1875 and 1895[18] and born into bourgeois or intellectual families.[19] These facts determined their common outlook and thereby the Expressionist approach, according to Kurt Pinthus in his well-known anthology of 1919 of Expressionist lyric poetry, Menschheitsdämmerung,[20] the title of which captures in a word the Janus-faced character of Expressionism which brackets the old with the bad and the new with the good--another quite modern view. Symbolically this restive and anxious, Januslike temperament took form frequently in the literary motif of the father-son conflict and "der neue Mensch."

The motif of the father-son conflict embodied the clash between the traditional and the modern, such as in Reinhard Sorge's 1912 play Der Bettler[21]; it bodied forth the rebellious, iconoclastic face of Expressionism, looking back at the past, whereas the motif of "der neue Mensch"

bodied forth the utopian face of Expressionism, looking forward to a better future. "Der neue Mensch" stood for the singularly important theme in Expressionism of moral transformation of the individual. The image of "der neue Mensch" is that of an enlightened person who is inspired by a vision of a rehumanized world and who acts as a leader to bring it about. Such an exceptional person possesses a confident grasp of the common, earthly essence of human nature and has a great love for all humanity; these special qualities, along with the sense of harmony and the happiness that proceed from them, qualify "der neue Mensch" to lead the moral revolution. "Der neue Mensch" recognizes the evils and weaknesses of the contemporary world, and, guided by a vision of life's higher significance, sets about, peacefully yet decisively, to replace traditional values with a new, soundly-based morality. As explained by Roy Allen in his German Expressionist Poetry: "The new morality is born in the new man: he is an intellectually unfettered, a self-sufficient and self-consistent man. . . ."[22]

The stage lent itself especially well to presenting the motif of "der neue Mensch," owing to the predilection of Expressionist dramatists for parable and the rhetorical. A vivid depiction of the transformation into "der neue Mensch" is to be found in Ernst Toller's Die Wandlung,[23] which in its ethical and aesthetic exuberance also stands as an excellent example of the full bloom of Expressionism:

the culmination of the Modernist revolution in the arts and itself a call for spiritual revolution at large. After the play's appearance in 1919 Expressionism quickly lost its currency and passed into what Walter Bauer calls the second phase: the Expressionists of the twenties, he observed in his 1965 article "German Poetry Today," were "mannerists," using Expressionist techniques for political aims.[24] Apart from being vitiated by imitators and propagandists, Expressionism faded away in the twenties in part because many of its followers turned to other styles--to those that were a reaction to it or those that were an outgrowth of it--and in part because the visionary rapture simply could not be sustained as an enduring natural state. Bertolt Brecht, who was a follower of Expressionism in his early years as a writer, commented in this regard on Expressionist drama:

> Der Expressionismus, der die Ausdrucksmittel des Theaters sehr bereicherte und eine bisher unausgenutzte ästhetische Ausbeute brachte, zeigte sich ganz außerstande, die Welt als Objekt menschlicher Praxis zu erklären.[25]

Bertolt Brecht turned from Expressionism to "Functional Poetry" in the twenties in order to carry on the concern for ethical conduct in the modern world while avoiding the hectic ideology and, in the words of Patrick Bridgwater in his Twentieth-Century German Verse, "the egocentric, apocalyptic, and 'cosmic' tendencies of Expressionism prop-

er."[26] Functional Poetry, which was both an outgrowth of Expressionism and a reaction to its excesses, employed plain, even colloquial language and a simple, sober style, yet, in the manner of Expressionism, concerned itself with making known the struggle of the downtrodden for survival in a disorganized world and with professing compassion for humanity. The important thing in this poetry was to see things as they are, to show their significance in real life (hence "Functional Poetry"), and to avoid the "pathetic fallacy" which shows things in their significance in art.

Walter Bauer's early poetry, taken as a whole, comes more closely to Functional Poetry than to any other style, yet, as a poet from the working class, he was a beneficiary of Expressionism's encouragement of "proletarian poetry." In order to give expression to the new mood of modern life, including the loneliness and isolation of urban and industrial society, the Expressionists encouraged for the first time the unwashed view of the working-class existence from the ranks of the working class itself. Working-men poets, such as Max Barthel, Karl Bröger, Gerrit Engelke, Jacob Kneip, and Heinrich Lersch, presented proletarian life as it actually was lived in the factories and tenement houses.[27] The working-men poets dealt with the problems of being a hireling in a mechanized civilization and feeling adrift in mass society, the outcome of Germany's rapid change from an agricultural to an urban, industrial nation.

In retrospect Expressionism becomes less iconoclastic and revolutionary than the movement seemed in its time. The Expressionists' idealistic faith in human potential and progress upheld the humanist tradition,[28] and their belief in the sacredness of the individual and in all-embracing love preserved Christian beliefs, particularly the conception of righteousness and compassion as guiding principles in ethical conduct. The Expressionists failed to remake the world into that which they had envisioned, yet they gave new directions to art and literature. The fervent, visionary calls of the Expressionists for a new unity and a renewed humanity in an increasingly mechanized, seemingly venal world were echoed in the more modest yet equally urgent calls in Walter Bauer's early works for sympathy with the suffering and the unfortunate and for common decency at large. For Bauer, too, these virtues were of supreme importance, and he was proud to have dedicated himself to upholding them all his life.[29] In a letter from 1969 to a friend he wrote:

> Die Sympathie habe ich nie verloren, auch wenn ich, was politische und wirtschaftliche Formen betrifft, zurückhaltender geworden bin, und ich würde George Orwell zustimmen, wenn er schon in den dreißiger Jahren und nach dem spanischen Bürgerkriege, an dem er teilnahm, schrieb, wie ihn die Unfähigkeit der modernen intelligentsia erschrecke, zu sehen, daß jede Gesellschaft auf common decency gegründet sein müßte.[30]

Chapter 3

"Comrades, I Speak to You"

Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich[1] was Walter Bauer's first book, a collection of poems, published in 1929 when Bauer was 24 years old. Today, six and a half decades later, the title sounds effusive, if not a little seditious, and to be sure it does declare the young man's intent to agitate for political and social change; however, it is not an address to either leftist revolutionaries or to anarchists, but rather a call to like-minded contemporaries and to the downtrodden workers for whom he felt fraternal sympathy. "Kameraden" meant to Bauer those whose hapless worldly fate he had shared and those who follow the same path as he in endeavouring to bring about courageous humanism. Writing about the title in 1964, Bauer's publisher, Ernst Tessloff, commented:

> Heute würde Bauer einen neuen Gedichtband zurückhaltender "Nachrichten an Freunde" nennen, aber im Grunde läuft es auf das gleiche hinaus. Freunde, vertraut oder unbekannt, sind Kameraden und Gefährten im gleichen langwierigen, erschöpfenden und glorreichen Versuch.[2]

The "Versuch" in Bauer's first book meant, according to Tessloff, the same striving toward, in Bauer's own

words, the "Vermenschlichung der Welt"[3] that all of his life's work set forth. To humanize the world meant for Bauer, much as it did in general for the Expressionists, to employ literature and art for the purpose of reforming oneself and the world. It also meant having a moral concern for the poet's "Kameraden," sharing their fate and speaking on their behalf for social reform. In pursuing this purpose, however, the poems in Bauer's first collection do not, as might be expected, simply guide or enjoin readers to transform society for the sake of recovering humanity, nor do they build a chorus of strident protest against inhumanity or of plaintive appeal for a more humane world; they attain their humanizing purpose instead by mainly presenting poetic pictures of proletarian life as Bauer had lived it as a child in the tenement houses and as he had known it to be in the Leunawerk ammonia plant near his childhood home. The poems describe the trivial day-to-day existence of factory workers and their children, and their longing to escape from this modern predicament. The descriptions are factual yet at the same time an indictment of the sufferings of the poor. The poems are distinguished by ever-present pathos: in describing the world of the factory worker which he knew, Bauer infuses into his works intense personal feelings about the world and society. Beyond being a testimony of love and pain, though, the poems seek to penetrate through the factual description

of the reality of objects, situations and life to their inner meaning and to illuminate it. This, then, is the purpose of Bauer's poetry: to put his "Kameraden" in touch with what they forget at their peril, namely, their humanity.

The poems in Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich are grouped together under three headings: "Das Kind," "Das Werk," and "Das Leben." Under the heading "Das Kind" are descriptions of the life of working-class children which remind the reader of the innocence and longings and dreams of childhood. The poems in "Das Werk" describe deadening factory work through the eyes of workers whose childhood dreams and hopes have been dashed by the harshness of the modern industrial working place, yet who still long for freedom from the yoke of that work, for economic justice and fraternity at large. The poems in "Das Leben" show a broader view of the lives of the workers and their families, their life in the tenement houses and in the dirty trains while travelling to and from work, or, as soldiers, in the trenches and the troop trains, their hopes for a better future, and to a much greater extent, their misery, despair and resentment as the downtrodden in a heartless world.

The poems are rich in vivid images of the world of the proletariat. At the same time, Bauer rises up here and there in his mostly melancholy poems and shakes his

fist at the world. He decries the inhumanity of the world he finds himself in, the alienation from oneself and one another in that world, and most of all the senseless suffering. Expressionistic words are found throughout the collection which, as a whole, communicates in noticeable parallel to the Expressionist sensibility an inner vision of a reformed world and a spiritual reality; words such as "Schicksal" (88), "sich vom Leben entfernen" (85, 89), "sich vom Leben entäußern" (86), "Opfer" (60, 99), "Gerechtigkeit" (59, 74), "Herztöne finden" (48), "Menschgewordensein" (109), "brüderlichste Liebe" (58, 69), "brüderliche Verbundenheit" (73), "Wir!" (69), among others. These words recall the four rubrics in Kurt Pintus's 1919 anthology Menschheitsdämmerung under which he arranged the "symphony" of Expressionist poetry: "Sturz und Schrei," "Erwekkung des Herzens," "Aufruf und Empörung," and "Liebe den Menschen."[4]

Pinthus understood Expressionist poetry to have meaning beyond the political,

> daß sie mit glühendem Finger, mit weckender Stimme immer wieder auf den Menschen selbst wies, daß sie die verlorengegangene Bildung der Menschen untereinander, miteinander, das Verknüpftsein des einzelnen mit dem Unendlichen - zur Verwirklichung anfeuernd - in der Sphäre des Geistes wiederschuf.[5]

This is the Expressionist notion of the ethical--almost religious--importance of placing the individual human being

back in the centre of the world, where love of all for all would be restored. In Kameraden this sentiment is expressed well in the poem "Nicht Trauer! Aufschwung!" in which the familiar impersonal aspect of a throng of workers is one day greeted with an ecstatic outburst of humanistic feeling:

> . . . . . .
> und unter hundertachtzigtausend
> singe ich die Not weg
> und mich wunderbar dem Himmel zu,
> innig und meiner Stimme lauschend,
> mit ziellos verströmender Begeisterung
> umarm ich alle, die ich nicht kenne
> und die ich liebe. (Kameraden, 50)

The poem "Verzweiflung, Untergang" in Kameraden conveys the same sentiment in the form of a desperate plea for awakening our humanity:

> . . . . . .
> Über unsere Stadtschluchten
> ist der Himmel wie im Dschungel,
> horch, die Welt schreit wie Tiere,
> wie Tiere
> jagen wir uns, denn
> wir lieben uns nicht. (Kameraden, 117)

In likening the city to a jungle and its dwellers to animals, Bauer's poem also calls up the Expressionist view of urban and industrial society. "Most Expressionists," writes Roy Allen in his book German Expressionist Poetry, "primarily associated the city with the evils of modern life: coldness and insensibility, spiritual barrenness,

hardship and drudgery, corruption, the apparent venality of all things."[6] Franz Werfel, for instance, curses outright the evil of the city in his Expressionist poem "Fremde sind wir auf der Erde Alle": "Mögen Städte aufwärts sich gestalten, / Niniveh, ein Gottestrotz von Steinen!" As in Bauer's poem mentioned here, Werfel concludes the poem by decrying the way moderns have become estranged from one another: "Fremde sind wir auf der Erde Alle, / Und es stirbt, womit wir uns verbinden."[7]

This view of the modern mechanized world and its deformation of the individual is illustrated best in the poem "Ballade vom täglichen Leben" (106-110)--one of the most memorable human portraits in Kameraden. The poem tells of a young couple who dwell in a close-packed and dreary tenement house, who despite their situation love each other:

> Als sie nun zusammenschliefen und sie lauschte,
> ob drüben jemand atmete, ob das die Wirtin sein könne,
> dachte sie daran, daß jetzt nicht mehr alles so war,
> wie es immer gewesen war, aber schlimm war das wohl nicht,
> auch liebte sie den, der neben ihr lag.
> (Kameraden, 107)

The young woman becomes pregnant, what Bauer describes with the expressionistically tinted words: "In diesen ersten Tagen ihres Menschgewordenseins . . ." (109). But to have a child is not to her a joy: ". . . das durfte nicht wachsen, / das sollte nicht . . ." (109). In desperation she

kills herself by jumping out of the third-storey window of her apartment, taking "das Unbegehrte, Geliebte" (110) with her. These last words are all that is said to imply the nature of the tragedy of her predicament. What is suggested in some detail in the poem is the despair of the couple's life in poverty, in particular the crowded and abject conditions in the tenement house. For example:

> Er brachte sie die kalte Treppe hinunter,
> und der Schlaflaut vieler zur Miete wohnender
> Menschen kroch um sie und hetzte sie stumm und verlegen hin,
> als wären sie noch immer nackt. . . . (Kameraden, 107)

The poem can be compared with Alfred Wolfenstein's Expressionist poem "Städter" which also describes the misery of life in the tenement houses:

> Unsere Wände sind so dünn wie Haut,
> daß ein jeder teilnimmt, wenn ich weine,
> Flüstern dringt hinüber wie Gegröhle:
>
> Und wie stumm in abgeschloßener Höhle
> Unberührt und ungeschaut
> Steht doch jeder fern und fühlt: alleine.[8]

Incidentally, Bauer's first published novel, Ein Mann zog in die Stadt, focuses throughout in this vein on working-class life in a tenement house.[9]

The theme of the inhumanity of the industrial world takes on numerous images in Kameraden. In the poem "Weltbild" (45-46), for instance, workers wake up with a full

heart, but by the end of the working day their hearts are again dead. In "Lebenslauf im Werk" (47) the worker does not fully live but instead goes to and from work every day "wie ein Mensch," the routine being eventually broken when brought out of the factory one day dead. The worker comes to long for death in "Fabrikarbeiter" (58-60), for death brings release from the machine. In this poem the dying worker's "Herz brüderlichster Liebe" toward his "Kameraden" (57) contrasts with the painful hammer blows of the factory which has brought about his death. Abhorrence of the modern urban and industrial society reaches full bloom in the poem "Im Ertrinken" (102) where the poet finds peace only in undisturbed nature because in human society he feels himself enclosed in a cage, and not even human kindness can free him.

The notion of the inhumanity of mechanical civilization leads Bauer, in an expressionistic vein, to the associated notion of the factory worker as a sacrifice to the progress of mechanical civilization. The poem "Fabrikarbeiter," mentioned above, ends with the worker, who speaks in verse form to his comrades from his deathbed, declaring himself to be a sacrifice, not only as a victim of the factory but also as a martyr for "Gerechtigkeit" (59). The poem "Schlaflied für Arbeiterkinder in der Welt" (75-77) also dramatizes the image of the worker as martyr and victim. The poet tells the children of the world to

sleep well, for he and the other workers of the night shift go soon to their sacrificial deaths in the grip of the machine so that they, the children, might have a better life. A factory chimney becomes poetically a sacrificial tower: ". . . der Opferturm brennt ewig, und der Rauch / ist von dem Blute, das für euren Schlaf gegeben wird, / ewig, / bis ihr frei seid" (77). The poem is one of the less admirable in the collection, falling into puerile pathos; nonetheless, it is a good example of the expressionistic sentiments of the senselessness of innocent human suffering in the modern world and the hope for freedom and a new beginning to come. The notion of senseless sacrifice is portrayed in the poem "Lebenslauf" (81) in which the worker "W. B." contemplates the indifference of the world to his death in an accident at the factory, a death which for him is certain to happen. The horrible death of a soldier in World War I is the subject of the poem "Ich rufe dich an, mein Mensch!" (97-99) which reminds the reader of the meaning of the sacrifices for war: "Dies - war mein Bruder, einmal für dich gefallen - / Dies - das unendlich dargebrachte Opfer, das du nicht verstehst" (99).

Of all the poems in the collection which speak to the theme of sacrifice--"Opfer"--the one most reminiscent of Expressionism is certainly "Kreuzigung im Werk" (61-62). The poem draws a symbolic parallel between the crucifixion

of Jesus and the daily crucifixion of each factory worker--crucifixion of the workers meant in the sense of both extreme suffering and undeserved sacrifice. Squarely in the manner of Expressionism, the poem expresses an intense feeling through an exaggerated distortion of reality and thereby hurls appeals at the conscience of mankind:

Kreuzigung im Werk

Wie sie einmal deinen Sohn
ans Kreuz schlugen und ließen ihn allein,
und er schrie,
werden wir jeden Tag an unser Kreuz geschlagen,
und wir leben davon.
Für eine Monatskarte zu sechs Mark zwanzig
fahren wir schneller nach Golgatha,
und die Maschine schreit wie das Volk, das um ihn stand.
Auch sehen wir die Bäume nicht, weil
wir sehr müde sind und geschwächt wie er
von der Anstrengung vielen Leidens.
Wir sind schon dem Kalvarienberge näher,
und wenn wir, vorzeigend den rötlichen Ausweis,
eintreten in die Straße D, die zum Richtplatz führt,
werden schon in den Werkstätten, Kellern,
auf den Gerüsten die Kreuze errichtet.
Uns schlagen sie nicht Nägel ein,
wir steigen allein hinauf, jeder zu seiner Stunde,
um unsre blauen Anzüge feilschen sie nicht
wie um sein Tuch.
Niemand reicht uns den Essigschwamm, zu kühlen,
auch haben wir nicht lang geschrien,
wir verlernten Durst, verschwiegen ihn, niemand kam.

Warum geschah's nicht, daß du den Vorhang der Welt in Stücke rissest
und Nacht herunterwarfst?
Und doch hing er
nur allein am Kreuz,
wir sind dreißigtausend,
die langsam aufhören zu leben,
und rufen längst nicht "Eli" mehr.

Niemand ist, wie auch keiner trauert,
der uns abnimmt und zärtlich ist mit Salben mit dem Toten,
nur die Kühltürme geben den Stirnen Abwässer-Regen.

Wir steigen, wenn uns der Atem müd wird,
selbst herab und gehen
alle nach Hause, ein Stück weg von Golgatha,
weil wir atmen müssen,
daß wir morgen wieder aufsteigen
und abends uns herabnehmen, auferstehn,
weil wir davon leben, Vater des Gestorbenen.
(Kameraden, 61-62)

The poem is, of course, much less an artistic work than it is an address to an ethical dilemma of the poet's times, namely, the sacrifice of one's humanity to material progress in an impersonal and brutal machine age. The poem's image of the crucified workers brings to mind Georg Kaiser's Expressionist play Von morgens bis mitternachts,[10] a "Stationendrama" in which the protagonist sets out on a frenzied but vain one-day quest to find genuine humanity in a big, modern city, in the end only to become a sacrifice to the venality and indifference of the iron age of commercialism he finds himself in. The final scene depicts the protagonist falling in the pose of Christ crucified onto a tawdry lighted cross in a Salvation Army hall and being electrocuted by a short circuit. In neither Kaiser's drama nor Bauer's poem is there a resurrection following the crucifixion, nor does the symbolic crucifixion serve a higher end; resigned and alone, the latter-day Christ-figure simply surrenders his humanity to a pointless fate.

