

INDEX

Page numbers followed by letters *f* and *n* refer to figures and notes, respectively.

- Abel* (Neumann), 235
Abie's Irish Rose (Nichols), 123*f*, 124
 Achard, Marcel, *I Know My Love*, 241
 acting skills, as survival skills, 78–81, 85–86
 Adorno, Theodor, 170
 agitprop theater: activists' demands for, 25, 125–26, 130–31, 137, 138; and animosity between antifascists and nationalists, 41; Free German Stage and, 130–32, 136–37; theatergoers' resistance to, 20, 138; West German embassy on, 314
 agrarian comedies, German Theater and, 181–83, 185, 194, 196
 Aialti, J., *Father and Son*, 157, 160–61; reception of, 161–62, 297, 309
 Alberdi, Juan Bautista, 121
 Albert, Claudia, 11
 Aleandro, Norma, 259
 Alemann, Ernesto, 44, 297; and Free German Stage, 96; and Jacob, 47, 91, 233; and Pestalozzi School, 49, 190
 Alezzo, Agustín, 259
 Allende, Isabel, 257
All for Nothing (Hinrichs), 181, 183
 Alvarado, Manuel, 36
 Ami, Ben, 236
Das Andere Deutschland (DAD), 53–54; on anti-Nazi resistance, 142; demands for political

- Das Andere Deutschland* (DAD) (continued)
 agitprop theater, 130–31; and Free German Stage, 125–26, 231; and *Jüdische Wochenschau*, 56; relocation to Montevideo, Uruguay, 38, 54
- Das Andere Deutschland* (journal): on Argentina's immigration policy, 32; on Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*, 147; Jacob as contributor to, 53, 129, 137–39
- Andersen, Hans Christian, *The Princess and the Swineherd*, 257–58
- Antelo, José María, 273
- antifascist German-speaking
 community, in Buenos Aires, 19, 296; commonalities with other immigrants, 14, 21; competition with nationalist community, 41, 46–47, 314–15; composition of, 6, 24, 296; diversity of, 19–20, 56–57, 297; integration with Argentine host society, 18, 300, 301–2, 307; news media associated with, 32–33, 45–46; opposition to Nazism as uniting force for, 244; organizations associated with, 53–54; in postwar period, 277; scholarship on, 12; schools associated with, 49–50; tensions within, 56–57, 94, 102, 117–18, 139, 146–47, 149, 297; theater associated with, 132–33
- antifascist underground, Zionist rejection of idea of, 146–47
- anti-Semitism: in Argentina, during Ramírez regime, 38; against Jewish actors in Europe, 74; as marketing tool, 275; nationalist community's, 216; Ney's, 179, 185, 274, 275; in Rössler's *The Five Frankfurters*, 113–14; in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, 264–65
- Ardrey, Robert, *Thunder Rock*, 137, 144
- Arendt, Hannah, 213
- Argentina: declaration of war on Germany, 40, 227; fascist leanings of, 14, 34, 35–40, 130, 144, 152, 154; German-speaking immigration to, history of, 27–30; immigration policy of, 30–33, 37, 226–27; infamous decade of 1930–1945, 34–40; as nation of immigrants, 4–6; neutrality during World War I, 5, 27; neutrality during World War II, 24, 37; polarization in 1930s–1960s, 289; progressive era of 1870–1930, 33–34; world financial crisis of 1930 and, 34–35. *See also* Buenos Aires; German-speaking immigrants
- Argentine Actors Association, 155, 235
- Argentine-German Cultural Institute, 253, 271
- Argentine University Federation, 36
- Argentinisches Tageblatt* (newspaper), 44; on Aialti's *Father and Son*, 160; antifascist position of, 45, 46; on Argentina's immigration policy, 31, 32; on Bistrizky's *That Night*, 161; on De Kowa, 241; and *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, 43–46, 48; on *The Diary of Anne Frank*, 283, 284, 285; and Free German Stage, 47, 91–92, 97, 126, 127, 232–33; and *Freie Presse*, 228; on German Chamber Players, 275–76; on German Drama, 175; on Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*, 140–41, 144, 147; on Humboldt School, 190; integration advocated by, 44; Jacob's contributions to, 45, 148, 233, 240; journalistic integrity compromised by, 45–46; and *Jüdische Wochenschau*, 126; on Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, 280–81, 282; on Moser, 238; on Ney, 277–78, 279, 283, 315; on Pico and Eichelbaum's *The Nutshell*, 121; in postwar years, 232–33; on *The Princess and the*

- Swineherd*, 258; on Rössler's *The Five Frankfurters*, 117; on Schiller productions, 125, 253–54, 291; on Shakespeare productions, 294–95; staff of, 45; temporary ban in 1930s, 36; on Thomas's *Charley's Aunt*, 109; on Wächter's theater, 95, 95*n*, 96; on Werfel's *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*, 168; on Winsloe's *Girls in Uniform*, 237, 238; during World War I, 45; on Zuckmayer's dramas, 249–50
- Aristotle, *Poetics*, 103
- Arndt, Jacques, 77–85; childhood in Vienna, 77–78, 84; at The Comedy, 76; escape from Austria, 78–80, 167; European exile of, 76, 81–82; film career of, 256–57; at Free German Stage, 76, 85, 88–89, 99, 111, 129, 152, 153, 166–67, 168; at German Chamber Theater, 287; integration with Argentine society, 256–57, 301–2; interviews with, 77*n*; and Jacob, 76, 85; in Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, 282; mother's murder, 151; move to Buenos Aires, 85; phenomenal/semiotic boundary broken by, 78, 146; radio career of, 83, 257; reports in *Freie Presse*, 230; set designs by, 99, 111; in Uruguay, 82–84, 109; on Wächter, 96; in Werfel's *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*, 166–67, 168
- Arnold, Franz, *The Real Jacob*, 95
- Aufbau* (magazine), 38, 56, 233
- Austria: annexation by Nazi Germany, 36, 75–78; Arndt's childhood in, 77–78, 84; Arndt's escape from, 78–80, 167; protests against cooperation with Nazis in, 239–40
- Austrian Society for Exile Research, 13
- Bab, Julius, 97, 102
- Bach, Ernst, *The Real Jacob*, 95
- Bahr, Hermann, 274–75
- Barilli, Desiderio, 273
- Bar Kochba. *See* Zionist Forum
- Barrault, Jean-Louis, 79
- Bassermann, Albert, 147–48
- Bathori, Jane, 155
- Bender, Ludwig, *Sparrows in God's Hand*, 247
- Benedikt, Hugo, 158
- Benny, Jack, 105
- Berendt, Rachel, 97
- Berenguer, Osvaldo, 259
- Berger, Alexander: archive of, 16; conflict with Jacob, 101, 234; theater company founded by, 233
- Berlin, Germany: Jacob in, 68, 240; Ney in, 60–61
- Berlin Comedy, guest performance by, 229
- Bianco, Ernesto, 271
- Biccari, Gaetano, 206
- Bistritzky, Nathan, *That Night*, 55, 157–58, 300, 305; reception of, 158–60, 161, 162, 297, 309
- Blau, Herbert, 244
- Blumenthal, Oscar, 185
- Bock, Werner, 253
- Bolivia: coup of 1943 in, 39; German-speaking refugees in, 29, 86–87, 86*n*, 166
- Bonetto, Enrico, 261
- border skills, 18, 85–86; Arndt's, 85; emigrant theaters as laboratory for, 18; Ney's, 14–15, 274
- Borges, Jorge Luis, 271
- Böttcher, Maximilian, 280; *Trouble Backstairs*, 185–86, 247, 248
- Boyarín, Daniel, 260, 303
- Boyarín, Jonathan, 260, 303
- Brahm, Otto, 68, 147
- Braun, Georg, 76, 87, 87*n*
- Brazil: entry into World War II, 140; Jewish refugees in, 29; repressive policies toward German population in, 40; touring company based in, 176

