Chapter 1

In Production, 1941–1942

The question of creative origins is often subject to debate in a collaborative, sequential art form such as the cinema—perhaps never more provocatively than in the case of *It's All True,* which was produced within multiple institutional frameworks and experienced many thematic and strategic changes over the course of its development. Some of the residual cloudiness surrounding the film's emergence and progress can be attributed to a four-part structure that sparked parallel and intermittent lines of development, never creatively joined or fulfilled in a finished work. More broadly, one can point to director Orson Welles's professional mode of operation. He tended to work on several projects in different media simultaneously—radio, theater, film, and television—and delivered (at times deliberately) discrepant versions of his life and career to his fans and critics.[1] In addition to improvising on the set, using scripts only as rough guidelines, Welles had a propensity for recycling his own choreographic and compositional ideas, visual rhetoric, and plot elements from one project or medium of expression to the next. And he delighted in the art of adaptation, a skill that periodically attracted critical controversy, giving new meaning and form to texts authored by others while remaining faithful to the spirit and historical roots of the original work.[2]

It's All True poses no notable exception to this pattern, and although the director's recuperative impulse ultimately ensured the film's discursive survival (a subject to be explored in chapter 7), it has also complicated the task of historical retrieval by creating a palimpsest of assertions and rhetorical constructs by Welles and others that must be second-guessed and occasionally bracketed for the film event as corresponding text to come to light. This labyrinth is compounded by the practical challenges posed by the dispersion of the film's production across two continents (see maps 1 and 2), the nonfictional nature of its source material (no literary "classics" or easily ac-

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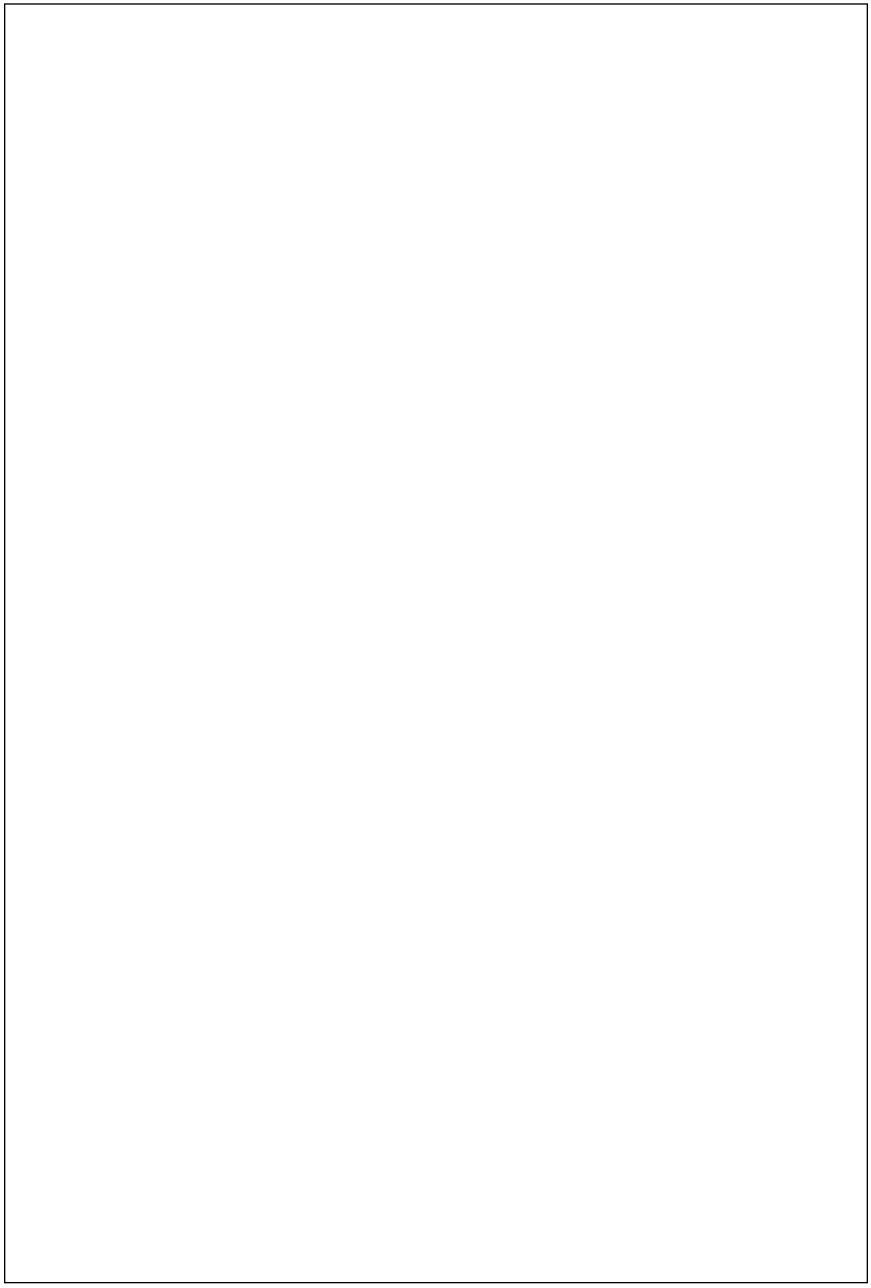

Map 1. Shooting locations and settings in North America for *It's All True,* 1941, and Orson Welles's diplomatic itinerary, 1942, part I. Please note that borders of states and countries may have changed since 1941. Design by Thomas Cox. Portion adapted from Robert J. Flaherty, *The Captain's Chair, a Story of the North* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1938).

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cessible publications are involved), the divergent agendas of the agencies that cosponsored and oversaw its production, and even its critical dismissal as a "failure." All have had a centrifugal effect on the surviving evidence, necessitating continual cross-checking and comparison of written sources, along with a heavy reliance, where possible, on available press reports and oral testimony.

—
testimony. [FIGURE] Map 1 near here. [FIGURE]Map 2 near here.

In taking a long view of the film's history and using the archaeological approach described in the introduction, I attempt here to produce an account of *It's All True* as an ongoing process of brainstorming, shooting, revision, and retrieval. This chronicle is intended less to provide "closure"—a formidable task in view of the many questions the film's history continues to raise—than to serve as a "working overview" that can be used to set the parameters of textual reconstruction (along a synchronic axis) and illuminate the causes behind the film's suspension (diachronic axis).[3]

Of special interest are the complex and shifting relations between Welles and Mercury Productions, their sponsoring organizations, and the project's international observers, along with the periodic folding of culturally and stylistically diverse material into the basic four-part structure of the work in progress. In its earliest stages, the project that came to be known as *It's All True* underwent a series of false starts and shifts in source material, prior to stabilizing into a geographically and culturally varied anthology of medium-length episodes. The initial idea of converting "true" stories (stories based on lived experience) into film narrative appears to have taken root around the time of the long-awaited release of *Citizen Kane* in early May 1941, when RKO began pressuring Welles's Mercury Productions to develop additional projects for release during its busy 1941–42 season. One of Welles's proposals was to make a film based on the life of populist Louisiana governor and senator Huey Long, who had used strong-arm politics to implement his progressive tax and social welfare policies, including ample funds for himself and cronies, prior to being assassinated in 1935. The screenplay was to be adapted from a book on the subject by *New Orleans Item-Tribune* reporter Harnett Kane, and Welles would be cast in the title role.[4]

A second proposal, provisionally titled "Lady Killer" or "Landru," was to have been based on the life and crimes of Henri Landru, a notorious French serial killer and con artist who managed to extract a fortune from the estates of ten women he seduced and murdered between 1915 and 1919, when he was finally apprehended by the local police.[5] Welles wished to collaborate on the project with Charles Chaplin, a social acquaintance of his, who had reportedly tried to recruit Welles for United Artists during the heat of the *Citizen Kane* controversy.[6] According to Chaplin, Welles invited him to play the sinister widow murderer Landru and to cowrite the screenplay.[7] Chaplin was busy with a project of his own at the time, a film adaptation of the Broadway play *Shadow and Substance,* and preferred not to become involved in shaping the Landru project from the ground up.[8] Nonetheless, the story

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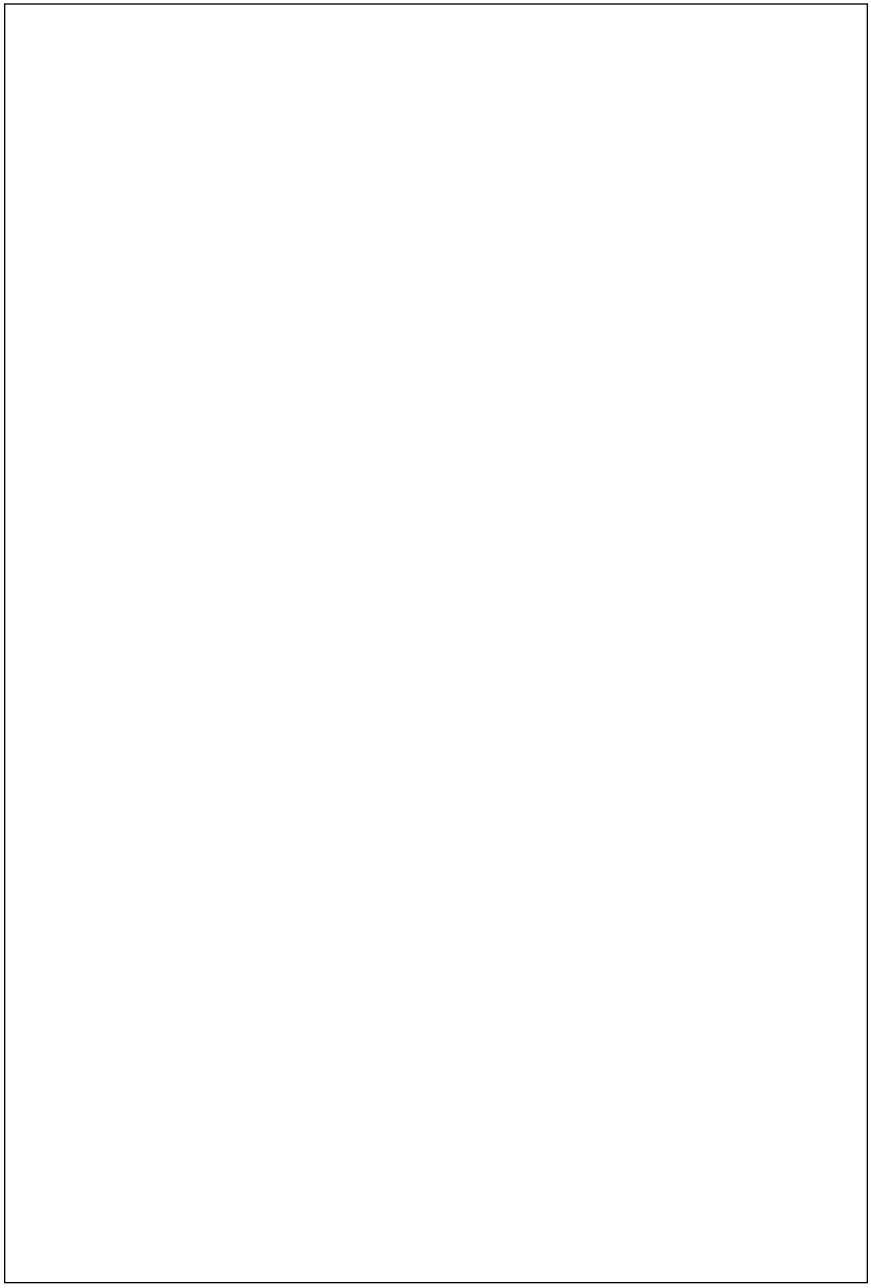