Apart from the image of crucifixion and the depiction of futile and guiltless suffering, Kaiser's play and Bauer's poem have in common the Expressionist technique of merging the particular case with the general: the fate of an individual worker or city dweller merges with that of all such workers or moderns. In Kaiser's play the protagonist is cast in typical Expressionist fashion as a type, called "The Cashier" because of his occupation, and his predicament stands for that of all moderns. In similar fashion Bauer's poem is narrated by "we," the workers, presumably those who work at the Leunawerk factory; but despite the mentioning of details of their specific existence, the narrators remain unknown, so that their predicament and their fate stand for those of the labouring poor everywhere. This Expressionist technique elevates the story of a particular fate to the power of a parable. It also allows the story to convey the ethos--of primary importance to the Expressionists--of understanding and sharing the suffering of others. That Bauer's poem "Kreuzigung im Werk" exhibits such expressionistic ethos of all-embracing human compassion was noticed by Bruno Leon in his article on Bauer's works, "Der Ruf gilt dir, Kamerad!":

> Wie bitter muß Walter Bauer ums Herz gewesen sein, als er diese Zeilen schrieb. Hier steht nicht der einzelne Mensch im Mittelpunkt, sondern die Masse, und in dieser Masse steht "Hiob," namenlos, und dieser Hiob, dieser Namenlose ist Walter Bauer selbst.[11]

Bruno Leon draws attention to an important feature of this poem--that of the suffering Job, or "Hiob"--and that he does so is not likely fortuitous, for Bauer's early works frequently employ the theme of Job, either implicitly, as in this poem, or explicitly, as in numerous prose sketches in Stimme aus dem Leunawerk (to be discussed later). Job symbolizes for Bauer the sad existence of the present-day proletarian. At the same time the image symbolizes for the reader hope, for in the Biblical story happiness is eventually restored to Job. In "Kreuzigung im Werk" the implicit image of Job brings together the four Expressionist elements already noted: those of the theme of guiltless sacrifice, the technique of the parable, the deep-going pathos, and the ethos of human sympathy. The Biblical story of Job, too, is a parable of good and evil in the world, the story of an innocent and just man suffering because he lives in a wicked world. As in Bauer's poem, the story of Job does not address the question of why the righteous suffer but rather stresses with poignant pathos that the suffering is unjust and therefore deserves our sympathy. A readiness to show sympathy with the weak and unfortunate of the world is the first step toward accepting responsibility in the world, which is exactly the sort of moral regeneration called for by the Expressionists and embodied by many of them in the literary image

of "der neue Mensch." The Expressionist Heinrich Vogeler, for instance, called for "active love," by which he meant "the practicing of a deep concern for the well-being of one's fellow man through concerted action."[12] The famous Expressionist poet Georg Trakl also believed in moral regeneration and "proclaimed brotherly sympathy with other human beings equally condemned to suffering. . . ."[13]

Brotherly sympathy with specifically the soldiers on the front lines in the First World War is another compelling image of guiltless suffering in the collection, and is the theme of seven expressionistically coloured poems out of more than a dozen about the War in the book: "Aufsatz eines Kindes" (24), "Dies ist die Uhr meines Vaters" (37), "Transportzug" (85), "Züge, entgegenrollend dem Tod" (88), "Meine gestorbenen Freunde" (94), "Ich rufe dich an, mein Mensch!" (97), and "Die Stimme, welcher ich zu Hilfe eile" (111). All of these poems put into words a courageous and ardent sympathy that rises above distinctions of nationality or rank, of being an ally or an enemy; the point made by them is that each suffering or dead soldier, regardless of his uniform, is above all else a "Mensch," which makes him also a brother. What makes the poems interesting with reference to Expressionist ethos is the motif itself, which is the provenance of Expressionist literature. The Expressionists often used the motif, not only because it was a horrible reminder of the chaos of the world and ex-

pressed their moral outrage, but also because many of their generation had served during the First World War and become possessed by the powerful feelings upon which the motif rests. Bauer, however, was too young to belong to the war generation. He revives the motif in his own way, though, by depicting it through the perspective of an innocent youth living during the war or of a young man living after the war.

In the poem "Aufsatz eines Kindes" (23-25), for example, a thirteen-year-old youth must write an essay for school on the subject of a great victory in the ongoing war, while at that moment, unknown to him, not soldiers, the poem stresses, but human beings are dying on the battlefields and in the ships, the trains and the ambulances everywhere: ". . . in dieser Stunde / lag in einer Ackerfurche ein Mensch, / ein Franzose, ein Deutscher, ein Engländer, ein Russe, / ein Mensch aller Welt und schrie . . ." (24). The Expressionist Ernst Toller declared the same sentiment through a similar image in the climax to his autobiography, Eine Jugend in Deutschland.[14] Toller describes how one day while serving on the front lines in the War he happened to dig up the remains of a soldier and realized for the first time, as in a revelation, that the dead man was not a soldier nor a foe nor anything else but a human being:

> Ein toter Mensch.
> Nicht: ein toter Franzose.
> Nicht: ein toter Deutscher.
> Ein toter Mensch. (Toller, Eine Jugend in Deutschland, p. 52)

The poem "Züge, entgegenrollend dem Tod" (88-93) is the narrative of a young man who tells in verse form how he is reminded every time he hears a train of the troop trains he heard when he was younger. He recalls in reverie the fate of the soldiers who once rode on the troop trains --Germans, Russians, French, Americans, English, soldiers from the colonies in Africa--all riding with resignation to their doom. Besides being all sacrifices to something "nicht genau bekannt" (92), they have one other thing in common: they are all "Menschen": "Transportzüge: Regimenter Brüder, / Divisionen Brüder, / hunderttausende Menschen" (92). This theme is developed further in the next poem, "Meine gestorbenen Freunde" (94-96), in which the narrator encounters in reverie three fallen soldiers--a French soldier, a Canadian soldier, and a Russian soldier. They are recognized as certain persons, but equally as importantly as "Menschen": "die Stimme eines Menschen René Blanchard" (94), "die Berührung auf meinem Scheitel der Hand eines Menschen George Andrews" (94), and "der leise Schritt eines siebzehnjährigen Menschen Kolja Stenkin" (95). The narrator regrets that they, his fallen friends, have died because of his weakness (95). In their memory

he resolves, in an expressionistic appeal to humanity for a new world, "zu sprechen und zu lieben alle, die zu lieben ihr nicht Zeit hattet, / die Erde zu lieben und der Gabe zu denken, / die ihr mir gebracht habt schweigend in stummen Gehorsam" (96). The following poem in the collection, "Ich rufe dich an, mein Mensch" (97-99), recalls the horrible death of "der Mensch Otto Stössel" (98) on the battlefield in an image reminiscent of the climax scene in Erich Maria Remarque's 1929 novel Im Westen nichts Neues.[15] Unlike Remarque's book, though, Bauer waxes expressionistic, concluding with the reminder that Otto Stössel is his brother--everyone's brother--and that his sacrifice carries on without end.

The notion of brotherhood with all soldiers of the world, and by extension with all human beings, is stated explicitly in the poem "Die Stimme, welcher ich zu Hilfe eile" (111-114). Rather than amusing himself with the others in the café, the narrator of the poem, "W. B.", spends the evening alone, going in his mind to the aid of the injured soldier, "mein Bruder" (112), "der Alpenjäger François Sauratel, ein Franzose" (113). "W. B." finds François by following his heart which lights the way like a lantern (112), a gesture which would have been quite admirable to the Expressionist writers who typically appealed, in the words of the literary historian J. G. Robertson in his A History of German Literature, "to the supremacy

of the spirit in man" and who called for "a new emphasis on the freedom of the individual to live his life in the light of his innermost convictions."[16]

In Bauer, moreover, the view of human brotherhood rests on the same belief as the Expressionist watchword brotherhood,[17] which holds that the individual, who is free to follow the innermost convictions, or, in Bauer's words, the lantern of the heart, will discover a universal human brotherhood.[18] For the many Expressionists who held a vision of a newer world and "der neue Mensch," world brotherhood seemed within the grasp of their generation, if only the world could be shown its humanity--or "heart" --which was the task to which they set themselves in their art. An emphatic appeal to the heart, to brotherhood, and the new age is all contained, for example, in the poem "Die Thronerhebung des Herzens" by the Expressionist Karl Otten:

> Schlage dein Herz auf, Bruder:
> Das Buch der Morgenröte, Bruder
> Der neuen Zeit, Bruder
> Den Mantel der Furcht, Bruder
> Das Auge der Erkenntnis, Bruder![19]

Another example of the theme of human brotherhood is the poem "Brüder" by the Expressionist "working-man" poet Heinrich Lersch. He wrote it during the First World War in which he served on the front lines. The poem is also an example of the Expressionist motif of finding sym-

pathy with suffering or fallen soldiers in the War, whoever they may be. Most significant of all, however, is that Lersch, like Bauer, follows the lead of his unerring heart to his new-found brother:

Brüder

Es lag schon lang ein Toter vor unserm Drahtverhau,
die Sonne auf ihn glühte, ihn kühlte Wind und Tau.

Ich sah ihm alle Tage in sein Gesicht hinein,
und immer fühlt' ich's fester: Er muß mein Bruder sein.

Ich sah in allen Stunden, wie er so vor mir lag,
und hörte seine Stimme aus frohem Friedenstag.

Oft in der Nacht ein Weinen, das aus dem Schlaf mich trieb,
mein Bruder, lieber Bruder--hast du mich nicht mehr lieb?

Bis ich, trotz aller Kugeln, zur Nacht mich ihm genaht
und ihn geholt.--Begraben:--Ein fremder Kamerad.

Es irrten meine Augen.--Mein Herz, du irrst dich nicht;
es hat ein jeder Toter des Bruders Angesicht.[20]

For Lersch, every stranger can be seen as "ein fremder Kamerad," a brother, in the same sense that Bauer uses the word in the title, Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich; they are both calling for a new humanity. This call runs through Kameraden and is what the work most has in common with Expressionism. Bauer believed, in common with the Expressionists, taken as a movement, that all-embracing compassion humanizes and that it would overcome the suffering and discord in the world.

Chapter 4

"A Voice from the Leuna Chemical Works"

Stimme aus dem Leunawerk,[1] Walter Bauer's second book, was published a year after Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich in 1930. In addition to poems that speak to and for the working class, as in Kameraden, Stimme contains prose sketches which accompany the poems thematically and augment them in the poet's striving to bring illumination to the reality behind the trivial as well as weighty day-to-day experience of working-class life. The book is distinguished by its tone of stridency, which is more in accord with the fervid spirit of Expressionist literature of a decade earlier, as described, for instance, by C. P. Magill in his German Literature,[2] than it is with the sober and journalistic tone of the then popular literary styles in Germany of "Functional Poetry" ("Gebrauchslyrik") and "New Objectivity" ("Neue Sachlichkeit").[3] Bauer apparently intended to shake his poetic fist more vigorously at the iniquities of the world in Stimme, for he states on the first page in the poem "Wort durch Radio," in obvious reference to Kameraden[4]: "Meine Stimme hat es aufgegeben, von dem zarten, kleinen Menschen W. B. zu sprechen" (7). In the following line, though, he makes it clear that his voice in Stimme

will carry on the appeal to the heart, as we have seen it did in an expressionistic manner in Kameraden, and not appeal to the spleen: "sie spricht mit unaufdringlicher Innigkeit / von deinem proletarischen Bruder" (7).

The tone of stridency in Stimme kindles agitation in favour of the militant workers' movement in Weimar Germany, although Bauer holds himself back from agitating overtly for violent uprising. The huge Leuna Chemical Works near Bauer's childhood home of Merseburg, already "notorious for labour unrest,"[5] provided Bauer with inspiration and a focus for his writings. It also provided him with an approving audience for his first two books, which made him known in short time in the labour movement as the "Leuna poet."[6] Those were the years, in Bauer's words, of the "heroische Epoche der Arbeiterklasse" and its literary offspring, "Arbeiterdichtung," about which Bauer goes on to say in recollection in a personal letter: "es waren, wie ich nie ableugnen werde, glorreiche Jahre für mich, einen jungen Schriftsteller, der seine Arbeit im Einklang mit ihr [Arbeiterdichtung] wußte."[7]

The proletarian literature, "Arbeiterdichtung," with which Bauer avowedly chimed in and to which his early works have been seen by many critics as a contribution,[8] received its initial impetus from the social revolt of Naturalism;[9] however, as the literary critic Albert Bettex points out in his article "Modern Literature (1885 to the present)":

> "It was expressionism . . . that worked on the mood of the age to release for the first time the poetic impulse of the working class. . . . it is only now, with figures such as Max Barthel, Heinrich Lersch . . . and Gerrit Engelke, that one meets real poets from the ranks of the working class.[10]

The "Arbeiterdichter" Karl Bröger, Gerrit Engelke, Jakob Kneip and Heinrich Lersch were in fact considered members of what the critic Harry T. Moore calls the "workers' wing of the Expressionist movement."[11] What they, along with many other so-called working-men poets of the Weimar era, and Walter Bauer had most in common with the Expressionists was an extravagant yet earnest moral idealism and a serious concern with social reform which they expressed in literary works remembered for their pathos.[12] To stir sympathy with society's step-child, the industrial working class, was the primary purpose of "Arbeiterdichtung,"[13] as it plainly was of Bauer's Stimme as well. For example:

Der Lehrling

"Du hast Angst, mein Junge,
Angst vor dem weiten Raum,
vor den Gebissen der Motoren,
wovor noch --
und daß du nun den blauen Anzug trägst,
den du nie mehr ablegen wirst,
nach ein paar Jahren einen neuen,
-- aber nicht ablegen --
wirst den Geruch nun nicht mehr los sein,
der die Lunge verpestet.
Lege ruhig deine Angst beiseite,
fasse nur den Hebel an, das Tier gehorcht.

> Bald stehst du an dem Motor wie seit Jahren,
> und denke dran: entweder
> wirst du vom Gebiß zerrissen,
> und wir holen dich aus dem Riemen,
> oder du wirst neben mir marschieren,
> Kamerad, kleiner, proletarischer Bruder."
> (Stimme, 45, quotation marks in the original)

With respect to Expressionist pathos, the disturbing vision of proletarian fate in this poem can be compared with that in the last lines of the poem "Fabrikstraße Tags" (1911) by the Expressionist Paul Zech: "Trägst du Purpur oder Büßerhemd--: / immer drückt mit riesigem Gewicht / Gottes Bannfluch: uhrenlose Schicht."[14]

As to be expected, the proletarian literature of that era, again in common with Stimme, had in general a tendentious tone and typically gravitated toward the Left, particularly toward socialism.[15] Expressionism, which played the dry nurse to "Arbeiterdichtung," was itself marked by a rebellious spirit and a reformatory intent, and, according to Twentieth Century German Literature, "was, on the whole, a left-wing revolutionary manifestation."[16] Some of the working-men poets, such as Max Barthel and Karl Bröger, wrote anti-war and revolutionary poetry,[17] although many more of them, such as Heinrich Lersch in his Deutschland,[18] expressed in their tendentious poems the humanitarian rather than the revolutionary aspects of socialism.[19] Taking these socialistically inclined labour poets altogether, the critic Jethro Bithell in his

Modern German Literature lists the dominant themes in their work as:

> (1) Life in workshop and factory; (2) the problem of machinery and the revolt against the reduction by capitalism of man to a machine; (3) the relations of the working man to society ("die arbeiterliche Lebensgestaltung"). But the handling of these themes is not as a rule personal: the poet speaks for his fellow-workingmen; and the political party has the relation to his poetry that the university has to the work of academically trained writers; it gives the lines of approach and attack.[20]

All this holds true on the whole for Bauer's Stimme. What, however, distinguishes the tendentious verse in Stimme from "Arbeiterdichtung" in general, as pointed out in Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart,[21] is that it lays stress on the plight of the individual worker and the misery of the worker's life rather than on viewing the proletariat as a mass and their misery as a condition of their class.

Here is an example of such tendentious poetry from Stimme:

> **Das Vaterland**
>
> Dampf! aufsteigend aus den Sirenen, helle Wolke,
> die aus Kühltürmen uns überregnet,
> Maschinengewölk --
> du hast eine Heimat, weißt: wohin,
> du steigst nach oben,
> der Weltraum ist dein wolkiges Vaterland!
> Du flüchtest dich in die Buchten der Wolken,
> zu den Küsten atmosphärischer Meere,
> fort von der schmutzigen Erde, vom unreinen Ursprung.

Wo sind wir in unserm Vaterland?
Wo ist der Baum, der alle satt macht --
die Maschine weiß nichts davon, knirscht nur: Profit.
Rad und Maschine wissen nichts vom Baum, von Sättigung.

Ist das Werk Vaterland?
Das Mietshaus, die baumlose Straße --
Wo sind die fruchtreichen, glücklichen Herbste?
Du bist gestorben unter dem Torbogen des Werkes,
die Gebirge im Silo haben dich begraben --
Vaterland, du vergehst wie der Schaum auf den Abwässern,
wie der Schaum auf den Lippen des Abgestürzten.
(Stimme, 52)

This poem touches on all three of the dominant themes in Bithell's list. It depicts life in the factory as abhorrent and ending with horrible death. It accuses capitalism ("Profit") and the "Rad und Maschine" of destroying nature, home and the worker. It handles the theme of "the relations of the working man to society" by asking the workers the rhetorical question: "Wo sind wir in unserm Vaterland?" Furthermore, the handling of these themes is not personal; Bauer speaks for the workers.

The poem is also one of the most expressionistic with respect to style and tone in Stimme.[22] In structure there stands out the distinctive characteristic of Expressionist poetry of the staccato utterance of emotionally charged words and disquieting images--"Dampf! aufsteigend aus den Sirenen," for instance. The language is concentrated and pithy, the sentences are choppy, the lines of the poem are irregular. The images are strong, dynamic, and extrava-

gant; for example, "zu den Küsten atmosphärischer Meere." Another common feature of Expressionist poetry, the neologism, is found in this poem as well: "Maschinengewölk." The intense language, splintered syntax and disquieting images can be compared with those of an Expressionist poem by Paul Zech about the operator of what could be called the infernal (milling) machine:

Fräser

Gebietend blecken weiße Hartstahl-Zähne
aus dem Gewirr der Räder. Mühlen gehn profund,
sie schütten auf den Ziegelgrund
die Wolkenbrüche krauser Kupferspäne.

Die Gletscherkühle riesenhafter Birnen
beglänzt Fleischnackte, die von Öl umtropft
die Kämme rühren; während automatenhaft gestopft
die Scheren das Gestänge dünn zerzwirnen.

Ein Fäusteballen hin und wieder und ein Fluch,
Werkmeisterpfiffe, widerlicher Brandgeruch
an Muskeln jäh empor geleckt: zu töten!

Und es geschieht, daß sich die bärtigen Gesichter
röten,
daß Augen wie geschliffene Gläser stehn
und scharf, gespannt nach innen sehn.[23]

In tone also, Bauer's poem is rhetorical and iconoclastic in the manner of Expressionism; it casts doubt on familiar notions of the fatherland, economic advance and material progress. In all, the same can be said of Bauer's mood in "Das Vaterland" that Ernst Rose in his A History of German Literature said of the Expressionists and their literature: "To the young generation the new

style meant the only honest and direct expression of its experience of modern life as disrupted and disjointed, as meaningless and futile, with hope to be found only in a world completely different."[24]

Finding a world completely different in the troubled Weimar era and the "dirty thirties" led many left-leaning writers like Bauer to draw nearer to the radicals and the revolutionaries,[25] as it had already led a group of Expressionist writers during the vexatious Wilhelmenian era and the horrifying First World War to wax enthusiastic about the extreme Left which promised a rupture with everyday life.[26] The poetry of these writers often contains at the same time unrestricted condemnations of modernity and the hope for a historical caesura--a revolution of the spirit or a Marxist revolution--which will bring about a new age of blissful humanity. Millenarianism and apocalyptic visions, two recurring features of Expressionist poetry,[27] appear in Stimme most explicitly in the poem "Kindheit," particularly in the last stanza:

> Kindheit war wie ein Schorf,
> drunter die Wunde quillt, jetzt ist sie sichtbar.
> Wer wird sie schließen?
> Wehe dem bitteren Tage,
> wenn der Sturm der Jahrtausendklage
> wie ein Strom, wie aller Vulkane Lava
> sich wird ergießen! (Stimme, 38)

In its emotionally charged tone and its shocking vision the poem is reminiscent--only with a proletarian slant--of

Georg Heym's famous Expressionist poem of 1911, "Der Krieg," which begins with:

> Aufgestanden ist er, welcher lange schlief,
> Aufgestanden unten aus Gewölben tief.
> In der Dämmerung steht er, groß und unbekannt,
> Und den Mond zerdrückt er in der schwarzen Hand.[28]

and which is full of images of imminent cosmic cataclysm, such as in the lines: "Aus dem Dunkel springt der Nächte schwarze Welt, / Von Vulkanen furchtbar ist ihr Rand erhellt"; and of apocalypse as in the lines: "Eine große Stadt versank in gelbem Rauch, / Warf sich lautlos in des Abgrunds Bauch."