- Brazo Largo, Argentina, 183
 Brecht, Bertolt: portrait of exiled artists, 74; restrictions on, in postwar period, 255, 314
 Breslauer, Sigmund, 232, 243, 276, 278
Die Brücke (almanac), 192, 209, 210
 Bruckner, Ferdinand, *Race*, 41–43, 130, 308
 Bryce, Benjamin, 6, 47, 177*n*
 Bubik, Arpad, 245
 Buenos Aires, Argentina: cultural landscape in mid-twentieth century, 8; founders of, 27; immigration and population growth of, 4; volatility in 1930s–1960s, 289. *See also specific locations and theaters*
Buenos Aires Herald (newspaper): on Free German Stage, 132, 133, 148, 250; on Ney's touring theater, 270, 271
 Busch, Fritz, 242
 Bus-Fekete, Ladislaus, *Jean*, 97
 Bussemeyer, Peter, 110, 232–33
- The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (film), 155
Candida (Shaw), 259
 Cangallo School, 50
The Captain of Köpenick (Zuckmayer), 249, 309
 Carcavallo, Pascual, 152, 153
 Carlson, Marvin, 169
 Castillo, Ramón, 37, 38, 130, 138
 Centra (organization), 300
 Chamber Theater (Ludwig Ney), Buenos Aires, 268, 278, 286, 290; German Chamber Theater and, 287; Lessing's *Minna of Barnhelm* at, 282–83
 Charcot, Jean-Marie, 34
Charley's Aunt (Thomas), 104–10, 201
 Chas de Cruz, Israel, 119, 136, 155
 children's theater: Free German Stage and, 50; Schlichter-Crilla and, 257–58, 302
- Chile: Arndt's work in, 257; German Chamber Theater's relocation from, 9, 286–87, 294, 300; Jewish refugees in, 29
Chin Up, Johannes! (film), 240
Christa, I'm Waiting for You (Lorenz and Möller), 176
Cine (magazine), 155–56
 Civic Legion (organization), 42
 Claudius, Matthias, 62
The Cobbler in Heaven (Walfried), 176
 Cold War: German classics in context of, 251–56; German theaters in Argentina during, 40, 307; and reconciliation efforts targeting German-speaking immigrants, 21, 251, 253–54, 256, 277, 278, 291
 collective German guilt, conflicting views on, 24, 117–18, 131, 142–43, 146–47, 305
 collective identity: cultural activities and construction of, 17–18, 22–23, 209. *See also* community building
 comedies: and community building, 104, 108, 109, 128; criticism of theaters' focus on, 125–28; at Free German Stage, 24–25, 73, 99, 102, 103, 104–18, 124, 126–29, 131, 137, 189, 313; at German Theater, 25, 180, 181–82, 183, 185–86, 189, 191–96; in Jacob's theater management plan, 73, 138; and Nazi propaganda, 186; at New Stage, 247–48; as restorative memory machines, 110, 118–19; serious themes explored by, 118–19, 124, 128, 161; theatergoers' preference for, 124, 125, 137, 138; uplifting effect of, 103–4, 105, 107–8, 124, 128, 138, 165
 The Comedy, Luxemburg, 74–75, 76, 89
 Comics' Cabaret, Buenos Aires, 95

- Comic Theater, Buenos Aires,
Bruckner's *Race* at, 41–43, 130
- Communists: persecution in Argentina,
36, 38. *See also* Cold War
- community building: exclusionary
tactics and, 18, 215–16, 243, 248,
266, 298, 299, 312; Free German
Stage and, 110, 139, 308, 311;
German Theater and, 18, 22–23,
176, 177*n*, 178–79, 180–81,
183–84, 187, 196, 197, 200–201,
204, 208–9, 308, 311; humor/
laughter and, 104, 108, 109, 128;
Nazi cultural politics and, 176,
183–84; theater and, 8, 17, 70–71,
72, 104, 243, 308
- conflict, in German-speaking
communities of Buenos Aires, 6,
21, 41, 46–47, 131, 139, 314–15;
intractable animosities, 26, 168,
242, 243–44, 277–88, 289, 291–92,
299–300, 316; news media and,
43–46, 48; schools and, 48–50;
theater performances reflecting and
hardening, 43, 139, 297–300, 309,
316; theater stages and, 67, 93–94,
315–16; views on collective German
guilt and, 117–18, 131, 142–43,
146–47
- Cool Wind* (Müller-Nürnberg),
247, 248
- Córdoba, Argentina, Ney's guest
performances in, 261–62, 265–66,
267, 312
- Coubier, Heinz, *Hundreds
of Millions*, 245
- Crilla, Hedy, 259. *See also* Schlichter-
Crilla, Hedwig
- Crítica* (newspaper), 122
- Critique of Pure Reason* (Kant), 213
- Czechoslovakia: founder of,
commemoration of, 147, 148; Jacob
in, 75–76, 86; Munich Agreement of
1938 and, 45, 132; Reger in, 76, 86;
Wurmser in, 86
- Czierski, Otto: *The Farmer General*,
217, 218–20; *Ulrich of Hutten*, 245
- DAD. *See* *Das Andere Deutschland*
- Damus, Walter, 53
- Dang, Alfred, 49, 50
- Davis, Bette, 140
- Daye, Pierre, 227, 245
- De Kowa, Viktor, 21, 229, 235,
240–41
- Delila* (Molnár), 89
- Demetrius* (Schiller), 271
- Demuth, Julius, *Didi*, 245
- Deutsch, Ernst, 229, 232, 235–36
- Deutsch, Sandra McGee, 17, 274
- Der Deutsche in Argentinien*
(magazine), 51; on Allied offensive
in World War II, 188; on Böttcher's
Trouble Backstairs, 186; and
community building, 176; coverage
of German Theater, 52*f*, 53,
178, 182; on Goethe's *Goetz of
Berlichingen*, 201, 203–4; *Jüdische
Wochenschau* compared to, 201;
on Lessing's *Minna of Barnhelm*,
212; loyalty to Nazi Germany,
184–85, 220
- Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*
(newspaper), 43–44; and
Argentinisches Tageblatt, animosity
between, 43–46, 48; ban on, 227;
on Böttcher's *Trouble Backstairs*,
186; on Bruckner's *Race*, 42; on
Czierski's *The Farmer General*,
219, 220; on fascist drama theory,
173; Free German Stage shunned
by, 277, 315; on German artistic
expression and nationhood,
179; on German Drama's guest
performances, 171, 172, 173,
174–75; on Goethe's *Faust*, 198–99,
200, 206; on Goethe's *Goetz of
Berlichingen*, 204, 211, 216; on
Hoffmann's *Utz Schimdl*, 224; on
immigration policy, 32; on Lessing's

- Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* (newspaper) (continued)
Minna of Barnhelm, 174–75, 280, 281; loyalty to Nazi Germany, 45, 184–85; on Ney, 59, 64, 65, 66, 205; previews of German Theater performances, 201, 202*f*, 203–4, 205; on Rosenow's *Lampe, the Cat*, 193; on Schiller's *Mary Stuart*, 173, 174; on Schiller's *The Robbers*, 213; on Schiller's *Wallenstein*, 214; on Schmidt's *Master Flachsmann*, 191; on Stein and Presber's *Liselotte of the Palatinate*, 195; successor to, 48, 227, 251; support for German Theater, 47; during World War I, 44–45
- Deutsche Zeitung für Paraguay* (newspaper), 64, 66
- The Devil's General* (Zuckmayer), 233, 249–50, 309
- Diario Córdoba* (newspaper), 262
- Diario Israelita* (newspaper): on Aialti's *Father and Son*, 160, 162; on Free German Stage, 117
- The Diary of Anne Frank*, 283–84; theatrical energies released by, 309–10
- Didi* (Demuth), 245
- Don Carlos* (Schiller), 253
- Dorsch, Käthe, 171
- dramatic theory: Stanislavsky's, 259, 310, 314; three-sided relationship in, 7. *See also* Nazi dramatic theory
- The Dreyfuss Affair* (Rehfishch and Herzog), 157
- Dr. Juci Szabo* (Fodor), 127
- Dumont-Lindemann, Louise, 198, 208
- Dürer Press, 228, 245
- Eberhard, Walter, 74–75
- Edgar, David, *Mary Barnes*, 259
- Eichelbaum, Samuel, 120, 122, 236; *The Nutshell*, 120–23, 128, 300
- Eichmann, Adolf, 227, 283
- Eldorado, Argentina, Ney's guest performances in, 261
- emigrants: collective identity of, dramatic representation and, 17–18; integration as imperative for, 303; transformation into immigrants, 260, 301–2, 303
- Enzweiler, Regine, 268, 286. *See also* Lamm, Regine
- Ernst, Annie, 234
- Essen, Germany: Jacob in, 60, 74; Ney in, 59–60
- Ette, Ottmar, 85, 164, 268, 302
- Euringer, Richard, *German Passion*, 219
- Ever since Paradise* (Priestley), 241
- exclusion, community building through, 18, 215–16, 243, 248, 266, 298, 299, 312
- exile, anguish of, 107; humor used to relieve, 103–4, 105, 107–8, 124, 165
- exile studies, German, 10–13
- Exilforschung* (yearbook), 11
- farce: Free German Stage and, 73, 104–10; German-language Stage of Argentina and, 95; Ney's rejection of, 185
- The Farmer General* (Czierski), 217, 218–20
- Farrell, Edelmiro, 39
- fascism: Argentina's ambivalence toward, 14, 34, 35–40, 130, 144, 152, 154. *See also* under Nazi
- fascist dramatic theory. *See* Nazi dramatic theory
- Father and Son* (Aialti), 157, 160–61; reception of, 161–62, 297, 309
- Faust I* (Goethe), 197–200, 206
- Fernandes, Augusto, 259
- Ferrario, Florindo, 235
- FGS. *See* Free German Stage
- film, German-speaking immigrants in, 97, 237, 256–57
- Fischer-Lichte, Erika, 214
- The Five Frankfurters* (Rössler),