Map 2. Shooting locations and settings in Central America and South America for *It's All True,* 1942, and Orson Welles's diplomatic itinerary, part II. Please note that borders of states and countries may have changed since 1942. Design by Thomas Cox.

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intrigued him, and to Welles's consternation, Chaplin managed to purchase the film rights to the concept, which he reworked several years later into a dark comedy, retitled *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947). Chaplin starred in and directed this version, crediting Welles with the original story idea.[9] (It was probably just as well that Welles relinquished the project, given the very limited distribution *Monsieur Verdoux* received and its U.S. boycott by religious and press organizations on moral grounds.)[10]

While waiting for *Citizen Kane* to be released, Welles had also been developing with Dolores del Río a film adaptation of Arthur Calder-Marshall's novel *The Way to Santiago* (1940), a political thriller about an American and a British journalist who uncover a plot by a Nazi secret agent to overthrow the democratically elected Mexican president, while investigating the clandestine trade of Mexican oil for German weapons being sold internationally to U.S. and European interests.[11] There are signs that Calder-Marshall's novel was based on actual events: Mexican artist Diego Rivera personally reported an incident very similar to the oil-smuggling operation in the novel, by way of *Hoy* newspaper in December 1939; a German ocean liner, the *Columbus,* was allegedly being used, along with two smaller boats, as a fuel ship for German submarines stationed in Mexican waters and was subsequently intercepted by British warships.[12] Like the novel, the film would have woven a fictional story into actual geographic settings, while making reference to contemporary political organizations and events. Welles's version, which was to be filmed on location in central and southeastern Mexico, has been commonly referred to as *Mexican Melodrama,* the generic working title of the screenplay (16mm footage shot during location scouting for this project, possibly by Welles himself in September 1941, can be found in the Richard Wilson–Orson Welles Papers, Special Collections Library, at the University of Michigan).

These three projects, like *Citizen Kane,* take on the theme of excessive individual power and public deception, while incorporating the narrative viewpoint of the press or, at the very least, narrating history by way of journalistic discourse. None of them ever went into production for RKO. However, Welles would retain the idea for basing a film on "true stories," as well as shooting on location in Mexico, in *It's All True.*

RETURNING TO GRASS ROOTS: FROM JAZZ TO BULLFIGHTING

In early July 1941, while Duke Ellington was conducting and performing with his orchestra in the all-black musical revue, or "revu-sical," *Jump for Joy,* at the Mayan Theater in Los Angeles, Welles approached the musician with a proposal for a new project.[13] He invited Ellington to compose and arrange the musical sound track for an episode of a film to be based on "true" stories: in this case, a history of jazz performance and its popular reception in

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the twentieth century, inspired by and reflecting Louis Armstrong's life and musical career. Provisionally titled "The Story of Jazz," the episode was to provide a vehicle for formal and technical innovation of a musical sound track in relation to live action and animated imagery, as well as showcasing top African American jazz and blues talent.

It's All True soon became more than a brainstorming session shared between talented friends. The four episodes, including "The Story of Jazz," would become Welles's second film to go into production at RKO, just prior to *The Magnificent Ambersons,* which was to be produced under a separate contract, and preparations for casting and screenwriting were well under way by summer's end.[14] In addition, Mercury was scheduled to produce two other projects that season for RKO: *Journey into Fear,* directed by Norman Foster (1943), and the discontinued *Mexican Melodrama,* directed by Welles. Ironically, RKO as sponsoring studio appeared to be the most interested in the latter two projects because they were both spy thrillers set during World War II and seemed on the surface to hold the most box office promise.[15] Having recovered reasonably well financially from its Depression-linked reversals, since its reorganization and underwriting by Floyd Odlum's Atlas Corporation in 1939, RKO was in the midst of an aggressive campaign to generate as many new releases as possible to service a growing domestic audience, as well as an expanding Latin American market, during the 1941–42 season. The studio held Mercury to task in this effort.[16] For its part, in addition to developing new film projects for RKO, the semiautonomous Mercury Productions was preparing to launch *The Orson Welles Show* with its weekly *Almanac* series on the CBS radio network (September 1941–January 1942).[17] It also produced a lengthy run of *Native Son* at New York venues, adapted for the stage by the author of the novel, Richard Wright, and Paul Green, and directed by Welles.[18]

At this point, Welles planned to shoot most of *It's All True* on the Pathé lot in Culver City under the terms of his existing three-film contract with RKO as director and producer, although the full extent of his participation both on-screen and offscreen remained unclear.[19] The four-part film was to be about two and a half hours long, breaking the industry exhibition standard of the "double feature," and each of the episodes would be based on a "true" story, according to Welles, "not before exploited for films."[20] The multipart structure appears to have been a practical response to the recent proposal by producer David O. Selznick that feature-length films be divided into attention-getting "shorts" linked by a common theme. That same year, and just weeks before Welles's announcement of plans to make *It's All True,* Harry Brandt, president of the Independent Theater Owners Association, had openly challenged the film industry to take Selznick up on his proposal, expressing the conviction that "quality," not length, was the determining factor at the box office.[21]

The episodes, personally selected by Welles and adapted for the screen

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by three different screenwriters, would investigate the meaning of modern American identity by portraying protagonists from a range of ethnic and social backgrounds in stories set at various locations in North America, broadly defined as a region extending from the Northern Arctic Territories to the Yucatán Peninsula. In addition to their detailed portrayal of American social life in the early twentieth century, the episodes would be linked by their thematic focus on the dignity of the working person.[22] This theme was developed in relation to protagonists hailing from different geocultural communities; thus one finds within each episode the subtextual tenet of universal citizenship supported by national unity, premised on ethnic and cultural diversity, whether the "nation" being referenced was Canada, Mexico, or the United States. Gregg Toland—a cutting-edge cameraman, mentor to Welles, and key innovator of the visual aesthetics for *Citizen Kane*—was to be hired as cinematographer for the film.[23]

The second episode slated for production, "The Story of Jazz," alternately titled "Jam Session," continued to develop as a short dramatization of jazz history. The original screenplay, written by jazz enthusiast Elliot Paul, was modeled closely on Louis Armstrong's autobiography, *Swing That Music* (1936).[24] Duke Ellington was hired to supervise its screen adaptation for musical accuracy, in addition to his role as composer, arranger, and conductor of the musical sound track.[25] With Armstrong cast as himself, the episode also was to feature appearances by other prominent jazz and blues artists, such as Kid Ory, Joe Sullivan, Joe "King" Oliver, and Bessie Smith. This posthumous characterization would have been Smith's second screen role, following her actual and only appearance as a down-and-out working woman in a musical short, *St. Louis Blues,* directed by Dudley Murphy for RKO in 1929. There was also a possibility that Ellington would have acted in the episode.[26]

In the episode, short vignettes of Louis Armstrong's life offstage were to be interspersed with filmed performances of compositions by King Oliver ("Dippermouth," "Black Snake Blues"), Kid Ory ("Savoy Stomp"), and Armstrong himself ("Potato Head Blues," cowritten with Lil' Hardin Armstrong) at various venues, from a Mississippi riverboat to Chicago, New York, and Western Europe, all joined by Ellington's original sound track.[27] Although many of the featured musicians were to have appeared as themselves, the crucial role of Lil' Hardin, Armstrong's second wife and fellow band member during the formative years of his career, was given to jazz pianist-singer Hazel Scott, a casting decision that elicited vociferous objections from Hardin (see fig. 2).[28]

—fig 2). [FIGURE] [Figure 2 here]

Studio shooting for "The Story of Jazz" was scheduled to begin in December 1941, and Duke Ellington reports having composed several bars for the original sound track; however, there is no evidence of any footage having been shot or of music having been recorded, and *It's All True* would soon take another direction.[29] Armstrong is reported to have truly regretted the eventual cancellation of the project;[30] he was given only cameo parts in other

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Figure 2. Louis Armstrong *(center)* in King Oliver's band, Chicago, ca. 1922. To Armstrong's left *(left to right):* Baby Dodds, H. Dutre, and J. "King" Oliver; to his right *(left to right):* Bill Johnson, J. Dodds, and Lil' Hardin, Armstrong's first wife. Courtesy Hogan Jazz Archive, Howard Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University.

films (he appears as a jazz-playing "devil" in MGM's *Cabin in the Sky,* dir. Vincente Minnelli, 1943) into the postwar period.

While still in its early stages of development, "The Story of Jazz" was joined to three other episodes that adopted the short-story format and were registered under the title *It's All True* on July 29, 1941. Mercury optioned the screen rights to two short stories published by Robert Flaherty: "The Captain's Chair," based on Flaherty's experiences while working as a young prospector for Sir William Mackenzie's Hudson Bay Company in northern Canada, and "Bonito, the Bull," relating the friendship of a mestizo (mixed indigenous/European heritage) boy and a young, fierce bull bred to fight in the ring in Mexico City. Budding screenwriter and novelist John Fante adapted the Bonito story for the screen with Norman Foster (who at that time had been working mainly as an actor at RKO). The two also collaborated on the script for the fourth episode, "Love Story," which narrated the courtship and marriage of Fante's Italian American parents, Nick Fante and Mary Capolungo, set in San Francisco (see fig. 3).

