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All the World's a Studio:

The Internationalization of Hollywood Production
and Location Shooting in the Postwar Era

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Film and Television

by

Daniel Steinhart

2013

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

All the World's a Studio:
The Internationalization of Hollywood Production
and Location Shooting in the Postwar Era

by

Daniel Steinhart

Doctor of Philosophy in Film and Television

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Stephen Mamber, Chair

After World War II as Hollywood faced a changing industrial and cultural landscape, U.S. film companies began making more movies abroad, where they took advantage of frozen foreign earnings, film subsidies, cheap labor and striking locations while also appealing to increasingly important overseas audiences. But how were Hollywood companies able to produce films globally away from the infrastructure of the motion picture industry in Los Angeles? What was the effect of shooting abroad on these films' form and style? This dissertation addresses these questions through an examination of Hollywood productions that were filmed overseas from 1948 to 1962.

This study demonstrates that these films' financial and geographic characteristics and the relationship between a film's story setting and its shooting location were key

causal forces that shaped how a Hollywood foreign production was organized. The dissertation also builds a historical account of the factors that facilitated a Hollywood film company's ability to export production to Great Britain, Italy and France. It argues that Hollywood's overseas productions resulted in a more flexible and transcultural movie-making process, in which filmmakers continued production practices established in the Hollywood studio system while adapting to the conditions of foreign film industries. Finally, applying a historical approach to film style, this study investigates the creative choices that arose when Hollywood filmmakers confronted the challenges of working in real-world locales. It makes the case that these filmmakers brought foreign location shooting in line with the conventions of Hollywood story and style while also treating locations as bold expressive elements of a film's visual design.

Drawing on historical evidence gathered in Los Angeles and Europe (e.g. studio production records, personal correspondence, the film trade and popular press, memoirs, interviews and the films themselves), this inquiry illuminates how Hollywood created a more international production industry to navigate the transforming industrial, cultural and political climate of the postwar era. Ultimately, this project historicizes the ongoing debates about "runaway" production and serves as a model of analysis for studying the transnational flow of labor, production practices and stylistic ideas.

The dissertation of Daniel Steinhart is approved.

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2013

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A convention of film interpretation is to treat the subject of a movie as a metaphor for its making. So let me borrow from that practice: The research and writing of this study was an international venture, supported by many individuals and organizations in the United States and abroad.

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Introduction.

“Have Talent, Will Travel”: Hollywood’s Postwar Foreign Productions¹

In 1962, MGM released Vincente Minnelli’s *Two Weeks in Another Town*, a film whose story reflected its own production. Partially shot in Rome, it tells the tale of a washed-up Hollywood actor, who takes over directing duties on a United States-Italian co-production after the film’s original director suffers a heart attack. In its depiction of production work, the film stands as a striking representation of a phenomenon that had been gripping Hollywood for over a decade. Since the late 1940s, Hollywood had shot movies worldwide for a variety of industrial, financial and aesthetic reasons. Called “runaway” productions by U.S. labor groups, these motion pictures used both Hollywood and foreign production workers, a transcultural intermixing captured in Minnelli’s film.

The actor Jack Andrus visits the Cinecittà Studios in Rome, where Maurice Kruger, a Hollywood director and Jack’s longtime collaborator, stages a sappy love scene on a boat in the studio’s water tank. The actor walks past the film’s American unit publicist and a group of international journalists and finds a spot next to the director’s American script supervisor. As Andrus watches the scene unfold, Kruger calls out over his megaphone for crew members to turn on the wind and wave machines. A local, bilingual assistant director translates these instructions from English into Italian. Kruger shouts action and the two lead actors, a young American screen idol and a young Italian actress, commence performing. The actor speaks English and the actress responds in a mix of Italian and English until the director yells cut. The bad acting, the ham-fisted

¹ “‘Have Talent, Will Travel’ Retorts Tiomkin To Critics Of ‘Runaway[’],” *Daily Variety*, August 31, 1962, 8.

treatment of the love scene, and the artificial setting all betray the production's uninspired and boilerplate approach to filmmaking, which Andrus will attempt to rectify once he takes charge of the movie.

Minnelli's depiction of international production work is informative in a number of ways. Reflecting a division of labor, the film suggests that certain key personnel—the director, the unit publicist and the script supervisor—are English-speaking workers from Hollywood and the below-the-line members are an Italian-speaking labor force. To drum up publicity, the production has opened its set to a small international press corps, who will ostensibly report on the making of the film for various media outlets. At the center of the set is a bilingual Italian assistant director, who translates the director's commands to the crew. We also get a bit of technical insight: The production will dub the actors' performances, allowing the lead actor from the U.S. and the lead actress from Italy to speak in their native languages during filming. While this is a satire of production work, *Two Weeks in Another Town* highlights that a procedure for Hollywood filmmakers to work with an international cast and crew in a foreign locale was in place. The story of how this process was instituted and how it developed over time is the basis of this dissertation.

While the U.S. film industry has a long history of making motion pictures around the world, Hollywood only committed to foreign production in earnest after World War II by turning this method of filmmaking into an international strategy to help weather the uncertainties and changes of the postwar period. Because of financial volatility after the war, a number of Western European governments froze the earnings of Hollywood companies to control the outflow of U.S. dollars. In order to access these frozen funds,

Hollywood firms began mounting their own productions, especially in Great Britain, Italy and France. The desire to utilize these funds—along with the need for authentic foreign backdrops, cheap labor, tax incentives, foreign subsidies and co-production deals—laid the essential groundwork for Hollywood to make movies abroad in the postwar era. Far from a minor trend, Hollywood’s postwar foreign productions were numerous enough to qualify as an industry strategy and to bring about multiple protest campaigns from Hollywood unions from the late 1940s into the 1960s over the loss of domestic work opportunities. “The 1950-60 stanza was the decade of global thinking,” one industry analyst proposed at the close of this decade. “The end of the war opened the world to film production and Hollywood units seeking authentic locales roamed all over the globe to shoot pictures.”²

The reasons, namely the economic ones, for Hollywood’s foreign productions have been analyzed at length in various studies.³ However, little attention heretofore has been given to who actually worked on these films, how they were made, the specific locations where these productions were shot, and the extent to which making movies in foreign countries was a change from studio-era production work. In this dissertation, I examine Hollywood’s foreign productions, whose principal photography took place outside of the United States from 1948 to 1962. Through historical reconstructions based on empirical evidence, my aim is to shed light on these films’ production coordination, labor organization, filmmaking practices, promotional campaigns and representations of

² Hy Hollinger, “No Biz Like Pix Biz Was Then As Frantic ‘50s End An Era,” *Daily Variety*, December 30, 1959, 1, 7.

³ Irving Bernstein, *Hollywood at the Crossroads* (Hollywood: AF of L Film Council, 1957). Thomas Guback, *The International Film Industry: Western Europe and America Since 1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969). Peter Lev, *The Fifties: Transforming the Screen 1950-1959* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Robert R. Shandley, *Runaway Romances: Hollywood’s Postwar Tour of Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009).

foreign regions. Aiming for breadth and depth, this analysis spans the globe with a consideration of location shooting in Europe, Latin America, Africa and East Asia, while adding specificity to this account by examining the economic contexts and the filmmaking practices of productions shot in Great Britain, Italy and France.

My definition of a Hollywood foreign production is based on a series of conditions: 1) The films were financed wholly or partly by a Hollywood film company, including the use of frozen foreign funds; 2) a significant portion of the principal photography was accomplished outside of the United States; and 3) the films relied on key production personnel from Hollywood, namely the director, and below-the-line foreign workers.⁴ With these prerequisites in mind, what films can we designate as Hollywood foreign productions and what films fall out of this category?

By example, MGM's *Ivanhoe* (1952), shot on location in England and in MGM's British studios, qualifies as a Hollywood foreign production. While much of the cast and crew were British, its director Richard Thorpe and producer Pandro S. Berman came from Hollywood, bringing with them a set of Hollywood production practices. A film such as MGM's *Something of Value* (1957), directed by Hollywood filmmaker Richard Brooks and again produced by Pandro S. Berman and shot on location in Kenya and in MGM's Culver City studios, also counts as a foreign production since a major portion of principal photography took place overseas and because a number of Hollywood personnel were behind the camera.

⁴ Economic historian Irving Bernstein offers a similar definition of Hollywood foreign productions: "a picture financed in whole or in part by American money (perhaps money earned by a U.S. company in a foreign country) and produced by an American company; but the labor that produces it is foreign, with the frequent exception of the director and two or three leading actors, and the film is shot in a foreign country." Bernstein, *Hollywood at the Crossroads*, 48.

Now let us consider a couple of films that have foreign settings but do not qualify as overseas productions according to this project's conception. Even though the Rome-situated *Indiscretion of an American Wife* (1954) was a U.S.-Italian co-production produced by David O. Selznick and starring Hollywood actors Montgomery Clift and Jennifer Jones, the film does not count since its director Vittorio De Sica worked in the Italian film industry at the time, bringing with him a largely Italian crew.⁵ Also, while the Warner Bros. film *April in Paris* (1953) is partially set in the eponymous city, the movie was filmed at Warner Studios in Burbank with only a handful of insert shots of Paris that were used to convey a foreign setting; therefore, it likewise does not count. Although these two motion pictures reflect the increased international collaborations and foreign story settings of postwar cinema, I consider the former film more of an Italian production and the latter a domestic Hollywood production.

A variety of terms have been used to describe Hollywood's international production work. Hollywood unions used the pejorative name "runaway" production to emphasize how these films were leaving the Los Angeles area, along with jobs for the local workforce. In a 1957 report on the state of the U.S. film industry prepared for the Hollywood Film Council of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), economic historian Irving Bernstein called these productions "American-interest films made abroad," emphasizing the financial imperative of these motion pictures.⁶ Alternatively, in order to suggest that films shot abroad would have never been made in the U.S., Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), used the term

⁵ The crew did include some international personnel, including British cinematographer Oswald Morris, who shot the film's close-ups under Selznick's supervision, and American sound mixer Dick Van Hesse. Oswald Morris, *Huston, We Have a Problem: A Kaleidoscope of Filmmaking Memories* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 182-186.

⁶ Bernstein, *Hollywood at the Crossroads*, 48.

“supplemental international production,” arguing that this work in fact “provides additional income and jobs in the United States.”⁷ Meanwhile, the Screen Producers Guild, some of whose members benefited from making movies overseas, took up the more neutral label “overseas production.”⁸ My own usage tends to rely on more neutral terminology (e.g. foreign production, overseas production and production abroad), not because my perspective aligns with the producers, but because I want to employ a more objective designation in order to separate my analysis from the debates amongst producers, unions and industry analysts around international filmmaking that flourished in the postwar era.

Viewing these motion pictures as a shift in the conditions and means of production that had been established in the studio system, I retrace how Hollywood filmmakers made movies away from the production center of Los Angeles, worked with foreign crews and production practices, and filmed in authentic foreign locations. Although I take into account a range of productions and film personnel, a handful of players have a prominent role, including director Vincente Minnelli; director-producers William Wyler, Alfred Hitchcock and John Huston; and producer Darryl F. Zanuck. Far from an instance of late-career decline, much of their foreign production work is exemplary of the adaptive development from making movies in Hollywood studios to overcoming the challenges of foreign location shooting.

⁷ “Statement by Eric Johnston, President, Motion Picture Association of America, to the House Education and Labor Subcommittee on the Impact of Imports & Exports on American Employment,” December 1, 1961, Hollywood AFL Film Council File, Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers (AMPTP) Records, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills (hereafter AMPAS Library). His comments are also reported in “Johnston Blames Economic Squeeze; Says May Worsen,” *Daily Variety*, December 4, 1961, 1, 4.

⁸ “The Journal Looks at Overseas Production,” *The Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, December 1960.

The highlighting of these figures is not motivated by an attempt to advance an auteurist agenda. This research project engages with craft practices and creative choices, and consequently producers and directors receive attention because they represent the forces that directly shaped organizational and aesthetic decisions. Nonetheless, understanding the nature of production work requires that we investigate the contributions of below-the-line workers as well: production managers such as Henry Henigson, C.O. Erickson and Michel Rittener; cinematographers like Oswald Morris, Joseph Ruttenberg and Charles G. Clarke; and script supervisors such as Sylvette Baudrot. While these individuals barely make a footnote in cinema history, they were pivotal in affecting the logistics and techniques of postwar foreign filmmaking.

My approach to studying these productions will largely take a Hollywood perspective, asking how studio filmmakers undertook shooting films overseas. Nevertheless, in order to substantiate these productions as an instance of transnational exchange, I draw on primary materials from archives in Europe and interviews with foreign personnel to take into consideration the duties and experiences of overseas industries and workers from Great Britain, Italy and France in collaborating with Hollywood companies. By factoring in these industries and their labor pools, I aim to lay bare these productions' mixture of Hollywood and overseas facilities, equipment shipped from the U.S. and production materials acquired locally, the interaction of Hollywood and foreign personnel, and the trading of Hollywood and foreign filmmaking methods. The assessment of these foreign industries will be carried out with an eye to how they both shaped Hollywood foreign productions and were influenced by them.

An important goal of this dissertation is to demonstrate that the U.S. film industry's involvement in international productions was not simply an instance of cultural imperialism but rather an example of broad intercultural exchange at the level of investment, labor and production practices. Certainly, U.S. firms and filmmakers often dictated the terms of this exchange, but foreign industries welcomed Hollywood production and financing and at the same time they resisted it, a complex reaction that I will address in this project.

While Hollywood production portended some of the processes of globalization, namely the outsourcing of labor, postwar foreign production work did not operate within the intensified financial interdependencies of today's global markets. As opposed to invoking the forces of globalization—a contemporary occurrence—I use the idea of internationalization, a concept from the 19th and 20th centuries that promoted cooperation amongst nations.⁹ Bearing in mind that the rhetoric of postwar cooperative internationalism often obscured Hollywood's dominating power in worldwide production and distribution, we can place foreign productions within their proper historical context while also attending to the transnational collaborations that were at the heart of this work.

Ultimately, by researching postwar films made abroad, I hope to broaden our knowledge of Hollywood's international production activities by historicizing the current debates about contemporary “runaway” productions in the U.S. motion picture and television industries and recent scholarly studies.¹⁰ Through case studies of specific

⁹ Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 9-10.

¹⁰ Greg Elmer and Mike Gasher, eds., *Contracting out Hollywood: Runaway Productions and Foreign Location Shooting* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005). Ben Goldsmith and Tom O'Regan, *The Film Studio: Film Production in the Global Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005). Toby Miller, Nitin Govil, John McMurria, Richard Maxwell and

productions and a scrutiny of films and supporting materials, I intend to reevaluate purely economic chronicles of postwar overseas productions to provide a more fine-grained explanation of how these films were made by focusing on labor organization, production practices and foreign location shooting. Drawing on historical evidence gathered in the U.S. and Europe (e.g. studio production records, personal correspondence, the film trade and popular press, memoirs, interviews and the films themselves), I illuminate how Hollywood created a more international production industry in order to navigate the changing industrial, cultural and political climate of the postwar era.

Periodization

My account of Hollywood's foreign productions covers a fifteen-year period, from 1948 through 1962. The year 1948 was a crucial turning point for the U.S. film industry's relations with the rest of the world, in particular Western Europe. As a result of financial instability after World War II, some Western European governments enacted a series of protective measures to control U.S. firms' access to local markets and to force foreign film companies to invest their earnings in local industries. Viewing these measures as highly unfavorable to its market access, the U.S. film industry entered into negotiation with Great Britain, Italy and France to create terms that would be more advantageous to the U.S. The ensuing pacts of the late 1940s eliminated import taxes, set more agreeable import quotas, remitted partial earnings, and—most important for this study—established the conditions for accessing frozen funds to be applied towards foreign productions. Soon

Ting Wang, *Global Hollywood 2* (London: BFI, 2005). Janet Wasko and Mary Erickson, eds., *Cross-Border Cultural Production: Economic Runaway or Globalization?* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008).

afterwards, studios and independent film companies began mounting productions both in Europe and around the globe.

The choice of 1962 as an end point is driven by multiple factors that signal both continuity and change in Hollywood's foreign productions. By the early 1960s, Hollywood filmmakers were tackling foreign location shooting with increased expertise, even harnessing new widescreen technologies to exploit the picturesque qualities of authentic locales abroad. Accordingly, these filmmakers reached a kind of technical and stylistic plateau. However, Hollywood companies began to at once scale back and modify their involvement in foreign production work. The much-publicized budget over-runs of films such as *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962) and *Cleopatra* (1963) demonstrated that shooting abroad was not always cost effective, especially with foreign production expenses increasing.¹¹ The continued campaigns of unions in collaboration with management against "runaway" production, culminating in the formation of the Hollywood Joint Labor-Management Committee on Foreign Film Production in 1962, also promoted policies towards reducing overseas filmmaking.¹²

In addition, motion pictures such as *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965) and parts of *Spartacus* (1960) proved that big-budget epics could be made domestically.¹³ Billy Wilder's *Irma la Douce* (1963), which relied on some background footage shot in Paris but with a majority of the film executed on a Parisian set in Hollywood, was touted

¹¹ Murray Schumach, "Paramount Gives Hollywood Hope," *New York Times*, September 25, 1962, 32.

¹² However, by 1964, this committee was dissolved. Camille K. Yale, "Runaway Film Production: A Critical History of Hollywood's Outsourcing Discourse" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010), 102-103.