References to a forthcoming and sweeping revolution of the proletariat in Stimme are numerous (38, 61, 67, 69-70, 77, 81, 89, 97, 103-04, 113, 117) and in many cases mirror images in revolutionary Expressionist verse. The symbolic colour red, for instance, appears first in the poem "Ich habe von dir gehört . . ." (ellipsis in the original) in which the poet addresses himself to a "verzagter Genosse": "Ich will es schreiben an die Wände der Mauern, / . . . / rot soll es anleuchten . . ." (91). Even more engaging is the red flag in the prose sketch "Ich danke vielen" in which the speaker thanks all those who have guided his life and concludes with the emphatic statement:

> . . . --jetzt gehe ich von euch, vorwärts, denn ich habe die Fahne erblickt im langen Zuge, die Fahne der Befreiung, die Fahne der Weltkamerad-

> schaft. Ich weiß, sie ist rot, das ist das Blut aller Gestorbenen, Abgestürzten, aller Opfer der Arbeit. (Stimme, 117)

Bauer's words here are not revolutionary cant but rather a revolutionary attitude, and in this regard his reference to a red flag can be compared to the revolutionary attitude of those Expressionists, some activists, who called for political and social change. The same may be said about Bauer's words that the critic Roy Allen said in his German Expressionist Poetry about some of Oskar Kanehl's verse as being a typical example of most Expressionist political verse during the later phase:

> [T]hat the revolution is guided by, and directed toward the realization of, socialist or communist principles is alluded to only in the color of the flag which the revolutionaries are carrying. Similarly, Becher's only clear reference to a tangible political goal in the revolution called for in "Ewig im Aufruhr," comes in the same kind of image at the close of his poem: "Fahnen hissen sich / Heilig in Rot" ("Flags are raised / Sacred in red").[29]

Another provocative political image is that of the East which came to stand for the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Soviet Union as the promised land for communists, socialists and fellow travellers at that time in history. An excellent example is to be found in Johannes R. Becher's Expressionist work Gruß des deutschen Dichters an die russische föderative Sowjetrepublik in which an encomium begins with: "im Osten wächst das Licht."[30] Bauer

comes to the point directly in the poem "Unfaßbare Stunde" which tells of the silent thrill of the workers when in the evenings in their rooms they tune in a broadcast from Moscow on their radios. The image of the East as the promised land comes out clearly in the last stanza:

> O Welt! Unfaßbare Stunde --
> sieh hier:
> ein Mensch ist aufgespannt wie der Empfänger,
> ganz Ohr, ganz Herz,
> und wartet auf gute Nachricht aus dem Unendlichen.
> Und eine Stimme sagt ganz klar, langsam:
> Moskau -- (Stimme, 68)

With respect to the symbol of the East in Expressionist verse, Bauer's rapturous lines here can be compared with those by the Expressionist Walter Hasenclever in his poem "Der Gefangene": "Der süßen Gegenwart entrückter Sinn / Erhebt sich östlich zu der Lichtstadt hin, / Die riesenhaft in singender Gestalt / Am körperlosen Äther dir erschallt"[31]; or with those by the Expressionist Ernst Toller, written in the prison cell where he was incarcerated (1919-24) for taking part in the failed Bavarian revolution:

> Die Schwalben sind zurückgekehrt.
> Sie bleiben! Sie bleiben!
> Nach Osten blickt meine Zelle.
> Nach Osten![32]

It is not only the symbolic image of the East in the excerpt above from Bauer's "Unfaßbare Stunde" that is reminiscent of the Expressionist lines compared with it, but

also, as with the symbolic colour red, the rapturous tone ("O Welt!", "ganz Ohr, ganz Herz," 68) and the extravagant language ("Unfaßbare Stunde," "Nachricht aus dem Unendlichen," 68) which echo what the Expressionist writer Herwarth Walden perceived in Expressionism as "an essentially revolutionary attitude towards life and art,"[33] and what Twentieth Century German Literature describes as an affinity of the Expressionists to subjectivity, their "tendency of spiritualizing reality" and their "intuitive approach to existence."[34] These qualities distinguish Bauer's early tendentious poems[35] as well as the political poems of many of the leftist Expressionists from the ordinary political propaganda of the times. An illustration of this distinction is Franz Werfel's Expressionist poem "Revolutions-Aufruf" which was meant in the words of J. B. Metzler's Deutsche Literaturgeschichte as an "Aufstand der Seele."[36] It ends with the lines: "Wachsend erkenne das Vermaledeit! / Brüllend verbrenne im Wasser und Feuer-Leid! / Renne renne renne gegen die alte, die elende Zeit!"[37]

Yet another provocative political image in Stimme is that of the hammer. The last poem in Stimme, "Hände werden sich erheben," tells of the suffering and pain inflicted by the factory on human hands and ends with the lines: "Hände, abgerissen und verstümmelt und zerstückt, / werden Hämmer schwingen, bis es glückt, / bis die Zuchthauswand zusammenstürzt" (125). Even more symbolic is

the image of the hammer in the poem "Gib mir ein Wort" (85). This poem begins as an address to Heaven. The poet beseeches God to give him an encouraging word, to tell him that He exists. Hearing no response, the poem ends with the following lines:

> So erlöst du mich nicht mehr? Gott --
> Sprich ein Wort! -- So wären wir allein?
> . . . Nichts -- nichts --
>
> nur in mir eine leise Stimme:
> nimm den Hammer und erlöse dich selbst. (Stimme, 85)

That the hammer in this poem is the Communist emblem and a symbol of a proletarian revolutionary stance can not be ignored.[38] However, what is interesting about the symbol of the hammer is that it poetically smites God with resentful and bitterly angry reproach for His indifference towards the plight of those persons who are helpless, suffering or persecuted. In this respect, Bauer's reproach has the tenor not of outspoken Marxism,[39] but of the ambivalence typical of many Expressionists toward God. Eva Kolinsky discusses this ambivalence in her book Engagierter Expressionismus with the following words:

> Die Zwiespältigkeit, daß Gott erwähnt und angerufen wird, ohne als Heilsgott noch Glauben zu finden, erläutert [Ernst August] Wicke thesenhaft: "Der Gott des Christentums, der als ein persönlicher Gott vorgestellt wurde, der die Menschenliebe forderte, ist für die Expressionisten tot. Aber sein Name ist als höchster Inbegriff geblieben. Gott ist nun nicht mehr eine außermensch-

> liche Größe, der man gehorcht, sondern eine innermenschliche, die man in der Liebe von Mensch zu Mensch erst erschafft."[40]

Whether or not the Christian God was actually dead for Bauer in Stimme, as Wicke argues He was for the Expressionists, is difficult to say.[41] According to Hans-Martin Pleßke in his article "Gott hat viele gute Worte für die Seinen": "Voller Beklommenheit treibt Walter Bauer in diesen Jahren in einem Chaos der Gefühle und Gedanken dahin."[42] Certainly Bauer was seeking after God in his first two books of poetry, for the prelude to his first book Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich, the poem "Gib mir das Wort!", is an appeal to Heaven for God--if He exists--to give him the voice to speak for the industrial drudges who are too tired to speak for themselves: "für die gib mir das Wort, / gib, wenn du nur lebst, wenn / du nur einmal lebendig bist, / gib es mir" (Kameraden, p. 7). In Stimme there are two other works in addition to "Gib mir ein Wort" that depict a rejection of God: the prose sketches "Auferstehung des Anstreichers Engelmann" (28-31) and "Ich danke vielen" (116-117); both miniatures describe the disappointment that deeply wounds a young person who expected a deceased loved one to be raised by God from the dead as Jesus had been. More than a puerile complaint, these works reveal a personal search for order and meaning in a bewildering world and a seemingly indifferent universe, a search

for God in a very real sense. Just such a search harks back to much Expressionist verse, such as in Ernst Stadler's poem "Zwiegespräch" which begins with the words: "Mein Gott, ich suche dich. Sieh mich vor deiner Schwelle knien. / Und Einlaß betteln. Sieh, ich bin verirrt, mich reißen tausend Wege fort ins Blinde."[43]; and in the first stanza of Else Lasker-Schüler's poem "An Gott":

> Du wehrst den guten und den bösen Sternen nicht;
> All ihre Launen strömen.
> In meiner Stirne schmerzt die Furche,
> Die tiefe Krone mit dem düsteren Licht.
> Und meine Welt ist still --
> Du wehrtest meiner Laune nicht.
> Gott, wo bist du?[44]

A world without God and therefore without divine order and meaning, which seemed apparent especially after the First World War to many Expressionists[45] and their contemporaries[46] and perhaps also to Walter Bauer, led naturally during those years of a vague attitude of wistful and anxious expectancy to the hope for a newer world, perhaps for some in the form of God's return to the world,[47] but more typically for the Expressionists in the form of a revolution of the spirit which would establish new order and meaning. In bringing this about, a change in the heart--the seeking after God--became as important to some Expressionists as worldly change became to others. Both of these longings are typical of Expressionist literature, and, as the examples cited above show, they imbue many

of Bauer's poems in Stimme as well. Taking the Expressionists as earnest seekers, J. G. Robertson in his A History of German Literature says:

> These writers opposed the materialism of the age with an appeal to the supremacy of the spirit in man. . . . One group of writers called for political and social reform, a transformation of society, another group concerned itself with the problems of God and man--the "seekers after God"; common to both is the vision of a new world and a new man.[48]

Although not as highly visionary as the Expressionists, Bauer, too, in his early years sought a world completely different and had something of what J. G. Robertson calls a "vision of a new world and a new man."[49] In keeping with his appeal to the heart rather than the spleen in working for social reform and the realization of moral ideals, Bauer tempers, as Johannes Maczewski points out in his article on Bauer's poetry, his anti-bourgeois socialist agitation with a Christian social ethic.[50] Thus, over against the politically strident poetry and prose, such as that cited above, which put forward Marxist emblems and principles, there is also in Stimme the familiar Christian ethic of humility, righteousness in conduct, rectitude in conscience, and the absolute moral demand based on the principle of universal brotherhood to help one's fellow human beings. An example of this is the poem "Hörst du etwas?" which has a pressing appeal to Christian compassion

and common humanity while at the same time sounding overtones of proletarian solidarity and ready militancy:

> Du sagst: ruhig ist die Welt wieder geworden,
> der Krieg ist vorbei, der Atem der Toten, der uns anwehte,
> hinweg ist er --
> die Städte branden vom Leben,
> die Zellen der kleinen Dörfer sind in die Stille gelegt --
> du sagst:
> die friedliche Vereinigung Europas wird kommen--
> . . . . . .
> Aber hörst du die Schläge, mit denen sie quälen
> einen Gefangenen in Ungarn, Rumänien,
> dort unten, in Europa?
> . . . . . .
> Jeder Schlag treffe dein Gesicht!
> Jeder Schlag reiße dein Herz auf! Vergiß es nicht.
> Hörst du das? Hämmere es dir ein. Vergiß es nie.
> Auch dich, wenn wir versagen, peitschen sie!
> (Stimme, 88)

An example without equal in Stimme of the professing of Christian compassion and of the humanist sentiment that came to be a hallmark of Bauer's works is the poem "Wenn sie jubeln, gehe ich mit dir . . ." (ellipsis in the original):

> Wenn sie jubeln über die Triumphfahrt der Bremen
> und dem Donner lauschen der zwölf Motoren von Do X,
> wenn sie auf Kongressen Beschlüsse fassen
> über Minderheitsfragen und Abrüstungen --
> wenn sie den Traber Elvira bewundern im Rennen
> und das Tennisspiel von Helen Wills und Cochet,
> wenn sie --
>
> ich aber
> will dich aufsuchen in den Bergwerken, mein Bruder,
> und berichten, wie du leidest und lebst, mein Bruder,

ohne zu beachten, daß es schön klinge und Reim
werde . . .
Ich sehe: du bist blaß und abgezehrt, der Schweiß
klebt
wie Licht an deinem Herzen --
Ich sehe: du keuchst vorbei mit dem schweren
Förderwagen,
antwortest nicht meinem Wort, gehst schweigend
hin.
Ich sehe: der Rand der blauen Kaffeeflasche,
die du an trockne Lippen hebst, ist rissig --

Ich weiß, man hat dir unaussprechliches Leid
bereitet,
hier, wo das Wasser in die Sümpfe fällt,
starrt das Weiße deiner Augen mich aus der Nacht
an
wie sterbendes Licht.
O Leben, wie du dich klammerst an diesen müden
Bruder.
O Gram und vergehendes Herz.

Wisse:
wenn sie jubeln über den Sieg des blauen Bandes
und füllen die Kais,
will ich mit dir gehen,
dorthin, wo du mit nacktem Leib arbeitest,
um den Turbinenhammer einzusetzen.
Und will in der Pause mich neben dich werfen
und fühlen, wie das Wasser aus der Nacht
auf die Haut tropft . . . (Stimme, 79, all
ellipses are in the original)

With respect to Expressionist verse, the sentiments of compassion and humanity in Bauer's poem--with its proletarian view--can be compared with those in the following poem by the Expressionist Wilhelm Klemm, printed in the section "Liebe den Menschen" in Kurt Pinthus's Expressionist anthology Menschheitsdämmerung (1920):

Der Bettler

Sein Hut war mürber Schwamm. Sein Bart
Sinterte über die graue Brust,

> Sein Stelzfuß trat sich am Ende breit,
> Durch die Fetzen des Kleides irrten die Sterne.
>
> Dornen und Schnecken trug er im Haar,
> Seine Augen entzündeten sich, sein herbes
> Zerspaltenes Antlitz blutete still,
> Metallen surrten die Fliegen um ihn.
>
> In seinen Knochen nagten die Winter,
> Ewigkeit gärte durch sein Gedärm,
> Faulig krankte sein Blut, in seiner
> Seele versteinten Erinnerungswälder.
>
> Wer hat dich als Kind gewiegt? Wer hat dich geliebt?
> Komm Alter, ich will dich hegen. Der aber öffnet
> Stumm seiner Hände bittende Abgründe,
> Schwarz und leer wie der Tod, groß wie das Leid.[51]

Apart from the kind of sentiment expressed in both Bauer's poem and Klemm's poem, it is also the poet's intention itself to express a genuine and humanizing sentiment that is interesting with reference to Expressionism. It is moreover typically Expressionist according to J. G. Robertson in his A History of German Literature:

> The Expressionist's aim is not to reproduce the impressions made by the external world, but to create a new conception of the universe which has significance and meaning. This led inevitably to new standards: art was to be judged not by its formal beauty, but by its "expressiveness", by its power to express the inner meaning of objects, situations and life. . . . It is a subjective art in which intense feeling found expression in an exaggerated and often ecstatic language, in short, explosive phrases . . . .[52]

In Stimme there are several instances in which Bauer reminds his readers that it is not the beauty of the work that matters but rather the honesty of what is expressed.

In the poem above, "Wenn sie jubeln, gehe ich mit dir . . .", for example, are the lines: "und berichten, wie du leidest und lebst, mein Bruder, / ohne zu beachten, daß es schön klinge und Reim werde . . ." (79). For another example, consider the poem "Wort ohne Ende" which contains the lines: "Dies ist ein Wort vom großen Werk, / das Menschen frißt wie Tiere Gras, / . . . / Es ist ein Schrei und kein Gedicht, / Gedichte gelten lang nicht mehr" (78). However, in the prose sketch "Auf dem Bahnsteig" the speaker muses: "Aber ich will nicht sagen, daß die Dichter uns nichts mehr sagen könnten" (61).

What the poets do have to say to us is answered by Bauer at the end of Stimme in the poem "An die kommenden Dichter," an address to the coming poets in which Bauer states his conviction that the furtherance of humanism is more important than aesthetic considerations or consistency in poetry; poems must come from the heart and speak out for the silent masses:

> Eure Gedichte sollen nicht so sehr zeugen
> von der Glätte der Form und der Schönheit des Reimes --
> . . . . . .
> Eure Gesänge sollen zeugen
> von der Leidenschaft des Herzens,
> von eurem Willen zur Veränderung der Erde, eurer Ergriffenheit.
> . . . . . .
> Ihr! Hörrohre, gestellt in das Unendliche,
> sprecht aus die Bewegungen der Zeit, singt Aufruf und Tat!
> Junge Genossen Dichter! (Stimme, 123-24)

Bauer's conviction in this poem bears resemblance to that of Johannes R. Becher in his Expressionist poetry; Becher believed that his sufferings and longings were identical to those of the proletarian masses, so that his poetry would speak to and for them and would sound out as a "Fanfaren-Ruf" as well as serve as a "brausende Parole" toward their inner change and outer liberation.[53] Furthermore, Bauer's poem "An die kommenden Dichter" is notably similar in tone and message to Becher's Expressionist poem "Vorbereitung"--an appeal to the poets to champion "Die Neue Welt"[54]--and is similar in its message to Walter Hasenclever's Expressionist poem "Der politische Dichter" which urges the poet to be a "Führer" on the way to a world of peace and humanity.[55]

Mention of Bauer's firm belief in the mission of the poets brings us to the leitmotiv in Stimme, that of "Hiob," or, in English, the Biblical figure Job. "Hiob" is Bauer's name for the modern proletarian whose life is depicted in telling glimpses, and "Hiob's son"--also named "Hiob"--is the one "Hiob" who will raise his voice along with the poets for the sake of the downtrodden. "Hiob" appears throughout Stimme in mainly prose sketches (9-10, 39, 40-44, 67, 77, 96-97, 118-122) and his childhood has many points in common with that of the poet Walter Bauer as described

in the autobiography Geburt des Poeten: Erinnerungen.[56]

The figure of Job symbolizes in Stimme not only the legendary problem of undeserved suffering in the world, but also the sad existence of the proletarians. In turn, the depicting of "Hiob's" sad existence in the tenement houses and at work in the factory allows a second aspect of Stimme to emerge, the sympathetic portrayal of the reality of working-class life, and thereby also the author's appeal to humanity and a sense of social fairness. This aspect has been mentioned by critics as often as that of Bauer's left-wing sympathies in Stimme,[57] and it shows Bauer the writer at his best, bringing into vivid focus the quotidian habits and rhythms of normal working-class life, despite that "Hiob" occasionally comes to the reader in sackcloth and ashes.

"Hiob's" life is followed in Stimme from his birth into abject poverty ("Der proletarische Hiob begibt sich in seine Kindheit," 9-10), through his hunger as a child during the First World War ("Hiob betritt die Bahn seines Leidens," 39), his becoming a factory worker ("Hiob wird Lehrling, das Werk nimmt ihn an," 40-44), his being abandoned by his wife because of their misery ("Du hattest vollkommen recht wegzugehen . . . ," 63-67), his wandering as a beggar in search of work and returning in the end to factory drudgery ("Wanderung in die Untätigkeit," 73-76; "Hiob reiht sich wieder ein," 77), his awakening to the

reality of his poverty ("Hiob wacht auf," 96-97), and, finally as "Hiob's son," his resolving to speak out for the silent downtrodden ("Hiob stand auf dem Felde," 118-22). "Hiob's son" is meek, like Job, but not timid; along with the poets he will speak from the heart and speak out for a world completely different (122, 123-24).

As Bauer's proletarian "Hiob" passes through childhood and into an adult awareness of working-class reality, his mind awakens to a few simple truths: sympathy, compassion, brotherhood, humility, the call of rejuvenating nature, and the call to humanity. Stimme traces the events that led "Hiob" to this awakening, doubtlessly in order to awaken the reader to the same truths, for Bauer remarked himself about the poems in Kameraden and Stimme: "Sie konnten nichts anderes enthalten als gestammelte, ausbrechende Forderung, Anklage, Empörung."[58] Thus, Stimme was written not merely to meliorate the lot of the labouring poor, but to urge for, in the words of Rudolf Hagelstange in his "Gedenkwort für Walter Bauer," socialism with a human face: "Er griff dabei über den Marxismus hinaus--ins Ethische, beinahe Religiöse."[59] Certainly something of, in the words of J. G. Robertson above, "a vision of a new world and a new man" in the manner of the Expressionists is to be found in Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, and, although vague, it makes way for a more definite vision in Bauer's fourth book, Die notwendige Reise.