—fig. 3).
[FIGURE]
[Figure 3 here]

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Figure 3. John Fante's father, Nicola Fante, with Mary (John's mother) and Rose Capolungo, ca. 1907. Courtesy Joyce H. Fante Trust (Victoria Fante Cohen).

Although it would have been the most streamlined of the episodes to produce, "Love Story" never progressed beyond the script stage, and no casting or other efforts at preproduction appear to have been done by Mercury.[31] However, three of the scenes depicting the flirtation between the young bricklayer Rocco and his future fiancée Della in a "North Beach Amusement Park" have survived in condensed form in the considerably more dystopian "Crazy House Mirror" sequence at the end of Welles's *Lady from Shanghai* (Columbia, 1948).[32] As in "The Story of Jazz," the characters in this episode were to speak in an accented, colloquial form of English, while their interaction with the built environment and socially diverse public sphere was indicative of a world undergoing modernization, in which the protagonists themselves were both active participants and bewildered observers.

Welles insisted on deriving all story material for *It's All True* from lived experience, and because he lacked direct contact with the events and protagonists of the Fante and Flaherty stories, he asked that both writers swear to

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their stories' veracity in written affidavits.[33] Nevertheless, in a letter to his parents requesting their signatures, we find the following admission by John Fante: "All stories we do for Welles for this picture are supposed to be *true* stories. Well, my story of the Italian bricklayer isn't exactly true, but I had to tell them it was true in order to sell it."[34]

Among other slight discrepancies between script and life story, Fante's parents had in fact met and settled in Denver, Colorado, not San Francisco. Similarly, the events depicted in at least one of the Flaherty stories had been considerably filtered and modified to suit Flaherty's thematic preferences, even before they reached Welles's hands to be adapted for the screen. Frequently in Flaherty's films (*Moana: A Romance of a Golden Age,* 1926; *Tabu: A Story of the South Seas,* 1931; *Man of Aran,* 1934; *Elephant Boy,* 1937), one finds an emphasis on family life, and especially on a young boy's coming-of-age as a means of translating the values and preoccupations of pristinely portrayed, traditional cultures into terms that could be readily understood by cultural "outsiders." However, the "Bonito" story, as Flaherty had found it in New Mexico, actually involved the growing bond between a bull trainer—not a boy—and a bull that is unanimously pardoned by the audience in the bullring for his bravery.

Mexican sources reveal that there *was* an incident in 1908 involving a bull named "Bonito" that was pardoned by spectators for his "exceptional nobility" when his caretaker Miguel Bello jumped into the ring at Mexico's Plaza El Toreo to bid him farewell, in anticipation of the final *estocada* (plunge of the sword into the bull's heart).[35] From there, the story became enmeshed with other tales of the friendship between humans and bulls within Mexican collective memory. For example, the 1908 incident probably inspired Lorenzo Barcelata's *corrido* "Toma Coquito," whose affectionate refrain, "Toma Coquito, toma, azucar te voya dar" (Here, Coquito, here, I'll give you sugar) is met with a fierce charge from a bull in the film *¡Ora Ponciano!* (dir. Gabriel Soria, 1936), which, like Welles's "My Friend Bonito," starred Mexican matador Jesús "Chucho" Solórzano in the lead role as bullfighter.[36]

It remains unclear as to whether either Flaherty or the man who sold him the copyright in 1928 was ever aware of the original incident; in any case, Flaherty displaced the story's focalization onto the character of a mestizo boy, retaining the trainer "Miguel" as a supportive, paternal figure. In this way, the boy and the bull would grow up together and share the traumas of their passage into adulthood: for the bull, the inexorable voyage from the nurturing ranch to the bullring; for the boy, the loss of innocence, the initiation into the wider social sphere, and the awareness of death.[37]

It has been claimed, based on contemporary reports made by Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein, that Flaherty himself once had intentions of producing "Bonito, the Bull" as a film and had traveled to Mexico in search of a suitable young actor for the part of Chico (while working for the Fox Film

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Corporation on a film about the Acoma tribe in the state of New Mexico in mid-1928).[38] There are no signs, however, of Flaherty's production of "Bonito" ever having gotten under way. In any event, the historical circumstances surrounding the Mercury screen version were quite different from those Flaherty would have encountered. By 1941, Mexico had its own film industry, and relations between the Mexican and U.S. governments were improving as a result of the recently elected president Manuel Avila Camacho's conciliatory stance toward U.S. capital interests, after the wave of nationalization of Mexican infrastructure and industry implemented by former president Lázaro Cárdenas during the 1930s. Flaherty would have experienced relative freedom while on location, but to produce "My Friend Bonito," Mercury first needed to reach an agreement with the Mexican government, through RKO Studio, to shoot a film that would make use of Mexican actors and locations.

"The Captain's Chair," meanwhile, had undergone significant changes in focalization and narration as it developed from a magazine serial coauthored by Flaherty and John Chapman Hilder (1928–29) into a television play (for BBC, mid-1930s), and then a novel (1938).[39] Flaherty had also submitted a treatment, extracted from the serial story, to RKO for screen adaptation in 1929.[40] From the record, it is not clear exactly which one of these versions was optioned by Mercury Productions in mid-1941,[41] although a number of factors point to the greater suitability of the novel, in form and in substance, to Welles's choice of themes and experimentation with modes of narration in *It's All True*.

In any event, the epic format and geographic and ethnographic detail of the novel suggest that it might have conformed more to Flaherty's original experience, as contrasted with the rudimentary character development and melodramatic overtones of the magazine story. The latter pivots around a violent power struggle between a director of the Hudson's Bay Company and a boat captain, paralleled by a budding romance between the captain's first mate and a young nurse aboard an icebreaker on its way from England to deliver supplies to trading posts in arctic Canada. In the novel, Flaherty (narrating in first person) and members of the Inuit nation struggle to survive at the northern end of Hudson Bay when a shipment from England of food and other vital necessities on a troubled icebreaker (piloted by the troubled captain) is mysteriously delayed (see map 1).

Of these four episodes, only "My Friend Bonito" actually went into production in September 1941, although shooting was tentatively scheduled for the other episodes later that year.[42] Because of a time and location conflict with the shooting of *The Magnificent Ambersons* in Hollywood in late October, Welles dispatched Norman Foster, co-screenwriter for the "Bonito" episode, to direct the shoot on location at La Punta—the most prominent fierce-bull hacienda in Mexico at the time—and other bullfighting locations in central Mexico.

Welles's plans for using Flaherty's "My Friend Bonito" story had crystal-

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lized in July 1941 when he met matador Chucho Solórzano, in Los Angeles, thanks to Dolores del Río. Solórzano agreed to star in the film; he would be joined by two other leading bullfighters from Mexico, Fermín "Armillita" Espinosa and Silverio Pérez. The cast also included Mexican film star Domingo Soler in the role of "Miguel," the bull hand, and a young mestizo boy, Jesús "Hamlet" Vásquez Plata (from a village adjacent to La Punta) in the role of "Chico." Shooting began in late September at La Punta, following a visit to that location by del Río and Welles (see fig. 4). Assisting Foster was a crew composed of José Noriega (a Spanish-language editor and adaptor from the editing department at RKO Radio Studio in Los Angeles), working as line producer and Spanish interpreter; Floyd Crosby as cinematographer; and Al Gilks as RKO camera operator. Crosby was a logical choice for this particular project, given his previous experience working with Robert Flaherty and F. W. Murnau on *Tabu: A Story of the South Seas,* in Tahiti, a film for which he had won the 1931 Academy Award for cinematography, as well as his documentary camera work on films by Pare Lorentz in the late thirties.[43] The crew received local support from the hacienda staff, especially from the vaqueros (cowhands) Ramón Macías and Pedro Chávez Lara, who, together with the bullfighters and picador El Güero Guadalupe, choreographed the bull herd for the camera.

—camera. [FIGURE] [Figure 4 here]

Gilks was soon replaced by Canadian-born cinematographer Alex Phillips (né Alexander Pelepiock), who should be given at least partial credit for the Eisensteinian angles and deep-focus visual aesthetics of portions of the "Bonito" footage, especially considering the enduring aesthetic impact that Eisenstein's Mexican project *¡Que Viva México!* (1931–32) exerted on Mexican cinematography during this period. Phillips had already wielded the camera in noted Mexican bullfighting melodramas, such as *Santa* (dir. Antonio Moreno, 1931) and *¡Ora Ponciano!*[44] He would go on to shoot historical dramas under Mexican directors Fernando de Fuentes, Antonio Momplet, Roberto Gavaldón, Emilio "El Indio" Fernández, and Julio Bracho during the Golden Age of Mexican cinema, in which he had a strong hand in building the brazen yet softened screen image of Dolores del Río's only serious rival, Mexican diva María Félix.[45] Yet Phillips's distinct stylistic touch in "My Friend Bonito" cannot be reduced to either an Eisensteinian legacy or the importation of Hollywood continuity techniques. The markedly realist visual style of films shot by Phillips in the early forties, such as *Ay Jalisco, ¡No Te Rajes!* (*Oh Jalisco, Don't Back Down!* dir. Joselito Rodríguez, 1941), involving fluid long takes, the creation of tensions between background and foreground within shots, and the use of deep focus, is suggestive of his appropriateness to location work on a Welles project. (*Ay Jalisco* was shot in the summer of 1941, which allows for the possibility of stylistic influence from *Citizen Kane,* released that May in the United States.)[46] Phillips's presence on the crew meant that Welles's and Foster's project benefited from the contributions of two Mexican nationals

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Figure 4. Jesús and Carmen Solórzano *(center)* with the Madrazo family at La Punta hacienda, Jalisco, Mexico, 1941. Courtesy Orson Welles Manuscripts Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

who had prior experience at rendering the culture of bullfighting for the screen, given Chucho Solórzano's previous role in *¡Ora Ponciano!*