- 111–18; anti-Semitism depicted in, 113–14; appeal for full integration in, 115–16; Arndt's set design for, 111; reception in Buenos Aires, 111, 116–18, 161, 162, 297; resonance with Jewish audience, 111–12, 161; theatrical energies released by, 309
- Flight to the West* (Rice), 126, 127
- Fodor, Ladislaus, *Dr. Juci Szabo*, 127
- Forward Club, 94, 129; fallout with Free German Stage, 231–32
- Frank, Bruno, *Storm in a Teacup*, 131, 138
- Fränkel, Heinrich, 92, 242
- Frankenburg Dice Game* (Möller), 219, 280
- Frankl, Viktor, 104, 165
- Franze, Johannes, 211, 215, 216, 223, 285
- Frederico, Manuel Martín, 267
- Free German Stage (FGS):
 accomplishments of, 129, 137, 156, 170, 229, 235; antifascist principles of, 132–33, 298; Argentine immigration policy and, 37; *Argentinisches Tageblatt* and, 47, 91–92, 232–33; audience of, 94, 131, 139, 274; Bistritzky's *That Night* at, 55; Bus-Fekete's *Jean* at, 97; cast of, 15–16, 76, 85, 89–90, 92–93, 96–97, 98f, 231, 306; celebrity guest performances at, 20–21, 229, 232, 235–41, 247, 256, 274, 306, 313; challenges facing, 38–39, 93, 100–101, 129, 152–56, 242; charity presentations at, 147, 149; children's theater at, 50; comedies at, 24–25, 73, 99, 102, 103, 104–18, 124, 126–29, 131, 137, 189, 313; commemorative performances at, 147–48, 155–56; and community building, 110, 139, 308, 311; demise of, 9; divergent viewpoints accommodated by, 56–57, 94, 131, 139, 149, 158, 214, 313; and emigrant identity construction, 17–18; founding members of, 37, 76; founding of, 8, 47, 67, 91–92; fractious relations within antifascist community and, 20, 25, 56–57, 102, 214; *Freie Presse* and, 48, 230, 232; fund-raising for, 92, 93–94, 242; German classics performed at, 124–25, 251; and German embassy in Buenos Aires, precarious relationship with, 129, 133–36; German Theater compared to, 15, 73, 196, 197, 214–15, 299; German Theater's germinal influence on, 67, 93–94, 151, 304, 315; Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine* (*The Unvanquished*) at, 103, 140–50; at House of Catalonia, 154–55; at House of Theater, 93, 96, 97, 133, 152–53; inaugural performance of, 76, 97, 130; inclusion and tolerance espoused by, 94, 117–20, 298; integration with Argentine society, 98, 119–20, 133, 134; and intercultural alliances, 119–23, 134–36, 155–56, 234–35, 301–2; Jacob's theater management strategy and, 69, 73, 89, 129–30; Jewish refugees and, 8, 20, 21, 76, 156; Milne's *Mr. Pim Passes By* at, 126; nationalist community's opposition to, 125, 129, 130, 243; Nazi government's retaliation against, 150–51; operettas at, 73, 234; performances resonating with audience's experiences, 11–112, 105–6, 145–46, 161; Pico and Eichelbaum's *The Nutshell* at, 120–23; political dramas at, 130–32, 136, 137, 138, 140–50, 164–69; in postwar period, 229–43, 244; promptbooks of, 16, 20, 131; and reconciliation efforts, 25, 149, 229–42; religious (Zionist) plays

- Free German Stage (FGS) (*continued*)
 performed at, 55, 157–61; renaming of, 233, 243; repertoire of, 72–73, 97, 99–100, 103, 130–32, 138–39, 313; repertoire of, groups striving to influence, 20, 25, 55, 125–27, 130–31, 137, 138, 157–62;
 Rössler's *The Five Frankfurters* at, 111–18; Schiller's *Mary Stuart* at, 124–25, 251, 309; scholarship on, 15–16; schools associated with, 50; self-censorship by, 130–32; serious drama at, 102–3, 129; splinter group from, 234–35; staff and ensemble wages at, 88, 89, 93, 187; tensions within ensemble, 96, 100–102, 233–34; Thomas's *Charley's Aunt* at, 104–10, 201; ticket packages/subscription system of, 50, 71, 99; transformation from political dissidence to conformism, 229, 307, 314; transnational activities of, 304–5; tribute to Reinhardt at, 100–101, 134–36, 135f; vital role for refugees, 87, 89, 90; Werfel's *Jacobowsky and the Colonel* at, 164–69; West German embassy and, 9, 229, 307; Zionists and, 20, 55–57, 94, 156–64, 231–32, 297, 305; Zuckmayer's dramas at, 233, 249–50
- Freie Presse* (newspaper), 227–28; anti-Communist tone of, 228; and *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, war of words between, 228; on De Kowa, 241; on *The Diary of Anne Frank*, 283, 284–85; on Free German Stage, 48, 230, 232; on German Chamber Players, 276; on *Girls in Uniform* (film), 237, 238; on interculturalism, 260; Jacob's advertising in, 230, 231, 232, 298; on Lessing, 280, 281, 282; on New Stage, 244, 246–47; on Schiller, 246–47, 251–52, 253–54, 291; on Shakespeare, 294, 295; West German embassy and, 228, 255; on Zuckmayer's dramas, 249, 250
- Freies Wort* (newspaper), 165–66
- Freude, Ludwig, 227
- Frey, Lyle, 234
- Freyer, Hans, 210
- Friedländer, Günter, 56, 118, 160, 305
- Friedmann, Germán, 47, 296
- Fritsch, Eberhard, 228, 245
- Froehlich, Carl, 237
- Fry, William, 103
- Fuentes, Carlos, 4
- Galsworthy, John, *Loyalties*, 235
- Gandolfo, Carlos, 259
- Garcés, Delia, 136
- Gebhardt, Hermann, 83, 241
- Gehlen, Fritz, 235
- Geiger-Torel, Hermann, 94, 96, 132, 133, 256
- German Chamber Players, Buenos Aires, 275–76, 299
- German Chamber Theater: relocation from Santiago to Buenos Aires, 9, 286–87, 294, 300; Shakespeare's *Hamlet* at, 294–95
- German classics: appropriation for Nazi ideology, 173, 210–15; as catalyst for reconciliation, 280–83, 291; in Cold War context, 251–56; at Free German Stage, 124–25, 251; at German Stage of Buenos Aires, 253, 254, 255, 281–82; at German Theater, 196–204, 210–17; at New Stage, 245–47, 251; theatrical energies released by, 309; volatility of, 310
- German Club of Buenos Aires, 209
- German Drama (celebrity ensemble), guest performances by, 124, 171–76, 308
- German embassy in Buenos Aires: and Free German Stage, 129, 133–36; and Ney's German Theater,

- 66–67, 244; theatrical productions organized by, 176. *See also* West German embassy
- German embassy in Washington, D.C., depiction in Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*, 143–44
- German identity: language and, 206, 208; National Socialist visions of, 3, 179; oppositional definitions of, Buenos Aires as battleground for, 3–4, 315, 316
- German Labor Front, 51; and Nazi propaganda, 53, 176; support for German Theater, 53, 66, 67, 177–78, 244
- German-language Stage of Argentina, Buenos Aires, 95–96
- German Passion* (Euringer), 219
- German Relief Organization, 209
- German-speaking emigration, existing scholarship on, 10–13
- German-speaking immigrants, in Argentina, 18–19, 27–30; commonalities among, 14, 21; communities of, 19, 296; conflict between communities of, 6, 21, 41, 46–47, 131, 139, 314–15; in countryside, 183; culture weaponized by, 3–4, 243, 297–300, 309; existing scholarship on, 14–16; and host society, evolving relationship between, 33; inclusive study of, 13–15; intractable animosities among, 26, 168, 232–33, 242, 243–44, 277–88, 289, 291–92, 299–300, 316; language as bond between, 281, 290–91; population growth of, 4–6, 28–29, 226–27; shrinking population of, 292; theater's vital role for, 8, 17–18, 22, 70–71; unique liberties of, 40–41. *See also* antifascist German-speaking community; conflict; nationalist German-speaking community; reconciliation
- German-speaking refugees, in Bolivia, 29, 86–87, 86*n*
- German Stage of Buenos Aires, 233, 243; demise of, 285–87; *The Diary of Anne Frank* at, 284; German classics at, 253, 254, 255, 281–82; Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* at, 281–82; West German embassy and, 255, 284, 286, 290
- German Theater, Buenos Aires: agenda of, 189, 209–10; almanac of (*Die Brücke*), 192, 209, 210; audience of, 19, 177–79, 177*n*, 203*f*; cast of, 204–5; charity performances at, 209; cohesiveness of, 214–15, 217; comedies at, 25, 180, 181–82, 183, 185–86, 189, 191–96; and community building, 18, 22–23, 176, 177*n*, 178–79, 180–81, 183–84, 187, 196, 197, 200–201, 204, 208–9, 308, 311; conservative methodology of, 205–7; Czierski's *The Farmer General* at, 217, 218–20; and emigrant identity construction, 17–18; founding of, 8, 25, 177; Free German Stage as foil against, 67, 93–94, 151, 304, 315; Free German Stage compared to, 15, 73, 196, 197, 214–15, 299; funding for, 25, 63–64; German classics at, 196–204, 210–17; heyday during Ramírez's regime, 39; Hoffmann's *Utz Schimdl* at, 217–18, 220–24; homeland plays (*Heimatspiele*) at, 181–82, 192–93; as laboratory for border skills, 18; local German dramatists and, 217–25; as monocultural enterprise during World War II, 302; National Theater used by, 8, 153, 187, 244; Nazi dramatic theory and, 10, 205–6, 208, 217, 311; Nazi ideology and, 22–23, 25, 184–86, 189, 196, 198–200, 205, 213, 214–15, 217–21, 311; Nazi

