Going *Around the World* with Orson Welles: A Multimedia Auteur

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Acknowledgments

I don't want to be limited to one field or another. I learned much from radio and I know that I am going to learn, perhaps, even more from pictures. What one medium teaches can often be applied in another medium.

— Orson Welles, *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1939

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Introduction

By the end of 1939, Orson Welles was just beginning to emerge as a "triple-threat" artist. Welles was simultaneously building an illustrious career for himself in radio—propelled by the infamous *War of the Worlds* broadcast produced less than a year earlier—all while reaching the climax of his critically-acclaimed "pure" theatre with the Mercury Theatre, which produced the visually innovative *Julius Caesar* among other critically acclaimed plays. Welles had also recently signed a two-picture deal with RKO to launch a part-time—as he originally proposed it to be—career directing motion pictures.[1] For the majority of his career, even at the height of his career in Hollywood, Welles concurrently directed radio, theatre, and film. During this time, he developed both technical skills and growing aesthetic mastery in each medium.

Welles was also involved in multimedia experimentation during this time, uniting the media together in several of his productions. The confluence of theatre and film in Welles's work first appeared in his production *Too Much Johnson* in the summer of 1938. *Johnson* is notable for being the first revival theatre production in America to be accompanied by film sequences, which were shown as a prologue before each act of the play.[2] During the next summer, Welles intertwined theatre, film, and even radio in *The Green Goddess.* This vaudeville production again utilized a cinematic prologue before its primary vaudeville section, however, Welles heavily used the theatre's public address system to provide narration in the style of his radio productions.

More common than intertwining radio, theatre, and film, Welles also began to adapt the same narratives across different media during this time. The examples are abundant and continue throughout his career: *Julius Caesar* was first put onstage by the

Mercury Theatre and then performed on radio by the Mercury Theatre of the Air; *The Green Goddess* was performed on the radio before it became a hybrid of vaudeville, radio, and film; *The Magnificent Ambersons* was a radio play in 1939 before it appeared on the screen three years later; *Around the World in 80 Days* was a radio play three times before Welles made it a Broadway musical/film hybrid. While the narratives vary slightly, Welles did not hesitate to use the same narratives in more than one medium.

The processes of intertwining media together and adapting narratives between them was not a practice limited to a certain period of Welles's life. In fact, while not explicitly stated very often, *"What one medium teaches can often be applied in another medium"*[3] became Welles's cornerstone. Welles was not only simultaneously involved in radio, film, and theatre throughout his career, but he also infused and intertwined the teachings of all three media in many of his productions. This is true even in productions in which the disciplines of more than one medium are not readily apparent. For example, many of the low camera angles in *Citizen Kane* position the spectators as the audience of the theatre looking up at the stage, an aesthetic that is continued by other high angle shots looking down from a theatrical box. For this reason, Orson Welles's oeuvre cannot be viewed through the single lens of his work as a film director, but must be considered as the creation of a multimedia auteur.

Describing and analyzing Welles as a filmmaker who borrowed from other media is not completely new. In his essay "Deep-Focus Sound: *Citizen Kane* and the Radio Aesthetic,"[4] Rick Altman describes *Citizen Kane*—arguably the greatest **film** ever made and the film that has defined Welles as a filmmaker for generations—as having as much of a radio aesthetic as a film aesthetic. Altman recognizes that with *Citizen Kane*, Welles

converges radio aesthetics into the medium of cinema. Altman's article is just the beginning to understanding the multimedia chemistry of Welles's oeuvre and is a viewpoint that yields important insights. The simple truth is that *Citizen Kane* is not an isolated occurrence and the confluence of film, theatre, and radio is fundamental to the work of Orson Welles. This multimedia approach determined the stories he told and the style in which he used to present them both visually and aurally.

No example makes the magnitude and scope of Welles's adeptness as a multimedia artist as comprehensible as his Broadway musical *Around the World*. Produced in the summer of 1946, *Around the World* was based loosely on Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in 80 Days* (although *Around the World* is the full title of Welles's production). Like Verne's novel, the musical follows the aristocratic Englishman Phileas Fogg and his sidekick Passepartout (Pat) as they travel around the world, visiting locations like Suez, India, Hong Kong, and even San Francisco, to win a wager—all while being pursued by Inspector Fix and saving the Hindu princess Mrs. Aouda from being burned alive in a Suttee (a Hindu ritual in which a widow is burned alive with the corpse of her late husband). Welles's version, however, adds several new characters and ancillary narratives, including making Inspector Fix, "Dick Fix," a private eye who wears a new local disguise in every international location he visits. Welles also has Dick Fix frame Fogg for robbing a bank that he himself robbed through an accomplice and adds the Irish nursemaid Molly as a love interest for Pat. Welles also turns Verne's somewhat critical view on the 1873 British Empire into an explicitly anti-imperialist satire.

Around the World was not merely a musical comedy, but is best described using the analogy of a circus or carnival due to its artistically dense and overarching focus on the spectacular and the exotic. For instance, Around the World not only had silent movies, huge dance numbers, and a lantern slide travelogue lecture, but an entire Japanese circus act and even a large mechanical eagle that picked up the lead actor. Welles himself eloquently described why Around the World qualified for such a description:

> The show's big and I'm afraid itsmore [sic] than a little crazy. In addition to the magic, there's a real honest to gosh circus, a train wreck on stage. The famous slide for life over the heads of the audience, Movies [sic], lots and lots of girls and three hundred costumes and 39 scenes.[5]

While Welles's description of his production sounds both invigorating and inviting, Around the World has been ignored, glossed over, or forgotten by Welles scholarship. One possible reason for this is the difficulty of studying theatrical performances that cannot be seen in their original form and so require extensive archival research in order to reconstruct—or reimagine—even a single scene. But, more often, Around the World has been dismissed as either a financial disaster or simply as a segue to discuss Welles's subsequent film The Lady from Shanghai. I, however, argue that Around the World reveals substantial information on how Welles used and viewed media in his work. Using the Orson Welles collections at the University of Michigan Special Collections Library and the Lilly Library at Indiana University, this thesis analyzes Around the World in ways never before attempted.

Archival material reveals that *Around the World* was a production involving a constant play with magic and the spectacle of stagecraft, not only in its narrative and theatrical content (e.g. the circus), but also in its uses of multimedia. Welles shot six original film sequences for *Around the World* and integrated the films into the production in inventive ways in order to create more spectacular and "magical" effects. In the most "magical" display of stagecraft and media confluence, Welles attempted to blend film sequences and theatre together. He did this both by having the actors on stage interact with characters and images in the projected films and by seamlessly staging the transitions between film sequences and live theatre. To do this, Welles attempted to transpose the final frame of a film sequence directly onto the stage using a theatre scrim and careful staging. Because of *Around the World's* complex blending of media, it is better described as a multimedia production than a stage musical, which is how it has been previously classified.

Around the World is the lynchpin of this thesis because it catalyzes analysis of other multimedia relationships in Welles's oeuvre. It allows for one of clearest examples of Welles's transmedia adaptation process—a process that uses narratives and aesthetics from multiple media to create a single multimedia entity. Through close scrutiny and analysis of surviving *Around the World* materials, it is clear that the musical extravaganza was, surprisingly, a crucial influence on Welles's subsequent film, the archetypical film noir *The Lady from Shanghai*. Welles's transmedia adaptation process effected *The Lady from Shanghai* in several ways, but perhaps most evidently in its transformation from a New York-based urban thriller, as it was originally intended to be, to the transnational adventure it became after *Around the World*'s Broadway collapse.

This thesis is organized around a full analysis of *Around the World* because it exhibits the full range of Welles's tendencies and techniques as a multimedia auteur. However, because of the lack of previous scholarship and the impossibility of watching the play, my analysis is accompanied by the first detailed description of the production and its various versions, which I have reconstructed using the photos, scripts, critical reviews, production notes, shot lists, financial information and other assorted archival material. This work aims to give Welles's unjustly little-known work greater visibility while at the same time expanding Welles scholarship to a multimedia approach. Welles should be remembered and studied as a director of multimedia.

Multimedia Magic

Welles himself probably would not have wanted the multimedia elements of *Around the World* to be considered apart from the rest of the production. He never separated the film sequences from the larger context of the rest of his production. Instead, they were yet another spectacle, illusion, and magical element in *Around the World*, accompanying the gigantic onstage treadmill, the "Chinese" magic show, the onstage miniature train wreck, and many other spectacles. The fact still remains that his combination of theatre with film in *Around the World* is significant in that Welles fuses the media together in ways that they build and become dependent upon each other to function. In 1946, multimedia productions were extremely rare, and nearly unheard of in the United States. There were a few precedents for multimedia productions involving film and theatre that begin nearly as early as the origins of cinema itself. Georges Méliès was one of the first to integrate film with theatre and, more importantly, popularized

cinema's ability to bring "art to life." In the 1920s and 1930s, magicians like Horace

Goldin and avant-garde theatre directors continued to exploit the "art to life" theme by

using both cinema and theatre together to create magical and spectacular effects.[6]

German theatre director Erwin Piscator's multimedia techniques, specifically, form the

root of Welles's own multimedia techniques used in the six film sequences in *Around the*

World. In the following sections, I begin by defining the terms "multimedia" and

"intermedia" and their uses in this thesis, then I provide a relevant and brief history of

multimedia theatre. Afterward, I conduct the first ever analysis of the film integration in

Around the World; explaining the sequences, their construction, narrative, innovations

and their resulting effects on the spectators. I conclude by demonstrating how specific

elements from *Around the World* were transformed and incorporated in *The Lady from*

Shanghai.

Multimedia vs. Intermedia

In this thesis, I make a distinction between *multimedia* and *intermedia*.

"Multimedia" is an overarching and overly broad concept, especially in a contemporary

context, used to refer to any combination of distinct methods of communication,

including radio, film, television, theatre, and other types of live performance. The term is

also largely associated with computers, as they are commonly utilized to simultaneously

employ different methods of communication (e.g. video, audio, images, text). While the

term multimedia is quite young, having been coined in the 1960s,[7] it nevertheless still has

historical variance. It has been argued that actual occurrences of "multimedia" long

predate the use of this term. For instance, Jules Verne's original stage production of *Le*

tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours (*Around the World in 80 Days*) in 1874 was a *féerie*

(a French theatrical genre that emphasized grand mechanical and scenic effects, not

unlike Welles's later production) which played nonconsecutively at the Théâtre du

Châtelet for more than fifty years. It has been called multimedia *avant la lettre* because it

utilized a huge scope of musicians, designers, and performers.[8] While I would argue this

production is not multimedia because it only used live performance, it is a good example

of the commonly broad usage of "multimedia."