As the lead bullfighter in "My Friend Bonito," Solórzano was to administer the *tientas* (tests of bravery) to bulls at La Punta, as well as perform in unrehearsed bullfights with twelve different bulls in double bills with the matador "Armillita" at the Plaza "El Toreo" of Mexico City. Traditionally, the *tientas* of male bulls are done just prior to branding (the rite of passage that marks them for the ring), while the testing of fierce cows is done prior to mating, to increase the chances of breeding fierce male offspring.[47] Additional bullfighting scenes were shot of the Peruvian-born *rejoneadora* (bullfighter on horseback) Conchita Cintrón (see figure 5).[48]

—figure 5). [FIGURE] [Figure 5 here]

Once the *tientas* of young bulls and fierce cows were completed in La Punta's open fields and "plaza" in early October 1941,[49] the crew turned to shooting additional cow *tientas,* featuring the popular bullfighter Silvério Pérez, as well as the yearly "blessing" of the animals by a Catholic priest near the Zacatepec ranch in Tlaxcala, on the occasion of Corpus Christi. This was

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Figure 5. Conchita Cintrón performs a cow *tienta* in *Maravilla del Toreo,* dir. Raphael Sevilla, 1941. Courtesy Filmoteca de la Universidad Autónoma de México, Mexico City,

—Should there be more text after "Mexico City,"? SRS/ICS

followed by the branding of bulls at the Atenco ranch; attempts at the impossible-to-shoot live birth of a bull at the ranch of Maximino Avila Camacho (brother of the Mexican president and compadre of Francisco Madrazo y García Granados, owner of La Punta) in Puebla;[50] and the Mexico City bullfighting sequences. Both Foster and Noriega communicated frequently with Welles regarding the day-to-day results of shooting and their plans for each scene. Even though the weather in central Mexico did not "cooperate" with the planned shooting schedule, being cloudier than usual, Welles was quite pleased with the qualitative results of Foster's work—so much so that he offered him a "codirector" credit on the episode.[51]

THE *RAID* OF THE *SÃO PEDRO*

In the meantime, on 14 September 1941, shortly before shooting began for "My Friend Bonito," a community event took place in the Brazilian northeastern state of Ceará that would come to take on international importance.

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Figure 6. Production still: the four *jangadeiros* aboard the *jangada São Pedro* in Guanabara Bay, Rio de Janeiro, 1942. Courtesy Richard Wilson–Orson Welles Papers, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

This event, which caught the attention of news editors as far away as the United States, would exert a definitive impact on the content and fate of *It's All True.* Four poor *jangadeiros* (raft fishermen) set sail on a newly built *jangada* (raft) named after their patron saint, São Pedro, to travel roughly 1,650 miles without a compass along the Atlantic coast to Rio de Janeiro. The purpose of their voyage was to speak directly with Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas regarding their unusually harsh working conditions and lack of medical and death benefits. The crew consisted of Raimundo "Tatá" Correia Lima, Manuel "Preto" Pereira da Silva, Jerônimo André de Souza, and Manoel "Jacaré" Olimpio Meira, all residents of Fortaleza, the capital city of Ceará (see fig. 6).

—fig. 6).
[FIGURE]
[Figure 6 here]

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The expedition, or *raid,* as it came to be known in Brazil, was the result of strenuous efforts by Manoel Jacaré to organize a union of *jangadeiros* within his jurisdiction along Iracema Beach, Fortaleza. Jacaré, a father of ten who had learned to read and write at night school, was the president of Iracema's fishing colony Z-1. He had been inspired by President Vargas's introduction of new social legislation, which provided retirement and medical assistance to rural workers, to travel with his fishing partners to personally obtain from Vargas a ruling that would protect all *jangadeiros.* At that time, the fishermen were obliged to give half of their catch to the *jangada* owners. Few *jangadeiros* owned the nets, *jangadas,* and even the *apetrechos* (wooden accoutrements) with which to fish. They lived in shacks on coastal beaches. Few could afford to send their children to school, and very few expected any income when they became too old or sick to fish. *Jangada* fishing was (and still is) a dangerous profession, and when their husbands became disabled or died suddenly at sea, widows were left without pensions or formal assistance of any kind.

In the short run, Jacaré's plans succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. The voyage of the *São Pedro* became an international media event. By the time the *jangadeiros* arrived in Rio de Janeiro after sixty-one days at sea, Getúlio Vargas had decided to take advantage of the record-breaking feat to gain publicity for his new pro-working-class policies and legislation (see fig. 7). Even before they reached Rio, the trip served the *jangadeiros* as a lightning-speed initiation into the modern world and the national public arena. Suddenly, they were being interviewed by journalists at every coastal stop and communicated back to their families via short-wave radio. Just prior to their festive arrival in Rio, Brazilian journalist Edmar Morel published fragments from Jacaré's travel diary in local newspapers. Once the *jangadeiros* reached the choppy waters of Guanabara Bay in Rio, they were escorted by scores of watercraft, large and small, official and leisure, to the city wharf at Praça Mauá. After meeting with Vargas at the presidential palace, an event that was captured by the cameras of the Department of Press and Propaganda (Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, or DIP) and released in a national newsreel,[52] the *jangadeiros* traveled by airplane on a newly inaugurated route back to Fortaleza. There, they were warmly received once again as triumphant national heroes. In effect, Vargas had signed a law inducting the *jangadeiros* into the Seamen's Institute to assure them of social benefits only two days after their historic meeting in Rio, and Jacaré had traversed a nearly impenetrable social barrier to make the fishermen's plight known to the highest office of the Brazilian government.[53] Film historian José Inácio de Melo Souza has remarked on how the newsreel image of Getúlio Vargas (the embodiment of state power, as well the Brazilian socioeconomic elite) being forced to listen to the demands of humble workers was unprecedented in Brazilian documentaries of the period (see fig. 8).[54]

—fig. 8). [FIGURE] [Figure 7 here] [Figure 8 here]

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Figure 7. Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas and his horse. Courtesy Fundação Getúlio Vargas, CPDOC, Arquivo Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Orson Welles read about the heroic voyage in a December 1941 issue of *Time* magazine.[55] Within a few months, Jacaré and his sailing companions would become the key protagonists in an episode of a new Latin American version of *It's All True,* titled simply "Jangadeiros" (or, alternately, "Four Men on a Raft," as it is called in the 1993 documentary reconstruction).

THE TRANSITION TO A "LATIN AMERICAN" *IT'S ALL TRUE*

Back in Mexico, the Mercury crew's progress on the laborious "Bonito" shoot (one can neither predict bull behavior in the field nor plan a "good" bullfight for the camera) was disrupted by another logistical dilemma: Welles's commitment to act in the role of Colonel Haki in the RKO/Mercury production *Journey into Fear* while continuing to shoot final scenes for *The Magnificent Ambersons* at the beginning of the new year. Welles was unable to direct *Journey into Fear* (it would have signified a fourth project not provided for under his RKO contract), and all indications are that he viewed it as a "service" project that would employ existing studio talent, such as Dolores

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Figure 8. Frame enlargement: Raimundo "Jacaré" Olimpio meets with Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas at Catete Palace, Rio de Janeiro, 15 November 1941, from *Heróis do Mar,* D.I.P., 1941. Courtesy Cinemateca Brasileira, São Paulo, Brazil.

del Río, and use a minimum of material resources. Nonetheless, it was a Mercury project, and to follow through, Welles summoned Norman Foster back to Hollywood to direct *Journey into Fear* in his place. Once Foster had completed coverage of bullfights in Guadalajara, along with some location shots in downtown Mexico City in December 1941, he suspended the "Bonito" shoot, dispatched the crew, and returned to Los Angeles.

With the entry of the United States into World War II in early December 1941, contemporary spy thrillers such as *Journey into Fear* gained in popular appeal and historical relevance in the eyes of the studio. However, work on all of Mercury's projects had to be accelerated, for Welles would soon be embarking on a new mission in early February 1942 as "Good Will" ambassador to Latin America, at the behest of John Hay Whitney and Nelson Rockefeller, a member of the RKO board as well as head of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA).[56] Welles's new OCIAA duties included producing a documentary of the yearly Carnival celebration

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(hence the rapidly approaching date of departure) to fulfill a request made to the Motion Picture Division (MPD) by the Brazilian government. As Edmar Morel quipped: "We [Brazil] had already sent Carmen Miranda there [the United States], and he [Welles] came here . . . there was an exchange."[57] For Welles, this was a welcome opportunity to participate in the war effort, since for medical reasons he did not qualify for military service.[58] It would also permit him to take the existing *It's All True* project in new directions.

Rather than permanently discontinue "My Friend Bonito," with shooting nearly two-thirds completed, Welles decided to graft the episode onto a new, four-part "Latin American" project, designed and executed within the framework of President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy toward the region, which had been stepped up to bolster the political, sociopsychological, and physical components of hemispheric defense during the war. To "My Friend Bonito" and a new "Carnaval" episode, Welles added a reenactment of the "São Pedro" raid, provisionally titled "Jangadeiros," featuring its original protagonists. A fourth episode (which was never shot and remained undetermined until mid-1943) would have consisted of either "The Story of Jazz," rehabilitated upon Welles's return to Hollywood, or a dramatization of the colonial conquest of Peru by Spaniard Francisco Pizarro that would focus on the capture and betrayal of the Inka chief Atawallpa by the Spanish in 1532.[59] Welles planned to resume and complete shooting for "My Friend Bonito" in Mexico as he made his way up the Pacific coast to California on the final leg of his "Good Will" tour (see maps 1 and 2).[60]

As soon as the plans to shoot the Brazilian Carnival were made official in early 1942, the project as a whole became a coproduction of RKO Radio Studio and the OCIAA, with RKO supervising, costaffing (with Mercury Productions), and financing the production, postproduction, release, and publicity of the film, and the OCIAA providing a guarantee of up to $300,000 against any losses RKO might incur upon its release as a Grade A motion picture.[61] As an emissary of the U.S. government during wartime, Welles agreed to work on the project without receiving any salary,[62] although the sponsoring organizations would be covering production expenses, travel, and accommodations for the duration of his tour.[63]

Up to this point, several Hollywood studios, including RKO, had stationed representatives to handle distribution and publicity in cosmopolitan centers throughout the hemisphere (where the major studios had owned theaters since the late teens). However, under the strengthened Good Neighbor film policy devised by the MPD, film crews (both freelance and industrial) were traveling to Latin America in record numbers to bring more empirically grounded portrayals of the people and the landscape back to the United States, while Latin Americans had the opportunity to meet some of their favorite film stars in the flesh. Many promotional tours, organized with the assistance of the MPD, formalized the policy role to be played by filmmakers