- German Theater, Buenos Aires
 (*continued*)
 support for, 63–64, 66, 67, 151,
 177–78, 179, 197, 244, 278, 298,
 304; newspaper associated with, 47;
 older plays revised by, 189–96; open-
 air performances by, 178, 181–84;
 and pan-German unity, ideal of,
 210; in postwar period, 23, 244–48;
 propagandistic value of, 184–86, 304;
 and racial ideology, 181–82, 198;
 rehearsals of, 204, 205–6; renaming
 of, 244; Renewal Theater Corporation
 compared to, 266; repertoire of, 25,
 178, 189; scholarship on, 14, 15;
 ticket prices at, 176, 187; traveling
 performances by, 178, 183–84,
 204–5. *See also* New Stage
- Germany: Allied occupation
 of, conflicting views on, 247,
 249, 275; collective guilt of,
 conflicting views on, 117–18, 131,
 142–43, 146–47, 305; Jacob's
 prewar career in, 68–74; Jacob's
 remigration to, 169–70, 233,
 242–43, 306; Ney's prewar career
 in, 58–63; reformed postwar,
 Jacob's belief in, 139, 147, 240
 “ghosting,” actors and, 169, 309
- Ghosts* (Ibsen), 235, 236
- Girls in Uniform* (film), 97, 237
- Girls in Uniform* (Winsloe), 237–38. *See also* *Yesterday and Today* (Winsloe)
- Glory to God and Peace to Man*
 (Ney), 267, 273
- Goebbels, Joseph: and Niedecken-
 Gebhard, 59; oratory as
 performance art of, 208; press
 secretary of, 227, 228; speech at
 1938 Reich Theater Week, 3, 8, 210
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von: *Faust I*,
 197–200, 206; *Goetz of Berlichingen*,
 201, 202*f*, 203–4, 211, 213;
 Nazi appropriation of, 198–200,
 211, 213, 215, 216; “Rules for
 Actors,” 205
- Goethe and the Jews* (Koch), 198
- Goethe School, Buenos Aires, 49, 223;
 successor to, 268. *See also* North
 School, Buenos Aires
- Goetz, Curt, 183; *Menagerie*, 76, 92
- Goetz of Berlichingen* (Goethe), 201,
 202*f*, 203–4; Nazi appropriation of,
 213, 215, 216
- Grand Cinema Splendid, Buenos
 Aires, 155
- Gregori, Ferdinand, 68
- Grönewald, Heinrich, 53
- Gross, Walter, 61
- Group of German-Speaking
 Zionists, 55
- Günther, Hans F. K., 276, 277
- Günther, Otto, 239
- Gurs concentration camp, France,
 fund-raising for, 147, 149
- Halpern, Josef, 126, 281
- Hamlet* (Shakespeare), 294–95
- Hanstein, Harald V., *Vamps!*, 256
- Harlan, Veit, 185, 192
- Hauß, Angelika, 245
- Hausmann, Manfred, *Lilofee*,
 Irene Ney in, 52*f*
- Heller, Fred, 45; *Life Begins*
 Again, 166
- Hellman, Lillian, *Watch on the Rhine*,
 139–44; Free German Stage's
 production of, 103, 140–50;
 reception of, 144–47, 161,
 297; theatrical energies
 released by, 309
- Hellmer, Kurt, 94
- Hellmuth, Oscar Alberto, 144
- Herder, Johann Gottfried, 215
- Herzog, Wilhelm,
 The Dreyfuss Affair, 157
- Heß, Rudolf, 228
- Heydrich, Reinhard, 148
- Higgins, Colin, *Only 80*, 259
- Hillekamps, Carl, 279, 280, 291
- Hilpert, Heinz, 171, 174
- Hinrichs, August, 181, 280; *All for*

- Nothing*, 181, 183; *When the Rooster Crows*, 181
- Hirsch, Carlos, 149
- Hirschfeld, Ludwig,
The Swedish Match, 126
- Hitler, Adolf: *My Struggle*, 276;
 oratory as performance art of, 208.
See also Nazism
- Hoffmann, Werner, 27, 49, 223–24,
 253; *Utz Schimdl*, 217–18, 220–24,
 225, 298, 302, 304, 309
- Hollaender, Friedrich, 61
- Holocaust. *See* Shoah
- homeland plays (*Heimatspiele*),
 181–82, 192–93
- Hope* (film), 256
- Horkheimer, Max, 170
- Horthy, Miklós, 233
- House of Catalonia, Buenos Aires,
 154–55
- House of Theater, Buenos Aires,
 97–98; Free German Stage at, 93,
 96, 97,
 133, 152–53; Pico as president of,
 98, 120, 152
- Humboldt School, Buenos Aires,
 49, 190
- humor. *See* comedies; laughter
- Hundreds of Millions* (Coubier), 245
- Husfeldt, Paul, 199, 200
- Ibarra, Nestor, 235
- Ibel, Rudolf, 211
- Ibsen, Henrik: *Ghosts*, 235, 236;
Master Builder, 131
- identity formation: differentiation
 and, 18; intercultural alliances and,
 260–61, 303; theater and, 8, 17–18,
 22–23. *See also* German identity
- I Know My Love* (Achard), 241
- immigrants: Argentina as nation
 of, 4–6; common challenges
 confronting, 14, 21, 90;
 interculturalism and identity of,
 260–61, 303; transformation from
 emigrants to, 260, 301–2, 303. *See*
also German-speaking immigrants,
 in Argentina
- immigration policy, Argentina's,
 30–31; debate on, 31–33; under
 Ortiz, 31, 37; under Perón, 226–27
- improvisation, Ney's rejection of,
 205, 311
- inclusion, Free German Stage and, 94,
 117–20, 298
- Independent Hungarian Theater,
 Buenos Aires, 234, 235
- integration, 300–303; of antifascist
 German-speaking community,
 18, 277, 300, 301–2, 307;
Argentinisches Tageblatt's advocacy
 for, 44; Free German Stage and, 98,
 119–20, 133, 134; of nationalist
 German-speaking community, 222,
 277, 300, 302–3, 313; theater
 as tool for, 115–16, 122, 136;
 weaponized by feuding German-
 speaking blocs, 33; Zionists'
 opposition to, 116, 122, 158, 300.
See also intercultural alliances
- intellectualism, nationalists' rejection
 of, 172, 179, 197–98, 199
- intercultural alliances: antifascist
 German-speaking community
 and, 18, 307; Free German Stage
 and, 119–23, 134–36, 155–56,
 234–35, 256–60, 301–2; and
 immigrants' identity, 260–61, 303;
 Ney's postwar embrace of, 25–26,
 261–62, 263, 265–74, 277, 302–3,
 311, 312; Ney's resistance to, 248,
 260; polarization of Argentine
 society and opportunities for, 289;
 Zionists and, 300–301
- interviews, 16, 17, 77*n*
- Ismar, Georg, 6, 13
- Jacob, Paul Walter, 67–76; and
 Alemann, 47, 91, 233; appeal to
 theatergoers, 69–70, 154; archive
 of, 16, 23; and Arndt, 76, 85; belief
 in reformed postwar Germany, 139,