On one hand, theatre historian Greg Giesekam describes a multimedia theatrical

work as having two key features: 1) a theatrical performance that utilizes images and/or

film; 2) the use of these different media is traditional and separate (not blurred, fused, or

blended). Thus, he defines the use of multimedia as a means of varying the mode of the

performance, usually by switching back and forth between the media (e.g. a scene on the

stage, followed by a scene on film). On the other hand, an intermedia production,

according to Giesekam, uses two or more media in ways that substantially modify how

the other(s) are viewed, erasing clear-cut divisions between the media and extending their

respective boundaries. There are many possible ways this can be done. One example of

an intermedia relationship is when the illusion is created that an actor moves from out of

a film projected on a screen onstage and onto the stage itself. The result is a magical

continuity between the real time and space of the theatre and the pre-recorded time and

space of the film. This is just one example, however. Theatrical intermediality comes in

many forms and is primarily a modern phenomenon beginning in the 1960s. In this thesis,

I use the term "intermedia" in the same way as Giesekam, but I use "multimedia" as a

more inclusive term to describe any production that uses multiple media within the same

production. In other words, an intermedia production is also a multimedia production, but a multimedia production is not necessarily an intermedia production. This allows for a less rigid classification process, as what constitutes "blurring the lines" between media can be rather subjective.[9]

A Brief History of Multimedia Theatre

In order to fully understand Welles's multimedia theatre, it is first useful to briefly discuss the history of film's integration into the theatre. Just as with the use of cinematic special effects, the technique of integrating film into theatre has suffered from severe historical amnesia, as both are commonly considered modern phenomena that have only become common in the last twenty-five years. In actuality, though, both special effects and the integration of film into the theatre were pioneered by the great Georges Méliès less than a decade after the origin of cinema.[10] Méliès—both a magic theatre owner and a filmmaker—was commissioned in 1904 to make an original film for a revue at the Folies Bergère, a Parisian music hall. The film, which was expanded and later released for cinematic distribution under the title *Le Raid Paris-Monte Carlo en deux heures,* featured the actual cast of the revue as a car destructively makes its way from Paris to Monte Carlo. While the production featured no formal intermedia experimentation—as if the sheer act of integration was not experimental enough—it is one of the first instances that film played during a live performance act, which became a fairly common practice in vaudeville and other types of variety theater around the world. Méliès's other "theatre-film," however, may have constituted an instance of intermediality. In 1905, Méliès produced a film for *Les pilules du diable*, a *féerie* that played at the same theatre as

Verne's *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* (the Théâtre du Châtelet). Because this was not a revue, the film was narratively interwoven into the rest of the stage play and did not occur at the very end of the performance. In turn, there would have to have been some sort of transition from film to theatre (e.g. a blackout and scene change). Giesekam, however, believes that it is likely the transition was achieved when a character in the film walked directly onto the stage after the film clip ended, providing an "uncanny defile of spatial and temporal logic." While he provides no substantiation of this claim, only saying that Méliès's background in magic would make this transition an impassable moment of magic,[11] we do know this trick was used later by Méliès at the 1929 Gala Méliès.[12]

Méliès' greatest impact on multimedia theatre was his fascination with presenting the transformation from "art to life." In her essay "Confounding! Sense Deception and 'Film to Life' Effects," theatre and film scholar Gwendolyn Waltz describes "art to life" as when: "the aesthetic framework of a piece of art is destroyed when the inanimate, artistic representation transforms into an animate, living thing."[13] Méliès played with this theme when he used the "magical" effects of the substitution splice to show characters and objects in his films "emerging to life" from books, paintings, and other artworks. Because Méliès used this theme in a number of his films, Waltz says that Méliès "and his many imitators further popularized the 'art to life' theme."[14] When the "art to life" theme is used with film and theatre, Waltz differentiates it as the "film to life" effect. This is because the transition from film to theatre or vice versa creates a greater aesthetic tension than actors "emerging" from books or paintings as film characters also moved onscreen and are thus more lifelike.[15]

In the two decades after Méliès's popularized "art to life," magicians and theatre directors created intermedia productions using the "film to life" effect. In London in 1924, magician Horace Goldin performed a trick onstage using film, which was appropriately called the "Film to Life" illusion. In the illusion, a movie screen downstage showed a film of a man threatening a woman running down a street. Goldin watched the threatening man from onstage and then fired his gun at the screen before he transposed himself into the film by walking behind the screen. A scuffle ensued between Goldin and the man onscreen. Goldin then threw the thug so hard that he flew out of the screen onto the physical stage. However, while Goldin still appeared on the film, the thug onstage removed his makeup and revealed himself to be a second Goldin. The film then cut to a shot of the woman who was previously chased. Seeing the two Goldins, she fainted onscreen. A bit later in the illusion, Goldin asked the woman to step out of the film and onto the stage, but she refused. Goldin then held out his hand toward the screen and, masked by a "quick intensification of the stage lighting," pulled the woman out of the screen and physically onto the stage without destroying the screen or using a trap door.[16]

Goldin's illusion, which used a slack loop at the bottom of the screen to hide the woman before distracting the audience with a lighting effect and pulling her onto the stage, utilized the aesthetic tension created by his "film to life" intermedia techniques as its own magic trick. Goldin's illusion created what Waltz calls "aesthetic relativity" as the experience of time, space, and dimensionality is much different than what is experienced in reality. At one level, the world onstage and the world onscreen have the same time and space, as the characters can interact and move between the two places without impediment. At the same time, however, there is obviously more than one time

and space. The location depicted on the film is logically not spatially connected to the physical stage nor is it temporally connected, as the film was pre-recorded sometime before the performance. In addition, Goldin played with the time and space even more when he illogically "existed" in two places and in two media at once. In the end, Goldin's illusion leaves the audience "in a position roughly analogous to Einstein's theoretical observer of relative phenomena."[17] With no logical foundation in reality to understand the exact time and space of the illusion, the audience is left to ponder the magic of mixing film and theatre in fascination and awe.

Other intermedia productions surfaced during this time, most commonly in Germany. These productions, according to Friedrich Kranich's encyclopedic book *Bühnentechnik Der Gegenwart*[18] (*Contemporary Theatre Technology),* began as early as 1911 and were common in the 1920s. These productions ranged widely in stylistic and technical sophistication. For instance, in one production, credit titles were projected onto a screen as the performers entered the stage. In a further effort to create a "live film," the production even projected a constant flickering light over the stage to emulate the look of projecting frames of an old film. Kranich's book is quite dense with examples, but what is important to note is that by the 1920s, multimedia productions, especially the intermedia productions, were already heavily experimental and technically advanced.

The explicitly political work of German theatre director Erwin Piscator epitomizes the intermedia production. Piscator's work was well known in Europe during the early 1920s and 1930s both because of its quantity and because he discussed both his work and his theory in *The Political Theatre: A History 1914-1929,* which was published in German in 1929 and later translated into English in 1978. As described in *The Political*

Theatre, Piscator strove to produce massive spectacular productions in a style called epic

theatre. These works were not spectacular for the sake of spectacle, however, but instead

always dealt with a contemporary or historical political subject and always explicitly

reflected Marxist ideology on world politics, economics, and class struggle. Commonly,

Piscator would simultaneously show archival documentary footage of important national

events during an onstage performance to show the socio-political contexts that shaped the

turmoil he presented on the stage. This was an important part of Piscator's effort to

propel "the education of the audience even against its will."[19] Piscator's productions were

a spectacle of theatrical technology and stagecraft. He consistently used projections,

gigantic treadmills across the stage, and multi-tiered sets to create a constant motion that

he believed reflected the turmoil of society. Film in particular, Piscator believed, had both

a political and an artistic function:

> The drastic effect of using film clips showed beyond any theoretical
>
> consideration that they were not only right for presenting political and
>
> social mechanisms, that is, from the point of view of content, but also in a
>
> higher sense, right from the formal point of view…The momentary
>
> surprise when we changed from live scenes to film was very effective. But
>
> the dramatic tension that live scene and film clip derived from one another
>
> was even stronger. They interacted and built up each other's power, and at
>
> intervals the action attained a *furioso* that I have seldom experienced in
>
> theater... it not only made the political nature of the procedure clear, but
>
> also produced a shattering human effect, became art, in fact. What

emerged was that the most effective political propaganda lay along the same lines as the highest artistic form.[20]

Piscator's belief that theatre became the highest art form when combined with film was not just theoretical. Piscator applied this concept in endless ways that span both multimedia and intermedia approaches. Piscator used film to further the narrative with a simple diegetic piece of information that was not presented onstage or to cover up a scene change, which produced a strictly multimedia use of the medium (in other words, film was only used to vary the mode of performance and was not intertwined with stage components in an intermedia fashion). Many of his other uses of film were highly technical and advanced intermedia productions. In one extraordinary example, Piscator used a scrim (a theatrical screen that becomes transparent when lights only illuminate an area behind it) for a movie screen and projected an approaching ship onto the scrim. Once the ship in the film was about to overtake the screen (as if ship was about to run over the camera), the film sequence ended and the scrim opened up to allow an identical ship to pass through the scrim and onto the stage. In this innovative intermedia example, Piscator used the "film to life" effect to come as close as possible to fusing the film and the theatre together, as the ship literally extends out of the screen onto the stage in a manner similar to Goldin's "Film to Life" illusion. Piscator's use of film and theatre was considered quite radical in Germany at the time, but unfortunately, Piscator ended his experimentation in 1931 when Marxist theatre was thwarted by press and eventually by the Nazi purges. Piscator was forced to emigrate soon afterward and eventually made his way to the United States where he taught a theatre workshop at The New School in New York City and never again produced multimedia or intermedia theatre.[21] Multimedia

theatre, as a whole, practically disappeared around the world in the early 1930s until reappearing during the 1960s.

Welles and the Confluence of Film and Theatre

With the recent discovery and restoration of the three film sequences from *Too Much Johnson*—Orson Welles's first serious attempt at filmmaking produced in 1938 (but reedited by Welles in the 1960s), where each film sequence was intended to be used as a prologue before each act of the play[22]—an understandably common question has arisen: why did Welles choose to integrate film into theatre? This question is especially compelling because Welles's integration of film into his theatre signaled the end of his critically acclaimed "pure theatre" that had cemented his celebrity status on Broadway. "Pure theatre" was the term contemporary critics used to describe Welles's early theatre work with the Mercury Theatre (specifically *Julius Caesar*). This theatre was minimalist in many ways, with little use of technology. Instead, it used the bare essentials of the theatre (costumes, lighting, blocking, sets) to create visually striking and noteworthy productions. One possible reason he used film in his theatre could be that Welles had a growing fascination with vaudeville—where showing film after or as part of live performances was not uncommon—culminating with his production of *The Green Goddess*, which was a twenty-three minute vaudeville production that included a film and was produced a year after *Too Much Johnson* in 1939. Other possible answers are that Welles had been fascinated with the medium since childhood or was simply ahead of his time. What is certain is that it was not the legitimate theatre in America that influenced Welles's choice, since multimedia productions in the United States were a rarity. While

Around the World, as Welles was able to use the onstage calendar to keep track of the allotted eighty days of travel time. Welles's integration of film into theatre does not share Piscator's purpose for political propaganda. However, Welles shared Piscator's belief that film had extraordinary formal and artistic potency when integrated in the theatre. As we shall see, the upcoming analysis of *Around the World*'s film sequences renders countless parallels between Piscator's advanced multimedia and intermedia productions.

It is likely that Welles had *New Theatres for Old* in mind while making *Around the World*, as Welles had an obvious reason for revisiting Gorelik's book at this time. In January 1946, less than a month after it was announced that *Around the World* would play on Broadway during the upcoming summer, Welles signed on to direct a play called *Galileo* written by Berthold Brecht and starring the formidable stage actor Charles Laughton.[26] Along with Piscator, Brecht is another major figure described in Gorelik's book that followed the tradition of didactic epic theatre productions (though he did not use films and the scale of his productions was not quite the size of Piscator's). Given Welles's involvement in *Galileo,* two possibilities emerge on why Welles used Piscator's epic theatre style in *Around the World*. It is possible Welles revisited *New Theatres for Old* in order to study Brecht's work and was inspired by the sections on Piscator, or *Around the World* was a test subject for the epic theatre he was to implant in *Galileo*. No matter the exact reason, *Galileo* gave Welles another reason to revisit the work of Piscator in *New Theatres for Old* before making *Around the World*.

A Production History of *Around the World*

Like *Citizen Kane*, *Around the World* supplied Welles with one of only a few opportunities in the 1940s to direct a production without excessive oversight or a minimal budget. Of course, when a production is produced independently, many problems fall to the producer. More than once these burdens fell on Welles, who took on many titles, including producer, director, writer, financier, magician, chief understudy, and (eventually) lead actor. He would need to perform all of them to keep the circus alive.