¹³ "SEG's 'Greatest' Victory In 'Runaway' Fight," *Daily Variety*, May 16, 1962, 1, 7. "AFL-CIO Helps Sell 'Spartacus' Tix As Part Of Its 'Runaway' Campaign," *Daily Variety*, January 18, 1961, 3.

for its ability to accurately recreate foreign scenery on Hollywood backlots. “We’re reversing runaway by bringing Paris to Hollywood,” declared the film’s producer Harold Mirisch in 1962.¹⁴ In fact, his company was reported to have conducted a study that suggested films shot overseas could be produced more efficiently and with greater technical skill in Hollywood.¹⁵ Also, much to the approval of many in the industry, the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) in 1962 decided to not raise wage rates, a decision that was meant to serve as an incentive for Hollywood films to be shot domestically.¹⁶

Lastly, the economic incentives, such as frozen funds and tax exemptions on foreign wages, which had previously spurred foreign productions, ceased to be compelling reasons for filming abroad. Over the course of the 1950s as European economies strengthened, countries relaxed their remittance restrictions for Hollywood company earnings. President Kennedy also signed into law a tax revision bill that limited the income tax exemption for U.S. citizens residing abroad, thereby undercutting a factor that had impelled some movie stars to take up residence and to work in foreign countries.¹⁷ In the election year of 1962, incumbent Governor Edmond G. Brown and his Republican rival Richard Nixon took an intensified interest in fighting “runaway”

¹⁴ Quoted in Dale Olson, “Campaigning In Studio, Brown Hits ‘Runaway’ (Natch),” *Daily Variety*, October 18, 1962, 3. However, the French press eventually decried the film’s backlot Paris. Antoine De Baecque, ed., *Paris by Hollywood* (Paris: Flammarion, 2012), 189.

¹⁵ Murray Schumach, “Hollywood Sees a Rise in Filming,” *New York Times*, October 8, 1962, 18. For more on the making of *Irma la Douce* see Murray Schumach, “Hollywood Seine,” *New York Times*, October 21, 1962, 135.

¹⁶ Murray Schumach, “Actors To Waive Salary Increase,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1962, 43. However, certain producers such as Stanley Kramer argued that it was not union wages that helped keep production overseas, but the high salaries of stars. See Art Ryon, “Kramer Says Producers Can Blame Themselves for Rising Film Costs,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1962, A1.

¹⁷ For summaries of these reasons, see Schumach, “Hollywood Sees a Rise in Filming,” 18. “‘Back to Hollywood’ Upbeat,” *Film Daily*, October 17, 1962, 1, 4. Stanley W. Penn, “Back to Hollywood: Movie Makers Produce More Films in the U.S. As Foreign Costs Rise,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 6, 1962, 1.

productions and protecting domestic work.¹⁸ By the mid 1960s, the press was reporting a noticeable increase in Hollywood production.¹⁹

As these changes were occurring in the U.S., overseas film activities took a slightly different form through the proliferation of Hollywood's subsidiaries abroad and their investment in what qualified as foreign films. While U.S. companies had created foreign subsidiaries throughout the postwar period for the production of "Hollywood" films, from the late 1950s and into the 1960s, U.S. dollars were increasingly financing the production of what were legally deemed British, Italian and French films. According to the British National Film Finance Corporation (NFFC), U.S. sources provided 75% of the funding for British films in 1965-66. By 1967-68, the percentage rose to 90%.²⁰ U.S. subsidiaries similarly increased their investments in "local" films in France and Italy in the 1960s.²¹

Simultaneously, European industries were experiencing a creative surge in film production with the British and French New Waves and Italian films stimulated by Italy's "economic miracle." By the early 1960s, these motion pictures made Hollywood production seem "old fashioned and creaky," according to screenwriter and producer Carl Foreman, who added, "There is nothing here to compare with the ferment in Great Britain, Italy, France or even Poland."²² Paradoxically, by investing in rebuilding the

¹⁸ Olson, "Campaigning In Studio," 3.

¹⁹ Yale, "Runaway Film Production," 104.

²⁰ Guback, *International Film Industry*, 171.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 176-78.

²² Murray Schumach, "Producer Fears Hollywood Doom," *New York Times*, February 8, 1962, 22. After being blacklisted in Hollywood, Foreman fled to Great Britain, where he resided through the 1950s and 1960s. In 1958, Foreman signed a contract with Columbia, which openly gave him credit for *The Key* (1958). Rebecca Prime, "'The Old Bogey': The Hollywood Blacklist in Europe," *Film History* 20 (2008): 474-486. Larry Ceplair and Steven England, *The Inquisition*

filmic infrastructures in Western Europe to support its overseas production work, Hollywood facilitated the resurgence of film industries that became its own competition—a potential pointed out early on by Nathan Golden, the chief of the Department of Commerce’s Motion Picture Division.²³ Ever ready to adapt, though, Hollywood companies capitalized on this trend by financing some of these productions and by distributing these movies on the art film market for a receptive U.S. audience.²⁴ For purposes of this study, the convergence of the above-mentioned factors, mostly driven by economics and industry changes, suggests 1962 stands as a shift in the postwar period of foreign productions.

Chapter Overview

In order to carry out this historical inquiry, I will move across various interrelated registers: economics, geography, industry politics, craft practices, production cultures and film style. Chapter One builds a systematic breakdown of Hollywood foreign production by categorizing these films based on three different features: 1) financing, 2) geography, and 3) the relationship between the story’s setting and its shooting location. I put forward that the economic, geographic and setting-vs.-location configurations were outlying causal forces that shaped how a foreign production was organized, and that these configurations influenced the debates over “runaway” production taken up by Hollywood unions and producers.

in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 396-397.

²³ “New Rival In Europe Is Seen,” *Daily Variety*, September 13, 1949, 8. “Golden Says Prod Abroad Suicidal,” *Hollywood Reporter*, September 13, 1949, 1, 5.

²⁴ Tino Balio, *The Foreign Film Renaissance on American Screens, 1946-1973* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

While issues of economics and geography establish a foundation for my analysis, the crux of this project will work from the question of how these productions were carried out once Hollywood filmmakers decided to make a motion picture abroad. Chapter Two sharpens the focus on filming sites and delves into the continuities and changes in production practices as Hollywood moved its filmmaking activities from the greater Los Angeles area to Great Britain, Italy and France—three countries that hosted amongst the heaviest concentration of Hollywood production in the postwar period.²⁵ I argue that a number of prominent features characterize Hollywood’s system of production overseas. These factors include the importance of studio foreign offices; the rise in influence of location production managers; the infrastructure provided by foreign studios, labs and equipment suppliers; the intermixing of Hollywood and foreign personnel and the communication between these entities; the reliance on contemporaneous overseas productions for labor and equipment; the sharing of trade knowledge; and the supervision of these productions by studio personnel back in Hollywood. Each of these factors is a contributing causal force that influenced the execution of Hollywood filmmaking in Western Europe.

Chapter Three takes a closer look at the challenges of overseas production work by using three case studies. I begin with *Roman Holiday* (1953), a Paramount production directed by William Wyler, which was shot entirely in Rome both on location and at Cinecittà Studios. I continue with another Paramount film *To Catch a Thief* (1955), which was directed by Alfred Hitchcock and shot on location in the south of France and in Paramount’s Hollywood studios. I finish with John Huston’s *Moby Dick* (1956), an independent production financed and distributed by Warner Bros., which was shot in

²⁵ Bernstein, *Hollywood at the Crossroads*, 53-56.

multiple countries, including work at Britain's Associated British Picture Corporation (ABPC) Studios.

Each of these films represents a different configuration of production identified in Chapter One and each respectively offers insight into the logistics of working in Italy, France and Britain discussed in Chapter Two. These case studies also allow me to spotlight some of the important transformations in Hollywood overseas production by examining in greater detail the function of the foreign office and studio, the duties of the production manager and the Hollywood studio, the contribution of foreign personnel, the logistics of location shooting, the growing flexibility of Hollywood production practices, and the influence of U.S. taxes and labor unions on the politics of filmmaking.

Chapter Four transitions into the aesthetic realm by zeroing in on the most prominent stylistic feature of films shot overseas: the authentic foreign location. More specifically, this chapter investigates the marketing of Hollywood foreign productions by asking why authentic locations were foregrounded in the promotional campaigns for films that were shot overseas. This examination reflects on the discourse of authentic foreignness and exotic spectacle in promotional activities and film reviews. As a secondary concern, this chapter stresses that the high profile of foreign locations in these campaigns sheds light on changes in Hollywood production and promotional practices and in the self-image that the U.S. film industry was manufacturing in an era of transition.

With the significance of location shooting in place, Chapter Five explains how authentic foreign locations were incorporated into the form and style of films shot abroad. I survey a wide sampling of movies to reveal how the foreign location posed both a

technical and aesthetic problem to the Hollywood filmmaker. Moreover, I show how filmmakers negotiated this task by selecting and arranging the locales, bringing locations within the norms of Hollywood form and style, shooting with new widescreen technologies, and formulating patterns and expressive ways to represent authentic foreign scenery. In doing so, I aim to indicate the degree of influence that location shooting had on the development of Hollywood visual style in the postwar era. The logistical, technical and aesthetics decisions that went into location shooting are illustrated with a case study of Vincente Minnelli's *Lust for Life* (1956). In the end, this chapter's analysis proposes that location can be treated as an aesthetic element that the filmmaker can manipulate to fulfill multiple functions of story and style. The problems encountered by Hollywood filmmakers when working on location and the solutions they deployed serve as proximate causal forces that directly shaped the story and visuals on foreign productions.

By moving from the general to the specific, from long-range to contiguous causal forces, I lay out the phenomenon of Hollywood foreign production in a manner that resembles a series of concentric circles, with each chapter shaping the thrust and argument of the subsequent section. The financing, geography and settings identified in Chapter One affected the flexible mode of production discussed in Chapters Two and Three. In Chapter Four, the discourse of foreign location shooting found in promotional campaigns and film reviews helped set the standards of location shooting. Finally, the production practices from Chapters Two and Three and the stylistic criteria from Chapter Four informed the aesthetic decision of location shooting explored in Chapter Five. All together, these chapters form a model of analysis for studying the transnational flow of labor, production practices and aesthetic ideas across international cultural industries,

thereby also acting as a useful framework for understanding the increasingly globalized world of today.

Chapter One.

“Runaway” Production’s Configurations and Debates

Towards the end of the 1940s, articles on Hollywood’s international production activities began to appear in U.S. magazines and newspapers, giving accounts of the growing phenomenon of Hollywood films shot overseas. Using impressive photo layouts, these reports represented Hollywood stars and moviemakers working in a variety of foreign locales and relying on local film industries. In 1948, *Collier’s* captured director Gregory Ratoff and Orson Welles shooting the film *Cagliostro* (released as *Black Magic* in 1949) in front of Roman backdrops. The article describes, “The Americans have been delighted with Italian artistic perfection. Costumes, sets and wigs have cost a tenth to a hundredth of what they would in America. Italian technicians, despite time out for Chianti, have proved amiable and adaptable.”¹ A year later in 1949, *The New York Times Magazine* presented a photo-spread on Hollywood talent working and “playing” in Italy and its capital, what then was being referred to as “Hollywood-on-the-Tiber.” The piece attempts to explain the reason for the influx of Hollywood stars and filmmakers and asserts, “For producers, part of Italy’s lure has been the unblocking of frozen Hollywood funds. But part, too, has been Italy’s own resurgence in film production.”²

By the early 1950s as international production continued to flourish, the popular press followed Hollywood’s foreign activities not just in Western Europe but also all over the globe. *The Los Angeles Times* published a photo essay entitled “Hollywood Now Reigns Over Vast International Domain” and depicted various Hollywood stars working

¹ “Hollywood Goes to Rome,” *Collier’s*, March 6, 1948, 18-19.

² “Hollywood in Italy,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 25, 1949, 24-25.

in Rome, England, Nicaragua, India, Monaco and Mexico.³ In a similar photo essay, *The New York Times* printed images of Hollywood talent making films in Rome, England, Paris, Bavaria, Quebec, Israel and the Fiji Islands, under the pithy title “Hollywood Studio—The World.” “In its growing enthusiasm for making movies about faraway places,” the commentary notes, “Hollywood, which in the past has recreated all known parts of the world in its studios, is now making one great studio of the world.”⁴

As these articles suggest, postwar film production was moving from Hollywood sound stages and backlots to authentic locations around the world. Film production was becoming unmoored from the Hollywood studio and Hollywood the place. This shift was due to a confluence of reasons, including the cutting of studio overhead, the rise of independent productions, and technological developments that facilitated location shooting.⁵ To be sure, the film industry’s international productions were an important part of this phenomenon of production decentralization. Even though these photo spreads touched on some of the factors that motivated Hollywood producers to relocate production operations overseas—factors such as frozen earnings and cheap, skilled labor—these popular press reports veiled the intricacies of making these films and the hot-button debates surrounding what unions termed “runaway” productions.

In this chapter, I elaborate on these press accounts by unpacking these productions’ complexities and the debates they elicited. To do so, I ask: How were these

³ “Hollywood Now Reigns Over Vast International Domain,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1953, E130.

⁴ “Hollywood Studio—The World,” *New York Times*, January 4, 1953, SM18.

⁵ Thomas Schatz, *Boom and Bust: American Cinema in the 1940s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 333. Janet Staiger, “The package-unit system: unit management after 1955,” *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 332. William Lafferty, “A Reappraisal of the Semi-Documentary in Hollywood, 1945-1948,” *The Velvet Light Trap* 20 (Summer 1983): 22-26.

films financed? Where exactly were they made? And—though not an obvious question but a key one—what was the relationship between where the film was set and where it was shot? In addition, I raise a secondary concern: What were the attitudes of producers and unions towards the phenomenon of foreign productions? By addressing these questions, I hope to demonstrate that a term like “runaway” production was highly contested and that the way individuals and organizations justified and defined the phenomenon varied considerably. Furthermore, the conflict that arose over these productions was not just a labor-versus-management debate but a complex discussion involving different stances from unions, studios, independent producers and industry leaders, whose positions and alignments transformed from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, a period of transition when the industry was redefining itself.

In an effort to analyze these Hollywood foreign productions in a more systematic way, I present a means of classifying these productions based on three different categories: 1) financing (i.e. where the film’s funding came from); 2) geography (i.e. where the film was shot); and 3) the relationship between the story’s setting and the film’s shooting location (i.e. whether the film was set and shot in the same place). In proposing this system of categorization, I work against two opposing inclinations.

The first inclination is to be too broad when analyzing this phenomenon since the industry’s rhetoric tended to be nebulous. The discourse surrounding postwar foreign productions found in the film trade press reveals an array of differing opinions from producers, industry leaders and unions. For example, shortly after studios such as MGM and Twentieth Century-Fox devised European production plans in 1948 to put to use frozen funds, the Hollywood AFL Film Council, which represented various film unions,

voiced its complaint about the number of films that were being shot overseas.⁶ Similarly, SAG threatened to protest the use of foreign actors instead of hiring Hollywood talent for the studios' foreign productions. MGM's *Quo Vadis* (1951), in particular, rankled SAG because the production intended to use so many foreign actors and extras.⁷ Despite these protests, Fox production head, Darryl Zanuck, maintained that his studio would continue to produce films overseas whenever stories necessitated foreign locations.⁸

Even with these articulated positions, the rhetoric of these individuals and groups expresses a generality that obscures the intricacies of these productions. For example, unions coined the term "runaway" production to describe films that were shot overseas to evade paying union wages in favor of "cheap" foreign labor. But in trade press articles from September 1949, the AFL Film Council offered tactics for fighting "runaway" production *except* in the case when a film required foreign locations.⁹ From some of its earliest investigations into these films, unions attempted to distinguish between which productions could be made abroad for legitimate reasons (i.e. the use of foreign locations) and which films would be targeted as a "runaway" production (i.e. those that went overseas for cheap labor). But with producers often backing up their financial motives for making movies abroad with the need for authentic foreign locations, what qualified as a "runaway" production became debatable. Furthermore, terms such as the unions'

⁶ "Metro Will Shoot Five Pix On Far Away Locations," *Daily Variety*, June 21, 1948, 9. "Zanuck Talks Of Big Prod'n Abroad," *Daily Variety*, August 30, 1948, 12. "California Solons Fite Quota," *Daily Variety*, March 31, 1949, 5.

⁷ "SAG Beef Is Planned On Foreigners," *Daily Variety*, April 6, 1949, 1, 6.

⁸ "Zanuck Delays His Return To H'wood," *Daily Variety*, September 12, 1949, 1, 2.

⁹ "'Runaway' Boycott Before AFL Council," *Hollywood Reporter*, September 26, 1949, 3. "AFL Report on Pix Abroad Is Delayed," *Daily Variety*, September 27, 1949, 2. In her dissertation on the labor history of "runaway" production, Camille K. Yale examines earlier references to "runaway" production in the *Hollywood Reporter's* February 1949 coverage of the lobbying efforts of IATSE and the AFL to campaign against "runaway" production. See Yale, "Runaway Film Production," 48.

pejorative “runaway” production, the Producers Guild’s more neutral term “overseas production,” or MPAA president Eric Johnston’s pro-internationalist “supplemental international production” all obscure the fact that this was not one type of production but a mode of production diverse in its financial interests, geographic sites and organization. Part of the purpose of the following classifications is to cut through the vagueness of the industry’s rhetoric and bring to the fore the real diversity of these productions.

However, this diversity points to a second tendency I would like to avoid. There is a temptation to shy away from analyzing these productions because of a fragmenting of the standardization of how these films were financed, organized and executed, in which “the mass production of many films by a few manufacturing firms” was moving towards “the specialized production of a few films by many independents”—a feature of late studio system-era production work.¹⁰ But looking for patterns in how these films were financed and organized can be fruitful. By generalizing based on what is known about the relative importance of these features, we gain a fuller sense of the situation. So I propose being both specific and general, to seek out more precision than the industrial rhetoric might lay bare and to look for trends across the complexities of foreign productions.