- Jacob, Paul Walter (*continued*)
 147, 240; career in prewar Germany, 68–74; celebrity guest performances organized by, 235–41; in *Charley's Aunt* (Thomas), 105–9; childhood of, 67; commemorative presentations by, 100–101, 155–56; creative talent and business acumen of, 67, 68, 71; demise of German Stage of Buenos Aires and, 287; European exile of, 68, 74–76; FGS's repertoire under, 72–73, 76, 103, 129, 130–32, 138–39, 313; fund-raising for FGS, 92, 93–94, 96; immigration to Argentina, 76, 91; and intercultural alliances, 122, 235, 256; in *Jacobowsky and the Colonel* (Werfel), 166, 168–69, 170; journalistic activities of, 45, 53, 129, 137–39, 148, 233, 240; Nazi government's persecution of, 134, 150–51, 304; Ney compared to, 58, 60, 69, 70, 177, 189; political convictions of, 129, 138–39, 147–48; presentation of *Menagerie* (Goetz), 76, 92; reconciliation efforts in postwar period, 25, 136, 149, 229–34, 239, 242, 243, 298, 305, 309, 316; and Reger, 76, 101; relations with actors, 88, 95–96, 95*n*, 100–101; remigration to Germany, 169–70, 233, 242–43, 306; return to Argentina considered by, 278; salary at FGS, 100; scholarship focusing on, 15; theater management strategy of, 68–73, 89, 129–30, 130–32, 136; transnationalism of, 306, 313; and *The Unvanquished* (Hellman), 140–41, 146; and *Voice of the Day* radio program, 129, 239*f*; and Wächter, 95–96, 95*n*; at Wuppertal Municipal Theater, 68–73; and Wurmser, 87–88; Zionist organizations and, 156, 160–61
Jacobowsky and the Colonel (Werfel), 164–69; casting in Germany, Jacob on, 170; criticism of happy ending of, 165–66; Free German Stage's production of, 166–67; resonance with refugee actors/theatergoers, 166–67, 168; Viennese Court Theater's production of, 168; wish for interfaith harmony in, 167–68
Jacques's Agenda (radio program), 257
 Jahn, Hans, 137, 138
Jahrbuch des deutschen Volksbundes in Argentinien (publication): on Hoffmann's *Utz Schimdl*, 221–22; on immigration policy of Argentina, 32; on Ney's accomplishment, 181; on protracted war, ramifications of, 187–88; support for nationalist colony, 33
 Jannings, Emil, 245
 Jean (Bus-Fekete), 97
 Jessner, Leopold, 97, 147, 205
 Jewish Cultural League, 55
 Jewish Cultural Society, 156, 157, 160, 163, 168
 Jewish Philanthropic Society, in Argentina, 33, 54–55, 109
 Jewish refugees: in Bolivia, 29, 86–87; in Latin America, 29
 Jewish refugees, in Argentina, 54; attendance of Bistrizky's *That Night*, 159; and Free German Stage, 8, 20, 21, 33, 76, 156; Jacob's reconciliation efforts and, 230; during Nazi regime, 6, 19, 28, 29–30; organizations of, 54–55; population growth of, 31; during Ramírez regime, 38; representation in Rössler's *The Five Frankfurters*, 111–12; rifts among, 30, 117–18, 156. *See also* Zionists
Jew Süss (film), 155
 Johst, Hanns: and Nazi dramatic theory, 173, 208, 248; *Schlageter*, 183, 280
 Jooss, Kurt, 59, 63
 Jouvét, Louis, 97
Jüdische Wochenschau (newspaper), 56; on Aialti's *Father and Son*,

- 160; and *Das Andere Deutschland*, 56; on Ardrey's *Thunder Rock*, 137; and *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, 126; cofounder of, 56, 118; *Der Deutsche in Argentinien* compared to, 201; and Free German Stage, 125, 126, 156–57, 231; on Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*, 146–47, 149; on Ney, 279; on operettas at FGS, 234; on Pico and Eichelbaum's *The Nutshell*, 121, 122–23; on Rössler's *The Five Frankfurters*, 111, 116–17; on Schiller's *Mary Stuart*, 125; on theatergoers' tastes, 126, 127–28, 158–59; on Thomas's *Charley's Aunt*, 109; on Werfel's *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*, 167; on Winsloe's *Girls in Uniform*, 237–38; on Wurmser, 89; on Zuckmayer's *The Captain of Köpenick*, 249
- Junges, Rudolf, 283
- Junker, Werner, 278, 283, 284, 291
- Justo, Agustín P., 35–36, 98
- Kadelburg, Gustav, 185
- Kant, Immanuel, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 213
- Karen Kayemeth LeIsrael, 157, 159
- Katz, Zulema, 259
- Katzenstein, Werner, 232
- Keiper, Wilhelm, 67
- Keller, Olga, 86*n*
- Kfar Argentina, fund-raising for, 157
- Khoury, Elias, 86
- Kießling, Wolfgang, 12
- Kleiber, Erich, 96
- Klöpfer, Eugen, 171
- Kloss, Heinz, 262
- Koch, Franz, 200; *Goethe and the Jews*, 198
- Kommerell, Max, 200
- Kopps, Reinhard (Juan Maler), 228
- Krohn, Claus-Dieter, 12
- Kruger, Loren, 209
- Labor Front. *See* German Labor Front
- Ladendorff, Rolf, 53
- Lakenbacher, Ernst, 53
- The Lamb of the Poor* (Zweig), 138
- Lamm, Regine, 64, 286*n*. *See also* Enzweiler, Regine
- Lampe, the Cat* (Rosenow), 191–92; German Theater's adaptation of, 192–93
- Land of Fire* (film), 256
- language: as bond between German communities in Argentina, 281, 290–91; and cultural identity, 206, 208; German Theater's emphasis on, 206–8, 247; in Nazi dramatic theory, 173, 208, 248, 262–63, 290
- Laubinger, Otto, 172
- laughter: cathartic role of, 103; cohesive effect of, 104, 108, 109; incongruity and, 108, 109; and refugee population's morale, 103–4, 105, 107–8, 124, 165. *See also* comedies
- League of Working Germans, 51
- Leers, Johann, 228
- Lehmann, Hans, 53
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim: as catalyst for rapprochement, 280–83; Cold War interpretation of, 254–55; *Minna of Barnhelm*, 124, 174–75, 207, 212–13, 215, 216, 266, 282–83, 308; *Nathan the Wise*, 235, 255, 280–82; Nazi politics and, 124, 215, 266
- Levy, Rudolf, 53
- Lieck, Walter, 61
- Life Begins Again* (Heller), 166
- Lifezis, Hugo, 158
- Lilofee* (Hausmann), Irene Ney in, 52*f*
- Lingen, Theo, 20–21, 229, 235
- Liselotte of the Palatinate* (Stein and Presber), 193–96

- Llabat, Fernando, 271
 Loewer, Werner, 204–5, 206
 Lombroso, Cesare, 34
 Lorenz, Hans, *Christa, I'm Waiting for You*, 176
Love and Intrigue (Schiller), 253, 268, 269, 270
Loyalties (Galsworthy), 235
 Ludendorff, Mathilde, 228
 Lüders, Günther, 61
 Lukas, Paul, 140
 Lütge, Wilhelm, 181, 187–88
 Luxemburg: Arndt's escape to, 80–81; The Comedy theater in, 74–75, 76, 89; Jacob's exile in, 74–75
- Maalouf, Amin, 269
 Madanes, Cecilio, 259
 Maler, Juan (Reinhard Kopps), 228
The Man I Killed (Rostand), 79, 130–31
Marilou (operetta), 234
 Mario, Arturo, 152
Mary Barnes (Edgar), 259
Mary Stuart (Schiller): Free German Stage's production of, 124–25, 251, 309; German Drama's guest performance of, 173–74, 308; New Stage's production of, 245–47, 251, 254, 309
 Masaryk, Thomas, 147, 148
 The Mask (theater group), 255, 259, 302, 307
Master Builder (Ibsen), 131
Master Flachsmann (Schmidt), 189–91
 Mattiello, Angel, 253, 273
 Maurenbrecher, Manfred, 73
 McGee Deutsch, Sandra, 18
 media: engagement with, Jacob's strategy of, 69–70, 71–72. *See also* media, German-language
 media, German-language, in Argentina: animosity in, 43–46, 48; antifascist community and, 32–33, 45–46; on immigration policy of host country, 31–33, 227; nationalist community and, 32–33, 44–45, 217, 227–29; during World War I, 44–45; after World War II, 227–29. *See also specific newspapers and journals*
 Meding, Holger, 12, 13
 Meffert, Carl, 45
 memory: comedies and, 110, 118–19; dramatic literature/performance and, 7, 244; selective, and rapprochement, 292
Menagerie (Goetz), 76, 92
 Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Felix, 91
 Mendes, Lothar, 155
 Mengele, Josef, 227
Men on Ice (Werner), 132
The Merchant of Venice (Shakespeare), 263–65; Nazi politics and, 264–65, 293; Renewal Theater Corporation's production of, 265–66, 267
 Meynen, Erich Otto, 36, 37–38, 187, 212
A Midsummer Night's Dream (Shakespeare), 272f, 276
 Milne, A. A., *Mr. Pim Passes By*, 126
Minna of Barnhelm (Lessing): Chamber Theater's production of, 282–83; Free German Stage's plans to produce, 124; German Drama's guest performance of, 124, 174–75, 308; German Theater's production of, 207, 212–13, 216; Nazi politics and, 124, 215, 266
 Mirau, Leo, 5
The Miser (Molière), 261, 262, 263, 312
 MMM (magazine), 169
 Mohr, Ernst-Günther, 291
 Molière, *The Miser*, 261, 262, 263, 312
 Möller, Alfred, *Christa, I'm Waiting for You*, 176
 Möller, Eberhard Wolfgang, *Frankenburg Dice Game*, 219, 280