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and actors, some of whom, like Orson Welles, were appointed by the OCIAA to serve for limited periods as "Good Will" ambassadors to Latin America. Occasionally, commerce came to be combined with intelligence activity, as in the case of "Good Will" ambassador Douglas Fairbanks Jr., who collected strategically sensitive information on fascist activity for the British government while on tour in Brazil in spring 1941.[64]

It was not unheard of for "Good Will" ambassadors from Hollywood to engage in production activities while on tour (Walt Disney's animated feature *Saludos Amigos* had been initiated under similar auspices in August 1941, when he gathered research material during a diplomatic visit to Brazil). Nevertheless, it was rare, and the initial stages of the Wellesian location shoot, carried out in the heat of World War II, constituted a film expedition of unprecedented ambitions and proportions for the U.S. film industry and the OCIAA alike. RKO Radio Studio's cosponsorship of *It's All True* was doubtless aided by Nelson Rockefeller's influence as a voting member of the RKO board of directors, just as former RKO Studio head Merian C. Cooper's role on the Pan American Airlines board of directors had facilitated the production of the backstage musical *Flying Down to Rio* (dir. Thornton Freeland, 1933) at precisely the time that Pan Am was launching new flight routes to South America.[65]

Within the U.S. government-industry collaborative framework of the MPD, *It's All True* would be directed less toward providing Latin American audiences with U.S. models than toward focusing on community life in different national settings to convey the possibility of ideological identification, cultural dialogue, and exchange throughout the hemisphere. In principle, this new orientation conformed to the guidelines and rhetorical thrust of the OCIAA's approach to solidifying inter-American relations; in practice, it would lead to considerable friction between Welles and some of his sponsors. At the time of its launching, however, and to all appearances, the film showed considerable promise as a diplomatic tool. "My Friend Bonito" was to feature three of Mexico's most acclaimed bullfighters (Espinosa, Pérez, and Solórzano were all invited to fight in Spain after the war);[66] it also included an established Mexican film actor, Domingo Soler, in a key role within the primary diegesis. Part of a large family of professional actors, Soler, like his older brothers Fernando and Andrés, was known for his interpretations of benevolent and reliable paternal or avuncular figures in Mexican family melodramas and romantic comedies. In this capacity, he was able to secure a place for the criollo (Mexican-born of Spanish descent) at the center of Mexican popular culture. The same year as his stint in "My Friend Bonito," Domingo Soler appeared in the popular comedic hits *La Gallina clueca* (*Mother Hen,* dir. Fernando de Fuentes), where he is an affable bachelor shopkeeper who befriends a widow and her brood of children, and *Del Rancho a la capital* (*From the Farm to the Capital,* dir. Raúl de Anda). By 1941, Soler had

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Figure 9. Domingo Soler as a Spanish farmer in *La Barraca,* dir. Roberto Gavaldón, 1944. Courtesy Filmoteca de la Universidad Autonóma de México, Mexico City.

already been reviewed favorably by the *New York Times* for his performance as a cook in the Spanish-language RKO production *Perfidia* (dir. William Rowland with Miguel M. Delgado, 1939), and he would soon go on to win the first Mexican Academy of Cinematographic Arts and Sciences "Ariel" award as "best leading actor" for his role as a Spanish immigrant farmer in *La Barraca* (*The Shack,* dir. Roberto Gavaldón, 1944) (see fig. 9).[67]

—fig. 9). [FIGURE] [Figure 9 here]

Moreover, Mexico was rapidly becoming a key country targeted for the expansion of film activity by the OCIAA and the film industry, while by the early forties, the domestic consumption of cinema was reaching a level and breadth sufficient to transform the cinema into a privileged vehicle for narrating the paths taken by Mexican national identity.[68] As if to underscore this point, the two bull ranches chosen to serve as filming locations for "Bonito," Atenco and La Punta, had close ties, by way of *compadrazgo* to the current Mexican president, Manuel Avila Camacho. Finally, Welles hoped to have the musical sound track for the episode scored by Mexican classical composer Carlos Chávez, who at that time was engaged in international col-

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Figure 10. Herivelto Martins leading a samba band at the Urca Casino, Rio de Janeiro. Courtesy Yaçanã Martins.

laboration with American composer and "Good Will" ambassador Aaron Copland in the development of the modern "new music" and, in 1940, had been invited by Nelson Rockefeller to present concerts of Mexican music at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.[69]

In "Carnaval" (or "The Story of Samba"), spectators would encounter some of the most accomplished musical talent Brazil had to offer: Herivelto Martins and his Trio de Ouro (the Golden Trio, making regular appearances at the posh Cassino da Urca; see fig. 10);[70] Grande Othelo (né Sebastião Bernardes de Souza Prata), by then a nationally known radio and film performer; samba diva Linda Batista (who had close ties to Getúlio Vargas); and popular singer Emilinha Borba, considered, with Batista and D'Alva de Oliveira (also of the Trio de Ouro), one of Brazil's top women vocalists at the time. Appearing with these Brazilian artists in the film was Chucho Martínez Gil, the Mexican bolero singer, who, with his two brothers, had already successfully "crossed over" into the broader hemispheric music circuit by way of NBC radio performances.[71] He had already made a U.S. screen appear-

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ance with his group, Los Hermanos Gil, in the Fox "Good Neighbor" musical *Weekend in Havana* (dir. Walter Lang, 1941). Finally, the film would feature scenes set in some of Rio's most fashionable nightspots, such as the Teatro Municipal and the Cassino da Urca (a well-known international talent showcase where Carmen Miranda had recently been discovered by Broadway impresario Lee Schubert), while the Carnival festivities would be re-created on the soundstages of the respected Cinédia Studio in Rio. Founded by Adhemar Gonzaga in 1930, the studio featured four soundstages and two laboratories, and produced many newsreels for Vargas's DIP.[72] At first glance, then, the "Carnaval" episode would boast the touristic appeal that the Brazilian government had been seeking in welcoming Welles and a large RKO crew to Rio to shoot on location.

—location. [FIGURE] [Figure 10 here]

ORSON WELLES AS AN OBJECT OF DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE

Walt Disney had traveled to Brazil in August 1941, along with RKO president George Schaefer, vice president Phil Reisman, and John Hay Whitney, for the Rio de Janeiro premiere of *Fantasia,* which garnered great critical, if not popular, acclaim in that country.[73] Arriving in Brazil on the heels of Disney's departure, Orson Welles also appeared the perfect choice as cultural ambassador during a particularly pivotal moment in U.S.-Latin American relations. In addition to his newly demonstrated skills as a filmmaker and his willingness to make a documentary about Rio's Carnival celebration at the request of the Brazilian DIP, Welles brought to the task extensive experience with radio broadcasting and public speaking.[74] These attributes would permit the OCIAA to exploit his trip as a major "media event." As a critical component in the OCIAA's strategy to block Axis penetration of hemispheric airwaves, radio was already being used extensively by the Getúlio Vargas government to integrate a large and culturally diverse nation, while working to promote the formation of a broad popular base for the Estado Nôvo regime.[75] In addition to making himself and his crew available to the Brazilian press on a weekly, if not daily, basis, Welles would make at least two live broadcasts on NBC's Blue network from Brazil in April 1942: a "Pan-American Day" broadcast featuring Brazil's pro-Allied foreign minister, Oswaldo Aranha, and a salute to President Getúlio Vargas on his birthday. The broadcasts were made possible through the use of shortwave radio, which had come into use to facilitate transatlantic communications during World War II.[76]

On the home front, Welles's bridging of the New York and Los Angeles cultural scenes in his professional activities (radio, theater, filmmaking) brought the added possibility of a bicoastal linkage, so vital to the success of the OCIAA's cultural programs, to his "Good Will" tour. (With the exception of the Hollywood promotional tours, most of the U.S. artists sponsored by the OCIAA had some connection to the Museum of Modern Art in New

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York, in dance, music, or the visual arts.) [77] Moreover, Welles had already achieved considerable notoriety in Latin America as both actor and director with *Citizen Kane*. Despite the film's troubled exhibition history on the U.S. theatrical circuit, it had received strong critical reviews in the United States. And after meeting with favorable criticism in several Latin American countries in the fall of 1941, *Citizen Kane* was elected "best film of the year" in a popular poll conducted by the Rio-based film journal *Cine-Radio-Jornal*, where Welles was voted not only "best actor" (over James Stewart and Clark Gable!) but also "best director," ahead of John Ford and Sam Wood.[78] This enthusiasm resembled the acclaim that *Citizen Kane* received that same year in Mexico and, significantly, in Argentina, where it was favorably reviewed by Jorge Luis Borges in *Sur* magazine. According to film historian Claudio España, shortly after the film's release, Argentine filmmakers began mimicking the "puzzle" format of its plot out of admiration.[79] Such critical reception, echoed by popular enthusiasm, augured well for Welles's public appearances in the region.

Welles's diplomatic appointment did not appear at first to disrupt the continuity of either *The Magnificent Ambersons* or the *It's All True* projects. Robert Wise planned to fly down to Rio to work with Welles on the final edit of *The Magnificent Ambersons*,[80] and although it would necessarily undergo a shift in geocultural emphasis, *It's All True* would retain its basic division into four episodes, along with its narrative foundation in historical experience. In the medium and long run, the shift in regional focus would take Welles's film work in new technical, aesthetic, and ideological directions. In the very short run, however, the ambassadorial appointment would be the first in a series of turning points leading—in "zigs" and "zags," rather than in a straight line—to Welles's loss of complete directorial control over both *The Magnificent Ambersons* and *It's All True,* the cancellation of his contract at RKO Radio Studio, the expulsion of his company Mercury Productions from the RKO lot, and, ultimately, the total suspension of *It's All True*.

Once Welles was traveling in the capacity of "Good Will" ambassador and the scope of *It's All True* was stretched beyond the boundaries of North America to adopt a Latin American focus, the film ceased being a project of personal and professional interest for Orson Welles and Mercury Productions. It entered the political domain of foreign policy and came under the scrutiny of international public eyes and ears. Two strategic shifts as a result of the new OCIAA cosponsorship merit our particular attention: the decision to shoot at the actual locations of the pro-filmic events, in spite of the logistical challenges, and a self-conscious effort at targeting a Latin American as well as U.S. audience. Recognizing that a great deal of the misrepresentations of Latin America by Hollywood had been committed out of simple ignorance, Welles solicited the research assistance of Miriam Geiger in the United States, followed by teams of experts in situ, to steep himself and

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his creative team in the history, demographics, geography, and political and expressive cultures of Latin America.[81] The assignment of Carnival was not without its risks, since the subject could easily feed into the tropicalist view of Latin America promoted in the Good Neighbor features that Latin American audiences had come to associate with the misrepresentation of their national identity.