FINANCIAL, GEOGRAPHIC AND SETTING-LOCATION CONFIGURATIONS

The following analysis examines three features of foreign productions, moving from the financial and geographic to the relationship between a film’s story setting and its shooting location. By inductively analyzing the industry discourse in the film trade press, namely *Daily Variety*, I lay out the formulations of these categories and use them as a lead-in to discussing the ways that financing, geography, story setting and location

¹⁰ Staiger, “Package-unit system,” 331.

affected the debates surrounding foreign production. I do not privilege any of these configurations, as either the funding, the shooting location or the story setting could have been a cause for making a movie abroad, and, in fact, these factors could have simultaneously motivated a Hollywood company to film overseas.

However, these are far from the only forces that shaped the organization of a foreign production. Issues such as Hollywood talents' pursuit of the eighteen-month tax incentive, which exempted the taxes on income earned seventeen out of eighteen months while abroad, or individuals' escape from Hollywood's anti-Communist atmosphere were important factors for why a certain filmmaker or technician would have been drawn to foreign production work. These rationales, though, do not persuasively explain how a production was organized and executed. In addition, the makeup of the labor pool and whether the film was a studio or independent production had an important bearing on production coordination. But those factors—what I would call mid-range causal forces—are examined in the subsequent two chapters since they are more pertinent to *how* Hollywood was able to carry out foreign productions. The factors analyzed in this chapter constitute outlying forces that address both *how* and *why* Hollywood undertook foreign productions. Lastly, I do not attempt to come up with every possible source of financing or shooting location combination; exceptions can always be located, but that would risk splitting hairs. The configurations I present here are the most pertinent to the aims of this project.

In sum, the economic, geographic and setting vs. location configurations are long-range causal forces that influenced how a foreign production was organized, and the features of these classifications shaped the debates taken up by unions, producers and

industry organizations. The points raised in this chapter will serve as a baseline for analyzing the trend of foreign production, which will be given more detail and nuance in subsequent chapters.

Financial Configurations

This first rubric is based on the funding sources for foreign filmmaking. The origin of a film's financing was often a critical factor in determining where the film was shot and the national make-up of the cast and crew. While many causes for making films abroad were offered and debated by producers, unions and industry leaders, in the final analysis, the financial reasons, in particular foreign governmental economic pressures and protections, served as the primary, initial inducements for shooting films overseas.¹¹ However, identifying the financial interests of a film can be difficult since this information was often kept secret. Even a study of extant budgets, contracts and legal files does not always shed light on the concealed cash flow of production financing. Nevertheless, by examining the industry discourse from the trades, we can come up with the most probable funding sources. We should keep in mind that most productions would use a combination of the following sources.

1) U.S. interest: The very nature of a Hollywood "runaway" production implies that some part of the production's funding derived from a U.S. major studio or independent production company even though the film was made overseas. As a principal interest, a studio could supply the production with contracted talent and equipment, as well as its own Hollywood studios and foreign facilities. An independent production

¹¹ This was an argument studied and put forward by the labor-management coalition, the Motion Picture Industry Council. "Pressures Induce O'Seas Prod'n," *Daily Variety*, December 11, 1953, 1, 8.

company could also generate the funding, often working with a studio to co-finance the film. While some of the earliest foreign productions were carried out by major studios, namely MGM, Fox and Warner Bros., over time, independent companies made more overseas productions that were co-financed and distributed by firms such as United Artists and Columbia. The backing of overseas production solely from a U.S. interest in the form of direct financing, however, was rare since one of the main objectives for working abroad was to tap into alternative sources of capital.

In some cases, a producer or company could look to non-filmic U.S. interests to generate the financing. For his production of *John Paul Jones* (1959), the independent producer Samuel Bronston relied on investments from moneyed industrialists such as Laurence Rockefeller, Stuyvesant Pierrepont, Jr., and Pierre S. DuPont III, as well as corporations like General Motors, Firestone, Eastman Kodak and Time Inc.¹² The lure of motion picture financing for these backers partly rested on the need to utilize their frozen foreign assets, a motivating factor for why Hollywood itself undertook foreign production.

2) Frozen U.S. earnings: One of the chief initial motives for shooting abroad in the postwar era was accessing foreign box office earnings that had been frozen by European governments, which wanted to control the outflow of U.S. dollars from their fragile economies at a time when the Marshall Plan was helping to open up European film markets to U.S. motion pictures.¹³ Typically, foreign film rentals were paid out in local currencies, but due to limits on how much of a studio's earnings could be remitted,

¹² "Bronston Discloses New Coin Sources For Shooting Abroad," *Daily Variety*, November 3, 1958, 7. For more on Bronston and his partnerships, see Neal Moses Rosendorf, "The Life and Times of Samuel Bronston, Builder of 'Hollywood in Madrid': A Study in the International Scope and Influence of American Popular Culture" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).

¹³ Guback, *International Film Industry*, 23.

a portion of the takings was frozen in foreign bank accounts. In order to access the blocked money, a film company had to gain government permission to free up these funds.¹⁴ With Hollywood's domestic market suffering as a result of decreasing audience numbers, U.S. film companies could not afford to leave their foreign earnings locked up.

One strategy for freeing up frozen currency was to invest in non-filmic activities. The Motion Picture Export Association (MPEA), the trade organization representing the Hollywood major studios in foreign markets, attempted to use frozen funds to buy local commodities and import them to the U.S., where they were sold for dollars. For example, the MPEA raised an old tanker in Marseilles and brought it to the East Coast to be sold. The organization also bought whiskey in Chile and shipped it to the U.S.¹⁵ Studios carried out investments on their own as well. MGM bought up apartment complexes in Copenhagen and office buildings in Australia and China. The company also invested in gold nuggets and marble in Italy and wine in Chile.¹⁶ Thomas Guback demonstrates that U.S. film companies were able to unfreeze a fair amount of their earnings through shipbuilding in Italy, while investing in construction and real estate in Great Britain and stock and commercial businesses in France.¹⁷ In some ways, Hollywood's non-filmic foreign investments anticipated the move towards the conglomeration of the 1960s when

¹⁴ The Warner Bros. production of *The Crimson Pirate* ran into trouble with Italian authorities in freeing up frozen lire because of budgetary overruns and the need for repeated requests to unblock the monies. See J.J. Glynn to Steve Trilling, January 22, 1952, *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Bros. Archive, University of Southern California, Los Angeles (hereafter Warner Archive).

¹⁵ Ben Pearse, "How the Movies Get Their Money Out of Europe," *Saturday Evening Post*, November 27, 1954, 43. Guback, *International Film Industry*, 120-121.

¹⁶ "Leo's Foreign Biz Perks," *Daily Variety*, February 10, 1949, 1, 5.

¹⁷ Guback, *International Film Industry*, 121-122.

studios were bought by companies involved in unrelated businesses in an effort to diversify their risk.¹⁸

However, since Hollywood companies were still principally involved in the film business, they generally stuck to film-related investments. In Australia, MGM applied freed-up monies to expand its offices, RKO bought a film lab, and Fox invested in its local newsreel division.¹⁹ Producer Sol Lesser used frozen coin to set up overseas offices to acquire foreign films for distribution in the U.S.²⁰ Other companies applied frozen funds to the purchase of foreign story properties. In England, Fox bought Charles Williams' novel *War and Heaven* while MGM picked up the Michael Innes' suspense yarn *Case of Journeying Boy*.²¹ Hollywood companies' efforts to bolster their presence overseas through building infrastructure and supporting the acquisition of foreign films and stories ensured a more international flow of film activities.

Hollywood studios also began to apply frozen earnings to foreign infrastructure that could support its filmmaking activities. In preparation for its mega-production of *Quo Vadis* in Rome, MGM used frozen funds to rebuild Cinecittà Studios. MGM actually exceeded its balance of frozen lire and managed to apply future frozen earnings to the production.²² In addition, MGM took a roundabout tactic to applying other frozen currencies to this production. With the help of the MPEA, MGM repatriated some of its

¹⁸ Gulf & Western took over Paramount in 1966; Transamerica acquired United Artists in 1967; Kinney purchased Warner Bros. and Kirk Kerkorian bought MGM, both in 1969. Douglas Gomery, *The Hollywood Studio System: A History* (London: BFI, 2005).

¹⁹ "Majors Use Iced Coin To Expand," *Daily Variety*, February 25, 1948, 1, 13.

²⁰ "Lesser Learns "Tarzans' Can Be Lensed More Profitably Here Than In Africa," *Daily Variety*, June 18, 1951, 4.

²¹ "20th Buys Story With Iced Coin," *Daily Variety*, April 27, 1949, 1. "Metro Buys Thriller With Iced Money," *Daily Variety*, May 25, 1949, 1.

²² David Forgacs and Stephen Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 137.

blocked kronor in Sweden by buying up Swedish wood pulp and importing it to Italy, where it was sold for lire, which could then be applied to the production of *Quo Vadis*.²³ Hollywood's strategies for utilizing its frozen assets were nothing if not shrewd. But mostly, companies would apply their frozen funds towards production, and the industry's regulating bodies were instrumental in facilitating this activity.

Throughout the late 1940s, MPAA president Eric Johnston, a dedicated advocate of free trade, took a series of trips to Europe on behalf of the U.S. film industry to address foreign protectionist measures such as import taxes, quotas and frozen earnings. The bilateral agreements that emerged from these negotiations helped set in place the requirements for accessing frozen earnings and their application towards production. One of Johnston's biggest diplomatic victories was the Anglo-American Agreement, which resolved the conflict over Great Britain's 75% ad valorem tax, which had imposed a heavy duty on all imported films.²⁴ Since the majority of imported movies to Britain came from the United States and since Britain was Hollywood's most important foreign market, the tax was a major setback for Hollywood, which retaliated by placing an embargo on film exports to the U.K. while also scaling back production operations in anticipation of a protracted fight.²⁵ The agreement that was struck remitted \$17,000,000 to Hollywood per year, but the British Board of Trade stipulated that the payout was to be

²³ Pearse, "How the Movies Get Their Money," 43.

²⁴ "Tax Deal Big U.S. Victory," *Daily Variety*, March 12, 1948, 1, 6.

²⁵ "No Bundles For Britain," *Daily Variety*, August 11, 1947, 1. "'Wait and See' Stand Taken by Movie Industry," *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 1947, 7. "Three More UA Prods Halting Pix Because Of British Tax," *Daily Variety*, August 15, 1947, 1. Thomas F. Brady, "British Tax Frightens Hollywood," *New York Times*, August 17, 1947, 59.

based on the condition that U.S. film companies would invest their remaining frozen earnings in film rights, prints and production in England.²⁶

After the Anglo-American Agreement was negotiated, studios began to apply their frozen earnings towards a string of British productions. MGM, which owned a British studio, and Warner Bros., which possessed its own British facilities, were in a favorable position to undertake production in England. Other major studios and independents meanwhile had to rent out shooting space.²⁷ Using its studio outside of London and frozen earnings, MGM aggressively pursued a slate of British productions, beginning with *Edward, My Son* (1949). Similarly, Twentieth Century-Fox undertook a heavy production schedule in Europe using frozen funds with films such as *I Was a Male War Bride* (1949) shot in Germany, England and the U.S.; *Prince of Foxes* (1949) shot in Italy with retakes in Los Angeles; *Black Rose* (1950) shot in Morocco and England; *The Big Lift* (1950) shot in Berlin; and *Night and the City* (1950) shot in London. In addition, as Peter Lev has pointed out, productions shooting in European colonies could apply frozen funds from the colonizing nation.²⁸ With all this production activity, Fox reportedly used up its frozen money in England, Italy and France by the fall of 1949.²⁹ However, other studios, such as Paramount and Universal International were slow to invest their frozen earnings in production, with Paramount president Barney Balaban

²⁶ “John Bull Will Pay That \$17 Million If H’d Backs British Film Production,” *Daily Variety*, November 23, 1949, 1, 19. The agreement would be renewed and modified in the coming years. See Sue Harper and Vincent Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s: The Decline of Deference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5-6.

²⁷ “Hollywood Indies In Rush To Get British Stage Space,” *Daily Variety*, March 24, 1948, 1, 6.

²⁸ Lev, *The Fifties*, 150.

²⁹ “20th Thaws \$10 Million,” *Daily Variety*, October 6, 1949, 1, 8.

arguing that foreign filmmaking was too costly.³⁰ In time though, these studios would also supply a steady output of foreign productions.

Initially, independent film companies faced more challenges than their studio counterparts in using frozen earnings. Independent producers were in the difficult position of not always having enough frozen funds to mount a full production.

Additionally, producer Robert Goelet indicated that Hollywood studios working in Italy contributed to rising production costs, which independent producers could not meet.³¹

United Artists found itself in a similar position in England since its foreign revenue belonged to independent producers, which meant that the company did not have enough frozen funds to finance its own British productions.³² As a potential solution, producer Stanley Kramer proposed that independent companies pool their frozen British earnings and set up a collective London production company to produce films in England.³³ In the end, though, Kramer's lawyers advised him against investing frozen funds in production since that would mean breaking up a film unit back home in order to bring personnel overseas to work on the film, an issue that was of less concern for the majors since they had a larger labor pool. Instead, Kramer used his blocked funds to purchase foreign story properties, such as Edmond Rostand's play *Cyrano de Bergerac*, in the face of the pound devaluation of 1949.³⁴

At various times in 1949 and 1950, Hollywood labor groups lobbied industry management and the U.S. government to negotiate the easing of blocked foreign earnings

³⁰ "Par's \$2,000,000 Frozen In Britain May Be Invested There," *Daily Variety*, August 3, 1949, 1.

³¹ "UI Filming 'Fox' With Frozen Funds," *Daily Variety*, August 8, 1949, 1, 8.

³² "Majors' Activity In Italy Boosts Nut For Indies," *Daily Variety*, December 7, 1949, 9.

³³ "UA Seeking Gov't Loan In Britain," *Daily Variety*, November 2, 1948, 1, 7.

³⁴ "Kramer Suggests Indie Pool On Pix in Britain," *Daily Variety*, March 26, 1948, 8.

³⁴ "Kramer Advised To De-Ice Funds In England," *Daily Variety*, November 2, 1949, 15.

"Kramer Buys 'De Begerac' With Frozen British Coin," *Daily Variety*, November 9, 1949, 3.

since they argued that frozen funds and the resulting foreign productions were creating unemployment in Hollywood.³⁵ But the unions' efforts met with mixed results and even by 1953, Roy Brewer, president of the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IATSE) and the Hollywood AFL Film Council, weakened the anti-frozen funds argument by stating, "We have not and do not intend to attempt to prevent the reasonable utilization of frozen funds." At the same time, he criticized the way frozen funds became a de facto subsidy for foreign production. He maintains, "The question of frozen funds is basically one of trade balances and should be considered on that basis only."³⁶ However, once European markets stabilized—thanks in part to Marshall Plan aid—and the frozen fund situation improved—to some extent due to bilateral agreements and Hollywood's various strategies to access those funds—other financial sources superseded the importance of blocked earnings.³⁷

3) Foreign government subsidy: In the postwar era, foreign governments established subsidies to support their weakened local film industries. In 1948, Italy and France created subsidies, and shortly afterwards Great Britain initiated its own.³⁸ Even though these subsidies were aimed at supporting local industries, Hollywood productions could qualify for this assistance through a variety of ways: by using U.S. subsidiaries in

³⁵ Yale, "Runaway Film Production," 48-59.

³⁶ Quoted in "Roy Brewer Explains IA's 'Runaway' Pix Complaint," *Hollywood Reporter*, February 2, 1953, 8.

³⁷ "U.S. Film Biz In Europe Is Up 15 Percent; Coin Is Easier," *Daily Variety*, November 4, 1949, 1. "H'Wood Out of Deep Freeze," *Daily Variety*, April 12, 1950, 1, 11. One *Daily Variety* article announced that increased tourism helped unfreeze earnings by helping local economies. See "Hot U.S. Tourist Biz Abroad May Thaw Pix Coin," *Daily Variety*, May 19, 1955, 3.

³⁸ "France Votes Film Subsidy And 20% Tax To Repay Aid," *Daily Variety*, August 2, 1948, 1, 8. "La Loi d'Aide Temporaire Au Cinéma," *La Technique Cinématographique*, September 2, 1948, 364. Colin Crisp, *The Classical French Cinema, 1930-1960* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 77. "Eady Plan Will Yield H'Wood \$5,000,000," *Daily Variety*, August 6, 1951, 2. See also Guback, *International Film Industry*, 165-66.

Europe; by working through foreign co-producing partners; and by putting together the right configuration of investments, geographic locations, and cast and crew makeup in order to qualify as a “national” production.

One of the biggest draws of making films in Great Britain was its production subsidy, the British Film Production Fund, also known as the Eady Levy, which generated a pool of funding from a cinema admissions tax. Hollywood producers could apply for this subsidy in the form of a rebate on the cost of films shot in Britain.³⁹ Although originally intended as a financial incentive to strengthen British production, the levy encouraged Hollywood companies to shoot films in Britain. Some U.S. producers made the case that the Eady money was the only way to bring their films into existence. Horror film producer Herman Cohen claimed that he was unable to find film financing in the U.S. and had to go to England to get his movies made. Thanks to the support of the Eady Levy, Cohen was able to produce *Horrors of the Black Museum* (1959), *Circus of Horrors* (1960) and *Konga* (1961).⁴⁰

However, in Britain, Hollywood companies’ participation in the Eady Levy elicited objections from segments of the British industry. Some complained that Hollywood companies were taking advantage of funding originally intended to strengthen British productions. Others protested that it was unfair for Hollywood producers to sell these films as American in the United States and as British-quota films elsewhere while

³⁹ In 1957, the Eady Levy moved from being a voluntary to a statutory levy. W.P. Robinson, “The American Producer in England,” *Syllabus and Forms on American Motion Picture Production in Foreign Countries* (Los Angeles: Beverly Hills Bar Association and USC School of Law, May 9, 1959), 1-2. Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 30. Tino Balio, *United Artists: The Company That Changed the Film Industry* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 237.