- Molnár, Ferenc, *Delila*, 89
- Montevideo, Uruguay: Arndt in, 82–84; *Das Andere Deutschland* (DAD) relocation to, 38, 54; *The Diary of Anne Frank* performance in, 285; *The Unvanquished* performance in, 145–46, 149
- Moor, Karl, 252
- Moser, Hans, 21, 229, 235, 238–40, 239f, 247
- Mostar, Herrmann, *When the Snow Melts*, 239
- Mr. Pim Passes By* (Milne), 126
- Música, Francisco, 256–57
- Müller, Alfred, 51
- Müller, Frederico, 227, 230
- Müller, Gerda, 171, 173
- Müller, Ina Maria, 231
- Müller, Kurt, 142
- Müller-Nürnberg, Hans, *Cool Wind*, 247, 248
- Munich Agreement of 1938, 45, 132
- Municipal Theater, Santiago, Chile, 257
- Murat, Ulises Petit de, 155
- Musical Players, Buenos Aires, 234–35
- My Struggle* (Hitler), 276
- La Nación* (newspaper): on Free German Stage, 97, 132, 133, 236; Ney as model immigrant, 274; on Winsloe's *Girls in Uniform*, 238
- Nathan the Wise* (Lessing), 235, 255, 280–82; as catalyst for rapprochement, 280–83; German Stage's production of, 281–82; theatrical energies released by, 309–10
- nationalist German-speaking community, in Buenos Aires, 19, 296; antifascist pressure on, 184, 187–88; attitudes toward refugees, 108; celebrations following Germany's annexation of Austria, 36; characteristics of, 24, 298–99; cohesion of, 298–99, 304; Comic Theater's production of Bruckner's *Race* and, 42–43; commonalities with other immigrants, 14, 21; composition of, 6, 19, 24, 296; conflicted identity of, 223–25; duress in later years of World War II, 187–88; exclusionary community-building by, 215–16, 299; existing scholarship on, 12–15; and Free German Stage, in postwar period, 20–21, 229–42; and Free German Stage, opposition to, 125, 129, 130, 243; and German Theater, 8, 19, 177–79, 177n, 203f; integration with Argentine host society, 222, 300, 302–3, 313; Jacob's postwar outreach to, 25, 136, 149, 229–34, 239, 242, 243, 298, 305, 316; Nazi ideology and, 10, 299, 304; news media associated with, 32–33, 44–45, 217, 227–29; and New Stage, 245, 274–75; older vs. newer immigrants in, 19, 23; organizations associated with, 50–53; performances resonating with, 193–95; in postwar period, 227, 277, 298–99, 302; schools associated with, 48–49; solidarity of, German Theater's vital role for, 18, 22–23, 176, 177n, 178–79, 180–81, 187; *Tageblatt's* wrongful accusations against, 45–46; transnational sense of identity in, 304
- National Socialism. *See* Nazism
- National Socialist Party, in Argentina, 37, 51
- National Theater (Teatro El Nacional), Buenos Aires: Free German Stage at, 244; German Theater at, 8, 153, 187
- naturalism, Ney's rejection of, 192
- Naumann, Hans, 262
- Nazi dramatic theory, 10, 173; and German Drama, 173–74; and

- Nazi dramatic theory (*continued*)
 German Theater, 10, 205–6, 208, 217, 311; language in, 173, 208, 248, 262–63, 290; and New Stage, 247, 248; Ney's adherence to, 10, 205–6, 306; Petersen and, 173, 203, 206
- Nazi ideology: and dramatic representation, overlap of, 208; German classics appropriated for, 173, 198–200, 210–15; German Theater and, 22–23, 25, 184–86, 189, 196, 198–200, 205, 213, 214–15, 217–21, 311; and nationalist community in Buenos Aires, 10, 299; and nationalist media in Argentina, 184–85; and news media after World War II, 227–29; Ney's loyalty to, 59–61, 62, 179–80, 179*n*, 189, 198–99, 266–67, 273, 274, 277–80, 293–94, 303, 306, 311–12, 314; and Shakespeare's plays, interpretations of, 276–77, 293–94
- Nazi organizations: Argentine government's ban on, 207, 227; support for Ney's German Theater, 63–64, 66, 67, 151, 177–78, 179, 197, 244, 278, 298, 304
- Nazi propaganda, in Argentina:
 German organizations and, 53; German schools and, 48–49; theater performances and, 124, 171–77, 184–86, 185, 304
- Nazism: as aberration, Jacob's belief in, 139, 147, 240; contrasting positions on, in German-speaking communities of Argentina, 139; deep historical roots of, claims regarding, 210–11; supporters, opponents, and victims of, inclusive study of, 13–14
- Nazi war criminals, immigration to Argentina, 6, 227, 277
- Nelson, Frank, 145–46, 259
- Nelson, Rudolf, 240–41
- Neumann, Alfred, *Abel*, 235
- new colony. *See* antifascist German-speaking community
- New Republic* (magazine), 144
- news outlets. *See* media
- New Stage, Buenos Aires, 19, 244–48;
 audience of, 274–75; comedies at, 247–48; and German Chamber Players, 275; German classics at, 245–47, 251; guest performances at, 245; Nazi dramatic theory and, 247, 248; repertoire of, 244, 245, 247
- Newton, Ronald, 5, 29*n*
- New York Times* (newspaper), 237
- Ney, Cornelia, 64
- Ney, Irene: in Hausmann's *Lilofee*, 52*f*; immigration to Paraguay, 63, 64–65; language and acting studio of, 206–7, 290; in Lessing's *Minna of Barnhelm*, 207; in "The Pentecostal Carriage," 66; possible Jewish ancestry of, 64
- Ney, Ludwig, 58–67; adaptability of, 14–15, 270, 274; anti-Semitism of, 179, 185, 274, 275, 312; and Chamber Theater, 268, 278, 282–83; comedies selected by, 180, 181–82, 183, 189; on community building, theater and, 180–81; early acting career in Germany, 58–63; exclusionary tactics of, 248, 266; fascist drama theory and, 10, 205–6, 306, 311, 312, 316; "Fear of Art," 197; *Glory to God and Peace to Man*, 267, 273; and Goethe School, 49; on Goethe's *Faust I*, 197–98; on Goethe's *Götz of Berlichingen*, 211, 213; and interculturalism, resistance to, 248, 260; intercultural outreach in postwar period, 25–26, 261–62, 263, 265–74, 277, 302–3, 311, 312; Jacob compared to, 58, 60, 69, 70, 177, 189; in Lessing's *Minna*

- of *Barnhelm*, 216; move to Buenos Aires, 66–67, 177; Nazi authorities and, 64, 66–67, 177–78; and Nazi ideology, 59–61, 62, 179–80, 179*n*, 189, 198–99, 266–67, 273, 274, 277–80, 293–94, 303, 306, 311–12, 314; in Paraguay, 63–66, 177; partnership with Wiel, 261, 262; pedagogical work of, 273–74, 278; and “The Pentecostal Carriage,” 65–66; Perónist government and, 267, 302, 306; in postwar period, 244–48, 260, 261–71, 278, 292; relations with actors, 205; and Renewal Theater Corporation, 262, 265–67; retirement of, 283; and Romantic Cabaret, 60–62, 65; on Shakespeare’s *Othello*, 293–94; success and influence of, 14, 65, 312; Summer Festival productions by, 271–73, 272*f*, 276, 277, 290–91, 292–93, 303, 312; traveling performances in rural Argentina, 183–84, 261–71, 269*f*, 307; West German embassy and, 278–79, 290
- Ney Stage. *See* German Theater
- Nichols, Anne, *Abie’s Irish Rose*, 123*f*, 124
- Nicodemi, Dario, *Scampolo*, 236
- Niedecken-Gebhard, Hanns, 59, 63
- North School, Buenos Aires, 268; Chamber Theater at, 283. *See also* Goethe School, Buenos Aires
- The Nutshell* (Pico and Eichelbaum), 120–23, 128, 300
- Odeon Theater, Buenos Aires, 176
- Of Love and Shadows* (film), 257
- old colony. *See* nationalist German-speaking community
- Olden, Balder, 45, 46–47, 117, 121, 136, 296, 297
- Olszewski, Reinhold, 179*n*, 286, 292. *See also* German Chamber Theater
- Only 80* (Higgins), 259
- open-air performances: German Theater and, 178, 181–84, 273; Ney and, 267, 271–72, 272*f*, 276; Renewal Theater Corporation and, 267
- operettas, at Free German Stage, 73, 234
- Oppenheim, Hermann, 158
- Ortiz, Raúl Scalabrini, 35
- Ortiz, Roberto, 37, 130; ban on National Socialist Party under, 37; and House of Theater, 98; immigration policy under, 31, 37
- Othello* (Shakespeare), 293
- Oven, Wilfred von, 227, 228, 283
- Ozeray, Madeleine, 97
- Paradise* (film), 256
- Paraguay: entry into World War II, 140; Jewish refugees in, 29; Ney in, 63–66, 177
- Paust, Otto, 208
- “The Pentecostal Carriage” (Ney), 65–66
- Perón, Eva, 226
- Perón, Juan Domingo, 35, 39, 226; immigration policy under, 226–27; theater under, 25–26, 40, 267, 302, 306
- Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, 190
- Pestalozzi School, Buenos Aires, 49–50, 53, 190, 257
- Pestalozzi Society, attacks on, 36
- Petersen, Julius, 202–3; and Nazi dramatic theory, 173, 203, 206, 248
- phenomenal/semiotic boundary, transgressions against, 78, 145–46
- Pico, Pedro, 98, 120; and Free German Stage, 98, 120, 122; and House of Theater, 98, 120, 152; *The Nutshell*, 120–23, 128, 300
- La Plata Zeitung* (newspaper). *See* Deutsche La Plata Zeitung
- Players from Abroad, New York City, 99, 103