Chapter 5

"The Necessary Journey"

Die notwendige Reise[1] was Walter Bauer's fourth published book and his second book wholly of prose. It appeared in 1932, a year after the appearance of his third published book and first extended fictional narrative, Ein Mann zog in die Stadt.[2] With reference to Expressionism, Ein Mann zog in die Stadt is of little interest and will not be discussed here; the story is more reminiscent of Naturalism in its sober and realistic account, its concern with the harsh aspects of working-class life, and its depiction of the protagonist's resigning wearily to fate. The story does, however, carry forward the motif of "Hiob," or the sad existence of the latter-day proletarian Job[3] which was introduced in Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich and developed in Stimme aus dem Leunawerk and which was discussed here earlier. In so depicting "Hiob's" lifelong slide into mute resignation, the story can be seen to complement Bauer's next book, Die notwendige Reise, in which the protagonist, a young man, does not resign himself to fate but rather undertakes a journey for the sake of discovering himself and rediscovering life's simple truths, of finding life's purpose and meaning; he resolves

finally to speak out for a better world, much as depicted in the last prose sketch in Stimme aus dem Leunawerk in which "Hiob's son" resolves to remain mute no longer, as his father has been, but to speak out against the misery of all "Hiobs" ("Hiob stand auf dem Felde," p. 122).

Die notwendige Reise is a largely autobiographical story in novel form of a half-year wandering Walter Bauer undertook with a friend in 1925 through Germany, Austria and Italy.[4] Like his other early works, Reise seeks to stir sympathy with the downtrodden workers in their misery by depicting the reality of working-class life and poverty and by expressing genuine and humanizing sentiments which plead with the reader's conscience for social fairness. More so than in his first three books, Bauer's fourth book reflects the disillusionment following the First World War, the turmoil and strife during the years of the Weimar Republic, and that visionary and anxious hope for a newer world that was widespread in the 1920s in and around Europe. Reflecting on the meaning of the actual journey in the foreword to the 1947 edition of Reise, Bauer asks his one-time travelling companion: "Hatten wir uns getäuscht, wenn wir glaubten, daß in der Tiefe des Elends eine neue Zeit anfangen würde, ein unerhörter menschlicher Aufbruch der Zerschlagenen? Sind wir heillose Träumer mit unserem Glauben an ein vita nuova?" (XII)

That visionary, almost utopian hope for bringing about

a world of peace and justice, ethical society and new contentment, which also distinguished much Expressionist literature,[5] stands out as the motive for writing Die notwendige Reise. The story tells of the errant journey through the reality of Europe during that troubled decade and the corresponding inner transformation of the protagonist that he believes would allow for the realization of the hope for making the world anew. The journey is recounted in steps that lead toward discovering essential truths and undergoing spiritual transmutation for the sake of becoming a more humane, selfless person; the journey is a "necessary journey." This necessary journey also, as with Bauer's visionary hope for a newer world, is reminiscent of a distinguishing feature of Expressionist literature, the "Stationendrama," which typically described the transformation of an individual by steps, or stations, into "der neue Mensch." In the discussion here of Die notwendige Reise with reference to Expressionism, these two expressionistic features--the visionary hope for a newer world and the humanizing inner transformation--will be the main topics.

In short, Die notwendige Reise is narrated by a young man from the German middle class who recounts a journey from which he recently returned and about which he feels compelled to tell others. Years ago he set out on the journey because he had seen the need to make an abrupt break with the life he had been leading which seemed to

him meaningless and a pretense. Abandoning his comfortable middle-class home, his loving family, his secure job as a bank employee, and even his charming fiancée, the troubled young man strikes out to discover the heart of Europe and her simple people, the heart of life, and to follow the tug of his inchoate feelings for a sense of the wholeness of life. Letting his heart and his confused thoughts guide him on a rambling, unmarked path through Europe of the 1920s, he comes to believe that the truth is to be found among the simple people, especially those who are poor, deprived, labouring and suffering. He lives and works with the labouring poor and intentionally makes himself into one of the working class in mind as well as in fact. Convinced at the end of his necessary journey of the natural, universal goodness of the simple people, regardless of their nationality, he calls for Europeans to tear down their borders of nationality and social distinction; and convinced of the indomitable spirit of the human heart, which lies dormant in the present times of strife and turmoil, he implores his "Kameraden" known or unknown to him everywhere to awaken their hearts as he has done and to help him build a better world together.

The most essential truth which the young man comes to know on his necessary journey of inner transformation is that "We" is more important than "I" (239-57); that is, that working together selflessly with one's fellow

human beings, or "Kameraden," for the sake of building a better world is more important than any self-centred pursuit; that natural community is superior to mass society or individualism. He says of his journey: "Es bedurfte aber dieser Reise, um den Hintergrund zu erkennen, vor dem unser Leben geschieht und zu erfahren, daß das schönste Wort der Welt nicht 'ich' heißt, sondern: WIR -- daß es überall Kameraden gibt" (248). This essential truth repeats Jethro Bithell's phrasing of the Expressionist ethics in his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950 (quoted also in the chapter on Kameraden):

> The ethics of expressionism can be stated in a few catchwords. "Nicht ich, sondern du," or "Wirbewußtsein," means altruism or love of others. . . . in their [the Expressionists'] cry for brotherhood of races and the reconciliation of races they repeat Schiller's "Millionen, seid umschlungen!"[6]

The Expressionist poet Gottfried Benn, for instance, listed world brotherhood as one of the characteristics of Expressionism, according to Twentieth Century German Literature which paraphrases Benn's words as specifying: "the rejection of the individual in favour of mankind and world-brotherhood. Instead of depicting man's heritage, race, dialect and family, the Expressionists stress the totality of things."[7] One of the Expressionists who embraced this ethic of altruism in a spirit similar to Bauer's was Franz Werfel, about whose volumes of poetry Jethro Bithell says

in his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950:

> In Der Weltfreund (1911) Werfel makes his confession of faith in humanity; in Wir Sind (1913) he proves that "we are" because we feel that we are one with our brother, and that the typical disharmony (of the period), that of father and son, is due to the splitting of the "Weltseele" or cosmic "Allseele" into reality--ideas which are fairly commonplace.[8]

Having arrived at the truth of altruism, expressed with expressionistic emphatic certainty as "WIR!" (246), Bauer's protagonist states at the end of his necessary journey which direction his life's journey then will take:

> Ich werde niemals mehr einen Weg gehen, der in unfruchtbare Einsamkeit führt, sondern den, der mich in den Kolonnen derer sieht, die aufgebrochen sind, die Grenzen der Vaterländer zu übersteigen, die Zäune niederzubrechen, die Erde in das Vaterland der Menschen zu verwandeln, die alte geliebte Kugel zur großen Heimat zu machen. (Reise, 247)

Such millennial dreams and sentiments of an all-embracing humanity are found frequently in this intensely earnest book called by the critic Hartmut Froesche a "Dokument von Bauers damaligem jugendlich-schwärmerischem Weltgefühl."[9] Lofty sentiments of this kind in Reise, in view of the intense emotionality and symbols in which they are often expressed, echo the "ecstatic note," in the words of C. P. Magill in his German Literature, struck in Expressionist poetry and drama during and after the First World War: "high-pitched appeals to humanity combined with Messi-

anic proclamations of the New Man and Utopian visions"[10]; which itself echoed the Romantic aspiration, "Alle Menschen werden Brüder."[11] Bauer's desire here for a world without borders and for turning the earth into a home for all keeps alive the Expressionists' desire to "rehumanize" the world, as Penrith Goff calls it in his article "Impressionism and Expressionism": "They saw the urgent need for regeneration and urged their public to overcome isolation by recognizing that all men are brothers. They envisioned an era to come when such communal feeling would be reality instead of mere dream."[12]

The Expressionists' desire to "rehumanize" the world was prompted by many troubling matters of their times, one of the most troubling being militarism and, later, the First World War, whose horrors many of them knew firsthand. The decrying of militarism and war became a general feature of Expressionism,[13] and a pacifism inflamed by a revulsion from nationalism and an embracing of a vague notion of universal humanism became a distinguishing feature of Expressionist thought.[14] Although Bauer was born after the generation of the Expressionists and didn't know the horrors of The Great War firsthand, his protagonist makes it clear in Reise that the disturbance of life caused by the War is what impelled him to set out on his journey (117, 166-67, 173, 199, 212). He comes to believe that the War still dwells in the hearts of people and is the

evil that besets his times (114, 116, 146, 162, 163, 165, 166-67, 173, 199, 205): "Der Krieg saß noch überall und mästete sich an müden Herzen. Der Krieg muß totgeschlagen werden, die böse Flamme darf kein Herz mehr fressen" (197). In fact, in a brief description of himself written in 1948 Bauer says that Reise was "ein Bekenntnis gegen den Krieg und den Militarismus."[15] Considering that Reise was written in the year before the National Socialists came to power, it is quite conceivable that Bauer was incited in part to voice effusive idealism and to implore for world brotherhood in the book by, in the words of the Canadian historian Modris Eksteins, the "drift towards irrationalism, dictators, and darkness" in those years.[16] Whatever Bauer's motivation for writing Reise may have been, though, the book's design of contrasting utopian visions with the decrying of war recalls the Expressionist literature of a decade or more earlier. Furthermore, the manner of conveying these beliefs is similar to that of the Expressionists in general, namely through pathos. As in the quotation above from Reise (247) which appeals to the reader's sentiments for turning the earth into one great, humane "Vaterland," the Expressionists appealed to their audiences' hearts rather than their minds for changing the world. "Eher auf emotionaler Basis statt auf der einer rationalen Einsicht in sozio-ökonomische Zusammenhänge," states Deutsche Literaturgeschichte in its discussion of Expressionist

lyric, "wurde an Menschlichkeit, Völkerversöhnung, Frieden und Menschenliebe appelliert und gegen Krieg und Völkerhaß Stellung bezogen."[17]

If the end of the necessary journey in Die notwendige Reise--the attainment of a guiding vision of humanistic renewal of the world--would have seemed familiar to many ethic and visionary Expressionists, then so too would its path of inner transformation have seemed familiar to those same Expressionists who wrote "Stationendrama." The station drama distinguishes Expressionism and became one of the most widely known forms of Expressionist art, in part because it lent itself especially well to presenting Expressionist ethics.[18] Cut loose from traditional theatre and uncommonly provocative, the station drama typically follows the fate or the moral transmutation of a single character in a loose progression of scenes which has its prototype in the passion plays of the Middle Ages, the word "station" referring to the Stations of the Cross.[19] In parallel manner to the depiction of the suffering, demise, and resurrection of Jesus in the passion plays, the station dramas depict the suffering, demise, and moral regeneration of the main character.[20] August Strindberg's Nach Damaskus (1898) provided inspiration and a model for such well-known and typical Expressionist station dramas as Reinhard Sorge's Der Bettler (1912), Georg Kaiser's Von morgens bis mitter-

nachts (1916), and Ernst Toller's Die Wandlung (1919) and Masse Mensch (1921).[21]

Many of the station dramas lead up to the rebirth of the main character as "der neue Mensch," Toller's Die Wandlung being an illustrative example.[22] "Der neue Mensch" embodied the ethical qualities envisioned by the Expressionists in a humanistically renewed world[23]; hence, such utopian station dramas are also called "Verkündigungsdrama."[24] "The new morality is born in the new man," states Roy Allen in his German Expressionist Poetry,[25] in which he describes such a spiritual leader as:

> . . . one who is particularly sensitive to the basic human qualities in himself and his fellow man . . . , who possesses a great love for mankind . . . and who will exult in the knowledge that he has done a good deed for another man's benefit . . . . But he is additionally a man who has a unique knowledge, an "illumed vision," of the contemporary world's flaws and of life's higher significance.[26]

Bauer's protagonist in Reise is not "der neue Mensch" of Expressionism,[27] but he does undergo a moral regeneration in progressive steps, or stations, on his necessary journey which is similar to, for instance, that undergone by the protagonist in Toller's Die Wandlung,[28] and furthermore his journey imparts to him the virtues of "der neue Mensch" described here by Roy Allen (above). The protagonist in Reise is also young, nameless and restive like the typical protagonist of Expressionist drama, in which, according

to Deutsche Literaturgeschichte: "Im Zentrum stand als Hauptfigur oft ein 'junger Mensch,' namenlos und typologisch konzipiert, der gegen die übermächtigen Gewalten des Schicksals, den eigenen Vater oder die bornierte Umwelt revoltierte."[29] Finally, in the manner of "der neue Mensch" the protagonist in Reise aspires to become a "Mensch" (7), by which he means, as Bauer said in his foreword to the 1947 edition of Die notwendige Reise, "ein Abenteuer, das Wagnis, das nach innen gerichtet ist--auf die menschliche Gestaltung des Raumes, in dem wir leben" (XXII). His aspiration furthers the "magic phrase," in the words of Jethro Bithell in his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950, "found in Der Cherubinische Wandersmann of Angelus Silesius and which is to be one of the holy texts of the ethic expressionists: 'Mensch, werde wesentlich!'"[30] As well, Bauer's aspiration furthers the exhortation "Mensch zum Menschen"[31] found in the poem "Drama" by the Expressionist dramatist Reinhard Sorge, about which Penrith Goff in his article "Impressionism and Expressionism" states: "This life-giving cry of the dramatist to his characters is essentially the cry of all ethical expressionists, although for them, to be sure, it is an admonition to regeneration."[32]

The tale begins with childhood, as the protagonist tellingly puts it at the beginning of the narration of his actual journey (4), his necessary journey to humanity,

or "WIR!" (246). The narrator believes that he was born into an unfavourable time, for the world has become so turbulent that one forgets the truth and beauty discovered in childhood (5-6). He had to set out on the journey because "die gewöhnliche Weise" was no longer sufficient, "aus mir einen Menschen zu machen" (7). He wanted to make a break with the familiar, to see if there would be merit in leaving behind the comfort of home and seeking out the uncertainty of the life of the Biblical prodigal son (8).

In a long letter to his brother written before he first set off on the journey and which he now recounts, he explained that the unexpected return of this older brother to a hero's welcome from the First World War, in which he had been presumed to have fallen, had collapsed suddenly the life of pretense he had built up unwittingly for himself in imitation of the pre-war life of his missing brother. He had assumed his brother's place in the family, had become alienated from his true self in the business suit he wore to work in his job at a bank, just as his brother had become alienated from himself in the uniform he wore to war (27). All at once his life up to that point seemed "noch nichts" (10). Moreover, it became clear to him at the same time that the War had destroyed illusions and put the meaning of life into question, leaving only ruins (29). The brother--the warrior returned--seemed to him a thief who had taken away everything, "ein Dieb

mit einer großen Hoffnungslosigkeit im Herzen" (31), and he seemed to himself now to be a beggar (31), for which reason he had to steal away. He sensed "den wilden Geruch der Unerschöpflichkeit des Lebens" and had to seek after "die Herzen der Welt" (32). The recounting of this letter shows how the narrator reached what can be called the first station on his necessary journey: the realization that he must undergo an inner transformation; that he must become a "Mensch."

Leaving the letter on the table for the brother to find, the narrator slips out from his family's house in the middle of the night and starts towards the train station. Although his journey begins in darkness, it seems as if he had awakened into the "Helligkeit des Bewußtseins" (33). Figuratively he has reached the second station on his necessary journey: the breaking with the past, or what the Expressionists would have called the "Aufbruch." "Vergessen!" becomes his watchword (35). "Alles vergessen, was ich erfahren hatte, vollkommen vergessen. Sonst würde ich nichts erreichen." (35) "Fortan gehörte ich zur Welt!" (36)

He leaves the confines of his small home town and crosses a bridge on the way to the train station, while images of building bridges pass through his head (36). On a momentary impulse he decides on a destination and in short time finds himself on a train. In a passage remi-

niscent of the fantastic scenes often found in Expressionist station dramas, the narrator describes how the night transforms the train, the passing landscapes viewed from it, and even the passengers into fantasies, one of them being a nebulous view of the building of houses, which apparently foreshadows the event on his journey that finally shapes his destiny (46). For now, though, he seeks a city (41) where he can be tried and transformed into a "Mensch" (39) in analogous manner to the way his brother was formed "auf einem feurigen Weg" (28) into a man by the War. He admires how his brother returned from the War a stronger person with a deeper appreciation of life (30), but at the same time he is repelled by the enormity of the journey of sorts undertaken by his brother on the battlefield which transformed him and his comrades into "ewige Jäger" (27); his own journey must be grounded on "Wahrheit und Reinheit" (38).

The narrator-protagonist steps off the train--"die erste Heimat" (48)--into daylight in a strange city and proceeds to his next station. This third station is reached while living in hotel rooms in the city: he begins to learn to separate that which is important from that which is unimportant in life (51). Money is unimportant; it separates him from the basis of life and prevents him from having to make real decisions (42, 50, 78). The self is unimportant; a self-centred life is isolated from the world

(41, 56). Fame is unimportant (51-52), reality is important (53), nature is important (72), "Kitsch" is unimportant (67), true art (63), dreams (65) and solitude (72) are important. Above all, love is important; through love one becomes a whole human being (55); it is the highest art (60). His first inkling of love comes through encounters with prostitutes which suggests that he still has a long way to go on his awkward journey to humanity and furthermore that he is still corrupted by money. The encounters with prostitutes also call to mind Ernst Stadler's Expressionist book of verse, Der Aufbruch, whose poems tell of a German youth's progressive transformation in a manner similar to that of the station drama. In his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950, Jethro Bithell says of the unity of theme of the book:

> There are four sections: Die Flucht pictures the flight of the youth from all that is base; Stationen relate episodes on the quest for the ideal; Der Spiegel is the revelation of truth and the relinquishment; Die Rast is appeasement. Die Flucht gives the sordid experiences of a boy; ideal beauty dies in the bed of prostitutes; the collapse of dream in the pollution of desire.[33]

The death of ideal beauty and the collapse of dream are the subject of a significant passage in Reise found at this station (58-69). The passage complements the account of the journey in similar fashion to the fantastic scenes in Expressionist station dramas which, like the

histrionic interludes provided by the chorus in ancient Greek theatre, comment on the meaning of the action. In the passage the narrator tells of a conversation he had with a sculptor about a face mask which is the best work in the artist's collection, although it was not sculptured but instead made by means of a mold as a copy of a real face. The mask is captivating in its beauty, so much so that a troubled young man who gazed once at it fell into a trance-like fascination. The young man, whose utopian dreams had been shattered by the disappointments of the age, saw in the mask life and existence, his ideal of beauty and the confirmation of his dreams. The sculptor took the young man to see the woman from whom the mask had been made and who since then had become old and wrinkled. The young man realized that his dream was confirmed by the work of art but that it remained unattainable. He then killed himself. Among his last words was the question: "Was macht ein Mensch, der mit seinem Traum in eine falsche Zeit gerät?" (68)

The protagonist realizes that it is also important to accommodate one's dreams to reality, "--aber wie sollte ich leben?" (79), he asks himself. This question leads the narrator on to the fourth station: deciding on a direction to take for the sake of transforming himself. "Ich wollte ein Europäer sein und die schaumbedeckte Halbinsel Asiens durchstreifen, um verwandelt aus den Ereignissen

dieses Weges aufzutauchen und frei zu leben." (86) He attends political mass meetings, but finds himself repelled by the speakers who use words to rouse violence and hate; mass movements and demagogism are not the way to humanity (82-83). Words must be made pure again and spoken with sincerity (83). He travels to a second city, goes into a church, but comes back out, turning his back on the "Katakomben des Glaubens" (87). He wanders into the old quarter of the city, "die Mutterzelle" (87), where the poor live. His heart is moved by the simple, honest living of the poor (88-89). He grasps the stratification of society which hinders him, as a member of the middle class, from living as one of the poor (90). Yet, "neue Erscheinungen, neue Gestalten" (90) must be found to set against those terrible ones from the War. He makes his decision: "Arm werden! Das war notwendig. Hinuntersinken, wenn in der Armut eine tiefere Form des Lebens enthalten sein sollte, und so den Reichtum und die Größe des Lebens erfassen!" (91).