⁴⁰ “‘Not Cheaper To Shoot Abroad, But Financing Easier’: Cohen,” *Daily Variety*, October 5, 1962, 1, 4.

simultaneously driving up production costs in Britain.⁴¹ In 1957, a writer for the British publication *Film & TV Technician* charged Hollywood foreign productions with reaping the benefits of money generated by and intended for British parties:

Time and again in recent months we have witnessed the fantastic spectacle where some of the biggest productions (financed with frozen money, every penny of which had been paid by the people of this country) had an American producer, an American director, an American script and one or more American stars; and each of these films was given British Quota, and all of them are eligible for money from the Eady fund, a fund specially created to help British producers in their struggle against overwhelming odds!⁴²

In the United States, Hollywood's use of foreign subsidies met resistance from labor unions as well. Along with the freezing of film company earnings and the use of quotas, Hollywood unions argued that foreign subsidies were a tactic used by foreign governments to encourage Hollywood production abroad.⁴³ As a countermove, unions campaigned for the U.S. government to create its own subsidy. After the publication of economic historian Irving Bernstein's AFL-commissioned report on the decline of the U.S. film industry, which attributed the rise in foreign productions in part to the availability of foreign subsidies, the AFL Film Council demanded that the government create a national subsidy similar to Britain's Eady Levy to stimulate domestic production.⁴⁴ However, state and federal support remained out of reach for an industry that traditionally kept government involvement in the film business at arm's length. In

⁴¹ Christopher Brunel, "Who Benefits from the Eady Plan?," *Cine-Technician*, November-December 1952, 144. "Briton Blast U.S. Producer Eady Plan Use," *Daily Variety*, July 9, 1958, 2.

⁴² Charles Frank, "The Case for Co-productions," *Film & TV Technician*, April 1957, 56.

⁴³ "SAG Charges Pressure By O'Sea Gov'ts," *Daily Variety*, November 25, 1953, 1, 9.

⁴⁴ "AFL Council Asks U.S. Eady Plan," *Daily Variety*, April 7, 1958, 1, 4.

addition, the government was resistant to the idea of state subsidization. When asked in 1962 if the government would lend a helping hand with a film subsidy, California Governor Edmond G. Brown flatly stated: “Count out subsidies, which you’ll never get.”⁴⁵

But by the early 1960s, a House subcommittee investigating “runaway” productions recognized that foreign subsidies were the main impetus for shooting overseas and that foreign governments’ subsidization of production was in violation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which deemed subsidies a violation of fair competition.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, subsidies in Great Britain and to a lesser extent in France and Italy, via co-participation deals, encouraged Hollywood companies to continue making films overseas.⁴⁷ As Guback writes, “While blocked earnings were responsible for the first wave of runaway production, the availability of subsidization was the cause and its perpetuation and development into a second wave.”⁴⁸

4) Foreign subsidiary of a U.S. company or producer: In order to qualify for local subsidies and bypass quota restrictions, a studio could set up a subsidiary, which would serve as the producing company for foreign productions. Guback notes that a studio or independent production company could establish a foreign subsidiary that qualified as a legal foreign entity, even though a U.S. owner directed its policies.⁴⁹ Columbia,

⁴⁵ Olson, “Campaigning In Studio,” 3.

⁴⁶ “House Unit Sees ‘Runaways’ Linked to Foreign Subsidies,” *Motion Picture Herald*, June 13, 1962, 15.

⁴⁷ For information on the French and Italian subsidies, see Balio, *United Artists*, 276-278, 282-284. Guback, *International Film Industry*, 156-159.

⁴⁸ Guback, *International Film Industry*, 166.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 167.

Paramount, MGM, Fox, United Artists and Disney all had subsidiaries in Great Britain.⁵⁰

Also in England, Warner Bros. made its British productions through its subsidiary Warner Bros.-First National Pictures Limited, which shot many of these films at the ABPC Studios in Elstree.⁵¹

Independent companies also set up overseas subsidiaries, which in effect functioned more like autonomous foreign production companies. In 1952, the producing team the King Brothers reportedly founded companies in England and Italy so that films they shot in those countries could avoid quota constraints.⁵² In order to make movies that could exploit foreign settings, U.S. producers Irving Allen and Cubby Broccoli created Warwick Productions in England, which had a release deal with Columbia. Since Warwick was an English company, its films could qualify as British quota pictures as long as 75-80% of each film's cost was spent in pounds and the film was shot in a British or Commonwealth studio.⁵³

While Britain was home to the most U.S. subsidiaries as a means of qualifying for British subsidies and quota film status, France saw its share of U.S. subsidiaries. Paramount formed a French subsidiary under the name of Les Films Marianne, while MGM launched Cypra with French producer Jacques Bar to make French language films

⁵⁰ Ibid., 167. Jonathan Stubbs, "'Blocked' Currency, Runaway Production in Britain and *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (1951)," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 28 no. 3 (August 2008): 342.

⁵¹ Vincent Porter, "All Change at Elstree: Warner Bros., ABPC and British Film Policy, 1945-1961," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 21 no. 1 (2001): 5-35. Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 115-117.

⁵² "King Bros. Form Prod'n Companies In England, Italy To Duck Quotas," *Daily Variety*, September 5, 1952, 1, 4. It is unclear if the King Brothers ever produced films through these subsidiaries.

⁵³ "Irving Allen Opines H'wood's Future Lies In Int'l Production," *Daily Variety*, January 6, 1954, 3. Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 31, 127-129.

distributed by MGM worldwide.⁵⁴ (Bar controlled 51% of the company since French law stipulated that the French partner had to have a controlling interest.) In addition, film historians Peter Lev and Tino Balio have shown that in the 1960s, United Artist used its Paris-based subsidiary to produce wholly foreign films by directors such as François Truffaut, Philippe de Broca and Claude Lelouch.⁵⁵ These French subsidiaries underscore the fact that by the 1960s Hollywood's foreign activities included the funding of what would qualify as full-fledged European films. In Italy, the creation of subsidiaries was largely discouraged since a film created by any Italian company had to pay income tax and be accountable to Italian currency control regulations.⁵⁶ For both France and Italy then, a Hollywood company could do better by entering into co-productions to get its films made overseas.

5) Foreign company or producer: Another option for a Hollywood firm wanting to make a film overseas was to seek out a foreign company or individual to serve as a co-producer. As Tim Bergfelder specifies, beginning in the mid 1950s, European industries experienced a slowdown in production and looked to bilateral co-productions, including involvement from Hollywood.⁵⁷ The foreign entity provided partial financing and talent often in exchange for distribution rights to foreign territories. By aligning itself with a foreign company, the Hollywood partner benefited by producing what was considered a domestic film in the country where it was made, thereby bypassing quota restrictions and

⁵⁴ "Eady Moves Near Tie With France and Italy: Karp," *Daily Variety*, May 26, 1961, 1, 4.

"MGM Forms French Firm With Bar," *Daily Variety*, December 21, 1960, 32.

⁵⁵ Peter Lev, *The Euro-American Cinema* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 24. Balio, *United Artists*, 279-282.

⁵⁶ Gianni Manca, "Certain Relevant Aspects of the Production of Films in Italy by Foreign Producers," *Syllabus and Forms*, 12.

⁵⁷ Tim Bergfelder, "The Nation Vanishes: European co-productions and popular genre formula in the 1950s and 1960s," in *Cinema and Nation*, eds. Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie (New York: Routledge, 2002), 139-152.

qualifying for local subsidies. The foreign producing partner would in turn benefit by achieving Hollywood-style production values for a relatively modest budget with a film that could reach world markets.⁵⁸

Officially, a Hollywood company could not participate in a co-production with a European country since the bilateral agreements amongst European nations were in part aimed at competing with U.S. films. However, a U.S. firm could participate in a co-production under the special authorization of a foreign government, by ensuring that the production fulfilled the requirements of nationalization, or, as Peter Lev suggests, through a foreign subsidiary.⁵⁹ Important European co-producers included British-based Alexander Korda, who collaborated with David O. Selznick; French-based producer Paul Graetz, who had a deal with Fox; and Italians Carlo Ponti and Dino De Laurentiis, who had a co-production agreement with Paramount.⁶⁰ In addition, in the 1960s, United Artists, Columbia and Universal became active in co-producing films in Great Britain, Italy and France, though these companies financed what were often considered local films. Eventually, the larger studios, such as MGM, Fox, Paramount and Warner Bros., moved into funding foreign films as well.⁶¹

⁵⁸ “Joint Int’l Production Looks Set To Stay, Sez French Producer Sarrut,” *Variety*, July 26, 1950, 19.

⁵⁹ Lev, *The Fifties*, 154. For an overview of France’s co-production requirements, see “La réglementation des co-productions avec l’étranger,” *La Technique Cinématographique*, October 21, 1948, 417.

⁶⁰ “Selznick and Korda Pair Up,” *Daily Variety*, May 18, 1948, 4. “20th Closes Deal For French Pictures By Graetz,” *Daily Variety*, December 28, 1948, 1, 9. “Par Will Co-Produce Pix In Italy,” *Daily Variety*, December 5, 1952, 1, 9. “Ponti, de Laurentiis Here For Par Parley,” *Daily Variety*, October 5, 1953, 2. “Rank Cooks Prod’n Deals With RKO, Col, U, Par for Next Yr,” *Daily Variety*, November 23, 1949, 3. In many cases, these co-productions resulted in what would have been considered European films.

⁶¹ Balio, *United Artists*, chs. 7-9. Idem, *Foreign Film Renaissance*, ch. 12.

Lacking the reserves of frozen earnings that major studios accumulated, some U.S. independent producers turned to foreign co-producers to finance their overseas productions, but the diversification of investors could lead to problems.⁶² For example, Sam Spiegel's Horizon Pictures struck a deal with the Woolf Brothers' British firm Romulus Films to share in the costs of John Huston's *The African Queen* (1952), whose distribution rights were split between the two entities. With the backing of United Artists and investor Walter Heller & Co., Spiegel's Horizon provided around \$500,000 for the payment of, among other charges, the film's stars, Humphrey Bogart and Katherine Hepburn, and director John Huston. On the British end, Romulus, which had a deal with Britain's National Film Finance Corporation, covered below-the-line costs amounting to around \$1,000,000.⁶³ Even though the film was a massive success at the box office, Huston later complained that Spiegel reaped all the financial rewards and that he never received any of the profits.⁶⁴

For Huston's next film, *Moulin Rouge*, independent production company Moulin Productions, founded by the Mirisch Brothers, put up around \$250,000 for above-the-line costs with the rest of the \$1,500,000 budget coming from Romulus and the NFFC. Despite Moulin's much smaller investment, the company secured a favorable one-third of U.S. returns through a profit percentage deal much to the displeasure of the Woolf Brothers.⁶⁵ This time, *Moulin Rouge* became one of Huston's most personally lucrative

⁶² "U.S. Indies On European Binge," *Daily Variety*, April 26, 1951, 1, 7.

⁶³ "Spiegel Completes 'Queen' Financing; Speeds To London," *Daily Variety*, May 9, 1951, 4. "U.S. Indies On European Binge." "Sir John Woolf BECTU Oral History," interview by Roy Fowler, (London: BECTU History Project, January 28, 1992). Natasha Fraser-Cavassoni, *Sam Spiegel* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 122-126.

⁶⁴ John Huston, *An Open Book* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 210.

⁶⁵ "Romulus' New Co-Prod'n Terms," *Daily Variety*, December 18, 1953, 1, 11. Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 28. The film's distributor, United Artist, eventually covered

films.⁶⁶ Then for Huston's *Beat the Devil* (1954), costs were divided amongst three companies: Humphrey Bogart's independent production firm Santana (the U.S. interest), Romulus (the British interest) and Rizzoli (the Italian interest). But with three different international interests, conflicts over spending and nationalization arose.⁶⁷ For both studios and independent companies, these co-productions denote the increased financial involvement of foreign entities, which further tied these Hollywood films to foreign industries. Simultaneously, foreign producers were able to take part in Hollywood production, granting them greater participation in the product and financial rewards of the films. Nevertheless, the diversification of financial interests risked complications.

A Hollywood foreign production could have any combination of the aforementioned funding sources. For example, according to the Paramount production records for William Wyler's *Roman Holiday*, financing came from three primary sources: 1) frozen lire; 2) Paramount Studios; and 3) Liberty Films, the independent production company run by Wyler, Frank Capra and George Stevens. A production cost breakdown reveals that the majority of financing came from blocked lire, which could be accessed only upon the Italian authorities' approval of the script.⁶⁸ The mixture of sources signals how by the

Moulin Productions' bank loan. See Walter Mirisch, *I Thought We Were Making Movies, Not History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 52.

⁶⁶ Lawrence Grobel, "Playboy Interview: John Huston," *Playboy* 32, September 1985, reprinted in *John Huston Interviews*, ed. Robert Emmet Long (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), 175.

⁶⁷ John Woolf to John Huston, October 7, 1952. Jack Clayton to John Woolf, January 28, 1953, *Beat the Devil* (Correspondence), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. Robert F. Hawkins, "Observations on the Italian Pictures Scene," *New York Times*, April 5, 1953, X5.

⁶⁸ Production cost breakdowns, multiple dates, *Roman Holiday*, Paramount Pictures Production Records and William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library. Also see correspondence between Paramount executive Jack Karp and production manager Henry Henigson, June and July 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

postwar era, funding sources on a single film could be diverse with money coming from a studio, an independent company, and a foreign entity in the form of frozen funds.

Because the accessing of blocked lire was contingent on the approval of Italian authorities, we can see how the diversification of funding sources also led to a multiplication of influencing forces on a film.

In another example, *The Crimson Pirate* (1952) relied on a mixture of funding from Warner Bros., the independent production company Norma, and three different frozen currencies. For the studio work in England at Warner's Teddington Studios and ABPC Studios, frozen sterling was used. For the location work in Italy, frozen lire were applied. And to pay for the costs of the French crew and overhauling ships docked in France that were featured in the film, frozen francs were utilized.⁶⁹ In the end, the film qualified as a British quota film because the production spent enough in Britain and the producers hid from the British Board of Trade the foreign (i.e. Italian and French) labor costs by charging Warner's Rome and Paris offices instead of Warner's British subsidiary.⁷⁰

Identifying the funding sources of any film can be intricate, especially for foreign-shot films since the number of financial backers was diverse and international. However, the different categories I have presented offer viable possibilities. The various funding sources also demonstrate that the financial configurations tended to change over time. At first, frozen funds were an important source of financing for these films. As the 1950s progressed, though, frozen earnings were replaced by the availability of foreign subsidies

⁶⁹ Gerry Blattner to R.J. Obringer, March 22, 1951. F.W. Witt. to Gerry Blattner, May 21, 1951. Gerry Blattner to Steve Trilling, August 31, 1951, *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

⁷⁰ Gerry Blattner to Steve Trilling, January 12, 1952, *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

and co-production deals. Also, increasingly in the 1960s, Hollywood firms backed what were deemed legal foreign films. Ultimately, what these configurations prove is that the process of financing a film was a truly international affair with funding resources spanning the globe, a situation that was mirrored by these films' diverse shooting sites.

Geographic Configurations

This second category refers to where a film was shot. The geographic character of a production had important implications for how a film was organized, determining the flow of labor, equipment and production materials from nation to nation. Shooting in multiple countries posed a technical challenge of matching different locales, interiors with exteriors, and locations shots with rear-screen projection. In addition, geography affected the national character of the cast and crew, governing where the actors and technicians came from. The geographic configurations also call attention to a major shift in Hollywood production as film units were no longer bound to Los Angeles-area studios and backlots. The promise of funding, cheaper labor and materials, and foreign locations spurred film productions to move to all reaches of the globe. Unlike the financial configurations, the rubrics below do not combine (e.g. U.S. monies plus frozen funds plus foreign co-production financing) to make known the possible combinations of geographic localities. Each category in itself illustrates the potential geographical site combinations.

1) A film shot entirely in a single foreign country: In this case, a film uses both real-world locations of a country and interiors of that nation's studios. Shooting in one country allowed the production to maintain a consistent cast and crew, minimize travel expenses and focus its organization within one region. Shooting the entire production in a

single country could also lead to national subsidies and help that production qualify as a quota film.

In the late 1940s, certain Hollywood studios shot productions entirely in England to access frozen sterling and take advantage of their own British facilities. MGM excelled in carrying out British productions, which were shot at its Borehamwood studio, while using British exteriors. Early MGM films shot entirely in England at its British studios included *Conspirator* (1950) and *The Miniver Story* (1950). Meanwhile, other companies looked to the support of foreign-owned studios for their productions. Since Warner Bros. had part ownership of Associated British Picture Corporation, the Hollywood company used ABPC Studios to shoot *The Hasty Heart* (1950) and other British productions there.⁷¹ Warner Bros. also owned Teddington Studios, which was renovated after it was bombed during the war, but the facilities largely remained inactive. For both MGM and Warner Bros., their investments in British studios put them in good position to apply their frozen earnings towards production. Disney also undertook a number of productions in Britain, often employing primarily British casts and crews, including local directors. For its first British production and inaugural live-action feature, the studio hired Hollywood director Byron Haskin to shoot *Treasure Island* (1950) at Denham Studios and on location around England. Disney used frozen funds and was able to have the production qualify as a quota film by establishing a British corporation and hiring principally English talent.⁷²

Though Italy and France had less filmmaking infrastructure than Britain to support Hollywood productions, a number of films were still made entirely in these

⁷¹ Porter, "All Change at Elstree," 5-35.