FROM CARNIVAL TO "CARNAVAL"

To shoot this episode, Orson Welles, RKO vice president Phil Reisman and a twenty-seven-member crew from Hollywood traveled in separate flights by Pan Am clipper and army bomber to Brazil in late January and early February 1942, arriving shortly after the close of the fateful Third Meeting of Consultation of American Foreign Ministers in Rio de Janeiro. At the conference, Brazil and twenty other Latin American republics (excluding Argentina and Chile) formally severed diplomatic relations with the Axis powers.[82] Managing affairs for RKO in Rio de Janeiro was Lynn Shores, dispatched with the crew from Hollywood, in addition to the studio's local "bureau chief," Bruno Cheli.[83]

Documentation of the Carnival festivities began on 8 February, with the deployment of a twelve-member RKO Technicolor crew, including William "Duke" Howard Green as director of cinematography, assisted by Edward Pyle as camera operator and John Cass as sound recordist. This crew was supplemented by a smaller, black-and-white crew, consisting of Harry Wild as cinematographer, Joseph Biroc as camera operator, and Willard Barth as assistant cameraman. Because this was an experimental first use of Technicolor to shoot primary action at a foreign location, a black-and-white crew was necessary during the initial stages as a backup mechanism. It moved on to second-unit work as soon as the Technicolor test reels showed good results.[84] The use of silent black-and-white equipment also provided the crew with more mobility and time flexibility to shoot secondary scenes and locations, which could prove crucial at the editing stage. Coverage of the festivities by the two crews ranged from neighborhood street celebrations in the daytime to dancing in private clubs and the official samba school procession at night (see fig. 11). Since the lighting equipment did not arrive in time for the main celebration, the Brazilian air force lent the crews a set of hefty antiaircraft searchlights for nighttime shooting—a serendipitously symbolic demonstration of Brazil's new, "pro-Allied" stance, and of the strategic importance of culturally oriented filmmaking to the war effort.

In the weeks following the festivities, Welles and crew began using the facilities of the local Cinédia Studio, as well as recognizable urban locations, such as the modest neighborhood of Quintino and the centrally located Teatro Municipal, to orchestrate a reenactment of selected Carnival festivi-

—effort. [FIGURE] [Figure 11 here]

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Figure 11. The RKO/Mercury film crew for *It's All True* in Rio de Janeiro, early 1942. Technicolor cinematographer William Howard Greene rests his arm on the black-and-white camera to the right; immediately behind him stands screenwriter Robert Meltzer; Joseph Biroc stands with arms folded behind the Technicolor camera to the left. Cinematographer Harry Wild crouches between the two cameras; immediately behind him stands still photographer Ned Scott. Courtesy Richard Wilson–Orson Welles Papers, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

ties: the Carnival balls for the elite, the *cordões* (groups of celebrants) that snaked through neighborhood streets, and the *corsos* (motorcades) that permeated downtown Rio. These scenes were to be combined with the earlier footage shot "off-the-cuff" to form a loosely woven, double-edged narrative account of Brazilian Carnival in all its social and cultural dimensions. The spectator would be presented with a panorama that extended from neighborhood samba jamming sessions, amid hanging laundry and unpaved streets, to the most picturesque tourist attractions of Brazil's capital city (the Sugar Loaf Mountain, Christ the Redeemer statue, shorefront casinos).

Of course, the hefty, three-strip Technicolor camera and even the second-unit Mitchell camera used for black-and-white coverage were not as well

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suited to the task of capturing the dynamics of large, celebrant crowds as the lightweight, synch-sound Arriflex 16mm cameras with powerful zoom lenses, used to capture analogous events decades later (such as the Monterey Pop and Woodstock music festivals). Nor was the Hollywood-trained crew accustomed to documentary shooting at a foreign location. Welles likened the live Carnival operation to "shooting a storm" and duly recognized that a necessary emphasis on breadth of coverage by a studio-trained crew in the heat of the moment would not readily yield a tangible story line for either filmmaker or viewer. The new stagings not only would provide the uninitiated viewer with access to a richly layered context against which to decipher the fleeting spectacle but also would assist the Welles team with the eventual task of building a structure out of what was initially documentary material.

The sudden attention to set design and choreography on the visual track, guided by local experts such as musician-composer Herivelto Martins, was echoed by the rerecording of popular 1942 Carnival hits ("Ai, Que Saudades da Amélia," "Lero Lero," "Nega do Cabelo Duro") and the scoring and recording of a special big-band finale, "Panamérica e Folga Nego."

These high-profile numbers would be complemented in the film by a more subtle exploration of samba music in its traditional variations, *marcha, samba canção, samba enredo, frevo,* and *partido alto.* During Carnival itself, the *marcha* (marching form) and *samba enredo* (storytelling samba) are the most frequently heard, while the *frevo* (a fast-paced dance form in 2/2 rhythm) hails not from Rio but from Carnival celebrations located in the Brazilian Northeast. The sociocultural character of each type of samba featured on the sound track was to provide the cue for shifts in location, casting, and mise-en-scène on the visual track. Since even an amateur jazz musician and culturally astute researcher and writer such as Robert Meltzer could only begin to penetrate the complexity of samba culture in such a short span of time, international collaboration involving Brazilian advisers, such as Herivelto Martins, was crucial.[85] Martins had composed the episode's title samba, "Adeus, Praça Onze" ("Farewell, Square Eleven"), with the Afro-Brazilian radio and screen actor Grande Othelo. Cast in the role of the *malandro* (street dandy), Othelo was to link the disparate social milieus of Rio with his ubiquitous presence and spontaneous performance style, much as Louis Armstrong and his New Orleans–based jazz music fused the postabolition South with the whiter, "liberal" North and the soon-to-be-occupied Europe in "The Story of Jazz" (see figure 35, page 000).

To further ensure the cultural authenticity of his portrayal of Carnival, Welles assembled a team of local journalists and cultural experts, Rui Costa, Luiz Edmundo, and Alex Viany, who collectively came to be known as the "brain trust" for the project.[86] They joined samba musicians and composers, such as master *pandeiro* (tambourine) player Geraldo Caboré, and also Martins, who, acting as assistant director to Welles, effectively designed and cho-

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reographed many of the scenes shot at Cinédia Studio.[87] Welles also dispatched Robert Meltzer to gain firsthand knowledge of the historical and social dimensions of samba as it was composed and performed in Rio de Janeiro. In the process of conducting this research, Welles immersed himself in Brazilian musical culture, as he had in Mexican bullfighting, to the point of becoming a practitioner.

Of the three shot episodes of *It's All True,* "Carnaval" was the only one to involve the recording of sound on location, and different techniques were used to achieve specific aesthetic results. For example, RKO variable-area sound equipment, shipped down for the occasion and operated by John Cass, was used during the "Praça Onze" and "Symphony of Tambourines" sequences to realistically capture the heterophonic Esperanto of various samba schools performing simultaneously on the Cinédia soundstage.[88] More sedate and "mainstream" numbers, such as the *samba cançao* (lyrical samba) and "Carinhoso" ("Darling," sung by Moraes Netto and Odete Amaral), were recorded onto disks at the Odeon studio in Rio and performed with different actors in "playback" mode.[89]

Parallel to these full-scale musical numbers, additional shooting was done to thematically and geographically "complete the picture" of the role of Carnival in Brazilian national culture and society. In early April 1942, the black-and-white second unit traveled with Meltzer to Ouro Preto, in the central Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, to document the religious counterpoint to Carnival in the Christian calendar: Good Friday, Hallelujah Saturday, and the Easter Sunday procession, marking the seasonal end point to Lent. Welles himself also used a handheld Eyemo and an occasional Technicolor crew to document life in Rio's favelas (hillside slums).[90] Finally, Technicolor scenes were shot showing the heroic *jangadeiros* arriving on their raft and in modern suits, enjoying the Carnival celebration. All shooting for "Carnaval" on location and at Cinédia Studio was completed in early June 1942.

"JANGADEIROS," OR "FOUR MEN ON A RAFT"

Welles intended to shoot "Jangadeiros" in Technicolor, and because the entire crew was to be stationed in Rio for the "Carnaval" dramatizations through May 1942, he decided to begin the shooting for "Jangadeiros" with the reenactment of the *São Pedro*'s triumphant entry into Guanabara Bay—a sequence for which entire fleets of local fishing and Brazilian navy boats had to be mobilized. After scouting locations for the remainder of the episode in Fortaleza in March, Welles had the original *São Pedro* returned to the sea (upon their original arrival, the *jangadeiros* had offered it as a gift to the president's wife, Dona Darcy Vargas), and the four *jangadeiros* were brought from Fortaleza. As soon as he had finished shooting the Rio sequences, Welles planned to return to Fortaleza to shoot an introduction to

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the art and economics of *jangada* fishing, complemented by a portrayal of women's tasks (such as the dyeing of the fishermen's clothes in cashew bark juice and lace making), followed by Jacaré's efforts at organizing the fishing colonies along Iracema beach. The expedition, or *raid,* would then be shot at distinct points along the northeast coast of Brazil, such as Recife and Salvador, to recapitulate the key moments of the *jangadeiros*' epic journey. All would culminate with the triumphant Rio arrival.

Taking the task of reenactment to heart, Welles engaged Edmar Morel, a reporter for the Diários Associados (Associated Newspapers) and a native Cearense who had originally commissioned and published the travel diary of Jacaré, to write a short historical treatment for the episode. Morel, in turn, headed the aforementioned "brain trust" to compile reports on additional geographic, ethnographic, sociological, and historical data of relevance to form a composite, comprehensive understanding of Brazil.[91] Jacaré's diary would serve as the primary source material for the voyage, while other aspects of the fishermen's lives would be related in the film in a series of dialogues, based on Morel's research, taking the form of interviews by an offscreen narrator with the *jangadeiros* themselves.