At the very beginning, Welles had to fight to keep from being controlled as a director. Talks of producing *Around the World* began in November 1945, but did not pick up steam until January so that Welles could finish editing *The Stranger*.[27] Welles then hired Mike Todd to produce *Around the World*. At the time, Todd, who would later adapt *Around the World in 80 Days* in 1956 and win the Academy Award for Best Picture, was a much desired Broadway producer and was working on several plays simultaneously.[28] Shortly afterward though, Todd left the production team because he would not waive artistic supervision, which Welles would not allow him to have over his directing.[29] Welles then attempted to get other producers, but ultimately decided to produce *Around the World* with former Mercury Theater member Richard Wilson under the newly reinstated Mercury Productions banner, which had not been used since *The Magnificent Ambersons* in 1942. Welles (writer, director, and co-producer) split the ownership and profits with renowned composer and songwriter Cole Porter, who wrote the music and lyrics. With headlining names like Porter and Welles, supported by the business savvy of Wilson, the show was well underway and Welles was free to make it as he wished.

However, due to *Around the World*'s budget of more than a quarter-million dollars, funding was even harder to accumulate than normal.[30] Because of Welles's passion for the project, however, he tactically used film financing to fund the Broadway production. Welles negotiated and received $125,000 for a three-picture deal with renowned British producer Sir Alexander Korda's London Film Production Company. One of these was an adaptation of *Around the World in 80 Days* as Korda owned the screen rights at this time.[31] In addition, Welles collected the $25,000 needed to receive costumes from New York City by pitching a film adaption of Sherwood King's novel *If I Die before I Wake*, which would eventually become *The Lady from Shanghai*, to Columbia Pictures' head executive, Harry Cohn, who accepted the deal.[32] With the money he had already received from Korda, $28,000 from his previous film *The Stanger*, and the money from Columbia, Welles raised nearly $180,000 dollars of the funding from film-related sources.[33] The rest of the funds were raised through miscellaneous investors, including several loans from friends (Welles even borrowed $4,000 dollars from his chauffeur).[34] In the end, Welles had enough to produce the project in the manner he wanted.[35]

After hiring the principal actors,[36] the much delayed rehearsals began in late March in a confined location called the Central Opera House, alongside prizefights, on New York's East side.[37] The entire cast and crew had a lot of work to do in order to perfect the gargantuan production, which required fifty-five stagehands to manage nine box cars filled with settings, costumes, actors, and even livestock,[38] in time for the April 26th opening at the Boston Opera House. After Boston, Welles and the crew were to do tryouts in New Haven, Connecticut and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania before opening on

Broadway. The production's scale proved too great, however, and *Around the World*
opened one day behind schedule on April 27, 1946 due to problems with costumes and
coordinating the circus number.[39]

Around the World* was never able to play regularly during its tryout run. Each
place it opened, the local theatre personnel had difficulty with the demanding technical
specifications. By the time the crew mastered these directions, *Around the World* was
ready to move on to the next city.[40] This was especially detrimental to the production's
reputation since most critics attended only the opening night performances, which were
typically the roughest.

Continuous issues with the cast also caused problems. Because Welles spent the
bulk of the budget on spectacle, there were no understudies for any of the principal roles.
So when, an hour before *Around the World's* second show in Boston, a local physician
declared that Arthur Margetson, the lead actor who played Phileas Fogg, could not
perform due to a reoccurring heart ailment, Welles decided to play the part instead of
letting the show be canceled for the second time in three performances. As the *Boston
Post* reported, "In the short time remaining before curtain call, he [Welles] quickly ran
through the lines, learned the workings of the songs, and raced to the theatre to be made
up."[41] While this account may be exaggerated, Welles's surprise performance
overshadowed the play itself and was hailed as "another of his [Welles's] theatrical stunts
possibly unparalled in stage history."[42] Even though Margetson returned before the next
performance, Welles would be back in the main cast shortly. Four days later, on May 4th,
with the show still in Boston, Larry Laurence (Pat) became ill and Welles took his place.

Welles's stepping in for Margetson and Laurence was merely a temporary distraction, but the entire play was about to change. Between New Haven and Philadelphia, Welles proposed major changes to the script that primarily effected the character of Inspector Fix played by Alan Reed. Reed did not approve of the changes, however, and left the cast. With no other choice, Welles himself temporarily took over the role. Throughout the remainder of the production, it was reported that Welles was in constant search of a new actor for the role, but he never found a replacement.

With all the issues, bad reviews, and inconsistent showings, *Around the World* was primed for failure on Broadway. Despite some increased attendance as it gained momentum, the musical's unsustainable weekly production expenses forced an early cancellation after only 89 total performances including tryout shows, with the last performance occurring on August 3rd of that same year.[43] It is undeniable that *Around the World* was a financial disaster, a fact that the few biographies which cover the production go into great detail to chronicle.[44] Making *Around the World* a story only of failure, faults, and mishaps, however, has led to the dismissal of the production and any of its merits. What really needs to be remembered is that Welles was willing to take on a great many roles and a great deal of debt—not to mention a great deal of stress—to stage this production because he had a great deal of passion for it. Ultimately *Around the World* was a commercial failure and was taken off Broadway before expected, but that does not discredit the innovation and artistry that make the production important in the oeuvre of Orson Welles.

The Two Versions

There are both two surviving versions of the script and approximately two versions of the play that were performed onstage (it is possible there were other versions of the production that deviated slightly from the surviving archival material). One version of the play was performed during *Around the World's* tryout run in Boston and New Haven and the second, or final, version played in Philadelphia and then on Broadway. While the two surviving scripts are both undated, cross-referencing them with theatrical programs and critical reviews reveals that the shorter sixty-three-page script corresponds exactly to the later Philadelphia and Broadway version, which makes it a record of the final version of the play. The longer one hundred eighty-eight-page script, though, only corresponds with the early Boston and New Haven version about eighty percent of the time. This means the longer script is actually just an early draft script before the play was ever performed.[45] In other words, the exact version of the script that played in Boston and New Haven is missing and portions of this earlier script were never performed on the stage. While this incongruence makes constructing the early version of the production from this draft script problematic at times, generally it is still an effective tool to understand the early version of the play.[46] Moreover, this draft script also supplies information on some of Welles's early ideas and plans for *Around the World* that do no appear in either the early Boston and New Haven version or the final Philadelphia and Broadway version (see Appendix 1.1-1.4).

Around the World **Film Sequences**

There is one intrinsic problem with analyzing *Around the World*'s film sequences. Like many films, they have completely disappeared without a trace. One frame and a single on-set production photo are the only visual evidence known to survive. This makes analysis of the cinematography, mise-en-scène, and editing conjectural, if not impossible. However, because of the survival of the two versions of the script, the shot list, and critical reviews, it is possible to reconstruct some of Welles's multimedia and intermedia techniques. This evidence demonstrates both what Welles proposed to do in the early draft of the script and what he actually did onstage with film in the *Around the World*. Both what Welles proposed for the function of the films in the early draft script, and what Welles actually shot and how he used the films in the actual production are both worth exploring independently in detail, as they are quite different. In the early draft, Welles proposed to make heavy use of Piscator's technique of using a scrim for a screen, but wanted to take the technique one step further. Instead of physically transposing a single object from the film onto the stage, Welles wanted to transpose entire scenes from the film directly onto the stage. At other times, however, Welles wanted visceral sequences shot entirely from the point of view of an onrushing train. What Welles actually shot and staged does not involve a scrim screen, but there is constant interaction between the film and the stage, where what happens on the stage appears to effect what happens in the film, and vice versa. Ultimately, the united stage and screen create "aesthetic relativity" in a similar way to Goldin's illusion. Despite employing different techniques, both use multimedia and intermedia techniques to create striking moments of spectacle that rival the production's Oka-Saka circus and its "Chinese" magic act. In essence, uniting film

and theatre in *Around the World* was an attempt to awe and fascinate the audience as if it was a magic act of its own.

The Similarities

Both versions (what Welles proposed to do with the films in the early draft and what Welles was actually able to shoot and put onto the stage) reference the aesthetic and style of classic silent comedies. Welles always planned to make six silent black and white film sequences for *Around the World,* which resembled "old-time movies that flicker and jump."[47] Consistent with this silent-movie aesthetic, the films used at least one iris, which began the film (and the play) and used intertitles as opening title credits, for short bits of dialogue, and to provide the names of some locations. Intertitles were also used to introduce characters and for characterization. When Mr. Fogg first appears on film, there is an intertitle that reads, "PHILEAS FOGG, A BACHLOR [*sic*] OF MEANS AND EXACT HABITS."[48] The silent films were accompanied by a live orchestra that played music and provided selected sound effects, including the sound of gas escaping into a room. Welles was very fond of silent films in general. In 1939, he told the *Los Angeles Times*, "Radio, for instance, in my opinion, does not bear the same relation to television that the silent films did to the talking pictures. It would be well, incidentally, if we had some silent films from time to time. That form was great in itself."[49] His affection for (and familiarity with) silent films extended to the area of set design. For one scene, Welles specifically noted that one set shown in an *Around the World* film was "a typical Vitagraph movie set of a London street."[50]

The films are in a comedic style that mimics the silent films of Mack Sennett and Charlie Chaplin. Like the *Too Much Johnson* films—which Welles publicized on flyers as being in the Mack Sennett tradition—*Around the World* utilizes Sennett's slapstick conventions.[51] These include Keystone Cop chase scenes performed by English bobbies and Sennett's chaotic physical comedy. Welles also briefly mentions Chaplin, noting that several characters should waddle jerkily "ala Essanay," the studio that produced many of Chaplin's short films, including *The Tramp*.[52] The style of Sennett and Chaplin matched the antique feel which Welles wanted to give to *Around the World*.

The Draft Version: Scrims and a Phantom Ride

The early draft of *Around the World* consisted of six film sequences that were to be presented in six separate and non-consecutive scenes during the production and can be divided into three groups (see Appendix 1.3). The first group includes intermedia scenes that utilize and play with Piscator's scrim screen to both transpose the last frame of the film directly onto the stage and also have a live actor on the stage become an actual part of the film itself. The second "group" consists of a single film that presents a visceral first-person cinematic experience. Lastly, the third group of film sequences, "A Storm at Sea" and "Fogg's Flat," consists of scenes that were completely unchanged between the draft version and the actual version of *Around the World*. In turn, this last group will be discussed in the following section along with the other films Welles actually put onstage.

Two of the films in the first group, "The Levity and Son's Bank" and "Hyde Park," transpose an entire frame of the film onto the stage, so that the stage is not only a continuation of the film but is also seen through the scrim screen. The early draft of

Around the World irises-in on a film depicting the exterior and then the interior of Mr. Fogg's local London bank where, much to the dismay of the banker, he withdraws his entire fortune fearing that it will be stolen by a serial bank robber who has been terrorizing London banks for some time. Toward the end of scene, the ominous silhouette of the "horse pistol-wielding" bank robber appears on the windows of the bank. While the bank tellers and the customers cower in fear, the unsuspecting Fogg, shown in a close-up shot, continues counting his money. As soon as the film cuts to a full shot of the bank, the silhouette kicks through the glass window. Simultaneously, the sound of a real glass window being smashed is heard and the light behind the scrim comes up (just as the film ends), making the scrim transparent. Through the transparent screen, we see the very same set shown in the film, with the actors in the exact same positions—including the robber who steps though the real glass window he has just smashed. A moment later, the scrim screen rises and the scene continues onstage (see Appendix 1.3).

The next film sequence, "Hyde Park," echoes this same scrim technique. The film opens to bobbies under the command of Inspector Fix searching a wooded Hyde Park in London for the bank robber. The beautiful nursemaid Molly innocently pushes a baby carriage through the park, attracting the attention of Pat, who has been sleeping on the grass. In a close-up shot, Pat watches Molly with eager eyes and then the film cuts to a full shot of Pat pursuing Molly through the park. Again, the lights come up behind the scrim, the film ends, and the scrim becomes transparent to reveal Pat and Molly walking in the same positions and on the same set as shown on the film. After a few moments, the scrim rises and the scene continues.