He exchanges his middle-class clothing for worker's clothing and signs on a river boat. As a member of the crew of a ship sailing up a river towards its source, he believes himself to be drawing nearer to "das freie, natürliche Leben" (94). In this significant passage about the trip aboard the river boat, he describes finding natural fellowship in the small world of the ship which is steadily

moving forwards (101-103). He has found the direction his necessary journey will now take. "In mir war es hell. Ich hatte die Stunde erfahren, die nach der Überwindung kommt, und ich wußte jetzt, wie süß sie ist." (101)

The river boat is not, however, the end of the protagonist's search, for he has undertaken the journey, "um zu sich zu gelangen" (111). When the river boat reaches the wooded rural country, the narrator quits the ship and wanders through small villages. He works as a labourer among the simple rural people, but has not yet come to know "nothingness" which is the wealth of the poor (113), even though his money is now gone (119). Slowly it becomes clear to him that the life in the country is not for him (124); the rural people do not share his concerns for the afflictions of the wider world (114). The harvest seems to him like a campaign of war; it is done unthinkingly and with the sole objective of triumphing (123). For him, as for many of the Expressionists,[34] the answers to modern problems are to be sought in the cities (112). He has discovered natural fraternity on the river boat and among the rural people in their simple communities, yet each person, he realizes, has a unique destiny: "Menschen, wie Bäume am Weg, jeder Baum führt sein besonderes Leben, so jeder Mensch sein Schicksal" (125 [complete sentence]).

He thus arrives at the fifth station: the discovery that he has his own destiny as does everyone (106 & 125),

although it is not yet clear to him (122); accordingly, the ideology of the masses is rejected (103). At the same time he can not return to his former self-centred life (127), for he has glimpsed true community. "Ich erfuhr zuweilen eine Lehre. Hier war auch wieder eine: nimm dich nicht wichtig, du bist sehr wenig." (134) It is autumn both in season and in his heart (133); he has reached the midway point on his journey: "Ich gehörte nirgends hin" (133). In a passage that complements the progression to this station, the narrator recounts what a truck driver, who gave him a ride along his way to a city, said to him (117-18). The driver, addressing him with "Du," praises the narrator's decision to wander like a vagabond and reminds him: "es gibt noch andre Menschen auf der Erde, die aus ihr etwas machen wollen, einen menschenwürdigen Aufenthalt" (118).

In the springtime the narrator finds himself enroute to Italy and his sixth station. He reaches a port city in the south of Italy where he sleeps on the beach and longs to cross the sea to Africa. "Neue Wege. Aber niemals zurück!" (141) At this point in the narration there is another remarkable passage that foreshadows his destiny (144-50). While sleeping on the beach in the night, a stranger--a fellow countryman--appears and lays himself down next to the narrator to sleep. As the twilight before daybreak approaches, the stranger and the narrator sit

up and begin to speak with each other. The stranger notices the narrator's unrest and wanderlust (145). He says that the narrator will one day return to his homeland where he must help his people. As day breaks the stranger waxes enthusiastic about building a humane world: "Er sprach von den Visionen des zukünftigen Lebens . . . eines Staates, in dem jedem zukommt, was des Menschen ist" (146). He says that the new order must be built from the bottom up by those who suffer in their own land (147) and that the task of tearing down the borders that separate peoples and individuals falls upon the younger generation (148). Then the stranger goes on his own way.

From now on the narrator will travel differently--in search of life (150). He takes work as a coalheaver on a cruise ship plying the Mediterranean sea. The ship becomes a metaphor in Reise for the modern industrial society which is stratified into irreconcilable classes. Unlike the earlier passage about the river boat on which the narrator gained an inkling of fellowship, on the cruise ship he is but one of the drudges below decks who keep the ship running for the sake of the wealthy passengers above decks:

> Hier war alles. Alle Eigenschaften von Menschen, die es auf der Welt gab, waren auf dem Schiff zusammengepreßt, und der unendliche Horizont trieb sie aus den Menschen heraus. Jeder stand gegen jeden, aber alle haßten und verachteten die Menschen, die oben auf dem Boden des Schiffes standen, das von den Schlägen der Maschine zitterte. (153)

This metaphor is similar in most respects to a ship metaphor in Georg Kaiser's Expressionist play Die Koralle (1917),[35] about which Jethro Bithell says in his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950:

> Poverty is contrasted with wealth in the very effective second act, the scene of which is on the deck of the millionaire's luxurious yacht: below the tourists lolling in the tropic heat are the stokers in the hold, and the two worlds are separated only by thin planks. (We find this "motif" in Ferdinand Freiligrath's poem "Von unten auf.")[36]

The narrator works on other ships and slowly becomes indistinguishable from the other workers in mind as well as in appearance (154-55); that is to say, he rises gradually above his self-centredness (156). One day, one of the ships on which he has worked pulls into a harbour in his homeland. Seized with longing to see the land where he was born, he quits the ship and steps onto German soil in the morning twilight (157). Now he sees his homeland with the eyes of a stranger (160); he sees clearly the poverty and suffering, the despair and the strife (166). Although the Great War is over outwardly, it lives on in the hearts of people who set up barriers between one another like the fronts on the battlefield (162-67). He finds himself trapped now in poverty and succumbing to its de-

spair; yet he is richer for having left Germany as a middle class youth and returned as a working-class man (162 & 166-67). He sees in every face the world and its fullness: "Ich hatte die Welt durchstreift und Träume gehabt von großem, reichem Leben. Ich war zurückgekehrt, und ich fand mich zu meiner großen Verwunderung in der Kameradschaft der Arbeitenden" (167). This, then, is the sixth station: returning to his homeland changed into one of the simple people.

On his path to the seventh station and the gradual discovery of his homeland, the narrator finds himself wandering and working many different jobs; for example, in road construction (162) and in a mine (171). Working along with many different persons in many different places, he comes to believe that all human hearts are the same (168) but tormented in the present turmoil: "Überall Trümmer, überall zerbrochene Anschauungen, zerstörte Tempel, überall Sehnsucht nach einem neuen Leben, voller Widersprüche" (171). The narrator's belief in the dignity and humanity of the common people calls to mind not only the poetry of Walt Whitman but also the Expressionist poetry of Franz Werfel, about whose verse Jethro Bithell says in his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950: "he identifies himself with all sorts and conditions of men"; and Bithell offers as an example the excerpt:

> Ich lebte im Walde, hatte ein Bahnhofsamt,
> Sass gebeugt über Kassabücher und bediente ungeduldige Gäste.
> Als Heizer stand ich vor Kesseln, das Antlitz grell überflammt,
> Und als Kuli ass ich Abfall und Küchenreste.[37]

Among his many different occupations the narrator tries soldiering. Finding himself distraught and without direction or hope, and longing to free himself from the "prison" of his situation (174), he volunteers for military service: "Da erschien mir ein Plakat an den Mauern der Stadt wie eine Rettung: Freiwillige gesucht" (174). This passage resembles the scene in Ernst Toller's 1919 Expressionist play Die Wandlung in which the protagonist, upon hearing that volunteers are sought for military service in a war, jumps at this opportunity to break out of his doldrums and despair: "Drüben brauchen sie Freiwillige. Nun kommt Befreiung aus dumpfer quälender Enge. Oh, der Kampf wird uns alle einen."[38]

In short time, though, the narrator comes to regret his rash and fateful decision. In the army he finds himself no freer than before (175-76). The class structure of society along with all its evils of hatred and intolerance is reproduced in the military (176-80): "Ein Soldat muß Feinde haben, sonst wäre er nicht. Wer sind die Feinde? Ich fand keine Antwort" (176). He realizes that his journey up to this point has changed him already: "Ich habe keine Feinde, keinen einzelnen, kein Land, keinen Länderbund!"

(185). It becomes now clear to him that the journey has shown him his human heart: "Die Uniform trennt den Menschen von seinem Herzen" (188).

As a reluctant soldier the narrator is dispatched with a platoon of soldiers to quell an uprising of farmers in his homeland (181). Fighting ensues and there are casualties. War, he apprehends, is imprisonment of the heart; and all at once he finds in himself sympathy with his brother, the soldier, whose participation in the Great War had initially impelled the narrator to set out on the necessary journey (189). Sent out with one other soldier on patrol, he flushes out one of the insurgents and takes him prisoner (191). He sees the landsman not as a foe but as a "Mensch" (191), a fellow worker, who is as full of fear as he is. The insurgent calls the narrator "Kamerad" (192) and the narrator switches from addressing him with "Sie" to addressing him with "Du" (195). Then, without just cause and in an apparent impulse of overzealous martial ardour, the other soldier shoots dead the "enemy" prisoner in the back (195). The narrator recoils in horror and is seized by anguished guilt for having let the incident occur (196). This passage is the apparent climax of Die notwendige Reise: "Ich muß geschrieen haben. . . . und rasend vor Wut und Trauer und Sinnlosigkeit und Schmerz, überhaupt da zu sein, hier, auf dieser sinnlosen, blutschäumenden Erde, die dem Frieden bestimmt war . . ." (197). He flies into a rage

against his partner--the embodiment of war--for having murdered the prisoner and in turn shoots him dead (197).

Now standing alone in the field with two dead men at his feet, the narrator grasps how war is the real enemy, for it makes men do inhumane deeds (197 & 198). He has killed a "Mensch" and must somehow atone for it:

> Etwas sagte mir in meinem Innern, daß ich dem, was jetzt geschehen war, noch einen Sinn geben müsse. Ich mußte suchen, der Umkreis des Lebens mußte noch einmal abgeschritten werden! Die Unendlichkeit fühlte ich jetzt, und ich fühlte auch, daß sie bis zum Grunde mit Schmerz getränkt war. (Reise, 198)

At this watershed in the narrator's journey of inner transformation, he sees how hearts are poisoned by war, avarice, social distinction and nationalism. He has reached the seventh station: seeing that every person has a human heart, and that he must work to free the heart from the evils that imprison it. He resolves to change his life. He then throws aside his weapons, puts on the clothes of the dead insurgent worker and deserts his post by fleeing in the night into the workers' quarter of the city (199): "Anders leben! Freier und notwendiger!" (200). This cry of desperation cries out the moral of Reise.

Pressed on now to find "einen Sinn für das Sinnlose" (201), the narrator finds himself on the way to the eighth station. He has been changed by the incident (202)--violently awakened from all his dreams into naked reality:

"Auf einmal sah ich die Dinge; meine Augen waren geöffnet, ich sah Menschen und hinter ihnen das Eigentliche, das Schicksalhafte, das schreckliche Wunder und Verbrechen des Daseins" (203). He sees his homeland in the throes of death brought on by class strife, the hysteria of nationalism and war, and the bogey of the economy (203-06 & 212-13). Everywhere there are political firebrands and false prophets (205 & 207-08). Undaunted by such a spectre of doom, though, he holds fast to his decision to endeavour to do something helpful for the country, working from the bottom of society upwards (204). Like "der neue Mensch" of Expressionist drama who is reborn out of spiritual suffering, the narrator will live as life was meant to be lived:

> Ich war an einem Tag bei Einbruch der Dämmerung aus allen Träumen in das wirkliche Leben gerissen worden - nun wollte ich richtig, wahrhaftig leben - aber wo, wo? Alles schrie: Zu uns! Hier ist die richtige Wahrheit. (Reise, 207-07)

He will seek out "den Grund des Daseins . . . , auf dem das Volk lebte" (211), the "Volk" meaning: "die Beladenen, Unterdrückten . . . , die, auf deren Rücken seit Jahrtausenden alle Veränderungen und Schmerzen geschahen" (215).

The narrator stays in cities and works in factories where he becomes embroiled in the strife and turmoil of those years (208-09); he is no longer an outsider, an observer, as before, but also not willing to let himself

be swept away by the enthusiasm for the obedient collective (205). Discouraged yet still seeking for his calling, he wanders to the coast where he works on fishing boats, lives in a cottage in the woods, and finds rejuvenation through the eternal sea and peaceful nature (209-10). From the sea and solitude he returns to the hurrying world, this time inspired by nature's pattern (210).

He lives at the lowest, meanest level of society, residing in workers' barracks and working in a mine (213). He falls seriously ill and sinks into despair; his country is also near death, wrecked by strife (212-13). The end of his necessary journey is staved off at this point by two things: memories of those persons he has encountered who were selflessly helpful and showed by their unassuming humanity the way to "Lösung, Klarheit, einen neuen Anblick" (217); and by the entering into his life of a "Mensch" (218), a woman named Lucie, who, incidentally, is one of only three named persons in Reise, along with the narrator's brother, Friedrich (22), and his former fiancée, Erika (22).

Lucie is a physician, an occupation which "führte sie immer wieder zu Menschen" (218). Thanks to her love, the narrator not only recovers from his illness but finds new hope (221). She is for him the embodiment of all humane qualities, and for the reader she resembles in many respects "der neue Mensch" (described above): self-

less, unassuming, dedicated to altruism, sensitive yet strong, able to see the good in every individual and ready to help them to become what they are capable of being (218-20 & 232-33). In common with the narrator, she has lived through and been tried by suffering and she knows of the world's misery (218-20 & 222). Their coming together was not coincidence but rather destiny (221). Their love unfolds naturally: "Wir fragten nicht nach dem Gesetz, weil wir wußten, daß Gesetze der Tod des Lebens sind, und Leben blühte wunderbar auf" (222). Through Lucie the narrator's heart is set free, and through her he arrives at a simple truth which will show itself to lead to his final destiny on his necessary journey: "ich glaubte begriffen zu haben, daß nur der einzelne, je tiefer er lebt, der Menschheit hilft, auch wenn er keine Spuren hinterläßt" (226).

The following passage in Reise complements, once again in the manner of the fantastic scenes often found in Expressionist station dramas, the narrator's finding love at this station on his journey. Lucie and he embark on a trip by ship. Like the earlier metaphor of the river boat as a world of good fellowship and also like the earlier metaphor of the cruise ship as a world rent into classes, this ship, too, is a metaphor for a world, a world buoyed up by love: "Gleichmäßiges Stampfen der Maschine, gleichmäßige Bewegung dieser kleinen menschenvollen Erde zwischen Wasser und Himmel" (226). They feel united with the earth

and its rhythms: "Ewiger Laut der Wellen, Anruf und Arbeit" (227). It seems that the journey is now over: "Ich hatte die Welt durchstreift, um am Ende zu erkennen, daß es wundervoll war, einen Menschen bei sich zu haben" (229).

However, soon after the cruise by ship, Lucie dies. Before she dies, she tells the narrator: "Du mußt viel lieben" (233); "Solange ein Mensch Liebeskraft in sich hat, muß er auch lieben" (232). She reminds him that the important life is not among the rich and powerful, but among the poor and oppressed; those who are true to themselves will help them (232). The narrator sees in her death a sacrifice to the world (233)--a common motif in that Expressionist drama which portrays "der neue Mensch," such as in Georg Kaiser's Die Bürger von Calais (1914)[39]

Lucie's death has awakened the protagonist from all dreams and made him sensitively aware of others. He has been transformed finally; he says now of his "Reise":

> Sie hatte mir gezeigt, woher ich kam. Ich verließ ein Haus als junger Bürger, der von nichts wußte als von den Dingen seiner Schicht, sonst nichts. Die Reise . . . belehrte mich über meine Eigenschaften, sie setzte mich dem Schicksal aus, und es hatte eine meinen Kräften gemäße Gestalt. Was Maskerade war, wurde Wirklichkeit. Zuerst war ich ein armer Einzelner und durchwanderte den größten Erdteil: Armut, ohne von denen zu wissen, die ihr ganzes Leben darin wohnen. Meine Augen öffneten sich, ich erkannte das leidbedeckte Gesicht der Masse, die von allen gebraucht und verraten wird. Ich verlor den Hochmut, ein einzelner zu sein, und als ich auf dem Grunde lebte ohne Namen, da fand ich wiederum, daß ich ein Gesicht besaß, das sich von andern

unterschied. (Reise, 234-35)

Fired now by the living and self-renouncing love gained through Lucie, the narrator moves on toward the conclusion of this eighth station. Following Lucie's exhortation to help the downtrodden, he continues working and living among the poor. Everywhere there is still the strife and turmoil that used to deject him--"Überall Irrsal und Wirrsal!" (236)--but now he sees a way out (236). He works at a gravel pit where the workers are put up in a dilapidated prison camp from the First World War (237-38). The workers live as miserably within the still-standing barbed-wire fence as the prisoners of war once did (237-38), where "die Liebe hatte keinen Platz" (238). Nonetheless, they do not succumb to despair. They resolve to break out of the prison of poverty; they form a workers' self-help co-operative: "Sie sagten: wir wollen bauen" (239). On the ruins of the War (243) the workers build houses for themselves: "Das Land stöhnte und zuckte vor Schmerzen, und wir begannen Häuser zu bauen" (240).

The narrator sees in this act of self help among the workers a model for renewing the world (239 & 241) as well as atoning for the catastrophe of the War (243). Reminiscent of the Expressionist vision of bringing about a newer world (discussed early on in this chapter), the narrator expresses his enthusiasm for its potential effect:

"Ein Pfad wurde in die Wildnis geschlagen, ein Weg in das Elend. Wege werden fortan in die Wildnisse der Ungerechtigkeit und Qualen gebrochen werden, die allein Menschen verschuldeten, - bis die Erde zur Stätte des Menschen geworden ist" (243). Also in common with the Expressionists in general,[40] the narrator sees the hope for a better future to lie not in a return to nature or the ways of the past but rather in the promotion of moral progress: "Wir werden die technischen Dinge lieben, wenn sie uns die Möglichkeit geben, das Leben der Menschen menschlich zu machen" (242). Such moral progress will consist in transforming oneself into a selfless humanitarian, or, in other words, developing in oneself the "Wirbewußtsein" of Expressionist ethics (also discussed early on in this chapter): "Unter dem Himmel der Gerechtigkeit werden die Siedlungen leuchten, gebaut von denen, die ihre Hände und Herzen niemals für sich gebrauchen konnten" (244).

In a passage at this point that complements the description of the forming of self-help groups among the workers--once again in the manner of the fantastic scenes in many Expressionist station dramas that complement the preceding action--the narrator describes a fantastic vision of what could be seen as a proletarian version of "der neue Mensch":

> Ich sehe aber auch - und glücklich macht es mich, unsagbar -, wie aus den Wolken sich langsam wie

> ein Stern ein Gesicht erhebt, das zauberhaft leuchtet. Es is das Gesicht eines jungen Arbeiters, und es trägt die Züge eines Kameraden, mit dem ich im Bunker arbeitete. Es strahlt in ruhiger Gewißheit. Die Wolken zerfallen, sie zerstäuben, die Erde wird klar. Jetzt sehe ich ihn ganz, meinen jungen Kameraden - breit steht er auf der Erde. Seine Hosen tragen noch den Schmutz der letzen Nachtwache, aber niemals sah ich ein Gesicht so rein vor Freude und Gewißheit.
>
> Jetzt hebt er seine Hände an den Mund, feste Hände, die so gut die schimmernde Kohle in den Ofen schleudern konnten wie sie meine Hand drückten, als ich bei einem Streik nicht versagte - er öffnet den Mund. Nur ein Wort ruft er, ein einziges, das alle meinten, die jemals die Erde verändern wollten: Kameraden!
>
> Mächtig braust es über den Erdball, der im Blut des Hasses ertrank. Oh, und die Antwort, die ihm wird! Aus den Rissen tauchen Gesichter, geschwärzte, ausgemergelte, heilig blasse, glühende Gesichter, Antwort jubeln sie ihm! Er hebt seine Hand zu wundervollem Gruß, er winkt: Kameraden! (Reise, 245-46)

The narrator's rapturous vision expressed here brings to mind not only the utopian vision of many Expressionists, but also their "fiery heart full to overflowing," as Jethro Bithell describes their characteristic ecstatic spirit in his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950.[41] The narrator's necessary journey has led him to this word, "Kameraden" (246). It also signals his having reached the eighth station on his journey of inner transformation: rising fully above the self-centred "Ich" through love to the altruistic "Wir." With the confidence of one who has discovered the truth he states: "Ich möchte aufstehen und etwas Großes sagen. Ich sage: WIR!" (246); by which he

means: "Es sind viele, welche die Erde neu aufbauen werden" (246). "WIR!" is apparently the slogan of Reise. It is a gathering cry which is fraught with meaning, much in the fashion of the distinctive emotional outbursts of the Expressionists, which, according to Jethro Bithell (in the same book), condense their expression of this life to "'ein geballter Schrei,' a clenched cry of ecstasy, a spate of ideas too fierce and young for dignity."[42]

What follows is an epilogue. The narrator leaves the workers' housing cooperative in search of other places where he can mix his labour and his heart with those of others in order to build something that will serve to break down the barriers between people and turn the earth into one great home for all (247). He believes that there are other such persons as he in every land who believe in sweeping away the darkness that envelops the world in order to allow in peace and light (248). They will understand what he has written: "Da es aus einem Herzen kommt, werden die Worte schon in einem Zusammenhang miteinander stehen" (249). Such persons will understand the import of his necessary journey, for: "Die Not wächst, und die Menschen tragen die Schuld daran" (254).