⁷² "Disney's 'Treasure' Qualifies Under British Quota," *Daily Variety*, April 26, 1949, 5.

countries. In Italy, MGM undertook the mega-production *Quo Vadis* at Cinecittà Studios and on locations in areas surrounding Rome. Paramount shot all of *Roman Holiday* in Rome, where the studio even did its post-production work. For the 1950 independent production *The Man on the Eiffel Tower*—a film that is remarkable for both its striking location work and Franco-American collaborations—producers shot exteriors in Paris and interiors at the Studios de Billancourt and Joinville. While many foreign productions might shoot retakes and added scenes back in Hollywood, the film’s actor-producer, Franchot Tone, decided that better quality could be achieved in Paris and that it was cheaper to return there rather than matching background shots from the City of Light with studio work in Hollywood.⁷³ Also in France, Allied Artists shot all of *Love in the Afternoon* (1957) at the Studio de Boulogne with a few authentic locations around Paris. Although director Billy Wilder reported that the movie could have been shot entirely in Hollywood since few exteriors were used, he felt that the atmosphere of Paris could be felt in the studios—a somewhat disingenuous notion that obscures the practical and economic reasons for shooting the film overseas.⁷⁴

The practice of shooting interiors on foreign soundstages, however, drew criticism from the AFL. The labor group decried producers’ assertions that foreign production is motivated by authentic locations since the interiors could have been shot in the United States, using domestic workers.⁷⁵ But for producers, shooting in foreign studios in the same country where the exteriors were done mitigated shipping and travel expenses, avoided the bureaucratic maneuvering of importing foreign actors to the U.S.,

⁷³ “Tone Back to Paris For ‘Tower’ Adds,” *Daily Variety*, March 24, 1949, 7.

⁷⁴ Gene Moskowitz, “In Paris,” *Daily Variety*, October 16, 1956, 3.

⁷⁵ “Tie ‘Runaway’ To Gold Standard,” *Daily Variety*, January 10, 1961, 1, 14. “Resolution on Runaway Production,” February 9, 1961, Hollywood AFL Film Council File, AMPTP Records, AMPAS Library.

and helped the production qualify for subsidies and quotas.⁷⁶ Interestingly, at least one foreign studio was sensitive to this controversy in trying to attract Hollywood productions. Germany's Studio Hamburg advertised its facilities in a July 1962 issue of *Daily Variety* and included the caveat: "We do not encourage 'runaway' productions, we just say: 'When in Europe, then at Studio Hamburg, Hamburg West Germany'."⁷⁷ Even foreign studios understood the political price that some producers had to pay for making films overseas.

2) A film shot in multiple foreign countries: For this type of production, a film was shot in two or more foreign countries. Shooting in more than one nation complicated the organization and execution of production since the Hollywood company had to coordinate the movement of personnel and equipment across borders and submit to the requirements of local filming protocols. In some cases, shooting in different foreign countries was dictated by a story that took place in multiple foreign locales. Often times, though, the exteriors were shot in one country and the interiors were shot in a studio of another country. For example, Warner Bros. shot the exteriors of *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (1951) in the south of France while the interior work was split between Denham Studios and the ABPC Studios near London.

Many of Hollywood's African productions functioned in this manner. John Huston shot the exteriors of *The African Queen* in the Belgian Congo and Uganda and interiors at the Isleworth and Shepperton Studios in Britain. John Ford's *Mogambo*

⁷⁶ The process for importing foreign actors to the U.S. was not simple. A Hollywood company had to file a McCarran Act Petition with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, whose approval was then forwarded to the State Department and the foreign U.S. Embassy or Consulate for the allocation of visas. The procedure is explained in Max L. Raskoff to Herbert Coleman, April 22, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Herbie Coleman), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁷⁷ Studio Hamburg advertisement, *Daily Variety*, July 13, 1962, 5.

(1953) was shot in Tanzania, Uganda, French West Africa, Equatorial Africa, the Congo, Nairobi and at MGM's British studios. Nicholas Ray's *Bitter Victory* (1958) was shot on location in and around Tripoli, Libya and in La Victorine Studios in Nice, France. In addition to exteriors filmed in Belgium, Fred Zinnemann shot the interiors of *A Nun's Story* (1959) at Rome's Centro Sperimentale and Cinecittà Studios before moving to the Belgian Congo for location scenes. In these cases, the African countries lacked the facilities and studios to support the technically demanding work of big-budget filmmaking, so Hollywood producers turned to European studios.

If enough time, money and hiring effort were expended in one of the host countries, a multi-country production could still qualify as a quota film. Even though Fox's *The Black Rose* was shot in both French Morocco and at London's Shepperton Studios, the film fulfilled Britain's 40% quota because the company spent most of its production budget in England, principally relying on a British crew. As a quota picture, the film was allowed to play British theaters with no restrictions and all earnings could be accessed through Fox's foreign subsidiary, Twentieth Century-Fox Ltd.⁷⁸ Similarly, two of John Huston's multinational productions also qualified as British quota films.

Although *Moulin Rouge* was shot on location in Paris and *Beat the Devil* in Ravello, Italy, both productions spent sufficient time and money at Shepperton Studios to qualify as quota pictures.⁷⁹ However, Columbia's *The Victors* (1963), which was partly shot at

⁷⁸ "'Black Rose' Leaves Morocco for London," *Daily Variety*, June 17, 1949, 10. "'Black Rose' On British Bandwagon," *Daily Variety*, November 15, 1949, 3.

⁷⁹ "Huston Lavishly Lauds Prod'n Facilities Abroad," *Daily Variety*, December 23, 1952, 15. The British press often treated these films as British productions. See Paul Holt, "Ha! A bit of film magic!," *Daily Herald*, March 11, 1953. *Moulin Rouge* (Micro Jacket). "New Film Serial 'Beat the Devil'," *Picture Post*, August 8, 15 and 22, 1953, *Beat the Devil* (Micro Jacket), British Film Institute Library, London (hereafter BFI Library). Cinematographer Oswald Morris also confirms

Shepperton, lost its Eady Levy financing and its status as a British quota film because of its extensive use of foreign locations in Sweden, Italy and France and its reliance on a U.S. and continental cast. Producer-director Carl Foreman asserted that the benefits of an international cast and the realism that was achieved by shooting on location trumped the British subsidy and quota eligibility.⁸⁰

Working in multiple countries required even more coordination than just shooting in a single foreign country. On Richard Fleischer's *The Vikings* (1957), which was shot in Norway and on France's Brittany coast, script supervisors Sylvette Baudrot working in France and Lucie Lichtig in Norway had to co-ordinate via correspondence the costumes and actions of the film's Viking leads embarking in Norway during first-unit shooting and their doubles disembarking in France on the second-unit shoot.⁸¹ More generally, the movement of multinational casts and crews and the shipment of filming materials forced companies to comply with international laws and bureaucracy. On Orson Welles' 1955 production of *Othello*, the film's Moroccan footage was reportedly held up for three months in British customs when some rocks that were used as ballast in shipping crates were declared "unidentified mineral objects."⁸²

As with films shot in a single foreign country, the AFL criticized the practice of shooting interiors on foreign soundstages on multi-nation productions, arguing that the interiors could have been just as easily replicated in Hollywood studios, using domestic

that in Britain these films were considered British in origin. Interview with Oswald Morris, April 21, 2011, Fontmell Magna, England.

⁸⁰ Harold Myers, "Col, Foreman Forego Eady Victors' Coin," *Daily Variety*, December 3, 1962, 1, 4.

⁸¹ Sylvette Baudrot and Isabel Salvani, *La Script-Girl* (Paris: La Femis, 1989), 80. Interview with Sylvette Baudrot, December 18, 2010, Paris.

⁸² "'It's Better In U.S.'—Welles," *Daily Variety*, April 3, 1956, 1, 11.

labor.⁸³ Additionally, unions repeatedly made the case that if a production needed authentic foreign locations then the producer should agree to take a large crew from Hollywood.⁸⁴

The Hollywood AFL Film Council voiced these grievances during periodic campaigns against “runaway” productions throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. In the early 1950s, the AFL attempted to publicly make known a film’s geographical shooting location by pushing for a federal law that required any film shot overseas to carry a label in the opening credits naming the country or countries where the film was shot.⁸⁵ They hoped that audiences would stay away from films they knew were made in a foreign country, which in turn would discourage producers from making movies overseas. An AFL press release urged the enforcement of this law to ensure “that the American public no longer be hoodwinked by ‘runaway’ American motion picture producers.”⁸⁶ This legal strategy failed to gain traction, but then in 1959, the AFL renewed its efforts to require all Hollywood films to carry country-of-origin labels.⁸⁷ Although the bill went to the U.S. Congress, the proposal did not find enough support to pass into law.⁸⁸ The issue was again resurrected in 1962 during an election year and it continued to be pushed by unions through the early 1960s, although it never picked up much momentum.⁸⁹ In actuality, many overseas productions identified foreign locations both in the opening credits and in

⁸³ “Resolution on Runaway Production,” February 9, 1961, Hollywood AFL Film Council File, AMPTP Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁸⁴ “AFL Gets ‘Tough’ On Runaway Pix,” *Daily Variety*, April 6, 1955, 1, 4. “Lenses Demand H’wood Crews On U.S.-Originated Pix O’Seas,” *Daily Variety*, March 21, 1958, 6.

⁸⁵ “AFL May Ask Label On Foreign-Made Pix,” *Daily Variety*, March 21, 1950, 3.

⁸⁶ Hollywood AFL Film Council release, July 28, (possibly 1952), Hollywood AFL Film Council File, AMPTP Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁸⁷ “State Labor OK’s ‘Runaway’ Label,” *Daily Variety*, August 14, 1959, 1, 4.

⁸⁸ “AFL-Pushed Bill To Tag Foreign Pix Appears Doomed,” *Daily Variety*, April 8, 1960, 1, 4.

⁸⁹ William Ornstein, “IA Plugs ‘Made In’ Tag For Pix,” *Daily Variety*, April 18, 1962, 1, 15.

their promotional campaigns, not so much to satisfy unions but as a way to acknowledge the support of foreign authorities and to frontload the realism and spectacle of foreign locales, an idea I will return to in Chapters Four and Five.

By making films in foreign countries, Hollywood producers also risked aligning themselves with foreign Communist labor groups, a particularly controversial subject during the postwar anti-Communist fervor in Hollywood and across the United States. In response, the AFL sharpened its attack on foreign productions by charging that the American producers of “runaway” productions were giving “aid and comfort to the Communist conspiracy against the free world.” The organization argued that 50% of technicians working on U.S. films shot overseas were Communists.⁹⁰ Other union groups, such as the Scenic Artists Local 816, charged that studios were doing business with Communists, namely through the hiring of blacklisted filmmakers who had moved to Europe and via the use of Communist unions in Italy.⁹¹ As Rebecca Prime has demonstrated, the tactics of the AFL and right-wing groups helped ensure that the blacklist held sway over the lives of filmmakers exiled in Europe.⁹² In the end, Hollywood unions failed to gain much support in their anti-runaway production campaigns by appealing to anti-Communist sentiment.⁹³ Whether working in a single foreign country or in multiple foreign countries, Hollywood producers were frequently in jeopardy of being the target of union complaints and protests.

⁹⁰ Buck Harris, Hollywood AFL Film Council release, March 31, 1959, Hollywood AFL Film Council File, AMPTP Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁹¹ “Hollywood Unionists See ‘Red’ In All-Out Rage Over Runaway Subsidy,” *Variety*, October 24, 1962, 26.

⁹² Prime, “‘The Old Bogey’,” 474-486.

⁹³ Yale, “Runaway Film Production,” 59-61.

3) A film shot abroad and in the U.S.: More in line with union requests was when producers shot locations abroad—either in a single nation or multiple foreign countries—and combined them with both interior and exterior work done in the United States. Technicians would then typically match authentic foreign exteriors with Hollywood studio interiors and choreograph actors with the rear-screen projection of background plates shot overseas. Here, the production was able to rely on the know-how of Hollywood studio technicians while also taking advantage of authentic foreign scenery. However, this transnational approach to filmmaking still involved challenges, such as the transportation of labor and production materials and, in some cases, the importation into the U.S. of foreign talent who had been employed during location shooting abroad.

In support of this production strategy, Roy Brewer, the IATSE and AFL Film Council president, sent a letter to *The Hollywood Reporter*, in which he acknowledges that while story content can merit foreign locales, many films can represent authentic locations abroad by working in the U.S. with background plates of footage shot overseas. As a good example of this tactic, Brewer refers to *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* (1952), which balanced background shots from Africa and Europe with Fox studio work and stand-in locations in the Fox Hills of Culver City.⁹⁴ The crux of the matter is that on these productions, a producer could justify the overseas work by capturing authentic foreign locations while back in the States take advantage of Hollywood labor, studio space and materials, thereby appeasing the union demand that studio-bound work be done domestically.

In many cases, authentic locations were captured in a foreign country and the interiors and rear-projection shots were done in Hollywood. For example, MGM's *King*

⁹⁴ "Roy Brewer Explains IA's 'Runaway' Pix Complaint," 8.

Solomon's Mines (1950) was shot on location in British East Africa and the Belgian Congo with interiors and rear-projection set-ups shot at the studio's Culver City lot.⁹⁵ Fox's *Under My Skin* (1950) was filmed at Fox studios and on location in California, but a second-unit crew carried out extensive location shooting in France and Italy, where local actors doubled for the film's leads.⁹⁶ MGM's *Kim* (1951) was shot in India, Pakistan, and Hollywood. *The Desert Fox* (1951) partly shot exteriors in France and Germany, with Borrego Springs, California filling in for North Africa.⁹⁷ In addition to studio work in Hollywood, the backgrounds in Hitchcock's Paramount production of *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956) were shot in Marrakesh and London.

In other instances, the principal shooting of a film was done overseas and retakes and additional footage were shot in Hollywood. On the independent production *Black Magic*, which was shot on location in Italy and at Scalera Studios in Rome, retakes were shot at Hollywood's Motion Picture Center.⁹⁸ MGM's *Edward, My Son* was filmed entirely in England, except for one added scene made in New York.⁹⁹ *Ben-Hur* (1959) was mostly shot in Italy, using Cinecittà Studios in Rome, except for some added scenes accomplished in Arizona.¹⁰⁰ For these productions, shooting the additional scenes and retakes was easier to do within the United States rather than going through the expense and difficulty of assembling the international cast, crew, equipment, locations and all the attendant permits required for foreign filmmaking for a short period of time. This

⁹⁵ Robert Surtees, "Location Filming in Africa For 'King Solomon's Mines'," *American Cinematographer*, April 1950, 122-123, 136.

⁹⁶ Herb A. Lightman, "Matching Location Footage With Studio Shots," *American Cinematographer*, June 1950, 197, 215-217.

⁹⁷ Herman Blumenthal, "'Desert Fox': Maurice Ransford Art Director," *The Society of Motion Picture Art Directors Bulletin*, October 1951, 14-17.

⁹⁸ "Small Is Making 'Cagliostro' Adds," *Daily Variety*, May 21, 1948, 1.

⁹⁹ "MGM Feels 'Edward' Needs 1 More Scene," *Daily Variety*, December 3, 1948, 1, 4.

¹⁰⁰ "'Ben-Hur' Set For Day More Filming," *Daily Variety*, April 10, 1959, 2.

situation suggests that executing large-scale undertakings abroad yielded greater savings than filming small-scale operations, such as retakes and additional scenes, in which the expense of going to a foreign country was more than the savings of a cheaper labor pool—a cost differential that partially explains the low number of small and even mid-budget pictures that were shot overseas.¹⁰¹

Key to understanding Hollywood foreign productions is how geography shaped the organization of these films and the debates that surround their making. The “runaway” production debates, as well as many of today’s analyses of postwar foreign filming, fail to consider that these foreign productions’ shooting sites were as diverse as the films’ stories, spanning the U.S and multiple countries abroad. Moreover, geography had an important impact on the aesthetics of the films with the foreign location serving as a dominant stylistic element, a crucial feature related to a film’s setting.

Setting Vs. Location Configurations

The last rubric concerns the relationship between where the film’s story takes place and the real-world location where the film was shot. The setting-versus-location configuration had a major impact on the coordination and look of foreign productions. Often times, the story setting determined where the film was shot, in which case a production unit went to the setting’s actual locale to bring to the film a semblance of realism that could not have been replicated in Hollywood. Even if a film was not shot in the same location as the story’s setting, the producers sometimes chose another locale that resembled the story setting or conveyed an air of foreignness and exoticism. Regardless, whenever a film was

¹⁰¹ The pros and cons of shooting abroad for a mid-budget production are examined by Roger Corman in “Foreign Production For the Medium-Budget Producer,” *Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, December 1960, 19-20, 30.

not shot where its story was set, producers stood a chance of soliciting criticism from unions since the economic grounds for filming abroad came to the fore by making it plain that this move was merely a cost-cutting strategy. As with the geographical configurations, each category below in itself represents a possible combination of the setting's relationship to the location.

1) A film is set and shot in the same foreign locale(s): An important motivation for overseas shooting was the use of an authentic location to serve as the story setting. This feature was a change from the standard of Hollywood studio-bound production, in which a film taking place in Paris would be shot on a set of Paris erected in a Hollywood studio, as was the case on a number of Ernst Lubitsch films, such as *So This Is Paris* (1926), *The Love Parade* (1929), *Trouble in Paradise* (1932), *Design for Living* (1933), *The Merry Widow* (1934) and *Ninotchka* (1939). Lubitsch's U.S. movies probably best exemplified the continental atmosphere created in Hollywood studios.¹⁰² In some cases, Hollywood films were set in make-believe foreign lands erected in studios. Ruth Vasey has shown that prior to World War II, Hollywood movies at times relied on "mythical kingdoms" to create a foreign atmosphere while avoiding offense to potential overseas markets with specific references to national character and locale.¹⁰³ After World War II, however, the pictorial and economic need to fill screens with authentic foreign locations in service of the story became a driving force to shoot the film in the place where it was set.

¹⁰² Lubitsch famously said, "There is Paramount Paris and Metro Paris, and of course the real Paris. Paramount's is the most Parisian of all!" Quoted in De Baecque, *Paris by Hollywood*, 11.

¹⁰³ Ruth Vasey, *The World According to Hollywood, 1918-1939* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 116-118.