While using Piscator's basic technique, these two "film to life" examples show that Welles wanted to fuse film and theatre on a larger scale than Piscator. Piscator's use of the scrim screen was to create the effect of transposing a single object from a film (e.g. the ship) onto the stage to create a continuous sense of space and time between spaces that are not connected. Welles's film and theatre similarly created an identical space and time, but the continuity involved more than a single object from the film. Because Welles cuts to a wider shot before the transition, it can be inferred that the scrim screen would have had to cover much of the height and width of the proscenium. When the scrim became transparent, the last frame of the film would have needed to match up exactly with the position of the actors and the set itself, which creates the transposition effect. Moreover, until the scrim screen is pulled offstage, the action onstage still takes places within the confines of the screen as the audience would have only been able to see the action onstage through the screen. Not only does it appear that the film continues seamlessly onto the stage, but it is as if the entire film has physically come "alive" with the actors and set now physically present onstage. This effect resembles the dissolve in *Citizen Kane* where the still photograph of the *Chronicle* newspaper staff, seen in a window, "comes to life" in the shot that follows. In *Around the World*, however, film is the medium disconnected from the reality, which subsequently comes to life on the stage.

The other intermedia example in the early draft of *Around the World* goes even further to incorporate a physical actor into a film screening. This scene (unnamed in surviving documents—I call it "Fogg's Market Price") opens with the intertitle, "IN LONDON THE BETTING ON PHILEAS FOGG HAS REACHED A FEVERISH PITCH," and several shots of members of Fogg's whist club and a variety of Londoners

betting and negotiating with bookies on the odds that Fogg will make it around the world within eighty days. From the right side of the stage, a newsboy enters shouting the headline of the *London Times*, "FOGG A BANK ROBBER." This news causes the "market price" on Fogg shown in the film to spiral downward. Two whist club members then join the newsboy onstage and one buys a paper. After reading the article, the two leave, declaring that Fogg has no chance of winning the bet. The film cuts to a shot of a "broker's blackboard" as a hand draws an immense zero around the word "Fogg" to indicate his odds of winning. The film continues with a freeze-frame of the large zero, when suddenly Fogg's real face appears in the middle of the large zero when lights from behind the scrim illuminate only the actor's face, who physically stands behind the screen. Shortly after, the film fades out and the scrim rises to reveal the next unconnected scene.

This is an example of the intermedia "film to life" effect even though the actor still appears on the screen. The scene begins with the actions of the actors onstage creating the illusion that they are able to directly effect both the characters and the market prices on the screen—both the newsboy's headline and the whist club members' remarks about Fogg appear to cause the market prices to fall (even though, if the actors missed their marks, the film would have continued uneffected). Fogg's physical appearance on the screen while the film continues further complicates the line between film and theatre. Fogg is physically onstage hidden behind the screen, but, because lights from behind the scrim illuminate his face, Fogg's head appears to be within the film. Depending on how this was presented, it is possible that the actual Fogg would have appeared to be a

superimposition within the film. In this way, an actor who was physically present on the stage would have "magically" appeared to be in the film itself.

Welles also wanted to use film to provide a visceral subjective experience of a train traveling through the Rocky Mountains. After the scene "On Board the Train Somewhere in the Rocky Mountains," Welles wanted to have a series of shots from the point of view of a passenger on a train that is steaming out of control through the Rocky Mountains. These shots were to be sped up and include "wild curves, [and] ghastly twists and turns," accompanied by intense chase music. This thrilling phantom ride film anticipates the roller coaster sequence in *This is Cinerama,*[53] where the audience experiences the pure thrill of the dips and turns of the coaster. Welles's film sequence had no connected onstage component (making it a multimedia example), but it still positioned the audience to experience first-hand the high-speed travel needed to travel around the world so quickly.

As noted before, Welles never utilized any scrim technology nor did he shoot a POV thrill ride film. While it could have been that perfectly transposing the last frame of the film onto the stage was logistically impractical or that shooting the thrill ride sequence would have required traveling to a mountain range and arranging the use of a train, it is impossible to know why he changed his mind. Welles only hinted at the cause, telling the set designer that they would need to discuss the "problem" of the scrim screen on a separate occasion.[54] Regardless, these instances of "what could have been" are important glimpses of how Welles viewed the media of film and theatre as highly permeable.

The Actual Version: Portals, Explosions, and More

Even without the use of scrims, the films that were actually shot and integrated

into *Around the World* do not disappoint in their play with intermediality or their use to

awe the audience. Much is revealed about the films by scrutinizing the surviving final

script, shot list with notes from the script supervisor, and critical reviews. Welles, with

the assistance of a cameraman named B. Kelley[55] and the entire cast, began shooting the

films during *Around the World*'s rehearsals on April 15, 1946 (eleven days before the

production's scheduled opening night).[56] With the exception of one sequence, each film

sequence was shot on its corresponding set of the play so that the locations and settings

appeared the same across media. Welles was extremely conservative when shooting the

film sequences, never taking more than four takes of a particular shot and, several times,

he even continued after only a single take.[57] The film shoot yielded six sequences that

together were less than fifteen minutes in duration.[58] The six film sequences were shown

as part of five scenes (the final film "scene" included two film sequences played back-to-

back) (see Appendix 1.2, 1.4). The films were projected on a movie screen toward the

back of the stage that could be taken out as needed. When used, the screen was further

isolated on the stage using opera curtains on either side. The six films can be subdivided

into "intermedia films," which spatially and temporally connect stage and screen, and

"multimedia films," which, in this case, further the story and introduce locations.

The intermedia films, "The Bank," "Hyde Park," and "Fogg's Flat," either

provide "aesthetic relativity" by the use of a continuous "portal" from the film to the

stage or have the chaotic events on film cause a shocking live spectacle to occur on the

stage. "The Bank" scene has the nearly same narrative as the early draft version, but is

strikingly different in its intermedia construction. *Around the World* opened with the movie screen in front of a backdrop (a painted theatrical curtain) located downstage and designed as the exterior of the bank on a London street. "The Bank" film opened, as it did in the early draft version, on the interior of Mr. Fogg's local bank where he withdraws his entire fortune in order to protect it from the bank robber. Toward the end of scene, the ominous silhouette of the horse pistol-wielding bank robber appeared on one of the glass doors into the bank. While the people in the bank cowered, the unsuspecting Fogg, shown in a close-up, continued counting his money. Suddenly, the onscreen bank robber smashed through the glass door, which caused a matching sound of glass breaking behind the London drop. The film continued to run with shots of the bank patrons cowering, meanwhile the lower left portal (a small upstage opening on both the left and right side of the stage—separate from the main part of the stage) opened to reveal the bank robber stepping through the actual broken glass door (fig. 1). The bank robber made his way to the middle of the stage and, even though he was physically in front of the London drop and not in the bank, he spoke and acted as if he was in the bank featured onscreen. The bank robber continued by telling the patrons onscreen to put their hands up, which they did. To further scare the patrons, the onstage robber then fired a loud popgun that broke a glass chandelier onscreen that was shown in a subsequent close-up as it shatters, with pieces falling on the head of Mr. Fogg (who nevertheless continued counting his money without flinching). Pointing specifically to Fogg onscreen, the robber commanded him not to move and then exited the stage. Suddenly a police inspector (not Dick Fix) ran onstage and (oddly) asked the head banker onscreen where the source of the disturbances were, to which the banker responded, "THE BANK" with his reply shown as an intertitle.

The film then ended, and the London drop was taken offstage revealing the physical

interior of the bank as the bank robber left carrying moneybags. The Inspector, slightly

embarrassed by the obvious answer to his question, entered the bank to try to stop the

robber, but he had escaped. Just then Dick Fix (played by Welles) entered to try to cover

up for his friend and accomplice the bank robber.[59]

Figure 1
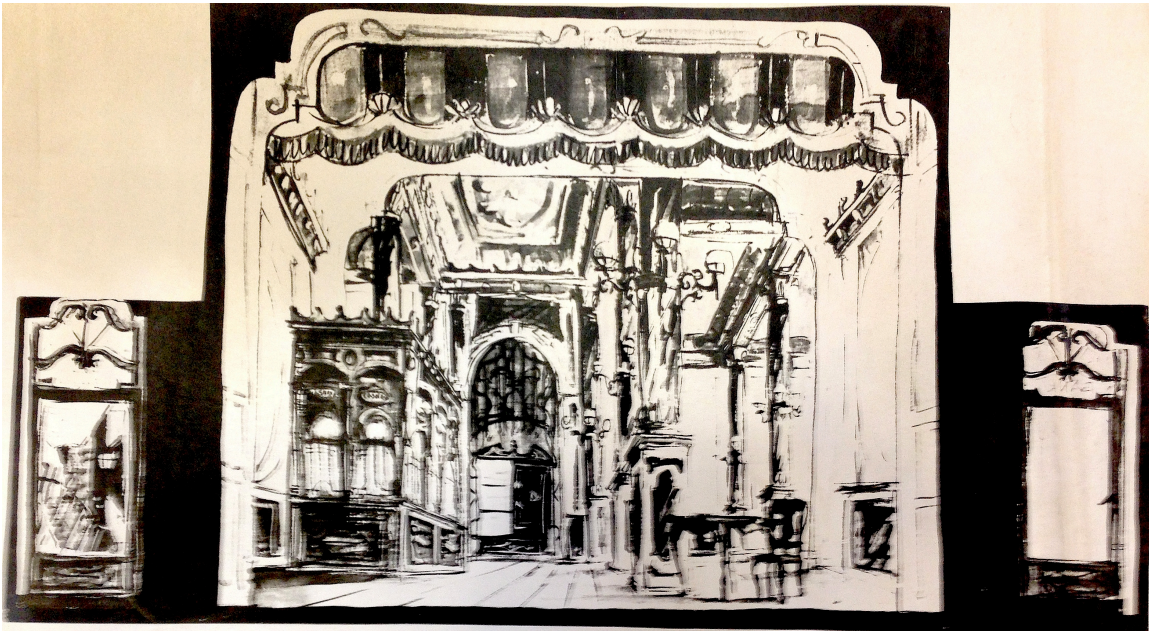
"The Bank" set. Designed by Robert Davison, 1946.[60]

The portals, featured to the left and right of the proscenium, began completely hidden
before opening (as pictured) to reveal the glass windows and the robber. While the film
played on the screen downstage, the main part of the bank set (the center) was covered by
the London drop and was revealed only after the film ended.

The effects of this scene are undoubtedly as confusing as they are sophisticated and magical. The scene is quite similar to Goldin's "Film to Life" illusion. At the beginning of the scene, the film and the stage appeared to be in the same time and space. The side portal of the stage became a figurative portal that allowed the robber to transport from the separate world of film (and the bank) to the physical stage outside the bank. The characters onstage also interacted with characters onscreen without any hindrance. At the same time, however, the stage and the film were spatially disconnected. The robber and later the Inspector interacted with the characters onscreen as if they were in the bank, shooting the chandelier and directly speaking with the patrons, even though they were located onstage in front of the London drop and not in the bank set.

The "Hyde Park" scene used portals similarly, but also gave the stage itself a film aesthetic. With the lights slightly dimmed, the stage was dressed again with the London drop and a single bush was placed stage right. A film was projected that opened on the Hyde Park set. In the film, the bank robber ran from a group of bobbies and hid behind the bush onscreen (matching the bush onstage in front of the London drop). Meanwhile onscreen, Molly came into Hyde Park pushing the baby carriage. As she did this onscreen, Molly physically appeared onstage just as an onscreen intertitle introduced her as, "MOLLY, AN HONEST NURSEMAID FROM THE AULD SOD." When the onscreen Molly stopped the carriage and went to smell a branch on the bush, the onstage Molly matched her action with the bush onstage. Onscreen, Molly caught the attention of Pat, also onscreen, lying in the grass nearby. As he got up to pursue her onscreen, Pat physically appeared onstage as an onscreen intertitle introduced him as, "PAT PASSEPARTOUT, A STROLLING PAYER FROM AMERICA." Suddenly, the robber

physically entered from stage left and darted across the stage into the stage right portal,

which appeared to cause the robber to reappear in the film. The robber onscreen then

moved from behind the bush to behind Molly's baby carriage. In an act of desperation,

the robber reached into the carriage and hid the money inside. As this happened, Molly

and Pat also watched the actions of the robber (and possibly themselves) onscreen

suspecting a kidnapping or robbery has taken place. In a fit of anger, Pat (followed

closely by Molly) rushed through the lower right portal. The film then showed Pat in the

midst of a slapstick fight with the robber. Suddenly, the film ended and the London drop

was removed, which revealed Pat and the robber fighting onstage on the Hyde Park set.