He exhorts the young poets to concern themselves with the distress of the poor, the afflictions of the world, and to present visions of building the world anew (249-53); their mission is to overcome the ubiquitous chaos, to pre-

sent "ein neues Ecce homo" (253). This call for a new "ecce homo" (a picture of Christ wearing a crown of thorns, hence a suffering Saviour or Redeemer) is as close as the narrator comes in Bauer's Reise to mentioning something akin to "der neue Mensch." This call for a new depiction of the ecce homo is also reminiscent of the Expressionists' "desperate quest," in the words of Ernst Rose in his A History of German Literature, "for new values that could replace the worn-out values" of their times,[43] as well as of what Rose calls their "visions of a better future."[44]

Towards the end of his journey the narrator is drawn by a growing longing to see once again his brother, the soldier, whom he called a thief as he set out on his journey (254). Significantly, he has little desire to see his parents and no desire to see the former home (255). When he set out he likened himself to the prodigal son; however, he now realizes that he returns not as a wastrel but as a person changed by the ruins of the post-war years in the way his brother was changed into a man by the War (255-56). The men greet each other as true brothers: "Wir waren zwei Brüder und standen nahe zusammen" (256). The brother shows to the narrator his new-born child, who sleeps in the narrator's one-time room: "Hier beginnt es von neuem" (257). Then the narrator sets out again,

> um den gerechten Himmel vorzubereiten, unter dem andere Menschen heranwachsen würden, die

> aus den Kindern wie dem meines Bruders gekommen waren, Menschen, die nicht mehr sagen werden: ich - sondern Wir. Wir werden die Dinge neu erbauen. (Reise, 257)

Thus ends Die notwendige Reise.

If we compare Die notwendige Reise with Ernst Toller's station drama Die Wandlung[45] we will find interesting parallels in the progressive transformation of the protagonist in each work and also some likenesses between the figures. Die Wandlung serves well for the purpose of comparison because it is considered typical for Expressionist station drama[46]: rather than a traditional play in the form of unified action divided into acts, Die Wandlung expresses an inner vision through the presentation of "pictures" in loose connection with one another, some of which are the fantastic, dream-like scenes of Expressionist drama that complement the action by bringing out the inner vision more vividly.

In common with Reise, Die Wandlung depicts the moral transformation of a young man from the German middle class who rejects the ethos of his class and sets out to discover the truth; the radical rejection of the middle class is moreover a typical motif in Expressionism.[47] As the play opens, the protagonist, Friedrich, shows himself to be frustrated and morose, and he blames his feeling of alienation from society on his family and the world he

was raised in. Like the narrator in Reise, he arrives at the first station when he senses that something is fundamentally wrong with his world and he realizes that he must divorce himself from it in order to seek for inner renewal.

Believing that he can overcome his alienation from his compatriots by volunteering for military service, the young "Bürger" makes a break with his life up to this point, as the narrator in Reise does at his second station, and he goes off to war. As a soldier united with his fellow countrymen in fighting against a common enemy, he does find comradeship, and through his distinguished service he earns the respect of the fatherland. This is the second station in Die Wandlung: the discovery of human fraternity. The narrator in Reise discovers human fraternity among the simple people on his short trip on a river boat; the protagonist in Die Wandlung discovers it in soldierly comradeship and honour.

However, doubts soon begin to set in. The young soldier has achieved the respect of his compatriots at the cost of killing human beings and nearly losing his own life. The horrors of war become clear to him and lead him to the third station: the dawning awareness that true human fraternity might be something greater than patriotism. This station can be compared to the third station in Reise where the narrator begins to learn to separate that which

is important in life from that which is unimportant.

The young soldier returns to civilian life and becomes a sculptor. Still trying to believe in patriotism, he works for a year on a statue with which to honour the fatherland, but his artistic powers fail him in this endeavour. Finally the horrors of war overcome his illusions, he then flies into a rage and smashes the unfinished statue. At this moment--the climax--his sister enters the studio and convinces the despairing protagonist that his calling in life is to embrace humanity: "Dein Weg führt dich zu den Menschen" (104). Like the narrator's beloved in Reise, Lucie, who shows him love and the way to humanity, or "Wir," Friedrich's sister in Die Wandlung opens his eyes and his heart to love and humanity. This discovery marks the fourth station in Die Wandlung. It can be compared to the eighth station in Reise where the narrator discovers love and the altruistic "Wir."

From this point onwards Friedrich undergoes a complete moral transformation, or "Wandlung." In common with the narrator in Reise, he descends to the proletariat, becomes one of them, and comes to know their sufferings, their longings and their hearts. Once transformed, he dedicates himself to the task of setting free human hearts from the evils that imprison them--war, avarice, and the barriers standing between persons, peoples, and between heart and mind. This is the fifth station in Die Wandlung: becoming

one of the simple people, seeing their common yet misshapen humanity, and resolving to restore the virtues of love and natural humanity to them. This station compares with the fifth station in Reise where the narrator becomes aware of his destiny, or calling to humanity; the sixth station where he becomes one of the workers; as well as the seventh station where he grasps that the goodness in human hearts lies imprisoned and that he must help in working to free it.

In the sixth and final station in Die Wandlung Friedrich speaks to a gathering of the downtrodden. He has been transformed into "der neue Mensch" of Expressionism,[48] a leader, who has an enlightened understanding of pure humanity and true community and a vision of a better world. He tells the restless crowd: "Ihr seid alle keine Menschen mehr, seid Zerrbilder eurer selbst" (122). With expressionistic emotional intensity and anxious pathos the play comes to a close as Friedrich calls on the common people to follow him in overthrowing the tyranny of the machine in their hearts and achieving universal humanity through a bloodless revolution. This station is a call to action, and it can be compared with the eighth station in Reise where the narrator takes action towards building a better world by joining himself to the workers in their building houses for themselves. The utopian vision beheld by Friedrich in this culminating scene of Die Wandlung[49] can be

compared also with the rapturous visions of the narrator in Reise in which he sees in the act of self help among the workers a model for renewing the world (239, 241, & 245-46).

What follows is an outline for each work of the stations on the path towards inner transformation, shown the one following the other so that they can be compared at a glance:

STATIONS

Die notwendige Reise

1. Apprehending that the life which he (the protagonist) is leading is a fraud and realizing the necessity of undergoing an inner transformation in order to become a "Mensch."
2. Breaking with the past: the "Aufbruch."
3. Learning to separate that which is important in life from that which is unimportant.
4. Finding human fraternity and deciding on a direction to take for the sake of accomplishing the inner transformation.
5. Becoming aware of a particular destiny, a calling to humanity.
6. Returning to the homeland changed into one of the simple

people.

7. Recognizing that every person has a human heart and that hearts must be freed from the evils that imprison them.
8. Rising fully above the self-centred "Ich" through love to the altruistic "Wir" which calls us to humanitarian action.

Die Wandlung

1. Sensing that something is fundamentally wrong with his (the protagonist Friedrich's) world and realizing that he must break away from his discordant existence.
2. Breaking with the past and finding human fraternity in soldierly comradeship and outward honour bestowed by the fatherland.
3. Becoming aware that true human fraternity might be something greater than unity under the fatherland.
4. Discovering the profound meaning of love and humanity.
5. Becoming one of the simple people, seeing their common yet misshapen humanity, and resolving to restore the virtues of love and natural humanity to them.
6. Calling the downtrodden to a salutary, bloodless revolution in order to overthrow the tyranny of the machine in their hearts and to bring about glorious, universal humanity.

The parallels that stand out in a comparison of the stations in Die notwendige Reise and Die Wandlung are those that reflect the formation of the character of "der neue Mensch" of Expressionist drama: the moral transformation of a single individual who progresses step by step from the insignificant, solitary "Ich" through isolation, suffering and the discovery of the miraculous and divine nature of love to the attainment of the altruistic "Wirbewußtsein." Also reflecting the formation of "der neue Mensch" is the attainment of a vision of a newer world in both works, an expressionistic vision of a world in which individual recovery of humanity through inner transformation is the key to a future society reprieved from exploitation and war, freed from national boundaries, and ready to take concerted action on behalf of the wretched of the earth and the coming generations for the sake of building true community, or the magic "Wir" called out by the narrator of Reise. Lastly, the expressionistic vision of a newer world and the path towards inner transformation in Reise are presented with much the same effusive language and intensity of imagery that distinguished Expressionist literature, as seen in this final example of the burning earnestness and soaring idealism that infused Bauer's work:

> Ich sehe den Erdball vor mir wie ein Gesicht, von unzähligen Rissen und Wunden bedeckt. Ihr wißt, die Striche wie wüste Säbelhiebe in dem heiligen Gesicht der großen alten Ernährerin

wurden von Menschen geschaffen, die das Evangelium des Hasses und der Ablehnung über die Verkündigung menschlichen Wohlwollens stellten. Es sind die Grenzen der Länder, die es dem Menschen verbieten wollen, die Erde als sein Vaterland zu betrachten, es sind die Zäune des Unverständnisses und des Hasses, die uns zwingen wollen, für einen kleinen Teil der Erde Dinge zu tun, die ihm nicht zukommen. (244)

Conclusion

Examining Walter Bauer's early works of poetry and prose shows increasing similarity to Expressionist literature: from the calls for recovering common humanity and bringing about unreserved and deep-hearted comradeship with the downtrodden of the world found in Bauer's first book, Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich, which echo excited calls from many Expressionists; to the revolutionary attitude towards the world and the soaring moral idealism in Bauer's second book, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, which recall the fervid spirit of the Expressionist movement; to, lastly, the expressionistic vision of achieving inner transformation and a newer world in Bauer's fourth book, Die notwendige Reise. The similarity shows itself not only in the likenesses of certain passages from Bauer's works to passages from representative Expressionist works, but much more in the numerous instances of outlook, theme, and style that can be compared directly enough with some of the distinguishing features of Expressionist literature to be called expressionistic.

Expressionistic elements of theme in Kameraden are apparent in the poems that decry the inhumanity of the modern urban and industrial world. In the manner of many

Expressionist works, these poems dramatize the deformation of the individual person in the tenement house and the factory and in the trenches on the battlefield. The theme of senseless sacrifice under the iron laws of the mechanical civilization takes form most vividly in the poem "Kreuzigung im Werk" in which the description of the daily suffering of the factory worker is likened to the crucifixion of Jesus--an image which parallels the crucifixion image found in Georg Kaiser's famous Expressionist play Von morgens bis mitternachts. The image of "Hiob"--the latter-day proletarian Job--in Kameraden carries forward the theme of the guiltless suffering of the working class and also incorporates the expressionistic elements of deep-going pathos, the technique of the parable, and the ethos of all-embracing human sympathy. Poems which seek to arouse sympathy with specifically the soldiers on the front lines during the First World War, regardless of uniform, repeat substantially the Expressionist watchword brotherhood. In these poems the "lantern of the heart" guides us to brotherhood with all soldiers, exactly as the "unerring heart" in the poem "Brüder" by the Expressionist Heinrich Lersch leads one soldier to seeing a fallen soldier not as either friend or foe but as "an unknown comrade." In common with the Expressionist outlook in general, Bauer's Kameraden appeals for raising the human spirit above tradition and contemporary society toward a new humanity.

A revolutionary undertone marks Stimme, sometimes anguished, sometimes high-spirited, moved by pity for the industrial drudges, much in the vein of the proletarian literature "Arbeiterdichtung" which was fostered by Expressionism. Symbolic images of a socialist revolution in Stimme mirror images in Expressionist political literature: the red flag; Moscow as the new promised land in the East; and a rejection of God, who is poetically smitten by a reproachful worker with a hammer. What sets off Bauer's tendentious works from crass political agitation is the temperament of moral charity, which marks Stimme as much as the stridency. Characteristic also of the mind of Expressionism, this temperament inclines towards subjectivity and seeing life in a spiritual light; it finds expression typically in works imbued with rapture, anger, and the anxiety that accompanies a search for order and meaning in a lampless world and a seemingly insensate universe, such as, in Stimme, in the poem "Kindheit" with its apocalyptic vision and in the poem "Unfaßbare Stunde" with its enthusiastic and yearning tone. Bauer chimed in with many Expressionists in calling, above all, for a revolution of the spirit; the poet had a mission: to "express" genuine and humanizing sentiments. Bauer was of a mind with the Expressionists in holding that honesty in expression matters more than beauty; poems must come from the heart and speak out for the mute downtrodden, Bauer admonishes the other

young poets in verse in Stimme. Among the numerous works in the book that witness to this view, there stands out the poem "Wenn sie jubeln, gehe ich mit dir. . . ." The expressionistic sentiment of sincere and all-embracing compassion is embodied in the leitmotiv in Stimme of "Hiob," the proletarian Job. Poetic snapshots of "Hiob's" life allow Bauer to depict the reality of working-class life and thereby appeal to the common humanity and the readiness for change in his audience. At the end of Stimme "Hiob's son" speaks from the heart and speaks out, as did many ethic and visionary Expressionists, for a world completely different.

Die notwendige Reise is trained on such a vision of a world completely different--an expressionistic vision of a world of peace and justice, ethical society and new contentment. Bauer's story is also the account of a necessary journey of inner transformation which would promote such a newer world: the discovering of essential truths and undergoing spiritual transformation for the sake of becoming a more humane, selfless person. The account of the rambling outward journey of a young German "Bürger" through the reality of Europe soon after the First World War, along with the account of his corresponding journey of moral progress, together parallel the unfolding of the typical Expressionist station drama which depicts the step-by-step transformation of an individual into "der neue

Mensch." Comparison to just such a station drama, Ernst Toller's Die Wandlung, can be made in a number of respects: both works place utopian visions in contrast with the decrying of war, as was not uncommon in Expressionist literature; the visionary passages in Reise complement the account in the way of the typically Expressionist fantastic scenes in Die Wandlung; in both works the protagonist is a type found often in Expressionist drama--young, restive and from the middle class; each aspires to become fully human in the manner of "der neue Mensch"; and moral transformation for each comes about through spiritual suffering and discovering the miraculous and divine nature of love which overcomes the isolation of the solitary self. The necessary journey in Reise leads to the realization that "We" is more important than "I": that the building of community afresh, the building of common standards, through selflessly joining one's heart and labour to those of other such community-minded individuals is superior to mass society or proud individualism. This discovered truth repeats the Expressionist ethic of "Wirbewußtsein," or all-embracing altruism and unbounded humanity. The discovery of "WIR!" inspires Bauer's narrator in Reise to envision what could be called a proletarian "neuer Mensch," who unites the wretched of the earth in making the world anew. Inspired further, the narrator calls upon the poets, with expressionistic effusiveness, to present a new "ecce homo," a new

image of a spiritual redeemer, which is equally reminiscent of "der neue Mensch" of Expressionism in that it stands for a new set of ideals and a new vision of the future for the world.

According to Henry Beissel, writing in his introduction to Walter Bauer's 1976 collection of poems A Different Sun about the poet's temperament in his later years in Canada, Bauer came to have a "general lack of trust in the perfectibility of man."[1] Yet echoes of his early works and reminiscent echoes of Expressionism can be heard in the final words of his 1965 article "German Poetry Today": he insists that the poets must continue to "work towards a new vision of man"; "[t]hey will have to restore the face of man."[2] It is in the same spirit of making a better world which animated the Expressionist movement that Walter Bauer dedicated his creative activities to unveiling evil and sorrow in the world and appealing to common humanity in each reader of his poetry and stories. The early works of his, discussed here, reflect the Expressionist vision of moral and material betterment of the human condition in the materialistic, increasingly bewildering twentieth-century Western civilization through each person's quest to recover humility, compassion, sincerity, and to develop a sense of personal and communal responsibility. In common with the Expressionists, Bauer believed that it is the

artists who must remind us of these virtues in an age that offers few touchstones.

Notes

Introduction

[1] The words Expressionism, Expressionist, and expressionistic are used in this thesis with the following meanings:
Expressionism: the literary and artistic movement, in both theory and practice, which was current in the first three decades of the twentieth century, especially in Germany;
Expressionist: followers of Expressionism, or, as an adjective, works that belong to the movement;
expressionistic: in the manner or spirit of Expressionism.

[2] Walter Bauer, "An Otto Röders," 8 April 1969, Liebe zu Deutschland heißt Leiden an Deutschland: Briefe aus Kanada, 1962-1976, comp., ed., and foreword by Otto Röders (Gifkendorf: Merlin Verlag, 1980), p. 232.

Chapter 1

[1] Walter Bauer, Geburt des Poeten: Erinnerungen (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980).

[2] Inclusion in the middle class determined according to the definition in "Bourgeois Virtue" by Donald McCloskey,

The American Scholar, 63 (Spring 1994), 177-191.

[3] Walter Bauer, "Auskunft über mich: Ein Selbstporträt," Welt und Wort, 3 (1948), 225.

[4] Hartmut Froeschle, "Walter Bauer: Sein dichterisches Werk mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Kanada-Erlebnisses," German-Canadian Yearbook, 5 (1979), 78.

[5] Roy Allen, German Expressionist Poetry (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), pp. 70-71.

[6] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 78, quoting Walter Bauer, Der Weg zählt, nicht die Herberge: Verse und Prosa, 1928-1964, foreword Ernst Tessloff (Hamburg: Ernst Tessloff Verlag, 1964), p. 98.

[7] Bauer, "Auskunft über mich," p. 225.

[8] Henry Beissel, "A Tribute to Walter Bauer," The Tamarack Review, 64 (November 1974), 7; and Hans-Martin Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben and Werk," German-Canadian Yearbook, 9 (1986), 176.

[9] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," pp. 77-78.

[10] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 78.

[11] Bruno Leon, "Der Ruf gilt dir, Kamerad! Deutsche Arbeiterdichtung (XIX)," Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau für die Bergbau- und Energiewirtschaft (Bochum: Berg-Verlag), 16 (July 1963), 428.

[12] Hans-Martin Pleßke, Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, by Walter Bauer (1930; rpt. Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1980), p. 128.

[13] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 175.

[14] Pleßke, Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, p. 128; and Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," pp. 175-76.

[15] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 176.

[16] Stefan Zweig, "An Otto Heuschele," 7 May 1930, Stefan Zweig: Briefe an Freunde, ed. Richard Friedenthal (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), p. 205 (See also "An Otto Heuschele," 10 December 1930, p. 211; and "An Frans Masereel," 23 March 1931, p. 212). See also: Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 176.

[17] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 176; and Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 78.

[18] Günter Hess, "The German Immigrant Writer Walter Bauer: The Burden of His European 'Luggage,'" in The Old World and the New: Literary Perspectives of German-speaking Canadians, ed. Walter E. Riedel (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 60.

[19] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 78, quoting Walter Bauer, Ein Jahr: Tagebuchblätter aus Kanada (Hamburg: Merlin-Verlag, 1967), p. 201.

[20] Ludwig Pesch, WuWahr (1963, p. 625), in Modern German Literature: A Library of Literary Criticism, comp.

and ed. Agnes Körner Domandi (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1972), I, 39.

[21] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 178.

[22] Falk Schwarz, Literarisches Zeitgespräch im Dritten Reich, dargestellt an der Zeitschrift "Neue Rundschau" (Frankfurt: Buchhändler-Vereinigung, 1972; special printing from Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, vol. 12, final edition), p. 1323.

[23] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 176.

[24] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 176.

[25] Schwarz, Literarisches Zeitgespräch im Dritten Reich, p. 1323.

[26] Schwarz, Literarisches Zeitgespräch im Dritten Reich, p. 1323.

[27] Gerhard Friesen, Foreword, "Der Wanderer: Bildnis von Johann Gottfried Seume," by Walter Bauer in German-Canadian Yearbook, 10 (1988), 183.

[28] Horst Denkler, "Janusköpfig: Zur ideologischen Physiognomie der Zeitschrift 'Das innere Reich' (1934-1944)," in Die deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich, ed. Horst Denkler and Karl Prümm (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1976), pp. 394-95; and Curt Hohoff and Albert Soergel, Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit: Vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart,

II (Düsseldorf: August Bagel, 1963), 767.

[29] Henry Beissel, Introd., The Price of Morning, by Walter Bauer, ed. and trans. Henry Beissel (Vancouver: Prism International Press, 1968), p. 13.

[30] Hess, "The German Immigrant Writer Walter Bauer," p. 61; and Franz Lennartz, Deutsche Schriftsteller des 20. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Kritik (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1984), pp. 79-80.