- Pledath, Werner, 175, 207
Poetics (Aristotle), 103
 Politeama Theater, Buenos Aires, 187
 political drama: activists' demands
 for, 25, 125–26, 130–31, 137, 138;
 Free German Stage and, 130–32,
 136–37, 138, 140–50, 164–69;
 nationalists' embrace of, 217;
 theatergoers' resistance to, 20, 138
 Preger, Ilona, 155
La Prensa (newspaper), 133
 Presber, Rudolf, 280; *Liselotte of
 the Palatinate*, 193–96; *Queen of
 Hearts*, 247
Di Presse (newspaper), 160
 Priestley, J. B., *Ever since
 Paradise*, 241
The Princess and the Swineherd
 (Andersen), 257–58
Promise Me Nothing (Rißmann), 241
El Pueblo (newspaper), 238
 Punta Chica park, Buenos Aires,
 German Theater's performances at,
 178, 181–82, 184, 204, 273
Queen of Hearts (Presber), 247
Race (Bruckner), 41–43, 130, 308
 racial ideology: in Argentina, 34;
 German Theater and, 181–82, 198.
 See also anti-Semitism
 Radical Party, Argentina, 35, 37
 Radlegger, Eduard, 275, 276
 Ramírez, Pedro Pablo, 38–39, 144
La Razón (newspaper), 3, 210
The Real Jacob (Arnold and Bach), 95
 reconciliation, of German-speaking
 immigrant blocs: amnesia needed for,
 292; Cold War and steps toward,
 21, 251, 253–54, 256, 277, 278,
 289, 291; Jacob's efforts toward, 25,
 136, 149, 229–34, 239, 242, 243,
 298, 305, 309, 316; language and,
 281, 290–91; Lessing as catalyst for,
 280–83; resistance to, 232–33, 248;
 Schiller as catalyst for, 291; theater
 as means of, efforts to deploy,
 20–21; West German embassy's
 efforts toward, 8, 9, 21, 26, 251,
 277, 278, 284, 288, 307, 310
 refugees: anguish of, 107; humor and
 morale of, 103–4, 105, 107–8,
 124, 165. *See also* Jewish refugees;
 survival skills
 Reger, Liselott: adaptation of Rössler's
 The Five Frankfurters, 116;
 antifascist positions of, 132; in
 Czechoslovakia, 76, 86; departure
 from FGS, 101; on FGS's repertoire,
 124; fund-raising for FGS, 92; on
 interculturalism, 122; interview with
 Buenos Aires Herald, 132, 133;
 Jacob and, 76, 101; and Reinhardt
 tribute, 100–101; salary at FGS,
 100; tax evasion accusations against,
 134; translation of Hellman's *Watch
 on the Rhine*, 140, 142–43
 Rehfisch, Hans José: *The Dreyfuss
 Affair*, 157; *Water for Canitoga*, 235
 Reich Theater Chamber, 63, 180, 197
 Reich Theater Week 1938, Goebbels's
 speech at, 3, 8, 210
 Reinhardt, Max, 68, 147; FGS's
 tribute to, 100–101, 134–36, 135f;
 Ney compared to, 205
 Renewal Theater Corporation, 262;
 German Theater compared to,
 266; production of Shakespeare's
 Merchant of Venice, 265–66, 267
Revista Familiar Israelita del Uruguay,
 on Moser, 238
 Rice, Elmer, *Flight to the West*,
 126, 127
 Riesch, Roman, 231
 Riesch Stage (touring company), 176
 Riofrancos, Osvaldo, 259
 Rißmann, Charlotte, *Promise Me
 Nothing*, 241

- Ritter, Carlos, 256
The Robbers (Schiller), 197; Cold War interpretation of, 253; German Theater's production of, 212; Hamburg production of (1948), 252; Nazi appropriation of, 213, 251; Ney's presentation at 1965 Summer Festival, 290–91; Spanish-language presentation of (1960), 271; theatrical energies released by, 310
The Robbery of the Sabines (Schönthan and Schönthan), 261
Rodríguez, Manuel Peña, 136
Rokem, Freddie, 9, 196
Romantic Cabaret (group), 60–62, 65
Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 139
Rosas, Enrique de, 136
Rosé, Bert, ¡*Vamps!*, 256
Rosen, Georg, 256, 285
Rosenow, Emil, *Lampe, the Cat*, 191–93
Rosenthal, Friedrich, 173, 208
Rössler, Carl, *The Five Frankfurters*, 111–18; reception of, 111, 116–18, 161, 162, 297; theatrical energies released by, 309
Rostand, Maurice, *The Man I Killed*, 79, 130–31
Rudel, Hans-Ulrich, 227, 228
rural German communities, in Argentina, 183; Ney's traveling performances in, 183–84, 261–71, 269*f*, 307
Sachs, Hans, 62
Sagan, Leontine, 237
Saint Joan (Shaw), 236
Salvati, Renato, 257
Salvatore, Pascual, 267
San Bernadino, Paraguay, Ney in, 64, 65–66
Santiago, Chile: German Chamber Theater's relocation from, 9, 286–87, 294, 300; Municipal Theater in, 257
Scampolo (Nicodemi), 236
Schiff, Else, 147
Schiller, Friedrich: Cold War interpretation of, 251–54; *Demetrius*, 271; *Don Carlos*, 253; epigram by, 8; *Love and Intrigue*, 253, 268, 269, 270; *Mary Stuart*, 124–25, 173–74, 245–47, 251, 254, 308, 309; Nazi politics and, 213, 251, 312; popularity in German-speaking communities, 313; *The Robbers*, 197, 212, 213, 251, 252, 253, 271, 290–91, 310; Spanish-language productions of, 268, 269–71; *Wallenstein*, 77–78, 214
Schlageter (Johst), 183, 280
Schlichter, Viktor, 133
Schlichter-Crilla, Hedwig, 96–97; adaptability to new culture, 260; and children's theater, 257–58, 302; film career of, 97, 237, 256; frustrations with Free German Stage, 100; influence on Argentine theater, 258–59; integration with Argentine society, 237, 256, 301–2, 307; and Mask theater group, 255, 259, 302, 307; pedagogical work of, 257–59
Schlösser, Rainer, 63, 197, 208, 263
Schmidl, Ulrich, 27. See also *Utz Schmidl* (Hoffmann)
Schmidt, Otto Ernst, *Master Flachsman*, 189–91
Schmidt-Rohr, Georg, 262
Schnitzler, Arthur, 157
scholarship: on German-speaking emigration, 10–13; on German theater in Argentina, 13–16
Schön, Hans, 99
Schönthan, Franz and Paul, *The Robbery of the Sabines*, 261
schools, German, in Buenos Aires, 48–50, 190; Free German Stage and, 71; Goethe School, 49, 223,

- schools, German, in Buenos Aires
 (continued)
 268, 283; Humboldt School, 49,
 190; North School, 268; Pestalozzi
 School, 49–50, 53, 190, 257;
 Schlichter-Crilla's drama school,
 257–59
- Schopenhauer, Arthur, 108
- Schott, Georg, 199
- Schriefer, Erwin, 177
- Schröder, Richard, 66, 176, 177
- Schwanneke, Ellen, 229, 232, 235,
 236–37
- Schwarz, Egon, 260, 303
- Schwarz, Wolfgang, 281
- Shakespeare, William: *Hamlet*,
 294–95; *The Merchant of Venice*,
 263–66, 293; *A Midsummer Night's*
 Dream, 272*f*, 276; Nazi politics
 and, 276–77, 293–94, 312; *Othello*,
 293–94; popularity in Argentina,
 26, 295; productions at Summer
 Festival, Buenos Aires, 292–93
- Shaw, George Bernard: *Candida*, 259;
 Saint Joan, 236
- Shoah: collective German guilt for,
 conflicting views on, 24, 117–18,
 131, 142–43, 146–47, 305; impact
 on Free German Stage, 151;
 selective memory of, 292; theatrical
 production in aftermath of, 167,
 283–85; Zionists' reaction to news
 of, 55–56, 160
- Siegerist, Ursula, 64, 268, 269
- Sieloff, Erich, 38
- Siemens, August, 53, 231, 297
- Simmel, Georg, 80
- Singerman, Berta, 155
- Smart Theater, Buenos Aires, 235, 247
- Society for Exile Studies, 10, 11, 13
- Soffici, Mario, 256
- Sparrows in God's Hand* (Bender), 247
- Spies, Bernard, 11
- Spitta, Arnold, 12
- Spring Awakening* (Wedekind), 259
- Stallybass, Peter, 215
- Stangl, Fritz, 227
- Stanislavsky, Konstantin, 259,
 310, 314
- Stein, Leo Walther, *Liselotte of the*
 Palatinate, 193–96
- Storm in a Teacup* (Frank), 131, 138
- Straube, Egon, 205, 231, 275, 276
- Strength through Joy, in Argentina,
 51; and Nazi propaganda, 53, 176;
 support for German Theater, 63–64,
 67, 177–78, 183, 278; theatrical
 productions organized by, 176, 183
- Strength through Joy, in Germany,
 Ney's collaboration with, 60, 63, 66
- Strength through Joy park at
 Punta Chica, German Theater's
 performances at, 178, 181–82, 184,
 204, 273
- Stuhlmann, Andreas, 179*n*
- Sujo, Juanita, 136
- Summer Festival, Buenos Aires, Ney's
 productions for, 271–73, 272*f*, 276,
 277, 290–91, 292–93, 303, 312
- survival skills: acting skills and, 78–81,
 85–86; dramatic performances as
 laboratories for testing, 24; among
 German refugees in Argentina, 165;
 in Werfel's *Jacobowsky and the*
 Colonel, 164, 167
- Swarensky, Bernhardi, 56; and Free
 German Stage, 149, 279, 297;
 and *Jüdische Wochenschau*, 56;
 on theatergoers' tastes, 123; and
 Wächter, 96; Zionist position
 represented by, 300, 305
- The Swedish Match* (Hirschfeld), 126
- Szekely, Josef, 95
- Szeleczky, Zita, 245, 275, 276
- Szilágy, Ernő, 234
- Szurovy, Walter, 133
- Tageblatt* (newspaper). See
 Argentinisches Tageblatt
- Tepp, Max, 223