At the same time, a lobsterscope[61] (an antique theatrical device that has an effect similar

to modern day strobe lights) covered the stage in a flickering light, which continued until

Pat chased the robber offstage.

Like the bank scene, there is spectacular fusion of film and theatre, propelled

further by the quasi-cinematic flickering light at the end of the scene. At the beginning of

the scene, the world onscreen mirrored the world onstage: when Molly and Pat appeared

on the film, they likewise appeared on the stage, with both embodiments of the character

(onscreen and onstage) being introduced by the intertitle. But, at the same time, the

onscreen world was separate from the stage: after first being shown onscreen, the

characters ran through the lower right portal before appearing in the film. Pat and Molly

watched the robber hide the money in the film, but ran through the portal in order to fight

him onscreen. This fusion becomes even more complete when the stage "became" the

film through the use of the lobsterscope. The films in *Around the World* were shot

specifically to flicker and jump, and Welles used the lobsterscope to create the look of a

projected film onstage. This effect is especially potent because it occurred just as the film itself ended, when the actors onstage were on the same set which Welles had shot the "Hyde Park" sequence during rehearsals. This created the illusion that the film was still being projected, not onto the screen, but onto the entire stage, making the live-action and the space within the proscenium "cinematic."

Like Goldin's previous historical use of these techniques, the transition from film to theatre or vice versa created a spectacle of magic. In Welles's case, the characters used portals to transport themselves into the film and could interact with the medium even though they were not connected either spatially or temporally to what occurs in the film. The characters were even onscreen and onstage at the same time. These actions left the audience to experience the astonishing magical effects of "aesthetic relativity" as there was no logical way to understand the exact time and space of the scenes. In addition, the ambiguous "aesthetic relativity" in *Around the World* was so improbable and exaggerated for a narrative medium that it became farcical. Welles supplied no explanation for having live stage actors interact with the films instead of having the scene simply take place on the set that was literally behind the London drop (a point he punctuated by using the flicker effecting when this fact is revealed). Critics for *Variety* and the *Chicago Tribune* found the film scenes to be some of the best parts of the show and "unfailingly funny."[62] Of course, the slapstick supplied a main source of comedy, but this style of blending film and theatre (while highly sophisticated and purposeful) was extreme and logically incomprehensible to the point of farce.

"Fogg's Flat," the last intermedia example, used a flash-box (a metal box placed in front of a screen that, when detonated, ignites pyrotechnics that create an explosive

flash usually with smoke)[63] to supply a physical and shocking experience of an onscreen explosion. The scene opened on Fogg's flat with several shots of the wind blowing through an open window on a dark eerie night. It was such a windy night that the fire in the many gas lamps was extinguished by one strong gust. The gas lamps continued to emit gas, however, with the "gas-escaping" sound provided by the orchestra. Under the cover of night, the robber entered Fogg's flat with the intention of finding the fortune that he hid in Molly's baby carriage (believing that Molly worked for Fogg). With the lights out, the robber could not see where to search, so he pulled out a box of matches and began to strike them. The robber continued his attempts to light the match, shown in several different close-ups. When he managed to do so, there was an immediate lighting effect to black out the entire frame, followed by the appearance of an explosion (possibly by an extreme overexposure). At this cue, a flash-box onstage exploded and emitted sparks and a loud bang. The flash-box supplied an explosion that would have physically, visually, and aurally jarred the unsuspecting audience members, thus propelling the illusion that the media were fused.

The three remaining films are strictly multimedia. In other words, they have no connected stage components and were exhibited by themselves. Unfortunately, the bulk of the available information on the films involves the intermedia sequences. Thus, there is much less information on how they were used in *Around the World*. For example, "EXT. Whist Club" (the film sequence that played directly after the "Fogg's Flat" film) can simply be described and analyzed in its function to further the narrative. The script only describes the sequence as having an intertitle reading "MEANWHILE – IN LONDON" with the shooting script only adding that Dick Fix is to enter the frame, speak

to some bobbies in a close-up, and then they all run off camera. While we can assume that the pantomime was full of humorous gestures and the group running off camera displayed the exuberant energy of Mack Sennett films, this is only speculation. The remaining two films, "The Hong Kong Den" and "A Storm at Sea" seem to have furthered the narrative and introduced locations that were difficult to accomplish onstage.

"The Hong Kong Den" film sequence appropriately set the stage for the subsequent "Street of Evil Repute in Hong Kong" scene. Unlike the other sequences, there is no way to sort out what the sequence of events or shots were in this scene.[64] However, even a quick summary of the subjects of the shots that took place in this opium den show this location to have been wicked and full of nefarious actions. The scene consisted of "Chinamen" seated about, drinking and fighting, sailors coming out of "lover's dens," and an assortment of "sing-song girls" running about. The scene also showcased explicit violence against the concubines. At one point, a sing-song girl was seen entering her den and getting struck on the head with a bottle, and two other shots feature "men torturing sing-song slaves."[65] During all of this, Dick Fix walked around the den unfazed, asking anyone who will listen when the next boat leaves for Japan. Outside the den, the main characters take in the exotic, outside world. Pat examines the exterior with a spyglass captured in several shots,[66] Fogg rides around the street in a rickshaw pulled by a local, and Molly wanders the streets in search of Pat. The film ends with the intertitle, "To be continued," and the screen is taken offstage along with the plain opera curtains to reveal the "Street of Evil Repute in Hong Kong" set.

What is really important in the film, at least in the context of the production, is indicated in the final intertitle: "To be continued." It should be noted that this intertitle

was not referring to another film sequence, but to the following scene onstage. After this film sequence, the audience is fully anticipating Hong Kong to be filled with more of the same types of unscrupulous actions (even though, because *Around the World* is a farce, the subjects in this film were likely treated humorously). In the following "Street of Evil Repute in Hong Kong" scene, Pat is knocked unconscious, drugged with opium, and shanghaied onto a ship bound for Japan where Dick Fix tried to murder him. By the time this occurs, these actions seem befitting given the introduction of Hong Kong in the earlier film sequence.

The final film sequence, "A Storm at Sea," opens Act II and serves to move *Around the World*'s narrative from Japan to California. The sequence opens with a great storm that is causing the ship to flounder. Huge waves are shown washing over the side of the boat onto Pat and Mrs. Aouda, who cling to ropes in order to avoid being washed out to sea. With another wave, the two fall onto the floor and are helped up by Mr. Fogg. With Mr. Fogg's help, Pat ties Mrs. Aouda to the mast of the ship. When all hope seems lost, Pat scans the horizon and sees America. Shortly after, the storm passes and the film ends with a final intertitle introducing the next scene, "Lola's Place."

A closer look reveals a number of ways in which it anticipates a scene in Welles's 1955 film *Mr. Arkadin*. In the *Mr. Arkadin* sequence, Gregory Arkadin (Orson Welles) interrogates the heavily intoxicated Mily (Patrica Medina) while in the cabin of Mr. Arkadin's yacht, which rocks unpredictably and dizzily. The camera also helps build a feeling of seasickness by consistently rocking and tracking the actors' movements slowly, accentuated by the constant use of low angles. Despite being set on the deck of a ship and not in its interior, the resemblance of "A Storm at Sea" to the yacht scene is

uncanny. Like the yacht in *Mr. Arkadin*, this boat flounders relentlessly and the shot list even mentions the use of low angle shots. In addition, while not much is known about the production of the films, actor Arthur Margetson noted that Welles wanted a drunken and seasick dimension to the scene, at least from the actors. In his unpublished memoir, Margetson recounts that the shooting of this scene involved Welles persuading the actors to indulge in heavy amounts of whiskey before each shot, so the actors would wobble more on the boat set.[67] This actual intoxication in *Around the World* matches Mily's intoxication in *Mr. Arkadin*.

Transmedia Adaptation

Thus far, I have discussed the confluence of media and the aesthetic overlap that is present in *Around the World* and, more generally, in Orson Welles's work. In addition to this, I argue that *Around the World* supplies yet another example of a different kind of multimedia relationship. Welles's subsequent film, *The Lady from Shanghai,* was partly adapted from *Around the World*. The process of adaptation Welles used for *The Lady from Shanghai* is not a direct literary adaptation in a traditional sense, but rather, a transmedia adaptation, a process that uses narratives and aesthetics from multiple media to create a single multimedia entity. In other words, *The Lady from Shanghai* is intrinsically a film, but because it is transmedia adaptation, it exhibits both narrative elements and theatre aesthetics from *Around the World*, which forms part of its uncredited source material.

While transmedia adaptation is a novel term and concept in itself, it draws from the well-established concept of transmedia storytelling, where a single narrative

experience is told across multiple media. In other words, this narrative is only completely told and understood when, for example, a person watches the film, plays a videogame, and reads the book in synchronization. Along the same lines, transmedia adaptation is when a narrative told via one medium is adapted into other medium, yet is still somewhat dependent upon, or exhibits, the original medium's conventions. Put simply, transmedia adaptation deals with a single narrative that is dependent on both its new medium and its original medium simultaneously.

Around the World in *The Lady from Shanghai*

The Lady from Shanghai (1947) is generally considered an archetypical noir film and one of Orson Welles's crowning cinematic achievements (despite heavy studio intervention), yet it also encompasses many elements drawn from *Around the World*, the Broadway musical Welles had staged the previous year. Of course, the film only credits Sherwood King's pulp fiction novel *If I Die Before I Wake* (1938) as its source material, a choice that acknowledges the source of the film's basic characters and plot points, leaving out *Around the World* entirely. In this section, I argue that *The Lady from Shanghai* is not a direct literary adaptation of *If Die Before I Wake*, but rather, a transmedia adaptation of *Around the World*. In other words, Welles used the basic framework of *If I Die Before I Wake* to configure narrative and visual elements from his stage play *Around the World* into the film he made immediately after his ambitious Broadway show closed unexpectedly. As evidence, I will demonstrate how the Chinese scenes from *Around the World* are adapted into *The Lady from Shanghai*, specifically

how they relate to the Chinese theatre scene, the character of Elsa Bannister (Rita

Hayworth), and the recurring motif of "being shanghaied".