Even for a historical movie, Hollywood filmmakers promoted the idea that linking setting to its original location imbued the motion picture with an air of realism. Producer Sam Zimbalist claimed that *Quo Vadis* attained more realism by shooting in Rome's historic locales.¹⁰⁴ When Joseph Mankiewicz took over directing duties on *Cleopatra*, he said that the original plan to shoot the film entirely in England, including exteriors, was "idiotic." Moreover, at the time when Fox planned to shoot interiors on its studio lot, the director made a strong appeal to use authentic historical locations in Italy and Egypt. Mankiewicz insists, "The barge we're going to use in 'Cleopatra' belongs on the Nile, not on the Los Angeles or Colorado Rivers. We can no longer build foreign places on the back lot." He adds, "The public no longer will tolerate what we used to give them."¹⁰⁵

The connection of story setting and filming location frequently took its cue from the script or the novel the movie was based on. Filmmakers would then invoke the notion of authenticity to further justify shooting the picture in its real location. In many cases, the appeal to realism demanded filming in the authentic locale if the setting could not be accurately recreated anywhere else. Darryl Zanuck puts forward:

The only excuse in my opinion for anyone to make a picture abroad is because it cannot be properly produced anywhere else except on the locale dictated by the story...What do I gain by making another six thousand mile expedition and going into territory where I have to bring everything from stars to grips? I gain only

¹⁰⁴ "Sam Zimbalist Cites 'Quo' As Costliest Yet; 300,000 Cast," *Daily Variety*, November 28, 1950, 1, 3.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in "Plan To Make 'Cleo' In England 'Idiotic' Says Mankiewicz," *Daily Variety*, April 24, 1961, 1, 10.

quality and realism and if I am successful, I bring to audiences a sense of honesty and show them something they have never seen before.¹⁰⁶

He concludes, “The locale must be the only barometer for production abroad.”¹⁰⁷

Zanuck, like many other producers, privileged the authentic locale as a primary justification for shooting overseas, a stance that helped counter the labor unions’ argument that these films were unnecessarily being made overseas and they were taking away jobs from Hollywood workers. In fact, in 1953, the Motion Picture Industry Council, a joint labor-management committee, publicly approved the practice of shooting overseas when authentic locales added to story values in order to spur foreign box office, a move that further warranted the use of foreign locations.¹⁰⁸

Despite this approval, unions contended that certain producers’ choice of story material was a façade motivated by the financial benefit of shooting in foreign regions. One of the AFL Film Council’s resolutions on “runaway” production asserts, “Some producers claim they are making their pictures in foreign countries because they need foreign locale for their scenes, while in fact in many cases the producer has a deliberate policy of seeking scripts calling for foreign locales.”¹⁰⁹ In truth, Hollywood companies took an active role in tracking down foreign story properties. For example, Twentieth Century-Fox placed a talent executive in England to hunt for story material for foreign productions while the studio also worked with a European story editor in Paris.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Darryl F. Zanuck, “Shoot It Where You Find It,” *Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, December 1960, 5.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁰⁸ “Pressures Induce O’Seas Prod’n,” 1, 8.

¹⁰⁹ “Resolution on Runaway Production,” February 9, 1961, Hollywood AFL Film Council File, AMPTP Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹¹⁰ “20th’s Foreign Sked Big,” *Daily Variety*, October 25, 1948, 1, 11. “20th’s European Story Ed Huddles With Zanuck,” *Daily Variety*, December 1, 1954, 2.

Similarly, MGM sponsored story searches in Europe and created story departments in Paris and London.¹¹¹ From the late 1940s throughout the 1950s, Billy Wilder and producers Hal Wallis, Sol Lesser and Arthur Hornblow took European story-scouting trips.¹¹² David O. Selznick also accumulated foreign story properties with the aim of producing films in Europe.¹¹³

All of these activities imply that there was in fact a push to develop foreign story properties from European countries, where Hollywood producers could reap the financial rewards of shooting on location while also developing stories with a more international scope to appeal to foreign markets. The emphasis on foreign locations indicates that the basis for shooting abroad—which may have included the use of frozen funds and foreign subsidies and the reliance on cheap labor—had to be backed up by a story that demanded a foreign locale.

2) A film is set in one foreign country but shot in another: Typically, a film would be set in one foreign country but shot in another when a locale could replicate the other. In the case of historical epics, the original locations either no longer existed or were so altered by modernization that authenticity could not be captured. In its place, producers shot in a location that would approximate the historical setting. As Neal Rosendorf has established, producer Samuel Bronston specialized in these productions. In Spain, Bronston shot the biblical epic *The King of Kings* (1961), the Boxer Rebellion tale *55 Days at Peking* (1963), and the ancient Rome drama *The Fall of the Roman Empire*

¹¹¹ “MGM’s MacKenna to Scour Europe For Film Yarns,” *Daily Variety*, September 29, 1955, 12.

¹¹² “Billy Wilder En Route,” *Daily Variety*, June 25, 1948, 1. “Wilder Off to Deepest Europe On Yarn-Hunt,” *Daily Variety*, November 8, 1950, 10. “Wallis Hunts Tale For British Pic,” *Daily Variety*, January 3, 1950, 2. “Hornblow to Paris,” *Daily Variety*, April 25, 1950, 2. “Sol Lesser Back From Europe; Preps ‘Tarzan and Vampire,’” *Daily Variety*, July 29, 1952, 2.

¹¹³ “Selznick Seeks Yarns To Film Abroad,” *Daily Variety*, May 10, 1950, 3.

(1964), letting the Spanish landscape substitute historical settings, while taking advantage of a cheap labor pool and support from the Spanish government.¹¹⁴

For some productions, circumstances prevented a film company from shooting in an original location, forcing a unit to replicate the setting in another foreign locale. Fox's production of *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (1958), about an English missionary in China, was unable to shoot in Taiwan, a stand-in for mainland China, due to bad publicity surrounding the film's depiction of foot binding and the exiled Nationalist Chinese government's concern with the film's portrayal of China's poverty and lack of development. Hong Kong was another possibility, but Fox personnel were apparently dissuaded by the city's modernity. Additionally, because the film's star, Ingrid Bergman, refused to work in the United States at the time, the production moved to MGM's British studios and locations in England and Wales, which replicated Chinese scenery.¹¹⁵ For the Warner Bros. film *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone* (1961), the production was forced to move from Rome to England after Italian officials refused to grant the studio a shooting permit, ostensibly over the racy story based on Tennessee Williams' novel about a widowed entertainer's affair with an Italian gigolo. While the finished film included some authentic Roman backdrops, most of its Roman settings were recreated in British studios.¹¹⁶ However, as with the Bronston pictures, unions argued that that the settings in

¹¹⁴ Neal Moses Rosendorf, "'Hollywood in Madrid': American Film Producers and the Franco Regime, 1950-1970," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 27 no. 1 (March 2007): 77-109. Rosendorf, "The Life and Times of Samuel Bronston."

¹¹⁵ See correspondence in *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files and Mark Robson Papers, Performing Arts Special Collections, UCLA, Los Angeles (hereafter UCLA Arts). Fox press release, *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (Clipping File), AMPAS Library. Ingrid Bergman and Alan Burgess, *Ingrid Bergman: My Story* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1980), 363.

¹¹⁶ "The Story Behind the Ban" press release, *Roman Spring Of Mrs. Stone* (Press Releases), Warner Archive.

these kinds of productions could have been replicated in the U.S., where a domestic cast and crew could have been hired.¹¹⁷

In time, unions had some success in convincing certain Hollywood filmmakers to shoot their historical epics back home. Actor-producer Kirk Douglas, who filmed much of the ancient Rome-set *Spartacus* in Los Angeles and the Southwest, supported this effort. He says, “If you must start from scratch, if you must build your sets from the ground up, if you must create the streets and homes and shops—an entire image of something which no longer exists—then I think Hollywood is the place to do it.”¹¹⁸ Even though some of *Spartacus*’ battle sequences were made in Spain, where the Spanish army stood-in for Roman soldiers, the move won the endorsement of the AFL, which even promoted the film in *Daily Variety* with a full-page letter of support and a plea that producers “stop looking across the sea for greener grass. It is greenest right here.”¹¹⁹ Holding a screening of the film for its constituents, the labor group used *Spartacus* as a centerpiece in its anti-“runaway” production campaign.¹²⁰ Then in 1962, the production of George Stevens’ *The Greatest Story Ever Told* showed that a biblical epic could be shot entirely in the United States using a large cast and crew through special

¹¹⁷ William Ornstein, “‘Runaway’ Issue Boils At IA Meet,” *Daily Variety*, September 13, 1962, 1, 4. “Hollywood Unionists See ‘Red’ In All-Out Rage,” 26.

¹¹⁸ Kirk Douglas, “All Roads Lead to...Hollywood,” *Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, December 1960, 5.

¹¹⁹ AFL advertisement, *Daily Variety*, July 8, 1960, 7. Neal Rosendorf suggests that the majority of filming took place in the U.S. because the story’s proletarian hero did not sit well with Spain’s Franco regime, which prompted the production to shoot its less controversial scenes in Spain. Rosendorf, “‘Hollywood in Madrid,’” 87-88. Also, while Douglas publicly supported domestic shooting for productions that did not need authentic foreign locations, he produced the U.S.-British co-production *The Devil’s Disciple* (1959), a film set in revolutionary New England, but shot in Britain.

¹²⁰ “AFL-CIO Helps Sell ‘Spartacus’ Tix As Part Of Its ‘Runaway’ Campaign,” *Daily Variety*, January 18, 1961, 3. H. O’Neil Shanks to AFL-CIO unions, February 9, 1961, Hollywood AFL Film Council File, AMPTP Papers, AMPAS Library.

arrangements between unions and the film's producers to keep costs down.¹²¹ Both of these productions conveyed to the industry that major motion pictures set in foreign locales could be successfully shot in the U.S. without the profligate spending of films such as *Mutiny on the Bounty* and *Cleopatra*.

3) A film is set in the U.S. but shot in a foreign country: Although this category of film was the most contentious type of production with unions, it was the exception in the postwar era. Most films were set and shot in the same location, but on occasion financial incentives would motivate a movie that was set in the U.S. to be shot in a foreign country. The few examples covered by the film trade press elicited swift and vocal protest from unions. W.R. Frank's 1954 production of *Sitting Bull*, a biopic about the eponymous Sioux chief, was set in South Dakota but shot in Mexico. The film drew heavy criticism from an IATSE local, which mobilized a Sioux group in South Dakota to protest the production. Ralph Peckham, a former South Dakotan and secretary-treasurer of the IATSE Motion Picture Set Painters Union, argued that the production was denying employment and money not only to Hollywood technicians but also to residents of the Dakotas, who could benefit from the film shoot.¹²² Similarly, Republic's *Daniel Boone, Trail Blazer* (1956) was shot in Mexico and set in the U.S. South, a situation that the AFL opposed.¹²³ For unions, these kinds of productions were barefaced attempts to cash in on the less expensive labor in Mexico.

¹²¹ "SEG's 'Greatest' Victory In 'Runaway' Fight," *Daily Variety*, May 16, 1962, 1, 7. Schumach, "Hollywood Sees a Rise in Filming," 18.

¹²² "'Sitting Bull' Filming In Mexico Is Protested," *Hollywood Reporter*, February 17, 1954, 3. "IATSE Local Stirs Up Sioux To Protest Shooting of 'Sitting Bull' in Mexico," *Daily Variety*, February 23, 1954, 1, 3. "Bob Goldstein May Save Scalp of 'Sitting Bull'," *Daily Variety*, February 23, 1954, 1, 3.

¹²³ "Ask AFL-CIO Boycott Of 'Dan Boone'," *Daily Variety*, March 29, 1956, 1, 2.

However, the union outcries triggered counter-defenses by Hollywood producers. Al Gannaway, co-producer of *Daniel Boone*, criticized the AFL's objection to his production. He explained that he had decided to shoot the film in Mexico only after locations in Tennessee and North Carolina were found to be unsatisfactory. He also expressed resentment towards the AFL's charge of "un-Americanism."¹²⁴ In another case, producer Carl Krueger demanded that the AFL Film Council and its president Ralph Clare apologize for including Krueger's production of *Comanche* (1956), set and shot in Durango, Mexico, in a list of "runaway" productions. Krueger maintains, "A casual reading of our screenplay will prove my production is not a runaway but a picture legitimately filmed in a foreign locale to assure authenticity. The picture opens with the Comanches sacking and destroying a Mexican pueblo on the outskirts of Durango."¹²⁵ Whether justified or not, these films' use of Mexico as a location provoked vocal disapproval from unions.

Though less frequent, U.S.-set films that were shot in Europe also prompted boycotts. For *John Paul Jones*, producer Samuel Bronston aimed to shoot the film primarily in Spain, including scenes set in the United States, such as the signing of the Declaration of Independence. With such a patriotic and historical subject matter, the AFL Film Council was particularly irate, even threatening to bring their protest to President Eisenhower and Congress.¹²⁶ In response, Bronston denied that he was reproducing Independence Hall in Spain and declared that the Declaration of Independence scenes would be shot in Philadelphia and Williamsburg. But as *Daily Variety* reported, this

¹²⁴ "2 Producers Blast Unions On 'Unfair' Runaway Charge," *Hollywood Reporter*, August 16, 1955, 11. Gannaway eventually signed a collective bargaining contract with studio unions. See "AFL Lifts Its Boycott Off 'Boone'," *Daily Variety*, April 26, 1956, 1, 4.

¹²⁵ Quoted in "2 Producers Blast Unions," 11.

¹²⁶ "AFL Boycott Over 'Jones' Threatened," *Daily Variety*, March 31, 1958, 1, 4.

assertion contradicted an earlier Warner Bros. press release, which explained that the Hall would be constructed at Estudios CEA in Madrid, a detail that Bronston later admitted to. Further defending himself, the producer contended that he was using thirty-eight U.S. technicians on location and that the sole way to get the film made was to use frozen foreign currency only available upon shooting overseas.¹²⁷ In the end, under pressure from the AFL's boycott threat, Bronston agreed that in addition to the foreign locales of Spain, Versailles and Scotland, he would shoot scenes in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.¹²⁸

The example of *John Paul Jones* underlines how important the connection between the settings and shooting locations was in the debates surrounding "runaway" production. Although unions were able to influence the decision on where parts of films were shot, their remonstrations were really only effective when they could make a clear case that authenticity was not a viable justification for filming overseas. Interestingly, the AFL's dispute over Bronston's film led to rifts within the organization, which tried to oust its business agent Herb Aller for standing in the way of its boycott, a sign that unions did not always present a united front in their campaigns against "runaway" productions.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ " 'Jones' Not Filming U.S. Scenes Overseas, Bronston Aide Says," *Daily Variety*, April 1, 1958, 4.

¹²⁸ "Bronston Bows To Film Council; Filming 'Jones' Partly in U.S.," *Daily Variety*, April 21, 1958, 1, 3. See also Rosendorf, "Life and Times of Samuel Bronston," 238-242.

¹²⁹ "Film Council Seeks To Oust Herb Aller," *Daily Variety*, June 16, 1958, 1, 4. "Aller 'Subpoenas' Meany for Trial by AFL Film Council," *Daily Variety*, July 7, 1958, 1, 2.

Conclusion: Hollywood's Foreign Cutbacks

In 1960, *Variety's* Robert J. Landry offered a thoughtful assessment on the continuing debates surrounding foreign production. He charged both unions and producers with employing propagandistic efforts to justify their own positions, claiming that the term “runaway” production was just as much a propaganda measure as the producers’ “appeasement” tactics. While he accused studios of not doing enough to keep productions in Hollywood, such as lowering overhead, Landry suggested that the industry had changed and that it was becoming more international and little could be done to return to its previous circumstances. He concludes, “Trends rise and fall and the film medium grows constantly more ‘international.’ Hollywood must adjust to the new set of circumstances and survive in a new context. There is a good deal of evidence, despite all wailing, that it is doing precisely that. In any event, there is no turning back the calendar to the old, easy days.”¹³⁰

When Landry made these comments, Hollywood studios had already been altering their plan for a more international outlook by scaling back their foreign operations in distribution and production, a reflection of the general belt-tightening that was taking place throughout the U.S. film industry.¹³¹ In England, Warner Bros. sold its Teddington Studios to ABPC for television production.¹³² MGM sold its dubbing studios in London and Rome and considered the sale of its Borehamwood studios, but the

¹³⁰ Robert J. Landry, “‘Runaway’: What they Say and Do,” *Variety*, November 2, 1960, 4.

¹³¹ However, one *Daily Variety* article proclaimed that certain studios, such as Warner Bros. and Paramount, had to cut back foreign operations because they were short on releases. “20th Lot Sale Brings \$57-60 Mil,” *Daily Variety*, March 4, 1959, 1, 4.

¹³² “WB Sells Teddington Studios in London,” *Daily Variety*, August 26, 1958, 1.

Hollywood firm had trouble finding a buyer.¹³³ RKO also began to cut its foreign distribution network as the studio itself began to downsize, handing over its administrative operations to Britain's Rank Organization.¹³⁴ In Italy, studios started cutting their distribution agencies, a move that prompted the Italian government's customs authorities to deny film import permits because of the layoffs of Italian staff members.¹³⁵ In Great Britain, Warner Bros. closed its sales exchanges in England, Scotland and Wales.¹³⁶ While many of these cutbacks came from the distribution sector, these moves indicate a changing overseas strategy, in which studios reduced their physical presence abroad with less production operations and distribution offices while increasing its financial position through the funding of co-productions and full-fledged foreign films.