- Terdenge, Hermann, 243, 253, 256, 288
 Terrell, Erna, 86*n*
 Tezanos, Faustino, 235
That Night (Bistritzky), 55, 157–58, 300, 305; reception of, 158–60, 161, 162, 297, 309
 theater: and community building, 8, 17, 70–71, 72, 104, 243, 308; and identity formation, 8, 17–18, 22–23; and integration, 115–16, 122, 136; as memory machine, 7, 244; and Nazi propaganda, in Argentina, 124, 171–77; as polarizing force, 43, 139, 297–300, 309, 316; as soft power, West German embassy's use of, 40, 229, 251, 253, 255–56, 278, 290, 307, 309. *See also specific plays and theater companies*
 theatergoers: aversion to tragedies, 125, 161–62; criticism of tastes of, 125–28, 138, 158–59; Jacob's appeal to, 69–70, 154; Ney's distinction between, 274–75; preference for comedies, 124, 125, 137, 138; resistance to Zionist dramas, 158–62, 297
 theater management: evolution during 1930s, 24; Jacob's strategy of, 68–73, 89, 129–30
 theatrical energies: concept of, 9, 308; performances releasing, 308–10
 theatrical nationhood, 209
 Theodor Herzl Society, 55, 157
 Thermann, Edmund von: on Bruckner's *Race*, 41; on Free German Stage, 133, 134, 150; and Nazi propaganda, 176, 177; on Pestalozzi School, 50; support for Ney/German Theater, 66, 151, 214, 304; theatrical productions organized by, 176
 Thielscher, Guido, 107, 110
 Thomas, Brandon, *Charley's Aunt*, 104–10, 201
 Thomas, Charlotte, 247–48
Thunder Rock (Ardrey), 137, 144
 Ticho, Josef, 158
 Tingel Tangel Theater, Berlin, 61
 Tjarks, Hermann, 44
 Torre, Jorge de la, 98
 totalitarianism, Ney on, 179–80
 tragedies, theatergoers' aversion to, 125, 161–62
 transnationalism: Free German Stage and, 304–5; Jacob and, 306, 313; nationalist German-speaking community and, 304. *See also* intercultural alliances
Trouble Backstairs (Böttcher), 185–86, 247, 248
 Troupe 38, Buenos Aires, 94
Ulrich of Hutten (Czierski), 245
 UNION, 158
 United States, and Argentina during World War II, 39–40, 140
The Unvanquished (Hellman), FGS's production of, 140–50; popularity of, 144–45, 161; presentation in Uruguay, 145–46, 149; theatrical energies released by, 309. *See also* *Watch on the Rhine*
 Uriburu, José Félix, 35
 Uruguay: and Argentina during World War II, 39; Arndt in, 82–84, 109; *The Diary of Anne Frank* performed in, 285; entry into World War II, 140; immigration policy of, 32; Jewish refugees in, 29; *The Unvanquished* performed in, 145–46, 149; *The Voice of the Day* (radio program) in, 38, 83
Utz Schimdl (Hoffmann), 217–18, 220–24, 225, 298, 302, 304; theatrical energies released by, 309
 Vacano, Wolfgang, 101, 105, 106, 250
Vamps! (Rosé and Hanstein), 256
 Veidt, Conrad, 155–56

- Vienna, Austria, Arndt's childhood in, 77–78, 84
- Viennese Stamps* (radio program), 83–84
- Viennese Theater in the Josefstadt, guest performance by, 229
- The Voice of the Day* (radio program): on Argentine regime's relations with Nazi Germany, 38; Arndt and, 83; on De Kowa, 241; Jacob and, 129, 239f
- Volberg, Heinrich, 6, 42
- Volksblatt* (newspaper): on Aialti's *Father and Son*, 160; demand for agitprop theater, 137; shutdown of, 38
- Völlmer, Karl, 234
- Vorwärts* (magazine), 287
- Wächter, Max, 95–96
- Walfried, Ridi, *The Cobbler in Heaven*, 176
- Wallenstein* (Schiller): at German Theater in Buenos Aires, 214; at Youth Theater in Vienna, 77–78
- Walter, Horacio, 5
- war criminals, immigration to Argentina, 6, 227, 277
- Watch on the Rhine* (film), 140
- Watch on the Rhine* (Hellman), 139–44; Free German Stage's production of, 103, 140–50; reception of, 144–47, 161, 297; Reger's translation of, 140, 142–43; theatrical energies released by, 309
- Water for Canitoga* (Rehfish), 235
- Wedekind, Frank, *Spring Awakening*, 259
- Der Weg* (magazine), 228–29; cultural output in, 22n; and exile studies, 13; Ney and, 274, 306; in postwar period, 299; reporting on New Stage in, 244, 245, 246, 247; on Schiller's *Mary Stuart*, 246, 247; on Shakespeare, 265, 276–77, 293; West German embassy and, 228; Wiel's contributions to, 275
- Weil, Felix J., 92
- Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Friedrich Wilhelm, 253
- Werberg, Otto, 234
- Werfel, Franz, *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*, 164–69
- Werner, Vilém, *Men on Ice*, 132
- Werz, Luitpold, 255, 256
- West German embassy, in Buenos Aires: and Free German Stage, 9, 229, 307; and *Freie Presse*, 228, 255; and German Chamber Theater, relocation of, 9, 286–87; and German Stage, 255, 284, 286, 290; and Ney, 278–79, 290; opening of, 251; reconciliation efforts of, 8, 9, 21, 26, 251, 277, 278, 284, 288, 307, 310; restrictions imposed on theaters, 314; theater used to project soft power, 40, 229, 251, 253, 255–56, 278, 290, 307, 309
- When the Rooster Crows* (Hinrichs), 181
- When the Snow Melts* (Mostar), 239
- White, Allon, 215
- Wichert, Lilly, 287
- Wiel, Steven, 261, 262, 273, 275
- Wiene, Robert, 155
- Wilimzig, Imo, 170
- Winkler, Irene, 60, 64. *See also* Ney, Irene
- Winsloe, Christa, *Yesterday and Today*, 236, 237–38
- World War I: Argentina's neutrality during, 5, 27; German immigration to Argentina after, 27–28; German-language media in Buenos Aires during, 44–45
- World War II: Allied offensive in, nationalist German media on, 187–88; Argentina's entry in, 40; Argentina's nominal neutrality

- in, 24, 37–40; German-speaking immigrants to Argentina during and after, 6, 226–27; outbreak of, impact on German theaters in Argentina, 130; South American countries entering, 140
- Wuppertal Municipal Theater, Germany, Jacob at, 68–73
- Wurmser, Ernst, 76, 86–89; at Free German Stage, 89–90; immigration to Bolivia, 86–87, 166; letters to Jacob, 87–88; move to Argentina, 89
- Yesterday and Today* (Winsloe), 236, 237–38
- Yiddish People's Theater (IFT), 54, 283
- Yrigoyen, Hipólito, 35
- Zamelka, Werner, 231
- Zavalía, Alberto, 136
- Zech, Paul, 45, 136, 175
- Ziegler, Hans Severus, 198
- Zionist dramas, boycotting of, 158–62, 297
- Zionist Forum, and Free German Stage, 55, 157, 159, 163
- Zionists, in Argentina, 297; and community building, 18; conflicts with moderate antifascists, 56–57, 117–18, 146–47, 149; and Free German Stage, 20, 55–57, 94, 156–64, 231–32, 297, 305; on German culpability for Shoah, 117–18, 146–47; on Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*, 146–47, 149; and integration, opposition to, 116, 158, 300; and intercultural alliances, 300–301; news of Shoah and, 55–56, 160; organizations of, 54–55; publications of, 56; renunciation of German culture in postwar era, 300, 305, 306; on Rössler's *The Five Frankfurters*, 116, 117; and Wächter, 96
- Zuckmayer, Carl: *The Captain of Köpenick*, 249, 309; *The Devil's General*, 233, 249–50, 309
- Zweig, Juan, 55
- Zweig, Stefan, 48, 49, 138; *The Lamb of the Poor*, 138