In order to understand the transmedia adaptation in *The Lady from Shanghai*, one

must revisit the Chinese scenes in *Around the World.* The play is set all across the globe,

but a significant section of *Around the World* involves scenes set in China. While Verne

describes Hong Kong and China as quaint, Welles's play features China as a suspicious

place and even as "opium hell". These scenes, entitled "A Street of Evil Repute in Hong

Kong" and "The China Coast", make up about one-fifth of the fifty-three page script. In

addition, the Chinese scenes are increasingly prominent as they are one of few scenes in

the play that have their own original film sequence. As the title "A Street of Evil Repute"

would indicate, these scenes involve the most heinous characters and nefarious situations

in the play. Dick Fix leads a band of shady underworld Chinese characters—including the

appropriately named "Sinister Chinese" and "Lee Toy, the Daughter of Pleasure"—to

kidnap Pat and subsequently drug him with opium until he begins to hallucinate, causing

Pat to lose Fogg and miss the boat to the next location.[68]

While Pat hallucinates, the Japanese Oka-Saka circus takes the stage to perform

and then is followed by another performance, this time by Welles himself. As the

"Chinese" magician Fu San, Welles performs contemporary and traditional Chinese

magic tricks, all while Pat, still being affected by the drugs, watches the performance

from a seat in the play's actual audience. During this Chinese theatre scene, Welles's garb

is reminiscent of the American magician Chung Ling Soo, who is just as renowned for

his illusions as he is for masquerading as a Chinese man.[69]

The preceding Chinese film sequence in *Around the World* is also important in this context. The shot list describes a portion of the sequence as a series of exterior full shots of people milling about a Hong Kong street while Pat wanders down the street. Meanwhile, Fix searches for the Pat and asks local "Chinamen", "which way did he go?"[70]

As mentioned earlier, Sherwood King's pulp fiction novel *If I Die Before I Wake* is noted as Welles's source material for the screenplay. While this source material does play a basic role in the final version of the film, early drafts of *The Lady from Shanghai*'s script are almost exclusively adapted from King's novel because it was convenient for Welles to stay in New York City while producing *Around the World*. These early script drafts, tentatively named "Black Irish" and "Take this Woman" respectively, make extensive use of locations, characters, and plot from *If I Die Before I Wake*. Most specifically, these early versions exclusively share the novel's New York setting—as *If I Die's* entire narrative takes place on Long Island. Welles's "Black Irish" and "Take this Woman," like King's novel, are New York adventures, both of which highlight this location and its specific urban identity. In the script the New York location is important and becomes something of a character of its own. Unlike the novel, which strictly stays on Long Island, Welles's early drafts expand the location into New York City, but contain no international references.[71]

In the August 17, 1946 draft script entitled "Take this Woman," the sequence that takes place between the end of the trial sequence and the beginning of the fun house sequence (where the Chinese theatre sequence is in the final version) occurs entirely in the New York City subway. In this sequence, Michael O'Hara (Orson Welles)

hallucinates while wandering through the subway after taking drugs to halt his murder trial and escape definite conviction. He stumbles into a "jampacked" subway car headed to 125th Street. The drugs cause the subway posters to come tauntingly to life and the conductor's voice to become the voices of O'Hara's enemies. The subway, iconically associated with New York City, is described in precise detail and plays an active role in shaping the conflict of the scene as the subway car itself haunts O'Hara. The final version of the script was quite different, but these pages show the prominence of New York in Welles's early conception of the film.[72]

By taking advantage of *If I Die*'s New York location while he stayed there to produce, direct, and star in *Around the World,* Welles could shoot the film in and around New York City while the play continued its Broadway run throughout the summer of 1946. As long as the play continued, Welles planned to simultaneously shoot the film in the local area. What began as logistical convenience changed once the play was canceled, since there was no longer any reason the film would have to be made strictly in New York.[73]

Even when the play was off Broadway on August 3, 1946, *Around the World* was not truly canceled as Welles intended to move the entire production to London for a run on the English pantomime theatre circuit.[74] This transatlantic move seemed definite until Welles learned in early September that a London theatre might be unobtainable.[75] On the morning of September 16th, Welles received official confirmation that *Around the World* would not be staged in London.[76]

It is no coincidence, then, that Welles's draft dated September 16, 1946, dramatically changed from a traditional literary adaptation of the New York-based pulp

novel to a transmedia adaptation of his globe-trotting adventure play *Around the World*.

This draft script, still entitled "Take this Woman" (which would quickly change to "The

Woman from Shanghai," then to *The Lady from Shanghai* through the next few drafts)

does not take place solely or even significantly in New York. Instead, the characters in

the film quickly depart New York and spend the rest of their time on a yacht

circumnavigating North America: traveling to Acapulco and then to San Francisco. Even

when they arrive in San Francisco, Welles has the characters venture to exotic locations

like the distorted aquarium, the nightmarish fun house, and, of course, the Chinese

theatre. This transforms the film from a domestic crime thriller, into an exotic

transnational adventure.

In this new version of the script, the exact same pages that previously took place

in the New York City subway now take place in an exotic Chinese theatre.[77] This scene

in many ways parallels the Chinese scenes in *Around the World*. Elsa (eventually played

by Orson Welles's wife Rita Hayworth), like Dick Fix, is the head of a network of

underworld Chinese characters that she alone can communicate with and understand;

together, they kidnap Michael (played by Orson Welles). Also like the play, many of the

Chinese characters in *The Lady from Shanghai*, including Elsa's servant Li, are

mysterious and suspicious gangsters.

Like Pat in *Around the World,* who deals with a drugged state of mind while he

watches Fu San's Chinese magic performance, in *The Lady from Shanghai* Michael has

been drugged before he watches the Chinese theatre performance. Michael could have

wandered anywhere in his drugged state, but instead Welles has him watch a Chinese

theatre performance, a direct parallel to Pat in *Around the World*.

Much of the mise-en-scène of the Chinese theatre sequence also has theatre aesthetics and seems to have been adapted from *Around the World*. In this scene, Welles uses many long shots to showcase the proscenium of the stage, which not only emphasize Michael's point of view, but also position the audience of the film as the audience of a theatrical performance—an effect that is accentuated by the use of low angle shots. Welles also reveals the backstage area. When Elsa needs to make a phone call, the camera follows her backstage, showing the unprepared actors and unused props. In addition, there are several visual parallels between Fu San's Chinese magic performance and the mise-en-scène of one of the performances in the Chinese theatre in *The Lady from Shanghai*.[78] Both Fu San and the lone Chinese performer in *The Lady from Shanghai* act alone on the stage and wear similar Chinese kimonos and hats; they are also brought tall exotic Chinese boxes by a female member of their troupe and consistently stand in an openly broad manner with arms spread open. In essence, they are strikingly similar, aesthetically traditional, Chinese performances.[79]

It also may be possible that the Chinese film sequence from *Around the World* was, in some ways, re-shot for *The Lady from Shanghai*. The chase through the streets of Chinatown that occurs right before the theatre scene in *The Lady from Shanghai* resembles the "A Street of Evil Repute in Hong Kong" film sequence in *Around the World*. In this scene, O'Hara hastily shuffles through a bustling street of Chinatown past a variety of Chinese people—men, women, young, and old—until he stumbles into the Chinese theatre. During this time, Elsa pursues O'Hara down the street and, not knowing where he is exactly, asks a local in Chinese if they have seen an American go by, then continues in pursuit of him. Likewise, in *Around the World*, the shot list describes a

portion of the film sequence as a series of exterior full shots of people milling about a Hong Kong street while Pat wanders down the street. Meanwhile, Fix searches for Pat and asks a Chinese man if he knows where Pat (who is also an American) went. If the names here were switched to Michael and Elsa, this description would easily pass as the description for the chase scene in *The Lady from Shanghai*.[80] Also, just like *Around the World*, characters and spectacle in *The Lady from Shanghai's* chase scene are more important than the ongoing plot. Many compositions in the chase scene foreground Chinese characters and calligraphy, Chinese people, Chinese lamps and signs, the storefront of a Chinese herb shop, and even a flashing "Shanghai Low" sign by itself before Michael enters the frame.

While drawn from the Chinese scenes in *Around the* World, the motif of "being shanghaied"—forcing someone to join a ship lacking a full crew by unscrupulous means (e.g. drugs or alcohol)—forms the very foundation of *The Lady from Shanghai*. I argue that the title *The Lady from Shanghai* has a two-sided meaning in the film. On one level, the title literally refers to Elsa's mysterious past, and her literal connection with the Chinese underworld. On another level, *The Lady from Shanghai* is literally about being shanghaied. Elsa shanghaies Michael to join the understaffed crew of her yacht by using her sexuality rather than drugs or alcohol.

Likewise, in *Around the World*, Fix and his lackeys forcefully drugged Pat with opium in Hong Kong, shanghaied him onto a ship bound for Japan, and forced Pat to become a clown in the Oka-Saka circus. This scene and motif is specifically important in the context of *Around the World* as not only did it facilitate the transition to the Oka-Saka Circus number and Fu San's magic show—the production's most important spectacles—

but it also created *Around the World's* most weighty conflict and the climax that ended

Act I. During the magic act, Pat was again shanghaied (or tricked) into being a part of

one of Fu San's disappearing tricks. Fu San hoisted Pat inside a large bag into the air with

the supposed intention of continuing his astonishing magic. However, Fu San then

revealed himself to be Dick Fix in disguise (which was not completely a surprise since

Welles played both characters). Dick Fix then pulled out a pistol, aimmed it at the

hanging bag and attempted to shoot Pat. After the gunshot, however, it was revealed that

the trick accidentally transported Pat into the audience (where he was somehow watching

the show the whole time); he subsequently escapes to end the Act.

Both Michael and Pat are sailors who miss their ships and miraculously escape

death. Looking at *The Lady from Shanghai* as a film noir, it is quite atypical that Welles's

leading character makes it out of his relationship with the femme fatale alive. I would

even go so far as to say that his survival resembles a sort of magic trick, as all signs in the

film point to his imminent death. This spectacle of survival is not unlike *Around the*

World, where Pat's escaping of Dick Fix's attempt at murder is a literal act of magic.

Around the World cannot be seen in its original state, however, Welles's *The Lady from*

Shanghai remains as a transmedia adaptation—a visual and narrative illustration of

several instances in the play. It is almost as if, by watching the Chinese theatre scene in

The Lady from Shanghai, the audience is transitively watching a small portion of *Around*

the World.

Conclusion

Around the World's film sequences and even the *Lady from Shanghai* complicate the traditional idea of auteurship, at least in terms of its association with Welles. This is not an argument about the viability of auteur theory as a whole; rather it is an argument about how the term "auteur" has limited our understanding of the work of "great directors" even while celebrating them. Film critic Andrew Sarris's book *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions 1929–1968* was highly influential in popularizing auteurism of auteur theory and in creating a canon of American filmmakers. Because Welles is on his list of "Pantheon Directors," Sarris writes about his work and his credibility as an auteur at length:

> Welles is not superior to Zinnemann "of course," but only after an intensive analysis of all their respective films….The Wellesian cinema is the cinema of magic and marvels, and everything, and especially its prime protagonist, is larger than life….The world of Orson Welles is the world of the runaway artist who pauses every so often to muse over what he has lost or left behind. Quiet and frenzy alternate in this world, as do nostalgia and adventure….To a limited extent, at least, Wellesian cinema is as much the cinema of the exhibitionist.[81]

This passage acts as an effective guide for discussing the consequences of the traditional connotations of the term "auteur" and its application to Welles. First, it is evident from the passage that auteurism, according to Sarris, is only about the medium of cinema. This aesthetic isolation produces an image of Welles as the great film director, who is able to use the specific medium of cinema to create "the world of Orson Welles." However,

Sarris's words about Welles's cinema are just as applicable to Welles's theatre. *Around the World* is also undoubtedly about magic, marvels, nostalgia, adventure, and exhibitionism. Because the concept of the auteur implies medium specificity, *Around the World*—and in a larger sense the theatre—has been almost completely ignored in Welles's oeuvre.

In turn, the argument of this thesis can be rephrased using Sarris's own words, despite the fact he was talking only about cinema: "the auteur critic is obsessed with the wholeness of art and the artist."[82] To correctly critique the work of Orson Welles, then, the scholar must be "obsessed" with his whole oeuvre regardless of its medium. Continuing the example of *Around the World,* by considering its film sequences in Welles's oeuvre, we must consider that these films are inseparable from the medium of theatre itself. The intermedia sequences in particular must be considered in their mixed context with the physical stage. In addition, these film sequences are inseparable from the theatrical elements of the production and thus should not be separated from the lantern slide sequence, the Oka-Saka circus, Fu San's magic show, nor any other part of the play. *The Lady from Shanghai*, as a transmedia adaptation, is likewise inseparable from the medium of theatre. Film and theatre must simultaneously be considered in the work of Orson Welles, and when one takes that approach, Welles is no longer just an artist of film, but a multimedia auteur—someone who saw film and theatre not as separate media, but as the interconnected and interdependent tools of a storytelling artist.