THE IDES OF MARCH, APRIL, MAY, AND JUNE 1942

A series of circumstances, both internal and external to the production of the two Brazilian episodes, produced fundamental alterations in the shape, narrative discourse, and trajectory of *It's All True.* Welles had hoped to fuse "Carnaval" and "Jangadeiros" by means of a temporal displacement, having the *jangadeiros* arrive in Rio not on the historic national date of 15 November (commemorating the formation of the independent Brazilian Republic), but in time for Carnival, so as to double the impact of both celebrations. Upon their original arrival in 1941, the *jangadeiros* had been carried atop their *jangada* in a procession to the presidential palace; now the *jangada* would also become a float in the Carnival parade, lending a jubilant touch to the solemnity of their presidential petition. The use of Technicolor stock throughout both episodes would facilitate the syntactical articulation and stylistic continuity of the two historic events. Understandably, Welles expressed his apprehension to RKO over any inconsistency caused by a change in film stock in the transition between episodes.[92] However, after the shooting of the "Jangadeiros" Guanabara arrival scenes had already begun in alternation with the "Carnaval" stagings, RKO president George Schaefer denied Welles's request for total Technicolor—putatively for budgetary reasons.[93]

It is worth noting that this Technicolor restriction, which coincided roughly with the first preview of *The Magnificent Ambersons* in Pomona, California, on 17 March 1942, did not detract in the end from the aesthetic value

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of "Jangadeiros." Rather, it was symptomatic of the nature of Welles's difficulties with RKO. In all probability, the disposition of Schaefer and other RKO executives toward Welles's requests to enhance the Brazilian episodes was influenced by the negative box office prognostications for *The Magnificent Ambersons* extracted, rightly or wrongly, from the unfavorable audience response to that preview.[94] Most of the "Jangadeiros" scenes still had to be shot, and this prohibition did introduce a source of aesthetic discontinuity between, on one hand, the Rio scenes showing the *jangada* docking at Praça Mauá and the *jangadeiros*' subsequent incorporation into the Carnival proceedings (already being shot in Technicolor) and, on the other, the coastal scenes of Fortaleza and other Northeastern points of interest during the voyage (which would now have to be shot in black-and-white). By extension, there would be a logical change in the type of technology and the size of the crew that Welles would have at his disposal to complete the shooting in Brazil: from state-of-the-art and well populated to rudimentary and spartan, further limiting the aesthetic and dramatic possibilities for "Jangadeiros."

In the meantime, "Carnaval" was suffering from delays in the shipment of footage. A major budget cut seemed imminent in early May, when RKO vice president Phil Reisman was sent back down to Brazil to inform Welles of the technical, financial, and temporal limits RKO was setting on the *It's All True* project as a whole. In the months since the Carnival celebration, RKO location manager Lynn Shores had regularly sent negative reports concerning Welles's choice of shooting locations, schedules, casting of nonprofessional Afro-cariocas (black residents of Rio), and unforeseen expenditures back to RKO headquarters in Hollywood—and, incredibly, to representatives of the Brazilian DIP.[95]

Then, on 19 May 1942, shortly after Reisman's arrival, Welles and crew were setting up for one of the takes of the *jangadeiros*' arrival when a motor launch towing the *São Pedro* near Gâvea beach went past the shooting location, took a sharp turn toward the beach at Barra da Tijuca, and broke the tow line, provoking an irreparable turn in the life of jangadeiro leader Jacaré, the structuring of the film, and, ultimately, the welfare of the Fortaleza fishing community. All four *jangadeiros* fell into the ocean when the *jangada* overturned, and all resurfaced, yet only Jerônimo, Tatá, and Manuel Preto were rescued: Jacaré tried to swim ashore but disappeared into the waves.[96] Although years later, Jacaré's children still expressed a desire to see filmic evidence of their father's disappearance, there is no surviving record of this event on film. Welles is quoted in the Brazilian press at the time as saying: "Emotion would not allow us to act. We filmed nothing, absolutely nothing. And I am satisfied that this was so."[97] (See fig. 12 and the testimonies of Jacaré's children in appendix 1.)

Contrary to what might be assumed under such circumstances, the acci-

—appendix 1).
[FIGURE]
[Figure 12 here]

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Figure 12. Manoel "Jacaré" Olimpio Meira at the Marinha da Glória, Rio de Janeiro, shortly before his death. Photograph by Jean Manzon. Courtesy Richard Wilson Papers, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

dent did not provoke immediate sanctions or a termination of the project on the part of RKO.[98] Rather, it momentarily ensured the continuity of the Brazilian shoot: by a kind of macabre logic, Phil Reisman concluded, probably after sobering discussions with Welles and his Mercury entourage, that to suddenly pull out of the project would damage RKO's international reputation.[99] Welles, for his part, was resolved to complete the episode as a "tribute to Jacaré and the jangadeiros." He took immediate steps to compensate Jacaré's family.[100]

Despite the circumstantial linkage of the accident to the film, none of

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those close to Jacaré ever blamed Orson Welles directly, and this disposition prevailed in the liberal Brazilian press at the time. One article published in Fortaleza's *O Pôvo* announcing Jacaré's sudden death even went so far as to claim that "Orson Welles too, almost perished in the disaster,"[101] a sympathetic portrayal that was without empirical foundation: Welles had been on shore preparing for the shoot at a different location and was completely unaware of the capsizing of the raft when it happened. Nevertheless, RKO's recently imposed restrictions on the project held sway—Reisman managed to cancel around a month of scheduled shooting for "Carnaval"[102]—and most of the RKO-affiliated crew returned to the United States as soon as the "Carnaval" shoot, culminating in the Cassino da Urca musical scenes, was brought to a close in early June.

Welles proceeded to complete "Jangadeiros" in Northeast Brazil with a remaining budget of around $10,000 and with 45,000 feet of black-and-white nitrate negative, a silent Mitchell camera and tripod rented from Cinédia Studio, a 35mm Eyemo camera borrowed from Abafilm photographic studios in Fortaleza (where test strips of the black-and-white rushes would be developed),[103] and a skeleton crew composed of Richard Wilson, Elizabeth Amster (Wilson), and Shifra Haran from Mercury, along with cinematographer George Fanto and assistant Orlando Santos "on loan" from Cinédia Studio. On 13 June, Welles flew to Fortaleza with his collaborators and the three surviving *jangadeiros* under circumstances far more sobering than had surrounded the *jangadeiros*' triumphant return by plane the previous December, or his first scouting mission to Ceará in March.

To complete the episode with a semblance of historical fidelity, Welles devised a strategy whereby Jacaré's brother, João Jacaré, would play Jacaré in the early scenes from the voyage, and Jerônimo's young cousin, Isidro André de Souza (better known as "Sobrinho"), would assume the title male role as a young jangadeiro who dies accidentally at sea, shortly after marrying a beautiful young woman from the community, played by Francisca Moreira da Silva. This screen death, experienced and interpreted in the collective imaginary of the fishing community as a ritual of mourning for the recently departed Jacaré, prompts Jerônimo and his colleague Manuel Frade to call for a voyage to Rio de Janeiro in protest of the *jangadeiros*' harsh working conditions. This is shown in what is now the "Meeting" scene, immediately following the "Funeral" scene in the 1993 documentary reconstruction (see figure 33, page 000).

After three intense weeks shooting in glaring equatorial sun with no dollies, cranes, or professional lighting equipment to speak of, Welles, the crew, and the core cast departed in mid-July for the cities of Recife, in the state of Pernambuco, and Salvador, in the state of Bahia, to film the remaining reenactments of the episode (see map 2).[104] Welles's execution of these reenactments was still not without its dilemmas in terms of dramatic and visual

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continuity, and it continues to pose challenges today, especially where the editing syntax of the voyage to Rio is concerned. For example, because Sobrinho had to be sent to Salvador to act with Francisca in the courtship scenes shot at the idyllic Itapoã beach, and João Jacaré did not travel with the group, Welles decided to use Sobrinho (who according to the plot was already dead and buried back in Fortaleza) in some of the *São Pedro* voyage scenes as the "fourth" jangadeiro, and his profile and figure can be discerned in some of the Recife and Olinda church scenes. However, once Sobrinho had left Salvador to accompany Francisca back to Fortaleza, George Fanto continued shooting scenic pickup shots featuring the three surviving *jangadeiros* in Bahia. The ambiguity surrounding the "fourth man" is rather joltingly resolved with the scene of the *jangadeiros*' arrival in Guanabara Bay, in which the late Jacaré appears in full view aboard the *São Pedro* in the Technicolor footage shot prior to the accident of 19 May. Welles planned to address Jacaré's sudden appearance by openly rendering him a posthumous homage in the closing narration of the film, as is indicated in the closing intertitle of the 1993 reconstruction.[105]

In the meantime, another shakeup had been taking place at RKO. Changes of RKO Studio presidents had been periodic and almost customary since the studio had gone into receivership in the early thirties, yet no restructuring had been as extensive or had as profound an effect on the studio's long-term policies as the management changes in 1942. They began with the temporary departure of studio head Joseph Breen (who, with George Schaefer, had approved Welles's Latin American project) on a Mexican vacation in March. A former Keith-Albee-Orpheum executive, Charles W. Koerner, temporarily replaced Breen and seems to have taken a very different view not only of *It's All True* but also of the studio's priorities overall. Breen's absence from the studio coincided with a number of events damaging to Orson Welles: the infamous 17 March Pomona preview of *The Magnificent Ambersons* (edited at long distance by Robert Wise because the United States had placed an embargo on civilian air travel to foreign locations),[106] and the debate over the use of Technicolor in *It's All True,* followed by the angry memos from Lynn Shores in Rio de Janeiro. These ominous signs were followed by the reshooting and cutting of scenes in *The Magnificent Ambersons* and a series of premature and inflated budget calculations for the completion of *It's All True* at the studio—and culminated in Koerner's formal appointment as RKO general manager in charge of production and Schaefer's decision to abbreviate the Rio shoot and severely restrict expenditures on "Jangadeiros" in early May. Then, at an RKO board meeting on 12 June 1942, David Sarnoff (of RCA, a major force behind the founding of the studio in 1928) and Nelson Rockefeller submitted their resignations, while Floyd Odlum, already a principal stockholder in RKO, came to secure a solid controlling interest in the company. Although not nearly as prominent in na-

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tional collective memory as airline magnate Howard Hughes, who would acquire controlling interest in RKO Pictures Corporation in 1948, Odlum was a major business force, and frequently front-page news in the forties, having made his wide-ranging fortune from investing in enterprises that were in decline or on the brink of bankruptcy (such as RKO Pictures) during the Depression.