[31] For comment on the influence of Stefan Zweig's Sternstunden der Menschheit on Walter Bauer's biographies, see: Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 178.

[32] Pleßke, Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, p. 132.

[33] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," pp. 80 & 81; and Pleßke, "Walter Bauer, Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 177.

[34] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 177.

[35] Beissel, Introd., The Price of Morning, p. 13.

[36] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 83.

[37] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 177.

[38] Bauer, "Auskunft über mich," p. 225.

[39] Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 178.

[40] Beissel, "A Tribute to Walter Bauer," p. 6.;

Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 81; Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 178; and Inge Meidinger-Geise, "Bauer, Walter," in Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur, ed. Hermann Kunisch, rev. Herbert Wiesner (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1981), p. 40.

[41] Beissel, Introd., The Price of Morning, p. 14.

[42] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 81.

[43] Beissel, "A Tribute to Walter Bauer," p. 6.

[44] Meidinger-Geise, "Bauer, Walter," p. 40.

[45] Henry Beissel, Introd., A Different Sun, by Walter Bauer, trans. Henry Beissel (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1976), p. 5.

[46] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 81.

[47] Leon, "Der Ruf gilt dir, Kamerad!" p. 430, quoting Walter Bauer, Mein blaues Oktavheft (Frankfurt am Main: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1953); elsewhere cited as "1954," and also as: Walter Bauer, Mein blaues Oktavheft: Gedichte (Hamburg: Ernst Tessloff Verlag, 1954).

[48] Hess, "The German Immigrant Writer Walter Bauer," p. 62.

[49] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 84.

[50] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 85.

[51] Hess, "The German Immigrant Writer Walter Bauer," p. 63.

[52] For a discussion of Walter Bauer's predicament

as an immigrant writer, see: Beissel, Introd., A Different Sun, pp. 5-6; Beissel, Introd., The Price of Morning, pp. 15-16; Beissel, "A Tribute to Walter Bauer," p. 7; Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 93; Hess, "The German Immigrant Writer Walter Bauer," pp. 69-70; and Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," pp. 180-181. For an extended discussion of Bauer's predicament as an immigrant writer see Rodney T. K. Symington, "The Literature of Voluntary Exile: The German-Canadian Example," in Präludien: Kanadisch-deutsche Dialoge, ed. Burkhardt Krause, Patrick O'Neill, and Ulrich Scheck (Munich: Iudicium Verlag, 1992).

[53] Walter Bauer, Ein Jahr: Tagebuchblätter aus Kanada (Hamburg: Merlin Verlag, 1967); Walter Bauer, Fremd in Toronto: Erzählungen und Prosastücke (Hattingen/Ruhr: Hundt-Verlag, 1963); Walter Bauer, Der weiße Indianer: Wäscha-Kwonnesin; Die Geschichte eines abenteuerlichen Lebens (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Ullstein, 1960); Walter Bauer, Folge dem Pfeil: Leben, Traum und Tod des Sieur de la Salle (Munich: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1956); Walter Bauer, Nachtwachen des Tellerwäschers: Gedichte (Munich: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1957); Walter Bauer, A Slight Trace of Ash, trans. Humphrey Milnes (Toronto: Roger Asham Press, 1976); Walter Bauer, A Different Sun, trans., ed., and introd. Henry Beissel (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1976); and Walter Bauer, The Price of Morning, trans., ed., and introd. Henry Beissel (Vancouver: Prism International Press, 1968).

[54] Pleßke, Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, p. 134.

[55] See Walter Bauer, "German Poetry Today," University of Toronto Quarterly: A Canadian Journal of the Humanities, 34, No. 3 (April 1965), 206, 208-209, & 215; and Walter Bauer, "An Otto Röders," 8 April 1969, Liebe zu Deutschland heißt Leiden an Deutschland: Briefe aus Kanada, 1962-1976, comp., ed., and foreword by Otto Röders (Gifkendorf: Merlin Verlag, 1980), p. 232.

[56] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," p. 213.

Chapter 2

[1] Patrick Bridgwater, ed., Twentieth-Century German Verse (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd, 1963), pp. xli, xliv, & 1.

[2] Walter Bauer, "German Poetry Today," University of Toronto Quarterly: A Canadian Journal of the Humanities, 34, No. 3 (April 1965), 206.

[3] Bridgwater, Twentieth-Century German Verse, p. 1.

[4] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," pp. 208-209.

[5] Modris Eksteins, "When Death was Young . . . : Germany, Modernism and the Great War," in Ideas into Politics: Aspects of European History, 1880-1950, ed. R. J. Bullen, H. Pogge von Strandman, and A. B. Polonsky (London: Croom Helm; Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984), p. 27 (ellipsis in the original).

[6] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," p. 210.

[7] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," p. 212.

[8] Bridgwater, Twentieth-Century German Verse, p. lix.

[9] Hartmut Froeschle, "Walter Bauer: Sein dichterisches Werk mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Kanada-Elebnisses," German-Canadian Yearbook, 5 (1979), 79; and Günther Hess, "'Lehren: anregen, öffnen, begeistern . . . humanisieren': Walter Bauers Laufbahn als Lehrer," in Der Wanderer: Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk von Walter Bauer, ed. Walter Riedel and Rodney Symington (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), p.

10 (ellipsis in the original), quoting Walter Bauer, "An A. Bauer," 16 November 1923, Walter Bauer Collection, D. B. Weldon Library, The Univ. of Western Ontario, London, Canada.

[10] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," p. 215.

[11] Quoted in Penrith Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," in The Challenge of German Literature, ed. Horst S. Daemmrich and Diether H. Haenicke (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1971), p. 295.

[12] Roy Allen, German Expressionist Poetry (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), p. 60.

[13] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," p. 222.

[14] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," p. 216.

[15] August Closs, Ivor Keys, and H. M. Waidson, Twentieth Century German Literature, Vol. 4 of Introduction to German Literature, ed. August Closs (London: The Cresset Press, 1969), p. 20.

[16] Jethro Bithell, Modern German Literature: 1880-1950 (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1959), pp. 359-60.

[17] Eksteins, "When Death was Young . . .: Germany, Modernism and the Great War," p. 28.

[18] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, p. 22.

[19] Wolfgang Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989), p. 335.

[20] Eva Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus: Politik

und Literatur zwischen Weltkrieg und Weimarer Republik (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), p. 1.

[21] Reinhard Johannes Sorge, Der Bettler: Eine Dramatische Sendung, in his Werke, ed and introd. Hans Gerd Rötzer, II (Nuremberg: Glock und Lutz Verlag, 1964), 13-93.

[22] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, p. 32.

[23] Ernst Toller, Die Wandlung: Das Ringen eines Menschen, in his Prosa-Briefe-Dramen-Gedichten, foreword Kurt Hiller (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979), pp. 73-123.

[24] Bauer, "German Poetry Today," p. 215. For a list of Expressionist political poets, see Bridgwater, Twentieth-Century German Verse, pp. lxi-lxii.

[25] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 375.

[26] Bridgwater, Twentieth-Century German Verse, p. lxii-lxiii. Cf. Michael Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller: The Realm of Necessity and the Realm of Freedom (Albany, New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 1980), quoting Karl S. Guthke, Geschichte und Poetik der deutschen Tragikomödie (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), p. 323 (trans. Michael Ossar):

> The lack of clarity and realism is, however, only one weakness of the Expressionist credo; another is the platitude. . . . To us today, the well-meaning, arrogant combination of exagger-

> ated, insufficiently thought-out idealism and pathetic sense of mission, of being a savior in the manifestos and appeals that these young men directed at the conscience of mankind with such childishness seems almost unintentionally comical. (p. 11)

[27] Bettex, "Modern Literature," p. 314; and Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 418.

[28] Cf. Eksteins, "When Death was Young . . .: Germany, Modernism and the Great War":

> Yet, while social negativism, a rejection of the bourgeois preoccupation with an external world of form--with taste, demeanour, etiquette, and respectability--was an essential tool of nineteenth-century modernism, its mood and substance were an emphatic vitalism, a quest for spiritual liberation, and hence ultimately optimism about the potential of man. . . . Although virulently opposed to what were considered the stultifying and suffocating preoccupations of bourgeois society, neo-idealism, "Lebensphilosophie," abstractionism, and even decadentism were in essence an extension, against a backdrop of high industrialisation, of basic humanist principles which aimed at liberating man's potential for experience, beauty and life. Initially modernism was a culture of hope, a secular religiosity. (p. 27)

[29] Cf. Walter Bauer's remark about a multi-volume collection of Goethe's works in a letter, in Walter Bauer, "An Otto Röders," 28 December 1969, Liebe zu Deutschland heißt Leiden an Deutschland: Briefe aus Kanada, 1962-1976, comp., ed., and foreword by Otto Röders (Gifkendorf: Merlin Verlag, 1980), p. 273:

> Diese Bände . . . sind für mich immer wieder

> der Beweis dafür, daß die Kunst, auch wenn sie nicht die Welt ändert, auf eine subtile Weise den einzelnen verändern kann. Ich bin da durchaus nicht Benns und Audens Ansicht, daß die Kunst unwirksam ist. Sie öffnet, sie macht bewußt, sie vertieft Fühlen und Denken; sind das nicht schon Veränderungen? . . . So ist es mit Goethe. Und ich wünschte, daß manche meiner Sachen auf den Leser eine ähnliche Wirkung ausüben; daß sie ihn denken lassen: nicht schlecht, eine Stunde in Bauers Gesellschaft verbracht zu haben. Man kann eine belanglos scheinende Geschichte aus der eigenen Kindheit erzählen, und sie kann eine ähnliche Wirkung haben. Die Grenze zwischen bedeutend, groß und klein verwischen sich da.

[30] Bauer, "An Otto Röders," 5 January 1969, Liebe zu Deutschland heißt Leiden an Deutschland, p. 210.

Chapter 3

[1] Walter Bauer, Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich (Dresden: Buchverlag Kaden & Comp., 1929). (All further references to this work appear in the text.)

[2] Ernst Tessloff, Foreword, Der Weg zählt, nicht die Herberge: Prosa und Verse, 1928-1964 by Walter Bauer (Hamburg: Ernst Tessloff Verlag, 1964), pp. 10-11. The meaning of "Kamerad" in Bauer's own words is also found in a letter to Ernst Tessloff's widow about the man, in Walter Bauer, "An Frau Tessloff," 30 May 1973, Liebe zu Deutschland heißt Leiden an Deutschland: Briefe aus Kanada, 1962-1976, comp., ed. and foreword by Otto Röders (Gifkendorf: Merlin Verlag, 1980):

> Er gehörte zu den noch wenigen meiner Freunde, die wie ich, obgleich jünger als sie, als Wirklichkeit erfuhren, was nun Geschichte und Lesestoff geworden ist, und diese Erfahrungen, in unser Leben eingebrannt, schufen eine besondere Zusammengehörigkeit und eine freundschaftliche Nähe seltener Art. Das war der Sinn, den ich dem Worte "Kamerad" gab. (pp. 409-10)

[3] Tessloff, Foreword, Der Weg zählt, nicht die Herberge, p. 11.

[4] Kurt Pinthus, ed., Menschheitsdämmerung: Ein Dokument des Expressionismus (1920; rpt. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1959; first published under the title Menschheitsdämmerung, Symphonie jüngster Dichtung by Ernst Rowohlt

Verlag, Berlin, 1920).

[5] Pinthus, Foreword ("1919"), Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 29.

[6] Roy Allen, German Expressionist Poetry (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), p. 49.

[7] Franz Werfel, "Fremde sind wir auf der Erde Alle," in Menschheitsdämmerung, pp. 72-73.

[8] Wolfgang Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989), p. 324. Penrith Goff, in his article "Impressionism and Expressionism," in The Challenge of German Literature, ed. Horst S. Daemmrich and Diether H. Haenicke (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1971), comments on the significance of the poem "Städter" as an example of the Expressionist outlook:

> . . . for the early expressionist lyric poets the horrors of existence in an urban and industrial society loom with particular urgency. Their work does not register the personal agony of over-sensitive nerves . . . but objectively records the drab life of the soulless city dwellers . . . who are dehumanized by the daily routine of factory life. . . . At home, despite the overcrowded living conditions, they are desperately lonely. . . . Loneliness and isolation were the basic conditions in the world as the expressionists experienced it. (p. 292)

[9] Walter Bauer, Ein Mann zog in die Stadt (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1931).

[10] Georg Kaiser, Von morgens bis mitternachts, ed.

and afterword by Walther Huder (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1964).

[11] Bruno Leon, "Der Ruf gilt dir, Kamerad! Deutsche Arbeiterdichtung (XIX)," Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau für die Bergbau- und Energiewirtschaft (Bochum: Berg-Verlag), 16 (July 1963), 429.

[12] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, p.64.

[13] Ernst Rose, A History of German Literature (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1960), p. 296.

[14] Ernst Toller, Eine Jugend in Deutschland (1933; rpt. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1963). Although Toller's autobiography was published after Kameraden, Walter Bauer was familiar as a youth with the works of Ernst Toller, as mentioned by Hartmut Froeschle in his article "Walter Bauer: Sein dichterisches Werk mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Kanada-Erlebnisses," German-Canadian Yearbook (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada, 1979), 5: "Unter die teuren Namen der Jugend zählt er auch Ernst Toller, dessen Schwalbenbuch ihm immer wertvoll blieb . . ." (p. 78).

[15] Erich Maria Remarque, Im Westen nichts Neues (Berlin: Im Propyläen-Verlag, 1929), chap. ix, esp. pp. 222-25.

[16] J. G. Robertson, A History of German Literature, 5th ed., rev. and enl. by Edna Purdie, W. I. Lucas, and M. O'C. Walshe (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1966), p. 546.

[17] Beutin et al. in their Deutsche Literaturgeschichte (cited above) agree with Kurt Pinthus in his 1919 foreword to Menschheitsdämmerung (cited above, p. 29) that the four watchwords of Expressionism are "Mensch, Welt, Bruder, Gott" (p. 379); and Jethro Bithell in his Modern German Literature: 1880-1950 (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1959) states:

> The ethics of expressionism can be stated in a few catchwords. "Nicht ich, sondern du," or "Wirbewusstsein," means altruism or love of others. Freethinkers, but thrusting forward a fanatical pretence of religion, the expressionists are "seekers of God." . . . in their cry for brotherhood of races and the reconciliation of races they repeat Schiller's "Millionen, seid umschlungen!" (p. 361).

[18] Penrith Goff in his article "Impressionism and Expressionism" (cited above) states that the Expressionists "saw the urgent need for regeneration and urged their public to overcome isolation by recognizing that all men are brothers. They envisioned an era to come when such communal feeling would be reality instead of mere dream" (p. 292).

[19] Karl Otten, "Die Thronerhebung des Herzens," in Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 245. Roy Allen in his German Expressionist Poetry (cited above) remarks about Karl Otten in reference to the poem "Thronerhebung des Herzens": "Much like Werfel, Wolfenstein, Hasenclever, Goll, Lasker-Schüler, Kurt Heynicke, and many other Expressionist poets, Otten emphasizes the need for restoring to this world the values

associated with the 'heart' (love, sympathy, warmth, friendship, sensitivity, etc.)" (p. 114).

[20] Herman Salinger, ed. & trans., Twentieth-Century German Verse (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1952), p. 76; from the version published in Heinrich Lersch, Mit brüderlicher Stimme (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1934); the first version was published in Heinrich Lersch, Herz! Aufglühe dein Blut: Gedichte im Kriege (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1918), p. 101. Walter Bauer and Heinrich Lersch were in fact acquainted, at least through correspondence about Bauer's writing which dates back to early 1929, and furthermore the short prose passages in Stimme aus dem Leunawerk were perhaps the result of encouragement from Heinrich Lersch, according to Hans-Martin Pleßke in his article "'Alles was ist, hat den gleichen Quell': Über das erzählerische Werk von Walter Bauer," in Der Wanderer: Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk von Walter Bauer, ed. Walter Riedel and Rodney Symington (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), p. 37. That the Expressionist "Arbeiterdichter" Lersch might have influenced Bauer is suggested by the mentioned comparison of the pathos, the language, and the form in Bauer's earliest published works with those for which Lersch is known, made in Hermann Kunisch, Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur, rev. and ed. by Herbert Wiesner (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1981), p. 40.

Chapter 4

[1] Walter Bauer, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, afterword Hans-Martin Pleßke (1930; rpt. Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1980). (All further references to this work appear in the text.)

[2] C. P. Magill, German Literature (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), p. 149.

[3] Albert Bettex, "Modern Literature (1885 to the present)," in German Literature: A Critical Survey, ed. Bruno Boesch, trans. Ronald Taylor (London: Methuen & Co., 1971), pp. 316-17 (on "New Objectivity"); and J. J. White, "The Cult of 'Functional Poetry' during the Weimar Period," in Weimar Germany: Writers and Politics, ed. A. F. Bance (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1982), pp. 91-109.

[4] For examples of the "zarten, kleinen Menschen W. B.," see the poems: "Übers Feld, Mutter, ging ich dir weit entgegen" (p. 26), and "Im Krieg, Mutter, tat ich dir Gutes" (pp. 31-33); furthermore, the name "W. B." appears expressly in the three poems: "Für die Gestorbenen der Leuna-Werke" (p. 72), "Lebenslauf" (p. 81), and "Die Stimme, welcher ich zu Hilfe eile" (p. 113); all in Walter Bauer, Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich (Dresden: Buchverlag Kaden & Comp., 1929).

[5] Günter Hess, "Walter Bauer und Stefan Zweig: The Literary and Personal Relationship," in Der Wanderer: Auf-

sätze zu Leben und Werk von Walter Bauer, ed. Walter Riedel and Rodney Symington (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), p. 24.

[6] Hess, "Walter Bauer und Stefan Zweig," in Der Wanderer, p. 24.

[7] Walter Bauer, "An Friedrich G. Kürbisch," 3 September 1971, Liebe zu Deutschland heißt Leiden an Deutschland: Briefe aus Kanada, 1962-1976, comp., ed. and foreword by Otto Röders (Gifkendorf: Merlin Verlag, 1980), p. 340.

[8] Manfred Brauneck, ed., "Bauer, Walter," Autorenlexikon deutschsprachiger Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts, 3rd ed. (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984); Hartmut Froeschle, "Walter Bauer: Sein dichterisches Werk mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Kanada-Erlebnisses," German-Canadian Yearbook, 5 (1979), 78; Hermann Kunisch, Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur, rev. Herbert Wiesner (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1981), p. 40; Bruno Leon, "Der Ruf gilt dir, Kamerad! Deutsche Arbeiterdichtung (XIX)," Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau für die Bergbau- und Energiewirtschaft (Bochum: Berg-Verlag), 16 (July 1963), 428-431; Johannes Maczewski, "Auf der Suche nach dem NICHTS: Zu Walter Bauers Kanada-Gedichten," Yearbook of German-American Studies, 19 (1984), 141; Hans-Martin Pleßke, Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, by Walter Bauer (1930; rpt. Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1980), pp. 129-30 & 132; Hans-Martin Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," German-Canadian

Yearbook, 9 (1986), 175; Wolfgang Trampe, "Ich habe gelesen: Stimme aus dem Leunawerk von Walter Bauer," Neue Deutsche Literatur, 28, No. 12 (December 1980), 112; and Gero von Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, 7th rev. and enl. ed. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1989), p. 47 ("Arbeiterdichtung").

[9] Jethro Bithell, Modern German Literature: 1880-1950 (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1959), p. 418; and "Arbeiterdichtung," Knaurs Lexikon A-Z (Hamburg, Stuttgart, Munich: Deutscher Bücherbund, 1972).

[10] Bettex, "Modern Literature," p. 314. See also E. Brenner, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte (Wels, Upper Austria: Verlagsbuchhandlung Leitner & Co., 1963), p. 258; and Paul Merker and Wolfgang Stammler, Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 2nd ed. rev. Werner Kohlschmidt and Wolfgang Mohr (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958), I, 98.

[11] "Engelke, Gerrit," Knaurs Lexikon; Henry and Mary Garland, "Engelke, Gerrit," The Oxford Companion to German Literature, 2nd ed. Mary Garland (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986); "Kneip, Jakob," Der grosse Herder, 1954; and Harry T. Moore, Twentieth-Century German Literature (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1971), p. 50 (on Bröger and Lersch). With respect to the "workingmen poets" within the genre "Arbeiterdichtung" it is emphasized by Merker and Stammler in Reallexikon der deutschen

Literaturgeschichte (cited above): ". . . doch muß die sozialistisch-revolutionäre Dichtung (Joh. R. Becher, Walter Hasenclever, Ernst Toller, Friedrich Wolf, Paul Zech u. a.) mit ihrer vorwiegend politisch-idealistischen Tendenz und ihrem bürgerlichen Schriftstellertum als Ausgangspunkt streng von der Arbeiterdichtung als Dichtung werktätiger Arbeiter geschieden werden" (I, 98).