Appendix

1.1 - 1.4 Around The World – Scene Lists

__Scene Lists from Programs__

1.1 Early Version – Boston and New Haven

ACT I

1. **Movies (Bank Scene)**
2. Interior of the Bank of London
3. **Movies (Hyde Park)**
4. Hyde Park, London.
5. Mr. Fogg's Flat in London
6. Exterior of the London Whist Club
7. Interior of the London Whist Club
8. Mr. Fogg's Flat
9. The Charing Cross Railroad Station
10. The Docks of Liverpool*
11. The English Channel, Paris, The Spanish Border, Barcelona, The Mediterranean*
12. Suez
13. At the end of Jungle Railroad Tracks in British India
14. A section of the Great Indian Forest
15. The Pagoda of Pilagi
16. Telegraph Station in the Kingdom of Bundelcund*
17. A Jungle Encampment in the Himalayas
18. **Movies (Hong Kong Den and Scene)**
19. A street of evil repute in Hong Kong
20. Interior of an Opium Hell in the same City
21. The China Coast….The Inland Sea…. Yokahama, Japan* [Replaced/modified between Himalayas and Hong Kong]
22. Oka Saka Circus, Japan

ACT II

1. **Movies (Boat Scene)**
2. Lola's Place, in Lower California
3. A Railroad Station in San Francisco
4. The Stage Coach station in Lizard Gulch*

5. On Board the Train—Somewhere in the Rocky Mountains* [Major name change]
6. The Perilous Pass at Medicine Bow
7. A Water Stop on the banks of Republican River
8. Movies (Fogg's Flat) (Whist Club: EXT)*
9. The Peak of Bald Mountain
10. Somewhere on the Frozen Plains of the West*
11. New York Harbor* [becomes Liverpool Harbor]
13. [*sic*] A London Jail* [changes to Liverpool]
14. Interior of Phileas Fogg's Cell
15. Exterior of London Whist Club
16. Interior of Hansom Cab*
17. Interior of London Whist Club*
18. Tableau

*Scenes that were omitted or changed in later version

1.2 LATE VERSION – Philadelphia and Broadway

ACT I

1. Movies (Bank Scene)
2. Interior of Jevity's Bank, London, England
3. Movies (Hyde Park)
4. Hyde Park
5. A London Street [added]*
6. Mr. Fogg's Flat in London
7. A Street before the Whist
8. The Card Room of the Whist
9. Fogg's Flat
10. The Charing Cross Railroad Station
11. Suez, Egypt
12. The End of Railway Tracks in British India
13. The Great Indian Forest
14. The Pagoda of Pilagi
15. A Jungle Encampment in the Himalayas
16. Aboard the S.S. Tankadere on the China Sea [Replaces scene between Hong Kong and Japan]*
17. Movies (Hong Kong Den and Scene)
18. A Street of Evil Repute in Hong-Kong
19. Interior of an Opium Hell in the Same City
20. The Oka Saka Circus, Yokohama, Japan

ACT II

1. **Movies (Boat Scene)**
2. Lola's, a low place in Lower California
3. The Railroad Station in San Francisco
4. **Movies (Fogg's Flat) (Whist Club: EXT)**
5. A Passenger Car on the Central Pacific Railway
6. The Perilous Pass at Medicine Bow
7. A Water Stop on the Banks of the Republican River
8. The Peak of Bald Mountain
9. The Harbor, Liverpool, England.
10. The Gaol in Liverpool
11. A Cell in the Liverpool Gaol
12. A Street in London [Added]*
13. Outside the London Whist Club
14. Grand Tableau

*Scenes that were added or scenes that replaced other scenes.

Surviving Scripts Scene Lists

1.3 Early Draft Script – About 188 pages

Page numbers do not correspond with numbers on the pages (those numbers are non-continuous), rather the number is the out of the total number of pages. Also, some scene headings are unmarked on pages, thus several scene names are listed using names based off the early stage program or information in the scene itself. These scenes names are put in brackets.

ACT I

1. **Movies [Bank] (3-5)**
2. [Int. Bank] (5-10)
3. **Movies [Hyde Park] (10-11)**
4. Hyde Park (11-16)
5. Fogg's Flat (16-23)
6. A Street in London Near Fogg's Flat (24)
7. Interior of Whist Club (25-34)
8. [Fogg's Flat] (34-39)
9. [Charing Cross Railroad Station] (40-41)
      a.   No subsequent English Channel Scene like final long version
10. [Paris…Madrid..Brindisi Travel Montage via Treadmill] (41-43)
11. The Docks at Suez (43-65)
12. [At the End of the Railroad Tracks in British India] (65-73)

13. India [A Section of the Great Indian Forest] (73-77)
14. [The Pagoda of Pilagi] (77-79)
15. [Telegraph Station in Kingdom of Budelcurd] (79)
16. An Encampment Somewhere in the Jungle (79-90)
    a. No subsequent Chinese movie
17. A Street in Hong Kong (90-100)
18. [Interior of Opium Den] (100-109)
    a. No subsequent China Coast…Inland Sea… scene
19. Japan [Oka-Saka Circus] (110-115)
20. Aboard the S.S. General Grant Bound for America (115-120)
    a. This scene is basically the China Coast…Inland sea but placed later

ACT II

1. **Movies [A Storm at Sea] (121-122)**
2. [Greasy Sam's] (122-128)
    a. Not named Lola's Diner, but same concept
3. **Movies [Fogg's Flat] (128)**
    a. Gets moved to later in the act
4. On Board the Train Somewhere in the Rocky Mountains (129-138)
5. **Movies [Phantom Train Ride] (138)**
    a. Does not get filmed
6. Exterior of The Perilous Pass at Medicine Bow (140)
7. A Water Stop on the Bank of the Republic River (141-149)
8. **Movies [Fogg's Stock Price] (149-150)**
    a. Does not get filmed
9. The Peak of Bald Mountain (151-154)
10. Somewhere on the Frozen Plains of the West (155)
11. Boat Docks—New York (156-159)
12. Aboard the S.S. Henrietta (160-166)
13. **Movies [Model of Henrietta] (166)**
14. Aboard the S.S. Henrietta (167-169)
    a. All above Henrietta Scenes were cut
15. The Jail (170-178)
16. [The Whist Club] (179-181)
17. Interior of Handsome Cab Speeding through London Streets (182-185)
18. Interior of Whist Club (185-188)

1.4 LATE VERSION – Philadelphia and Broadway

ACT I

1. **Movies (Bank Scene) (2)**
2. Interior of Jevity's Bank, London, England (2-4)
3. **Movies (Hyde Park) (4)**
4. Hyde Park (4-7)
5. A London Street (added) (7)
6. Mr. Fogg's Flat in London (7-9)
7. A Street before the Whist (9)
8. The Card Room of the Whist (9-11)
9. Fogg's Flat (12-13)
10. The Charing Cross Railroad Station (13-14)
11. Suez, Egypt (14-18)
12. The End of Railway Tracks in British India (19-21)
13. The Great Indian Forest (21-22)
14. The Pagoda of Pilagi (23)
15. A Jungle Encampment in the Himalayas (23?)
16. Aboard the S.S. Tankadere on the China Sea (Replaces scene between Hong Kong and Japan) (23-24)
17. **Movies (Hong Kong Den and Scene) (24)**
18. A Street of Evil Repute in Hong-Kong (24-28)
19. Interior of an Opium Hell in the Same City (28-32)
20. The Oka Saka Circus, Yokohama, Japan (32-34)
    a. Includes Chinese Magician Fu San

ACT II

15. **Movies (Boat Scene) (35-36)**
16. Lola's, a low place in Lower California (36-40)
    a. This scene, occurs on stage simultaneously with Railroad station below.
17. The Railroad Station in San Francisco (40-42)
18. **Movies (Fogg's Flat) (Whist Club: EXT) (42-43)**
19. A Passenger Car on the Central Pacific Railway (43-46)
20. The Perilous Pass at Medicine Bow (46,47)
21. A Water Stop on the Banks of the Republican River (46,48-52)
22. The Peak of Bald Mountain (53-56)
23. The Harbor, Liverpool, England (57)
24. The Gaol in Liverpool (57)
25. A Cell in the Liverpool Gaol (58-62)
26. A Street in London (added) (63)
27. Outside the London Whist Club (64-65)
28. Grand Tableau (65-66)

Endnotes

1. Edwin Schallert, "Drama Stage and Screen: Welles Sees Television Boon to Dramatic Arts Screen's 'Four-Ways Man Finds Distinct Fields for Films, Radio, Stage and Telecasts," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1939.

2. "Mercury Theatre group…," *Variety,* August 24, 1938, n. pag.

3. Edwin Schallert, "Drama Stage and Screen: Welles Sees Television Boon to Dramatic Arts Screen's 'Four-Ways Man Finds Distinct Fields for Films, Radio, Stage and Telecasts," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1939.
        .

4. Rick Altman, "Deep-Focus Sound: *Citizen Kane* and the Radio Aesthetic," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 15, no. 3 (1994): 1-33.

5. Orson Welles, *Orson Welles Commentary,* ABC, June 15, 1946.

6. Joseph L. Anderson, "Spoken Silents in the Japanese Cinema," In *Reframing Japanese Cinema: Authorship, Genre, History*, edited by Arthur Nolletti and David Desser, 277-79 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992). It is important to note that multimedia theatre was not just a European phenomenon during this time. The Japanese "rensa-geki" or "chain drama" also involved exhibiting early Japanese cinema alongside live theatre performance.

7. Matthew Zuras, "Tech Art History, Part 2," *Switched*, June 3, 2010, Accessed May 7, 2014, http://www.switched.com/2010/06/03/tech-art-history-part-2/.

8. Ian Christie, "First-Footings: Méliès's Debt to Verne and Wells and His Influence in Great Britain," *Fantastic Voyages of the Cinematic Imagination: Georges Méliès's Trip to the Moon*, ed. Matthew Solomon (Albany: State University of New York, 2011), 65-80.

9. Greg Giesekam, *Staging the Screen: The Use of Film and Video in Theatre* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 8-9.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., 28-31

12. Elizabeth Ezra, *Georges Méliès: The Birth of the Auteur* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2000), 58.

13. Gwendolyn Waltz, "Confounding! Sense Deception and "Film to Life" Effects," *I cinque sensi del cinema*, XI Convengo Internazionale di Studi sul Cinema (2004): 164.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., 165.

16. Ibid., 161.

17. Ibid., 165.

18. Friedrich Kranich, *Bühnentechnik Der Gegenwart [Contemporary Theatre Technology]*, Vol. 1-2, (R. Oldenbourg, 1929-1933).

19. Mordecai Gorelik, *New Theatres for Old* (New York: S. French, 1940), 428.

20. Erwin Piscator, *The Political Theatre: A History 1914-1929*, Trans. Hugh Rorrison (New York: Avon, 1978), 97.

21. Greg Giesekam, *Staging the Screen: The Use of Film and Video in Theatre* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 39-49; Mordecai Gorelik, *New Theatres for Old*, (New York: S. French, 1940). 427-430.

22. In October 2013, I attended both the world premiere (Pordenone Silent Film Festival, Pordenone, Italy) and the United States premiere (George Eastman House) of *Too Much Johnson.* I also spoke with leading experts and preservationists that worked with the film itself. In turn, the forthcoming expansion of this thesis will cover both *Too Much Johnson* and *The Green Goddess* in more detail.

23. It would be an educated guess that Welles integrated film into his theatre because of an appreciation for Mack Sennett slapstick comedy. Both Welles's *Too Much Johnson* and *Around the World* share this Sennett tradition and are essentially the only comedy films Welles ever directed.

24. Orson Welles and John Houseman, "Plan For A New Theatre: The Mercury Will Attempt to Arouse the Interest of a Wider Audience," *New York Times*, August 29, 1937; John Houseman, "Again—A People's Theatre; The Mercury Takes a Bow," *Daily Worker,* September 18, 1937, 7.

25. Orson Welles, "The Self Conscious Theatre," *Saturday Review*, February 8, 1941, 12.

26. Bert McCord, "Welles Denies Korda Link," *New York Tribune*, March 14, 1946; Charles Laughton to Richard Wilson, July 21, 1946, Welles Mss., Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Serious talks continued for *Galileo* through March and April, as it was intended that the play would be released in August or a bit later. Afterward Welles did not cease his involvement with *Galileo* even after it was delayed because Laughton and Brecht could not raise

enough money. Welles however, angrily cut ties with idea when two weeks before the cancellation of *Around the World,* Brecht and Laughton brought Mike Todd in to produce the play. Welles even claims that Brecht wrote this version of the play (the original version was produced in Germany in 1938-39) specifically for him to direct. Given that the two artists were somewhat friends, Welles's claim is plausible.