Since mid-1941, RKO Studio had been losing money on a monthly basis, which was not unusual for studios during the early war years prior to U.S. mobilization. Still, the specter of the studio's crises during the 1930s Depression continued to loom large, and within a few days of the board reconfiguration, George Schaefer resigned as RKO president. Schaefer had originally been brought in during the 1939 reorganization of RKO under Odlum's Atlas Corporation to bolster the studio's image as a purveyor of original and distinctive films, an agenda that led him to hire Orson Welles and Mercury Productions that same year. On 26 June 1942, Schaefer was replaced by Ned Depinet as president of RKO Radio Pictures and by Odlum associate N. Peter Rathvon as president of the parent company, Radio-Keith-Orpheum Corporation.[107] Thus, ideological rifts marked these June resignations, especially where the cultural politics of the studio were concerned. The perceived necessity of "budget cutting" during the war fueled the Odlum-Koerner regime's preference for rapid-fire, low-budget productions such as the horror films produced by Val Lewton and *The Mexican Spitfire* screwball comedy serials featuring Mexican actress Lupe Vélez, in place of more studied, literary-inspired, or technically and aesthetically daring works such as Welles's first projects, which took more time and effort to produce. As a result, RKO sacrificed its profile as a trademark of "quality" entertainment that stimulated public appreciation for cinema as a legitimate art form in its own right. The company had undergone a political and economic coup d'état. As Orson Welles himself described it, "RKO did a very South American thing. They changed Presidents in the night."[108]

Despite the dramatic shift to mostly "B" production, the causality of these events in relation to the suspension of *It's All True* is more complex than meets the eye, as will be explored in chapter 6. During the June events, Welles was shooting on Mucuripe Beach. He appears to have known that Odlum and his henchmen were not necessarily disposed to do him, his company, or his current projects, *The Magnificent Ambersons* and *It's All True,* any favors. Indeed, just as Schaefer's promotion had ushered in the arrival of Mercury Productions, so his resignation became punctuated by Mercury's sudden expulsion from the studio premises. Koerner is rumored to have embossed the RKO letterhead with this telling phrase: "Showmanship Instead of Genius."[109] Nevertheless, when Welles learned in July that RKO had revoked his three-picture contract and was publishing a disclaimer for any "liabili-

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ties" linked to his actions in Brazil, he assumed that even though this obviously meant that he would not be producing any *new* projects at RKO, the incoming regime would allow him to complete *It's All True*.[110] This assumption was reinforced by a public statement, on 7 July 1942, that RKO still planned to release *It's All True*.[111] After leaving Brazil and completing his "Good Will" tour through South America, Guatemala, and Mexico, Welles had every intention of completing the film on location in Mexico, and then at the studio in Los Angeles.

As of mid-April 1942, it had been estimated that three weeks would be needed to complete the exterior scenes for "Bonito" (tentatively scheduled for 2 June through 19 June in central Mexico) and that several process shots "to cover location shots" would take one week to complete (tentatively scheduled for 27 June through 3 July at the RKO Studio).[112] With the delays related to the "Carnaval" shoot, Jacaré's fatal accident, and the rudimentary support for "Jangadeiros" in the Northeast, this additional month of production might have been completed by early September, following Welles's return. A production document also reveals that plans were afoot as late as May 1942 to shoot animation scenes in Technicolor.[113] Although the document makes no specific reference to any particular episode, animation techniques are described in the production documents and script for "The Story of Jazz," and a brief animated flight of a bird is even called for in the later script material for "Jangadeiros," albeit in black-and-white.[114]

To arrive at a final cut of the footage for the Mexican and Brazilian episodes, considerable postproduction work was needed in the realm of sound recording and mixing. The location sound track for "Carnaval" had to be synchronized with the image track, and then mixed and cut with the studio-recorded musical selections (see appendix 2). Original scores still had to be composed and recorded for "Jangadeiros," tentatively, by Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos), and for "My Friend Bonito," by Mexican composer Carlos Chávez, both of whom were featured prominently on the inter-American concert circuit.[115] Welles was even hoping to record and synch dialogue at the studio with the principals from each of the three episodes (the actors in the roles of the hacienda owner, the bull trainer, and Jesús Vásquez Plata, the boy, in "Bonito"; Grande Othelo for "Carnaval"; and Francisca, at the very least, for "Jangadeiros"). This plan is evident in the footage itself: in both "My Friend Bonito" and "Jangadeiros," several of the main actors, such as Vásquez Plata, Francisca Moreira da Silva, and Jerônimo (in "Jangadeiros"), are seen mouthing words of dialogue in medium shots and close-ups. Grande Othelo and Moreira da Silva each mentioned in separate interviews that Welles offered to have them brought to Hollywood for this purpose.[116] It would have been easy enough to engage the two well-known Mexican actors Carlos Villarías and Domingo Soler, as well as Vásquez Plata,

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who was still living in Los Angeles, for this task, especially given the close interaction between the Mexican film industry and the studio system at this time.[117] However, the logistical and "political" obstacles to transporting two Brazilian civilians who had yet to make their mark as international entertainers across the equator during wartime were formidable, not to mention the budgetary restrictions and the predominantly hostile disposition of the new studio administration.[118] Plans were abandoned for dialogue in the Brazilian episodes, and Welles began drafting a new screenplay that would substitute his own voice-over narration for most of the dialogue on the film's sound track.[119]

Finally, studio executives willing, the hypothetical fourth episode needed to be shot and edited in its entirety. Although the subject and shooting locations for this episode had yet to be firmly decided upon, there are good reasons why, with little time to lose, Welles mentioned "The Story of Jazz" as the most logical choice as late as July 1942. Duke Ellington was still under contract to Mercury at this time, and there is evidence of Louis Armstrong being summoned to the studio in June 1942.[120] However, given Mercury Productions' eviction from the Pathé studio lot and RKO's growing lack of sympathy for the project as a whole, Welles appears to have played it safe in the end by substituting the Andean episode for "The Jazz Story" in the form of a brief, narrated segue between "My Friend Bonito" and "Jangadeiros," with the film's plot culminating in Rio's "Carnaval." This change is reflected in his final 2 September 1943 screenplay submitted to RKO, which the studio never approved.

At this juncture, with Welles's expedition to Latin America complete and the editing and release of *It's All True* in limbo, a few observations regarding the history of the film and its fledgling form as a text are in order.[121] First, in contradistinction to the conventional romantic emplotment, or "event" history, whereby *It's All True* becomes "lost" due to a climactic battle between Welles and RKO, the film's production is dotted by a series of crossroads, culs-de-sac, and scenic detours, beginning with the delay of the jazz episode and Foster's assignment to the "Bonito" shoot in September 1941 owing to the parallel production of *It's All True* and *The Magnificent Ambersons*. Given the complexity and resilience of the film's four-part structure, along with the filmmakers' degree of commitment, none of these shifts was individually sufficient to provoke a complete revamping or cessation of the project. Instead, each time, the film was duly salvaged and redrawn to reflect ever more pressing wartime circumstances, and its potential social and cultural impact became strengthened as a result. Cumulatively, however, as I hope to illustrate later in this book, these turning points did signal changes in the film's thematic foci and ethico-aesthetic orientation. Although they cannot be fairly assessed in the absence of a final product, such changes in turn triggered a countermovement and, to a significant extent, misreading of Welles's mo-

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tives and the work in progress on the part of the larger production and distribution apparatus, with serious consequences for the film's material fate.

For the moment, it is worth noting a shift within the evolving text from a preoccupation with protagonists whose notoriety was achieved through aggressive, idiosyncratic, or sociopathic behavior (William Randolph Hearst, Henri Landru, Huey Long) to personages of humble origins who nonetheless were celebrated and revered by their communities (in nearly all the planned episodes of *It's All True*). This grassroots turn was accompanied, paradoxically, by a movement away from relatively self-contained local and national spheres of action and influence, toward an explicit referencing of transnational relations within the hemisphere. This latter shift brought the role of the state prominently into the picture both on-screen and offscreen, without losing sight of the film's homespun and markedly diverse protagonists, from a rural mestizo boy and his slightly anthropomorphized bull to samba players and artisanal fishermen, many of whom would appear as themselves.

More than being a whim of Welles the filmmaker or an automatic result of the OCIAA's mandate, this mixture of habituses is strongly indicative of the degree to which *It's All True* straddled two formative and manifestly distinct moments in U.S. cultural production in the twentieth century: (1) a concern with civic life and a fascination with (if not always respect for) ethnic and regional differences, inflected by the politics of Roosevelt's New Deal and communicated by way of documentary cinema and grassroots ethnographic observation as privileged modes of popular education (early to late thirties); and (2) popular and institutional support for the war effort, coupled with the recalibration of the film industry's approach to representing Latin America and a new hemispherically focused program of cultural production, marketing, and diffusion (late thirties to midforties).

More immediately, the entry of the film into the state-sponsored milieu of cultural diplomacy gave full license to the international press to track the production of *It's All True* almost continuously while it was in progress, well beyond what Welles or any of his crew had experienced within the customary reach of the Hollywood rumor mill. This has yielded evidence with which to assess its "success" during production. As well, and notwithstanding the official fanfare and sudden press-worthiness attached to *It's All True* as a "Good Neighbor" project, Welles's location approach to shooting (devoting time and resources to meticulous research and engaging many of the stories' original protagonists or their modern-day equivalents as actors) meant that expectations for *It's All True* by the communities involved, within the framework of both the civil rights movement and the Good Neighbor policy, were quite different from ordinary expectations for commercial U.S. films at that time. Salient among these, and a considerable stake within the domain of inter-American representation at large, was an "authentic" portrayal

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of cultural practices and community life whether defined along ethnic or national lines. Such a portrayal was, in effect, an explicitly stated mission of the film. Yet the meaning of the term *authentic* has tended to vary, according to both habitus and stylistic paradigm, throughout the history of audiovisual representation. Because it is so central a structuring principle of *It's All True,* a grasp of authentic representation as it was interpreted by Welles, his protagonists, and his sponsors *in actual practice* is essential to understanding the fate and the design of this cross-cultural, multidimensional project, a topic to be revisited in chapter 5.

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