[12] Wolfgang Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989), p. 575. On Bauer and "Arbeiterdichtung," see also Hermann Boeschenstein, "Betrachtungen zur deutschkanadischen Literatur," Annalen 1: Symposium, 1976, pp. 1-17, esp. p. 7.

[13] Brenner, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 258.

[14] Paul Zech, "Fabrikstraße Tags," in Menschheitsdämmerung: Ein Dokument des Expressionismus, ed. Kurt Pinthus (1920; rpt. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1959), p. 55. Comparable also with Bauer's "Der Lehrling" are other poems by Zech on proletarian fate in Menschheitsdämmerung: "Sortiermädchen," pp. 55-56; and "Aus den Fenstern eines Kesselhauses," pp. 124-25.

[15] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 418.

[16] August Closs, Ivor Keys, and H. M. Waidson, Twentieth Century German Literature, Vol. IV of Introduction to German Literature, ed. August Closs (London: The Cresset Press, 1969), p. 23. See also Roy Allen, German Expression-

ist Poetry (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), pp. 106-07.

[17] Henry and Mary Garland, "Barthel, Max," and "Bröger, Karl," The Oxford Companion to German Literature.

[18] Moore, Twentieth-Century German Literature, pp. 50-51.

[19] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 418; and Merker and Stammler, Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, I, 98.

[20] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 418.

[21] Jan Berg et al., Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981), p. 41: "Anders als bei den Arbeiterdichtern stehen bei diesen Autoren [of proletarian literature, Johannes R. Becher, Emil Ginkel, Walter Bauer, and Wilhelm Thaczyk in the early 1930s] gerade die Deformation, die Vernichtung individueller Substanz durch die entfremdete Arbeit im Vordergrund." Hans-Martin Pleßke also draws attention to this distinction in the afterword he wrote for the 1980 reprint edition of Stimme aus dem Leunawerk:

> Nicht darum geht es ihm, die Welt der Industrie zu schildern, sondern mit reiner Stimme das auszusprechen, was alle namenlos Bleibenden bewegt, die "mit tiefen Falten in den Gesichtern" Schmerz, Enttäuschung, Leid und Zuversicht selbst nur unhörbar ausdrücken können. (127-28)

[22] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 391; Patrick

Bridgwater, ed., Twentieth-Century German Verse (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1963), p. 1i; Penrith Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," in The Challenge of German Literature, ed. Horst S. Daemmrich and Diether H. Haenicke (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 294-95; and Ernst Rose, A History of German Literature (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1960), pp. 295-96.

[23] Zech, "Fräser," in Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 59.

[24] Rose, A History of German Literature, p. 295.

[25] Magill, German Literature, p. 149. Bauer's early sympathies with the radical Left have been mentioned in several articles: Günter Albrecht et al., "Bauer, Walter," Lexikon deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller (Kronberg Ts.: Scriptor Verlag, 1974); Henry Beissel, "A Tribute to Walter Bauer," The Tamarack Review, 64 (November 1974), 6; Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 83; Rudolf Hagelstange, "Gedenkwort für Walter Bauer," Jahrbuch der Deutschen Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1977), (yearbook for 1976) p. 196; Maczewski, "Auf der Suche nach dem NICHTS," pp. 133 & 136; and Hans-Martin Pleßke, "Gott hat viele gute Worte für die Seinen: Über das Werk von Walter Bauer," Die Zeichen der Zeit (German Democratic Republic), October 1953, p. 385.

[26] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, pp. 106-07; Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 396; and Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 28.

[27] Bettex, "Modern Literature," p. 312; Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 22; and Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," p. 292.

[28] Georg Heym, "Der Krieg," in Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 79.

[29] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, p. 110. As concerns the symbolic colour red in Bauer's first works, there is a quotation in Pleßke's afterword to the reprint edition of Stimme from one of Bauer's postwar, largely autobiographically-based works in which the speaker, a fictitious poet, on reflecting on his first published poems, says that they were coloured "Schwarz und Rot; es gibt ja auch keine anderen Farben. Sie riefen, sie stammelten, sie forderten" (126).

[30] Eva Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus: Politik und Literatur zwischen Weltkrieg und Weimarer Republik (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), p. 138.

[31] Walter Hasenclever, "Der Gefangene," in Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 132.

[32] Ernst Toller, Prosa-Briefe-Dramen-Gedichte, foreword Kurt Hiller (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979), p. 292. The political symbolism of the East in these lines by Toller is corroborated by Michael Ossar in his Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller: The Realm of Necessity and the Realm of Freedom (Albany, New York:

State Univ. of New York Press, 1980), pp. 118-19.

[33] Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 23.

[34] Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 23.

[35] For a discussion of Bauer's political attitude, see Pleßke, Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk, p. 129.

[36] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 380.

[37] Franz Werfel, "Revolutions-Aufruf," in Menschheits-dämmerung, pp. 252-53.

[38] Pleßke, "Gott hat viele gute Worte für die Seinen," p. 385.

[39] For example, Bertolt Brecht's 1927 play Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe (from Bettex, "Modern Literature," p. 318), in which there are the lines:

> Drum, wer unten sagt, daß es einen Gott gibt
> Und kann sein unsichtbar und hülfe ihnen doch,
> Den soll man mit dem Kopf auf das Pflaster schlagen,
> Bis er verreckt ist.

See also Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 421, on the Marxist import of the play.

[40] Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus, p. 19, quoting Ernst August Wicke, "Das Phänomen der Menschenliebe im expressionistischen Drama als säkularisierte Form der christlichen Agape," Diss. Marburg 1952, p. 30.

[41] A discussion of Bauer's view of God and religion in Stimme and in his other works is to be found in Pleßke, "Gott hat viele gute Worte für die Seinen"; and in Henry Beissel, "Der Atem und das Licht: The Unpublished Poetry Manuscripts of Walter Bauer's Last Decade," in Der Wanderer, p. 188 (footnote).

[42] Pleßke, "Gott hat viele gute Worte für die Seinen," p. 385.

[43] Ernst Stadler, "Zwiegespräch," in Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 202.

[44] Else Lasker-Schüler, "An Gott," in Menschheitsdämmerung, pp. 198-99.

[45] Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus, p. 21.

[46] Modris Eksteins, "When Death was Young . . . : Germany, Modernism and the Great War," in Ideas into Politics: Aspects of European History, 1880-1950, ed. R. J. Bullen, H. Pogge von Strandmann, and A. B. Polonsky (London: Croom Helm; Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984), pp. 32-34 (ellipsis in the original).

[47] Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus, p. 48.

[48] J. G. Robertson, A History of German Literature, 5th ed., rev. and enl. Edna Purdie, W. I. Lucas, and M. O'C. Walshe (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1966), pp. 546-47.

[49] See, for instance, Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 83; and Günther Hess, "'Lehren: anregen, öffnen, begeistern

. . . humanisieren': Walter Bauers Laufbahn als Lehrer," in Der Wanderer, p. 10 (ellipsis in the original).

[50] Maczewski, "Auf der Suche nach dem NICHTS," p. 136. On the anti-capitalist attitude, see Bauer's letter to A. Bauer, 16 November 1923, in Hess, "'Lehren: anregen, öffnen, begeistern . . . humanisieren,'" in Der Wanderer, p. 10 (ellipsis in the original).

[51] Wilhelm Klemm, "Der Bettler," in Menschheitsdämmerung, pp. 282-83

[52] Robertson, A History of German Literature, p. 547.

[53] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, pp. 338-39. On Bauer's view of the social mission of the poet, see also his letter to Rainer Hessler, 24 April 1972, in Bauer, Liebe zu Deutschland heißt Leiden an Deutschland, p. 366.

[54] Johannes R. Becher, "Vorbereitung," in Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 213.

[55] Walter Hasenclever, "Der politische Dichter," in Menschheitsdämmerung, pp. 213-16.

[56] Walter Bauer, Geburt des Poeten: Erinnerungen (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980).

[57] Berg et al., Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart, p. 41; Henry Beissel, Foreword, A Different Sun, by Walter Bauer, trans. Henry Beissel (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1976), pp. 5 & 7; Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 78; Hagelstange, "Gedenkwort für Walter Bauer,"

p. 196; Hess, "Walter Bauer and Stefan Zweig," p. 24; Günter Hess, "The German Immigrant Writer Walter Bauer: The Burden of His European 'Luggage,'" in The Old World and the New: Literary Perspectives of German-speaking Canadians, ed. Walter E. Riedel (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 60 & 67; Jürgen Jankofsky, "'Etwas wie eine "underground reputation"': Wirkungen Walter Bauers auf zeitgenössische Autoren und Künstler seiner mitteldeutschen Heimat," in Der Wanderer, p. 165; Franz Lennartz, Deutsche Schriftsteller des 20. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Kritik (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1984), p. 78; Maczewski, "Auf der Suche nach dem NICHTS" pp. 136-37, 138-39, & 148; Pleßke, Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk p. 129; Hans-Martin Pleßke, "'Alles was ist, hat den gleichen Quell': Über das erzählerische Werk von Walter Bauer," in Der Wanderer, pp. 37 & 38; Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," pp. 175 & 176; Walter Riedel, "Silence: Walter Bauer's Myth of the Arctic," in Der Wanderer, pp. 155-56; and Ernst Tessloff, Foreword, Der Weg zählt, nicht die Herberge: Prosa und Verse, 1928-1964, by Walter Bauer (Hamburg: Ernst Tessloff Verlag, 1964), p. 11.

[58] Walter Bauer, "Auskunft über mich: Ein Selbstporträt," Welt und Wort, 3 (1948), 225.

[59] Hagelstange, "Gedenkwort für Walter Bauer," p. 196.

Chapter 5

[1] Walter Bauer, Die notwendige Reise, foreword Walter Bauer (1932; rpt. Stuttgart: Hans E. Günther Verlag, 1947). (All further references to this work appear in the text.)

[2] Walter Bauer, Ein Mann zog in die Stadt (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1931).

[3] Günter Albrecht et al., "Bauer, Walter," Lexikon deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller (Kronberg Ts.: Scriptor Verlag, 1974); Walter Bauer, "Auskunft über mich: Ein Selbstporträt," Welt und Wort, 3 (1948), 225; Ernst Alker, Hochland (Oct. 1934-Mar. 1935, p. 301), in Modern German Literature: A Library of Literary Criticism, comp. and ed. by Agnes Körner Domandi (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1972), I, 38-39; Hartmut Froeschle, "Walter Bauer: Sein dichterisches Werk mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Kanada-Erlebnisses," German-Canadian Yearbook, 5 (1979), 79; Rudolf Hagelstange, "Gedenkwort für Walter Bauer," Jahrbuch der Deutschen Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung, 1976 (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1977), p. 197; Franz Lennartz, Deutsche Schriftsteller des 20. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Kritik (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1984), p. 79; Bruno Leon, "Der Ruf gilt dir, Kamerad! Deutsche Arbeiterdichtung (XIX)," Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau für die Bergbau- und Energiewirtschaft (Bochum: Berg-Verlag), 16 (July 1963), 428; Hans-Martin Pleßke,

Afterword, Stimme aus dem Leunawerk by Walter Bauer (1930; rpt. Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1980), p. 131; Hans-Martin Pleßke, "'Alles was ist, hat den gleichen Quell': Über das erzählerische Werk von Walter Bauer," in Der Wanderer: Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk von Walter Bauer, ed. Walter Riedel and Rodney Symington (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), pp. 39-41; Hans-Martin Pleßke, "Gott hat viele gute Worte für die Seinen: Über das Werk von Walter Bauer," Die Zeichen der Zeit (German Democratic Republic), October 1953, p. 385; and Hans-Martin Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," German-Canadian Yearbook 9 (1986), 176.

[4] Bauer, "Auskunft über mich," p. 225; Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 77; Günther Hess, "'Lehren: anregen, öffnen, begeistern . . . humanisieren': Walter Bauers Laufbahn als Lehrer," in Der Wanderer, p. 10 (ellipsis in the original); Lennartz, Deutsche Schriftsteller des 20. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Kritik, p. 79; Leon, "Der Ruf gilt dir, Kamerad!" pp. 428 & 429; Pleßke, "Alles was ist, hat den gleichen Quell," pp. 41-42; and Pleßke, "Walter Bauer: Vortrag über Leben und Werk," p. 175.

[5] Roy Allen, German Expressionist Poetry (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), pp. 51, 52, & 56; Albert Bettex, "Modern Literature (1885 to the present)," in German Literature: A Critical Survey, ed. Bruno Boesch, trans. Ronald Taylor (London: Methuen & Co., 1971), pp. 312 & 313; Wolf-

gang Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989), pp. 334-36 & 379-80; August Closs, Ivor Keys, and H. M. Waidson, Twentieth Century German Literature, Vol. IV of Introduction to German Literature, ed. August Closs (London: The Cresset Press, 1969), pp. 22, 28, & 83; Eva Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus: Politik und Literatur zwischen Weltkrieg und Weimarer Republik (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), p. 1, quoting the Expressionist Kasimir Edschmid in his 1957 recollections of Expressionism; and Ernst Rose, A History of German Literature (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1960), p. 296 (particularly on the "Zeitgeist" among young people).

[6] Jethro Bithell, Modern German Literature: 1880-1950 (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1959), p. 361.

[7] Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 24.

[8] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 423.

[9] Froeschle, "Walter Bauer," p. 79. Commenting on Bauer's idealism in Reise in his article "Alles was ist, hat den gleichen Quell" (cited above), Hans-Martin Pleßke remarks: "Dieser Nachkriegsgeneration ist ein schwärmerisches Weltgefühl zu eigen, das sich in mancherlei Varianten Bahn bricht" (p. 41). Also in reference to the mind of Bauer's generation, Sherrill E. Grace, Regression and

Apocalypse: Studies in North American Literary Expressionism (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1989), remarks about the Expressionist Herman Voaden, born a year before Bauer:

> Born in 1903, Voaden was too young to fight in the first war but not too young to experience the sense of alienation and disillusionment with life so common among writers of his generation. At fourteen he contemplated suicide in response to a crisis in his beliefs and his subsequent need to locate, indeed create for himself, religious roots and faith characterized his dramatic work and fuelled his development of "symphonic expressionism." (p. 118)

[10] C. P. Magill, German Literature (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), p. 149.

[11] Oscar Handlin, "The Unmarked Way," The American Scholar, 65, No. 3 (Summer 1996), 337.

[12] Penrith Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," in The Challenge of German Literature, ed. Horst S. Daemmrich and Diether H. Haenicke (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1971), p. 292.

[13] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 396; Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 22; and Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus, p. 1, quoting the Expressionist Kasimir Edschmid in his 1957 recollections of Expressionism.

[14] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 336.

[15] Bauer, "Auskunft über mich," p. 225.

[16] Modris Eksteins, "When Death was Young . . .: Germany, Modernism and the Great War," in Ideas into Politics: Aspects of European History, 1880-1950, ed. R. J. Bullen, H. Pogge von Strandmann, and A. B. Polonsky (London: Croom Helm; Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984), p. 34 (ellipsis in the original).

[17] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 336.

[18] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 336; and Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," p. 303.

[19] Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 77; Michael Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller: The Realm of Necessity and the Realm of Freedom (Albany, New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 1980), p. 72; and J. G. Robertson, A History of German Literature, 5th ed., rev. and enl. Edna Purdie, W. I. Lucas, and M. O'C. Walshe (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1966), p. 547.

[20] Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 77; and Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," pp. 307 & 310.

[21] Closs, Twentieth Century German Literature, p. 77; Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," pp. 307 & 310; Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller, pp. 72 & 78; and Robertson, A History of German Literature, p. 547.

[22] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 395; Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," p. 314; Geoffrey Grigson, ed., The Concise Encyclopedia of Modern World Literature, 2nd. ed. (London: Hutchison & Co., Ltd., 1970), p. 8; and Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller, pp. 19, 72, & 138.

[23] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, pp. 32, 118, 119, 122, & 125; Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 392; Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," pp. 305 & 306; and Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller, pp. 58, 59, 72, & 81.

[24] Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller, p. 72.

[25] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, p. 32.

[26] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, p. 118.

[27] The protagonist in Reise is not portrayed as a spiritual leader like "der neue Mensch" but rather as an "Everyman," such as described by The Concise Encyclopedia of Modern World Literature (cited above):

> Many Expressionist plays (notably those of Georg Kaiser) are characterised by a Utopian search for the "New Man" who is to be born out of defeat and catastrophe. The most significant German novelists of the age, however, prefer to present an "Everyman" trying to find his way in a more and more bewildering society. "Everyman" might be a transport worker making his way about a hostile Berlin (Alfred Döblin: Berlin Alexanderplatz); or a simple girl experiencing the fall of the Austrian monarchy (Franz Werfel: Barbara oder die Frömmigkeit); or the country doctors,

> commercial travellers and land-surveyors of Franz Kafka, into whose world the irrational irrupts bewilderingly." (p. 8)

The desolate wanderings of the protagonist in Reise also invite comparison with those of the seeking wanderers and adventurers in Hermann Hesse's novels, discussed by Ernst Rose in his A History of German Literature (cited above), pp. 322-23. Nonetheless, unlike the fate of the "Everyman" of the works mentioned above, the protagonist in Reise, in common with "der neue Mensch," makes a breakthrough to what the Expressionist Gerrit Engelke "called the feeling of 'total belongingness,'" in the words of Albert Bettex in his "Modern Literature (1885 to the present)" (cited above), p. 313.

[28] Ernst Toller, Die Wandlung: Das Ringen eines Menschen, in his Prosa-Briefe-Dramen-Gedichten, foreword Kurt Hiller (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979), pp. 73-123. According to Hans-Martin Pleßke in his article "Alles was ist, hat den gleichen Quell" (cited above), for the protagonist in Reise it is the insights he gains that matter: "Im Grunde genommen ist nicht die Handlung bedeutungsvoll, sondern der innere Reifeprozeß des suchenden Jünglings" (p. 41).

[29] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 336.

[30] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 423.

[31] Reinhard Johannes Sorge, "Das Drama," in his Werke, introd. and ed. Hans Gerd Rötzer, I (Nuremberg: Glock und Lutz Verlag, 1962), 206-07.

[32] Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," p. 306. On the Expressionists' search for human essence, or the "Mensch," see also Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 336.

[33] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 423.

[34] Allen, German Expressionist Poetry, p. 49; Closs et al., Twentieth Century German Literature, pp. 83, 84, & 85; Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," p. 292; Kolinsky, Engagierter Expressionismus, p. 3; and Rose, A History of German Literature, pp. 279 & 295.

[35] Georg Kaiser, Die Koralle (Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1917), Act II, pp. 40-66, esp. pp. 60-62.

[36] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 393. The poem "Von unten auf" by Ferdinand Freiligrath is found, for instance, in Freiligraths Werke (Berlin und Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag, 1967), pp. 87-90.

[37] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 424.

[38] Toller, Die Wandlung, p. 85.

[39] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 392.

[40] Rose, A History of German Literature, pp. 294-95.

[41] Bithell, Modern German Literature, pp. 359-60.

[42] Bithell, Modern German Literature, pp. 359-60.

[43] Rose, A History of German Literature, pp. 294-95.

[44] Rose, A History of German Literature, p. 296.

[45] Toller, Prosa-Briefe-Dramen-Gedichte, pp. 73-123. (All further references to this work appear in the text.)

[46] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 395; Goff, "Impressionism and Expressionism," p. 314; and Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller, p. 138, quoting Jost Hermand, Unbequeme Literatur: Eine Beispielreihe, Literatur und Geschichte (Heidelberg: Lothar Verlag, 1971), III, 134.

[47] Beutin et al., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, p. 335.

[48] Bithell, Modern German Literature, p. 395; and Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller, pp. 19 & 58.

[49] Ossar, Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller, pp. 59 & 72.

Conclusion

[1] Henry Beissel, Introd., A Different Sun, by Walter Bauer, trans. Henry Beissel (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1976), p. 7.

[2] Walter Bauer, "German Poetry Today," University of Toronto Quarterly: A Canadian Journal of the Humanities, 34, No. 3 (April 1965), 225.

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