27. Orson Welles to Cole Porter, November 26, 1945, Welles Mss., Box 3, Lilly Library; Lewis B. Funke, *New York Times*, January 20, 1946.

28. Lewis B. Funke, *New York Times*, January 20, 1946.

29. "Todd Withdraws as Sponsor," *New York Tribune*, January 30, 1946. It is widely believed that Mike Todd abandoned *Around the World* during the later stages of pre-production and rehearsals. These Wellesian tales describe Todd walking into the rehearsal hall and overhearing Orson telling the actors how an oil spill will occur onstage during every performance, completely covering the actors with black dye. In turn, Todd, who, also according to the tale, already put $40,000 into *Around the World*, quit citing the huge cleaning costs of the special effect. The truth is, only nine days after it was publicly announced Todd was the play's producer, Todd dropped out only stating that he refused to waive artistic supervision. Since rehearsals did not begin until late March of 1946, Todd did not sign a contract nor is there record of Todd's $40,000 investment. Todd's involvement in the production is over exaggerated and dramatized, most likely due to his Academy Award-winning film, *Around the World in 80 Days* in 1956, eight years later.

30. "Production Statement Summery – 'Around the World,'" n.d., Welles Mss., Box 7, Folder 10, Lilly Library.

31. Mercury Enterprises Inc., "Around the World Balance Sheet," November 18, 1946, Welles Mss. Lilly Library.

32. Richard Wilson to Lolita Herbert, April 26, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 3, Lilly Library; Weisman, Grant, Nova & Doskow Law to Ross Evans, Feburary 28, 1947, Welles Mss., Box 4, Lilly Library.

33. Weisman, Grant, Nova & Doskow Law to Ross Evans, Feburary 28, 1947, Welles Mss., Box 4, Lilly Library.

34. Mercury Enterprises Inc., "Around the World Balance Sheet," November 18, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 7, Folder 10, Lilly Library.

35. The strategy of funding a Broadway production by producing films is undoubtedly ironic in light of Welles's later career. After he left Hollywood in 1948, and especially later, he raised money by any method (wine commercials,

cartoon voice acting, etc.) that he could just to make low-budget films. This speaks further to *Around the World*'s importance to Welles, because before 1946 (after *The Magnificent Ambersons* and *It's All True*) he had already experienced a time when he could not find financing for films. In turn, this shows that he really wanted to make the production, as he was using his film money to make a play.

36. The principal actors signed onto the project nearly at the last moment. With the exception of Larry Laurence (Pat) and Alan Reed, Mary Healy (Mrs. Aouda), Arthur Margetson (Phineas Fogg) and Julie Warren (Molly Muggins) did not officially sign on until the few days before the delayed rehearsals (possibly the cause of the delay).

37. "Welles Rehearsals Beat Housing Shortage," *Boston Herald*, April 28, 1946.

38. Elliot Norton, "Welles' Musical Starts to Leave Hub Opera House," *Boston Post*, May 5, 1946.

39. "Welles Musical Delayed," n.p., April 27, 1946. *Around the World* Materials, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

40. Cyrus Durgin, "'Wonder Boy' Welles Having Busy Time in New Grandiose Production," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 29, 1946.

41. "Welles in Lead of his New Show," *Boston Post*, April 30, 1946.

42. Ibid.; "A protean actor…," n.p., May 1, 1946. Welles Mss., Lilly Library.

43. "Weekly Production Statements," April 27 – August 10, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 7, Folder 10, Lilly Library.

44. Frank Brady, *Citizen Welles: A Biography of Orson Welles* (New York: Scribner's, 1989); Simon Callow, *Orson Welles: Hello Americans* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006); Clinton Heylin, *Despite the System: Orson Welles versus the Hollywood Studios* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2005); Barbara Leaming, *Orson Welles, a Biography* (New York: Viking, 1985). I would like to note that, while these sources have dismissive attitudes toward *Around the World*, they at least mention it. David French's book *The Theatre of Orson Welles* (noted in the bibliography) does not even mention the work and ends in 1941, insinuating that Welles's theatrical career ended when he began making films, which is obviously not true.

45. *Around the World (in 80 Days or A Wager Won)* draft script, undated, Welles Mss., Box 7, Folder 4, Lilly Library; *Around the World* final script, undated, Welles Mss., Box 7, Folder 5, Lilly Library; *Around the World* programs, Box 1, Orson Welles - Oja Kodar Papers, Special Collections Library, University of

Michigan; *Around the World* programs, Box 23, Richard Wilson – Orson Welles Collections, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

46. Lewis B. Funke, *New York Times*, March 17, 1946.

47. *Around the World (in 80 Days or A Wager Won)*.

48. Ibid. In the very handy book *The Encyclopedia of Orson Welles*, the author describes the silent films in *Around the World* as being narrated by Welles using the theatre's loudspeakers. There is no evidence of this narration, however. On the other hand, there is overwhelming evidence of the use of intertitles in the production.

49. Edwin Schallert, "Drama Stage and Screen: Welles Sees Television Boon to Dramatic Arts Screen's 'Four-Ways Man Finds Distinct Fields for Films, Radio, Stage and Telecasts," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1939.

50. *Around the World (in 80 Days or A Wager Won)*. Vitagraph was one of the most famous and prolific silent film studios of the 1910s. During Welles's time, however, it is very unlikely that he would have had access to these films. Furthermore, there is no evidence that his sets in *Around the World* were modeled on Vitagraph films, however this cannot discredit its possibility.

51. Wk. Theatre. *Too Much Johnson* (1938), Box 1, Orson Welles - Oja Kodar Papers; Cyrus Durgin, "'Wonder Boy' Welles Having Busy Time in New Grandiose Production," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 29, 1946.

52. *Around the World (in 80 Days or A Wager Won)*.

53. An interesting fact: in Welles's acceptance speech for his Honorary Oscar in 1970, he brought up Cinerama technology.

54. Set list pg. 1, undated, Welles Mss., Box 7, Lilly Library.

55. *Around the World* shot list, April 15, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 7, Folder 6, Lilly Library. B. Kelley's other work seems to be an enigma, I have found no other trace of him.

56. "Welles Rehearsals Beat Housing Shortage," *Boston Herald*, April 28, 1946.

57. Welles shot only 54 individual shots in all of the scenes combined. This conservative amount of shots was either the result of precise planning, or because *Around the World* was going to open in Boston in 11 days and he still would need time to edit the films (A combination of the two is also possible). Either way, it appears Welles shot the scenes in the least amount of shots possible.

58. This is contrary to many other reports (Simon Callow says the films lasted more than 30 minutes) but there is no way that the films lasted more than about 17 minutes, as this is the total time of every shot (unedited) Welles took combined.

59. *Around the World* shot list; *Around the World* final script; Stage photos, undated, Welles Mss., Box 31, Folders 10-14, Lilly Library. These three sources are the key elements to putting together the films that were shown. The exact location of the screen is an enigma. During this scene the screen remains onstage even after the London drop is removed, even though it would have to be in front of the drop to be visible as keeping it in front of the bank scene would block the audience from the stage. In turn, it could be possible that the screen was placed in an upper portal, however the script notes that Dick Fix backs into it at one point in this scene. At least for the first two scenes, it appears that the screen was not taken off the stage. For later scenes there are direct stage directions to take the screen in and out.

60. Set designs. Welles Mss., Oversize 9, Lilly Library.

61. The lobsterscope is a fixture that goes over a stage light and has a spinning disc on the front of it with holes that the light shines through. The result is a constant flickering light. In the stage directions, Welles calls this a "lobstascope."

62. John Chapman, "Around the World is Grand, Gorgeous and Goofy," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, June 9, 1946; "Around the World (in 80 Days)," *Variety*, May 1, 1946, n. pag.

63. Colin Winslow, *The Oberon Glossary of Theatrical Terms* (London: Oberon, 2011), 64.

64. The Chinese film sequence is the hardest to put together due to its lack of a narrative and the little description in the script. If there is no description of what the film looks like and how it functions, then the only information that can be used to piece together the film is the narrative. With the Hong Kong sequence, however, the film is used to characterize the location and its people and does not follow a narrative. Thus it could be put together in practically any order Welles wanted.

65. *Around the World* shot list, April 15, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 7, Folder 6, Lilly Library.

66. There is a shot described in the shot list that sounds identical to a shot in *The Lady from Shanghai.* While Pat is walking around Hong Kong, he takes out a spyglass and looks around (at what is not clear) and this action is covered in two shots: a medium shot and a close-up. In *The Lady from Shanghai* there is a shot in which Grisby is shown looking into a spyglass followed by a close-up P.O.V. shot through the spyglass at the diving Rita Hayworth. If Pat's second shot is a P.O.V

close-up (and it very well could be) this would be another instance that Welles drew from *Around the World* when making *The Lady from Shanghai.*

67. Simon Callow, *Orson Welles: Hello Americans* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006), 291-2. "Orson Welles and I" is the unpublished autobiography of lead actor Arthur Margetson. While I have tried to, and am continuing to try to, track it down, Callow has somehow been able to procure a copy (I have no doubt it exists somewhere in the United Kingdom). I am sure there are wonderful anecdotes and information about *Around the World* and its films as Margetson and Welles never worked with each other at any other time. Even with this information, Callow does not mention any possible connection between *Arkadin* and *Around the World* in his book nor does he describe the films in detail.

68. *Around the World* final script.

69. Theatre - *Around the World* Photographs, Box 1, Orson Welles - Oja Kodar Papers; Stage photos, Welles Mss., Box 31, Folders 10-14, Lilly Library.

70. *Around the World* shot list.

71. Sherwood King, *If I Die before I Wake* (London: Penguin Classics, 2010); Orson Welles, *Take This Woman* (Los Angeles: Columbia Pictures, 1947), *American Film Scripts* (Alexander Street Press, L.L.C, 2005).

72. Orson Welles, *Take This Woman* (Los Angeles: Columbia Pictures, 1947), *American Film Scripts* (Alexander Street Press, L.L.C, 2005).

73. Ibid.

74. William Morris Jr. to Johnny Hyde, August 1, 1946, WW. Mercury. Film. *The Lady from Shanghai* (1948). Production Documents, 1946-1947, 30. Richard Wilson - Orson Welles Papers.

75. William Morris Jr. to Henry Foster, September 14, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 4, Lilly Library.

76. William Morris Jr. to Richard Wilson, September 16, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 4, Lilly Library.

77. *Take this Woman* – updated draft script, September 10-16, 1946, Welles Mss., Box 21, Folder 22, Lilly Library. This copy of the script is unique in that it has every page revision attached to the page that it is replacing. For example, there are four page 150s, one from an early version and then three different revisions from September 10, 11, and 16. In turn, I was able to trace the progression of *The Lady from Shanghai* and see exactly what day changes were made and the substance of

those changes; Another source used is the final shooting script, *The Lady from Shanghai* screenplay (4 of 4), Box 30, Richard Wilson-Orson Welles Papers.

78. There are actually two different performances on stage during the Chinese theatre scene in *The Lady from Shanghai.* However, Welles leaves the first performance, done by a different group of actors, primarily in the background. The second performance is highlighted by several close-up shots and is the focus of this section of the thesis.

79. Theatre — *Around the World* Photographs, Box 1, Orson Welles - Oja Kodar Papers; Stage photos, Welles Mss., Box 31, Folders 10-14, Lilly Library; *The Lady from Shanghai* Photographs (2 of 4), Box 30, Richard Wilson-Orson Welles Papers.

80. *Around the World* shot list.

81. Andrew Sarris, *The American Cinema; Directors and Directions, 1929-1968* (New York: Dutton, 1968), 32, 79-80.

82. Ibid., 30.

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