Despite the cuts to foreign infrastructure, U.S. film companies' overseas output fluctuated in the early 1960s. In 1960 and 1962, *Daily Variety* announced that Hollywood was actually increasing the number of foreign-shot films while elsewhere Paramount was supposedly scaling back its productions abroad.¹³⁷ In 1960, Fox planned to carry out an ambitious production plan in Britain.¹³⁸ However, the studio soon found itself enmeshed in the production mess of *Cleopatra*, which almost ruined Fox. By September of 1962,

¹³³ "MGM Unloading Dubbing Studios In Paris, Rome," *Daily Variety*, February 12, 1958, 3. "MGM's British Studio On Block," *Hollywood Reporter*, March 18, 1958, 1. "Loew's May Hold British Studios," *Daily Variety*, March 25, 1958, 1, 4. MGM did not actually close its British studios until 1970. Patricia Warren, *British Film Studios: An Illustrated History* (London: B.T. Batsford, 2001), 88.

¹³⁴ "RKO Toppers Meet On Big O'Seas Cuts," *Daily Variety*, February 19, 1958, 2. "RKO O'Seas Admin. Work To Rank Org," *Daily Variety*, March 26, 1958, 1, 18.

¹³⁵ Robert F. Hawkins. "Roamin' In Rome," *Daily Variety*, March 3, 1958, 6. "Italy Dangles Pic Imports to Halt U.S. Co. Layoffs," *Daily Variety*, April 2, 1958, 4.

¹³⁶ "WB Closing All British Exchanges," *Daily Variety*, March 10, 1958, 1.

¹³⁷ "Record H'wood Prod'n Abroad," *Daily Variety*, April 14, 1960, 1, 4. "'Runaway' Film Prod'n Trend Is Increasing," *Daily Variety*, August 9, 1962, 3. Schumach, "Paramount Gives Hollywood Hope," 32.

¹³⁸ "20th's British Prod'n Splurge," *Daily Variety*, November 1, 1960, 1, 4.

Fox put a six-month suspension on its productions and laid off half of its studio staff.¹³⁹ That same year, Paramount, Columbia, Seven Arts and Embassy Pictures all began to concentrate more heavily on U.S. production.¹⁴⁰ By the end of 1962, the trade press reported that the downsizing of the U.S. film industry resulted in the closing of foreign operations and a focus more on domestic productions.¹⁴¹ But from the late 1940s through the early 1960s, Hollywood's foreign production served as a strategy to weather the difficulties of the postwar transitional period, though it would forever alter the stability of Hollywood employment.

What do the configurations above tell us about the Hollywood film industry during this period? Firstly, these varying configurations point to the fracturing of how films were financed and organized and where they were shot. Film funding now came from multiple international sources. The geographic locations spanned the globe, often extending across multiple continents. Setting and location became increasingly significant factors in the selection of story material and in the look of the film. In sum, the diverse configurations of these movies highlight the fragmentation of production standardization. However, I do not want to suggest that there was no standardization. Through my system of categorization, I have tried to bring to light that there were trends in the way that these productions were funded and coordinated.

Finally, the configurations denote that these films were the result of a true internationalization of production. While a large portion of Hollywood films were still made domestically, postwar foreign productions signal that the world and its film

¹³⁹ "'Have Talent, Will Travel,'" 8. George F. Custen, *Twentieth Century's Fox: Darryl F. Zanuck and the Culture of Hollywood* (New York: BasicBooks, 1997), 367.

¹⁴⁰ "'Back to Hollywood' Upbeat," 1, 4.

¹⁴¹ "'H'wood Hits Alltime Prod'n Low,'" *Daily Variety*, December 10, 1962, 1, 4.

industries became a global pool of resources from which Hollywood producers and studios could assemble personnel, equipment and locations to create films that were more international in scope. It was partly through Hollywood producers' ability to export and reconfigure a mode of production that the industry was able to persist through the postwar era. In the next two chapters, I will take a closer look at the overall trend towards the internationalization of Hollywood production.

Chapter Two.

Towards a More Flexible Mode of Production: The Internationalization of Hollywood Production in Postwar Great Britain, Italy and France

In May of 1961, Vincente Minnelli was preparing the production of *Two Weeks in Another Town*, part of which he planned to shoot in Rome. Hollywood filmmaker Jean Negulesco communicated with Minnelli, offering some advice on working in Italy, where Negulesco had directed portions of *Three Coins in the Fountain* (1954) and *Boy on a Dolphin* (1957) and was at the time producing his next film *Jessica* (1962). Negulesco writes:

I would say that the most difficult and the most important condition of making a picture in Italy is to adapt yourself to their spirit, to their way of life, to their way of working. A small example: This happened to me on location. As I arrive on the set and everything is ready to be done at 9 o'clock—the people are having coffee. Now, your assistant also is having coffee—and if you are foolish enough to start to shout and saying you want to work, right away you'll have an unhappy crew and not the cooperation needed for the picture. But if you have coffee with them, they will work for you with no time limit or no extra expense.¹

Negulesco's letter underscores a key issue about postwar Hollywood foreign productions. His recommendations point out the lessons that Hollywood filmmakers learned overseas when confronted with different working hours, production practices and cultural customs. Rather than resisting these differences, the director recommends a modicum of

¹ Jean Negulesco to Vincente Minnelli, May 14, 1961, General Files (N – Miscellaneous 1961-1966), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library (underlining in the original).

adaptability in order to elicit the hard work and unregulated long hours expected by certain Hollywood filmmakers operating overseas.

In this chapter, I explore the experience of Hollywood workers and companies that produced films in postwar Western Europe by addressing a few related questions. First, how was Hollywood able to move some of its filmmaking activities from the studios of the greater Los Angeles area to Europe? Second, what happened to the Hollywood mode of production as it interacted with European film industries? Lastly, what was the effect of Hollywood production on these foreign film industries? In line with Negulesco's advice to adapt to local circumstances, I suggest that Hollywood's postwar foreign productions resulted in a more flexible mode of production as filmmakers continued film practices established in the studio system and adjusted to the features of foreign industries and locations.

This shift towards increased production flexibility reflected a larger industry trend that some analysts have described as a "post-Fordist phase of flexible specialization" that began in postwar Hollywood and intensified through the last quarter of the twentieth century. This new system was characterized by the vertical disintegration of the studios, an increase in the number of companies that performed specialized services, and a "package-unit" system of production, in which the entire industry rather than the individual studio became the source for labor and materials on a project-by-project basis.² My own characterization of production flexibility aims to shed light on how Hollywood's foreign productions contributed to these postwar industrial changes while also offering a

² Toby Miller, et al., *Global Hollywood 2*, 128-129. Goldsmith and O'Regan, *The Film Studio*, 13-17. Staiger, "Package-unit system," 330-337.

specific account of how Hollywood filmmakers and technicians became more versatile when organizing and executing production abroad.

In order to follow this investigation, I focus on Hollywood production work from the late 1940s to the early 1960s that took place in Great Britain, Italy and France, the sites with the preponderance of Hollywood production in Europe. In particular, I concentrate on Hollywood's attraction to the production centers of the metropolitan areas of London, Rome and Paris, each of which provided an infrastructure and talent pool that could support big-budget filmmaking. Since there were some key differences amongst these production centers, I will tease out some of the important features that set these regions apart.

By carrying out a historical inquiry into production cultures, I suggest that postwar international production—with its mixing of labor, languages, filmmaking methods and customs—was very much a transcultural activity. Drawing from the industry and craft discourse in the U.S. film trade press, studio and personal correspondence, and interviews with production personnel who worked in this era, this analysis takes a Hollywood perspective by considering how Hollywood filmmakers executed production within a European context. However, the features of European production cultures will come into relief by illustrating the ways that Hollywood reshaped European filmmaking practices and the ways that European film industries correspondingly refashioned Hollywood methods. This exchange was not always mutually beneficial in equal measures. Hollywood surely reaped the rewards of European financial incentives and cheap labor, but the evidence also suggests that European unions, skills and infrastructures influenced Hollywood production in a manner that benefited

foreign industries. After all, it was the dictates of European policies that impelled Hollywood companies to invest their frozen foreign earnings in overseas production.

Assessing changes in postwar Hollywood filmmaking by invoking a totalizing framework like the Hollywood mode of production risks overlooking changes in the standardization of how these films were organized and produced. However, as with the previous chapter, identifying patterns in how these productions were planned and carried out can be instructive. By doing so, we can see that foreign production work was to a degree standardized by adhering to proven methods developed in Hollywood and by adapting to the new circumstances of working in Europe, which in turn coalesced into trade knowledge that future productions relied on.

So by using the Hollywood mode of production as a baseline and by taking an inductive approach to studying the industry's foreign productions, I aim to demonstrate that a series of features come to the fore that characterize Hollywood's system of international filmmaking. These factors include: 1) the support of studio foreign offices; 2) the increased importance of location production management; 3) the infrastructure provided by foreign studios, laboratories and equipment suppliers; 4) the cooperation of Hollywood and foreign personnel; 5) the need to facilitate effective communication between English-speaking Hollywood workers and foreign language-speaking crews; 6) the intermixing of Hollywood and foreign production practices; 7) the dependency on contemporaneous overseas productions for labor and equipment; 8) the sharing of production knowledge; and 9) a degree of supervision of foreign productions by studio management based in Los Angeles. Each of these factors serves as a key mid-range

causal force that shaped the organization and execution of Hollywood filmmaking overseas.

Foreign Studio Offices

Traditionally, a Hollywood company, whether working within the walls of a studio lot or on location in Southern California, would run its filmmaking operations from studio production offices. On European productions, the geographical distance from satellite film sites limited the role of the studio production office. Instead, certain studios looked to their network of overseas offices, which housed distribution operations, subsidiaries and, in some cases, personnel in charge of scouting foreign story properties. The studio foreign office was vital to initiating the requisite preparatory work before a Hollywood unit arrived to do principal photography. The reliance on the foreign office was especially important to Hollywood studios such as Paramount and Fox, which did not have control of foreign production facilities, as MGM and Warner Bros. did in England.³

In London, Paramount split its operations between a production office on Jermyn Street, which also handled story properties and casting, and a distribution office on Wardour Street, where many of Hollywood's British branches were located. In Paris, productions were coordinated from a Paramount distribution branch on Rue Meyerbeer, while in Rome, the studio relied on its distribution office on Via Leonida Bissolati. Twentieth Century-Fox also had offices in London and Rome. In Paris, the Fox operations were split between a distribution office on the Champs-Élysées and a production office on Rue la Boétie, which would eventually become the headquarters for

³ In 1919, Famous Players-Lasky, the parent company of Paramount, converted a power station into a twin-stage studio outside of London in Islington but then sold the facility in 1924 to concentrate its production operations in Hollywood. Warren, *British Film Studios*, 104.

Darryl Zanuck's DFZ Productions once the studio production chief relocated to Europe as an independent producer.

These foreign offices received studio directives to scout locations, contract foreign labor, acquire equipment, and negotiate with local unions and authorities to secure shooting permits. For *September Affair* (1951), one of Paramount's early postwar foreign productions, the studio's Rome office was charged with securing import and export licenses for equipment as well as entry permits and insurance for the crew coming from Hollywood.⁴ Paramount also took advantage of its network of smaller distribution offices throughout Italy to aid with location surveys in Florence and Naples, where the film was shot.⁵ On Hitchcock's remake of *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, Paramount's London office scouted locations by taking photos of various locales and sending them back to personnel in Hollywood.⁶ For the same production, the studio benefited from France's colonial ties to French Morocco by working through its Paris office to organize permits, crew and equipment and address the country's cultural specificities, such as the attitude of Moroccans to being photographed by foreigners and the practice of veils on women.⁷

In each of these offices, a multilingual representative—typically local in origin—worked with the studio. For much of the 1950s in London, the Paramount production

⁴ Henry Anderson to Pilade Levi, May 11, 1949. Jack Saper to Russell Holman, May 24, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁵ Richard McWhorter to Richard Blaydon, July 5 and 11, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁶ Herbert Coleman to Richard Mealand, January 31, 1955. Kathleen Selby to Herbert Coleman, March 29, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Location 1954-55), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁷ Edouard de Segonzac to Alfred Hitchcock, February 5, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Location 1954-55), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

representative was Richard Mealand, while in Rome, Luigi Zaccardi looked after production in Italy. The representative in the Paris office was Edouard de Segonzac, a central figure in organizing pre-production for *Little Boy Lost* (1953), *To Catch a Thief*, *Funny Face* (1957) and the Moroccan phase of *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. When Paramount initiated the production of *Little Boy Lost*, the studio's New York office praised Segonzac, calling him "energetic, practical, intelligent and completely bilingual."⁸ During the same production, producer William Perlberg claims, "He is a wonderful guy and has been a tremendous help to us. We are together all the time and his grasp of our needs is amazing."⁹ The *Little Boy Lost* production also hired Segonzac's wife, a designer for Schiaparelli, as the French costume designer.

However, correspondence in later years reveals frustration with Segonzac's abilities. On *To Catch a Thief* and *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, Paramount personnel working overseas complained about his "sloppy methods" and that fact that he had to be "pushed along."¹⁰ Nevertheless, Segonzac continued working in the Paris office and for *Funny Face*, he helped organize equipment, location permits, French technicians and hotel rooms.¹¹ In 1960, he became MGM's Paris production representative and was replaced by French producer-director Michel Bernheim, who was in charge of acquiring

⁸ Russell Holman to Frank Caffey, June 23, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁹ William Perlberg to Bing Crosby, July 29, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records. AMPAS Library.

¹⁰ C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, June 18, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records. Herbert Coleman to Alfred Hitchcock, March 17, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Production 1955-56), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹¹ See correspondence between C. Kenneth Deland and Edouard de Segonzac, March and April 1956, *Funny Face* (Production), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

foreign story properties and dealing with production logistics and auditions in Paris.¹² Whatever shortcomings a foreign office and its representative might have had though, these in-the-field liaisons were essential to laying the groundwork for a studio unit to carry out production.

The foreign offices' staff was also an asset since it was familiar with the politics of local filmmaking. Because Hollywood was ensnared in Communist witch-hunt trials in the 1950s, U.S. companies working in Europe had to tread carefully in order not to align themselves too closely with Communist unions for fear of political trouble back home with the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and red-baiting labor groups. When Paramount undertook the production of *Little Boy Lost*, French Communist and non-Communist unions were locked in a conflict and the studio turned to its Paris office to navigate the situation.¹³ In the preparation of *To Catch a Thief*, the Paris office helped Paramount understand that by shooting outside of Paris, the production would have an easier time securing non-Communist union workers.¹⁴

Twentieth Century-Fox also looked to its foreign offices to facilitate overseas production. In 1948, reflecting its increase of British production, Fox set out to turn its London office into an active production center not only for British projects but also to supervise filmmaking units around Europe.¹⁵ As Fox increased its production in France, its Paris office also provided the studio with production support. On *A Certain Smile* (1958), Edward Leggewie of the Paris office was charged with lining up a French crew,

¹² "Karp Appoints Bernheim Par Paris Prod. Top," *Daily Variety*, November 25, 1960, 1, 10.

"Michel Bernheim Par's Paris Rep," *Variety*, November 30, 1960, 7.

¹³ Richard Mealand to Russell Holman, March 27, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁴ Russell Holman to Y. Frank Freeman, February 25, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library

¹⁵ "20th's Foreign Sked Big," *Daily Variety*, October 25, 1948, 1, 11.

performing location surveys, securing access to potential shooting sites, and arranging transportation.¹⁶ While Fox gave him a great deal of responsibility, the studio closely monitored his activities, especially the foreign office's spending. After the Fox home office learned that Leggewie had prematurely put a unit manager on salary and hired an office assistant, production executive Sid Rogell admonished Leggewie for needless spending.¹⁷

About a year and a half later, Fox's dependence on Leggewie and Fox's Paris office continued when Rogell gave him a mere two-and-half-week advance notice that the studio wanted to start second-unit work on *Seven Thieves* (1960) in the south of France. At the height of the tourist season, Leggewie was entrusted with securing French crew members, actors to double for the stars, locations, accommodations, equipment and import permits.¹⁸ Impressively, shooting commenced three weeks after the initial request was put into the Paris office.¹⁹

If a film company did not have a foreign office, similar options existed. Both studio and independent companies involved in co-productions could count on the office of the foreign producer.²⁰ Other independent productions would open temporary offices in foreign cities, as was the case for the production of *Saint Joan* (1957), for which producer-director Otto Preminger set up a production office in London.²¹ In addition, a production shooting interiors could use a foreign studio as its base of operations. MGM

¹⁶ See correspondence for *A Certain Smile*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

¹⁷ Sid Rogell to Edward Leggewie, January 24, 1958, *A Certain Smile*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

¹⁸ Sid Rogell to Edward Leggewie, July 17, 1959, *Seven Thieves*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

¹⁹ Saul Wurtzel to Sid Rogell, August 7, 1959, *Seven Thieves*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

²⁰ Interview with Oswald Morris.

²¹ "Otto Preminger Opens London Prod'n Office," *Daily Variety*, August 16, 1956, 12.

was able to take advantage of the resources available at its British studios while also looking to its offices in Paris and Rome for additional production support. Productions, such as *Quo Vadis*, *Roman Holiday* and *Ben-Hur* (1959), used the Cinecittà Studios as a production base.

Eventually, foreign companies supplied production service support to Hollywood units working in Europe. In Italy, a company called International Film Service, run by former Italian filmmaking personnel who had worked on a number of Fox pictures, offered its assistance to international productions in handling many of the responsibilities that studio foreign offices had dealt with, including casting and negotiating with unions.²² Another company General Film Production Service delivered similar production assistance to foreign producers.²³ In many ways, these services heralded the foreign film commissions that became more common in cities and regions around the world in the 1970s and 1980s to attract and facilitate international co-productions.

In effect, the foreign office and its representatives functioned as intermediaries that paved the way for a studio unit to carry out production. These offices also reveal an added boon of Hollywood's international distribution network. In the mid 1910s, Hollywood studios had in part achieved global dominance by switching from sales agents in London to their own distribution offices worldwide.²⁴ In the postwar era, these offices played a crucial role in Hollywood foreign production work by providing a needed support base to initiate a film operation.

²² Jean Negulesco recommended the International Film Service to Vincente Minnelli. Negulesco to Minnelli, May 14, 1961, General Files (N – Miscellaneous 1961-1966), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library.

²³ "Production Service Firm Formed In Rome," *Daily Variety*, March 6, 1962, 4.

²⁴ Kristin Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment: America in the World Film Market, 1907-1934* (London: BFI, 1985).

Location Production Management

In the Hollywood studio system, the organization of individual productions was overseen by a unit manager, who took care of pre-production arrangements, and an assistant director, who supported the director during shooting.²⁵ For foreign work, a unit production manager with enhanced authority and responsibility was sent to the filmmaking site to begin pre-production with the assistance of a foreign office or studio. This manager stayed in frequent contact with studio production supervisors via cables and letters to update them on frozen funds, foreign labor, equipment, transportation, lodging and filming permits. Once shooting commenced, the production manager was responsible for ensuring that all of these arrangements functioned smoothly.

For *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, Paramount production manager C.O. “Doc” Erickson worked out of the studio’s London office to organize the British and Hollywood crew and several French personnel, who would serve on the Marrakesh location shoot.²⁶ Once in Marrakesh, Erickson took over the general organization of the production. Through continual correspondence, he became the link between the location unit and Paramount executives in Los Angeles and New York, updating them on progress, delays and costs.

At times, other below-the-line workers carried out the duties of production management, pointing to the more fluid roles of Hollywood personnel working overseas. In preparing the Italian locations of *September Affair*, Richard McWhorter, an assistant director at Paramount, fulfilled the functions of a production manager by securing

²⁵ Staiger, “The producer-unit system: management by specialization after 1931,” *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 324.

²⁶ C.O. Erickson to Herbert Coleman, April 30, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Herbie Coleman), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

locations, permits, import and export licenses, and Italian labor all while staying in contact with the studio back home.²⁷ Similarly, during the pre-production of *The Crimson Pirate*, Norman Deming, the film's associate producer working on behalf of Burt Lancaster and Harold Hecht's independent company, Norma Productions, took on many of the responsibilities of the production manager, including handling location surveys and production coordination.²⁸

In other instances, a studio hired a freelance production manager, who moved from one foreign production to another. One of the most fabled was Henry Henigson, a longtime MGM production man, who was a major force in organizing Hollywood films in Europe, especially in Italy. He coordinated MGM's *Quo Vadis* at Rome's Cinecittà Studios, working under the title of business manager. For his work on *Quo Vadis*, Eddie Mannix, MGM's general manager, paid tribute to Henigson's work by saying, "Without Henigson's great organizational ability and operational know-how, 'Quo Vadis' could not possibly have been made on such a grand scale or completed within the record-breaking time schedule that it was. The film itself will be a lasting monument to his industry."²⁹ For *Roman Holiday*, Paramount hired Henigson to set up the production base at Cinecittà. With his organizational and financial control over the films, Henigson's role often went beyond that of a production manager, more akin to a production executive. Like the other production managers that Hollywood studios sent overseas, Henigson's managerial skills helped promote a continuation of Hollywood practices in Europe.

²⁷ See correspondence in *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁸ See correspondence in *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

²⁹ Quoted in "Henigson Gets Tribute As He Departs MGM," *Daily Variety*, March 8, 1951, 1, 2.

While Hollywood often dispatched abroad a studio production manager, certain film units also recruited foreign personnel to organize filmmaking matters. For shoots in Britain, the production manager was often British since labor restrictions dictated that only a small percentage of the crew could be foreign. On *Little Boy Lost* in accord with French union regulations, the Hollywood unit manager Bill Mull was balanced by a French unit manager named Michel Rittener. Both were in charge of securing equipment, locations and permits.³⁰ In due time, as Hollywood producers became more familiar with foreign casts and crews, they began to depend increasingly on foreign production managers, such as Julien Derode, who worked on Stanley Donen's *Once More with Feeling* (1960) and Fox's *Crack in the Mirror* (1960). Darryl Zanuck considered Derode to be one of the best production managers in Europe, bringing with him a crew that often worked together from film to film.³¹

Foreign Studios

One of the challenges of making films overseas for Hollywood companies was mounting a production away from Los Angeles, where for over three decades an infrastructure of studios, filmmaking services and labor had supported production work. Economic geographer Allen J. Scott attributes the rise and growth of the Hollywood infrastructure in Southern California to industrial agglomeration: a dense cluster of individual production firms in one location, which is surrounded by a more dispersed collection of

³⁰ Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, August 18, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

³¹ See correspondence for *Crack in the Mirror*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

laboratories and equipment houses.³² But what happened to this clustering pattern when Hollywood films went on location to foreign countries?

On the one hand, the agglomeration structure in Los Angeles became somewhat deterritorialized as certain Hollywood studios looked beyond the local support system to foreign regions. On the other hand, these productions moved to new filmmaking agglomerations in the metropolitan areas of London, Rome and Paris, where studios, associated firms and skilled workers could support Hollywood projects. While the production hubs in European cities may not have been as dense as Los Angeles, the clustering was significant enough to maintain both Hollywood and local production over the course of the 1950s and into the 1960s.

British Studios

The area outside of London offered the greatest concentration of film studios in Western Europe. Those Hollywood companies that already owned local studios had the advantage to ramp up British production after World War II, especially when the British Board of Trade threatened to ban any purchase of British studios with the frozen foreign earnings of Hollywood companies.³³ Instead of relying on their London offices to help make films, the Hollywood majors that owned British studios could use those facilities as a production headquarters.

In the late 1940s, MGM led foreign production in Britain by converting its recently purchased Amalgamated Studios in Borehamwood outside of London into one of the most modern studios in the country. MGM's production operation was headed by

³² Allen J. Scott, *On Hollywood: The Place, The Industry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 6-8.

³³ "British Ban Sale Of Studios For Frozen Coin," *Daily Variety*, April 23, 1948, 3.

managing director Ben Goetz, who worked with the studio to devise an MGM-style plan for British productions.³⁴ Rivaling anything in Hollywood, the facilities included five stages, a water tank, a special effects department, dubbing and scoring theatres, and camera, lighting and sound-recording equipment, plus a full production staff.³⁵ For its first British production, MGM filmed *Edward, My Son*, which came in nine days ahead of schedule, a testament to the efficiency of the Borehamwood plant, according to the film's producer.³⁶

Sue Harper and Vincent Porter have argued that MGM-British recreated the style and organization of the company's Culver City lot by enlisting a mix of prominent British technicians and imported Hollywood talent.³⁷ British cinematographer Oswald Morris, who shot a number of films at MGM's British studios, remembers, "Everybody was very envious of the MGM pictures because MGM basically took the cream of the technicians and put them under contract. They were a cut above everybody else."³⁸ However, MGM received criticism for having one of the biggest studios in Britain but employing one of the smallest staffs and making only one film at a time when the British film industry was undergoing increasing unemployment.³⁹ By 1954, MGM-British Studios reduced its workforce significantly and moved from maintaining a staff that carried over from one film to another to hiring workers on a film-by-film basis, a move that received additional

³⁴ "Goetz, Mayer Will Talk Resumption of British Pix," *Daily Variety*, January 28, 1948, 6.

³⁵ An overview of MGM's Elstree facilities and rental rates is included in the studio agreement between MGM-British Studios and Capricorn Corp., June 9, 1948, *Under Capricorn* (Capricorn Corporation), Warner Archive.

³⁶ "'Edward, My Son' Is Winding 9 Days Early," *Daily Variety*, July 29, 1948, 4.

³⁷ Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 117.

³⁸ Interview with Oswald Morris.

³⁹ "Where Have We Gone Wrong?," *The Cine-Technician*, November-December 1948, 169.

criticism from Britain's Association of Cinematograph and Allied Technicians (ACT).⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the studio was still capable of handling mega-productions and employing large crews as was the case on Fox's production of *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, which constructed a replica of a Chinese city, covering half a million square feet on its backlot, reportedly the largest outdoor set in Europe up to that time.⁴¹

One of the other Hollywood studios to own British facilities was Warner Bros., which had purchased Teddington Studios in 1931 in an effort to create a British equivalent of its Burbank lot. Production came to a halt during World War II when a German plane bombed the site. Warner rebuilt the studios after the war, in the hopes of renting it out to independent productions under the supervision of general manager Gerald Blattner. However, shortly after its opening in 1948, Teddington shut down because not enough independent companies were renting the studio's two sound stages.⁴² This move was criticized by ACT since Warner Bros. was not producing its own films there, resulting in fewer job opportunities for British workers.⁴³ However, before the studio was converted to storage space in 1952, Warner managed to shoot parts of *The Crimson Pirate* there.⁴⁴

Instead of using its own studios at Teddington, Warner Bros. focused its production at the studios of ABPC, which Warner held part ownership of. Originally the

⁴⁰ "The General Council Decides...", *The Cine-Technician*, March 1954, 47.

⁴¹ "Chinese City of Wangcheng, Herts," *Daily Telegraph*, May 2, 1958. Anthony Carthew, "This £80,000 city even smells like the East," *Daily Herald*, May 2, 1958. "Wangcheng Is Ready For Official Opening" press release, *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (Micro Jacket), BFI Library.

⁴² "WB British Studio Back In Production," *Daily Variety* January 7, 1948, 1. "British Emergency Session On Closing Warners Lot," *Daily Variety*, July 9, 1948, 1, 18. "WB Closing Its Studio In London," *Daily Variety*, November 4, 1948, 1, 9.

⁴³ "Where Have We Gone Wrong?," 169.

⁴⁴ Various Teddington Studios press releases, Film & Television Production & Distribution Company Material, BFI Library.

home of British International Pictures, the ABPC Studios, down the road from MGM's Borehamwood facilities, were rebuilt after a period of inactivity during the war when they were used as an army depot.⁴⁵ But when the studios were not finished in time for Alfred Hitchcock's *Under Capricorn* (1949), the production was moved to MGM's British studios, where the story's Sydney setting was created. At MGM-British, Hitchcock benefited from the studio's technical expertise, staging some of the director's most virtuosic long takes.⁴⁶

The case of ABPC Studios deserves further examination, as Warner Bros. production work there sheds light on the benefits and limitations of foreign studios for Hollywood companies. On *The Hasty Heart*, the first Warner production at ABPC, director Vincent Sherman had to construct both the interior and exterior sets for the film's Burmese setting on the studio's small soundstages, an approach that probably would have been avoided in Hollywood at the time. "In America we would have built the exterior somewhere on the ranch," Sherman explains to a Warner production executive, "but it is ridiculous to consider shooting any exteriors here at the moment, because of the weather."⁴⁷ Sherman later recalled that England experienced an unusually harsh winter that year.⁴⁸ So as a solution, ABPC's British art director Terence Verity introduced a "turntable technique," which used a revolving stage and "flying backgrounds" that came

⁴⁵ Patricia Warren, *Elstree: The British Hollywood* (London: Elm Tree, 1983), 89-93.

⁴⁶ For an overview of *Under Capricorn*'s technical challenges, see Jack Cardiff, "The Problem Of Lighting and Photographing 'Under Capricorn'," *American Cinematographer*, October 1949, 358-59, 382.

⁴⁷ Vincent Sherman to Steve Trilling, November 7, 1948, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

⁴⁸ Ronald L. Davis, *Just Making Movies: Company Directors on the Studio System* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2005), 95.

down from the ceiling to allow for rapid set changes.⁴⁹ Sherman also noted that because of the difficulty of shooting exteriors in English weather, the ABPC staff had developed excellent miniature work that was less than half the cost in Hollywood.⁵⁰

But overall, to a director like Sherman, who was accustomed to Hollywood studio space and organization style, working at ABPC was a challenge. The director complained about technical problems and shooting a tropical-set film in a cold British studio in the winter. He also remarked that he could have shot the film much faster at Warner's Burbank studio and with that extra time, he could have devoted more attention to the film's actors.⁵¹ Sherman sums up his involvement at ABPC by observing:

They have a good organization here but they are still young in picture making.

This is a new studio with new people and while I think they are the healthiest and best group they still have to go some in order to have the same efficiency that we have at Warner Bros. This is natural of course, because we have an organization which has been functioning for many years and they need an equal amount of time to reach the same degree of experience.⁵²

A couple of years later, though, director Robert Siodmak, who shot a portion of *The Crimson Pirate* at ABPC, complained that the studio's management and labor were often in conflict because the management paid its crews only minimum wage and banned them

⁴⁹ Production notes, *Hasty Heart* (Production Notes), Warner Archive. Interestingly, Jack Warner suggested that the Burbank studio should consider adopting the turntable technique. Jack Warner to Vincent Sherman, December 16, 1948, *The Hasty Heart* (Story–Memos and Correspondence), Warner Archive.

⁵⁰ Vincent Sherman to Jack Warner, December 10, 1948, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

⁵¹ Vincent Sherman to Jack Warner, December 12, 1948, *The Hasty Heart* (Story–Memos and Correspondence). Vincent Sherman to Steve Trilling, February 11 and 24, 1949, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

⁵² Vincent Sherman to Steve Trilling, March 7, 1949, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

from working overtime. Also, since the crews had little guarantee of future employment, they had little incentive to work quickly. He found working at Teddington much better.⁵³

From the British side, ABPC seemed eager to co-produce with Warner Bros. and showcase the potential of its new studio. British producer Alex Boyd expressed to Warner Bros. production executive Steve Trilling the pleasure of working on *The Hasty Heart*. Boyd reports, “Everyone connected with the picture here is very happy to know that their efforts appear to have been successful. As you know this was our first big picture in our new Studios and we were naturally keen to show the world that our plant and the technicians in it were capable of turning out an article of which anyone, anywhere, could be proud.”⁵⁴ As the British industry slowly began to recover after the war, its cooperation with Hollywood companies was in part a way to bring in investment and talent to boost the prospects of its production output.

While MGM and Warner Bros. had the closest ties to British studios, Twentieth Century-Fox owned Wembley Studios, which it had first leased in 1933 to turn out “quota quickies” in England.⁵⁵ Once World War II commenced, the plant became a base for military training films. Following the studio’s bombing, Fox renovated Wembley, which was then mostly rented out to independent productions for commercials and short films.⁵⁶ For its own productions, Fox signed a deal with producer Alexander Korda to shoot several films at Korda’s Shepperton Studios. Then, after signing an agreement with

⁵³ Robert Siodmak to Steve Trilling, December 3, 1951, *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

⁵⁴ Alex T. Boyd to Steve Trilling, May 30, 1949, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive

⁵⁵ Steve Chibnall, *Quota Quickies: The Birth of the British “B” Film* (London: BFI, 2007), 23, 70.

⁵⁶ “Skouras Will Survey 20th’s British Studio Situation,” *Daily Variety*, March 22, 1948, 10. Warren, *British Film Studios*, 182-184.

producer J. Arthur Rank, Fox shifted some of its production to Rank's Denham and Pinewood Studios.⁵⁷ Other Hollywood companies rented foreign-owned, London-area studios, such as Shepperton Studios, where the interiors of *Moulin Rouge* and *Beat the Devil* were shot. Walt Disney shot the interiors of his British productions at a number of studios, including Denham, Pinewood and ABPC.

Despite the relatively favorable working conditions in England with its high concentration of studios and skilled workers, some filmmakers found the immediate postwar situation not suited to Hollywood-style filmmaking. Director Frank Borzage refused to make *The Mark of Captain Kidd* in London because he found production conditions "too rugged," and soon he abandoned the project altogether.⁵⁸ Without its own British studios, Paramount tended to carry out location shooting in Britain, as was the case on *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, while reserving soundstage work for its facilities in Hollywood.

Italian Studios

In Italy, Hollywood production concentrated around Roman film facilities, including Scalera Studios, Titanus Studios, the Centro Sperimentale and, in the early 1960s, the Dino De Laurentiis Studios. By far the most important studio was Cinecittà. Opened in 1937, Cinecittà fell into disuse at the end of World War II, when it served as a munitions depot and then a refugee camp.⁵⁹ Film production resumed in 1947 and a year later Fox's *Prince of Foxes* (1949) was shot there. MGM soon began investing blocked lire in

⁵⁷ "Korda En Route For Coast Talks On Production," *Daily Variety*, April 30, 1948, 6. "20th Switching From Korda To Rank," *Daily Variety*, March 20, 1950, 1, 8.

⁵⁸ "Weissmuller To Do Film Abroad; But Borzage Won't," *Daily Variety*, August 30, 1949, 3.

⁵⁹ Noa Steimatsky, "The Cinecittà Refugee Camp (1944-1950)," *October* 128 (Spring 2009): 23-55. Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, 131.

modernizing the studio to support its mega-production *Quo Vadis*. However, once production commenced, much of the studio remained in disrepair and even some refugees remained.⁶⁰ *Quo Vadis* cinematographer Robert Surtees described that the stage walls and ceilings were in such bad shape that they could not support the weight of heavy arc lights. In another stage, the construction of a roof had been interrupted by the war, but the MGM production was able to use that drawback to its advantage by constructing a massive banquet set in the open-air stage, using the sun to light the set.⁶¹

In his correspondence with MGM, *Quo Vadis* business manager Henry Henigson portrayed Cinecittà as a large and serviceable studio. In addition to nine working stages, the studio included a machine shop, a construction department and space for a stills department and a production office. The studio also housed a wardrobe manufacturing department, a staffed plumbing department, a tin shop, a blacksmith shop and an upholstery workshop.⁶² Surtees reported that because the production was such a large undertaking, the departments for sculpture, costumes, dry-cleaning, laundry and shoe repair had to occupy several other stages to carry out their work.⁶³ Tying it all together, Henigson was in charge of organizing the entire studio to fall in line with Hollywood departmental organization and practices.

⁶⁰ Hugh Gray, "When in Rome...", *Hollywood Quarterly* 10 no. 3 (Spring 1956), reprinted in *Hollywood Quarterly: Film Culture in Postwar America, 1945-1957*, eds. Eric Smoodin and Ann Martin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 348.

⁶¹ Robert L. Surtees, "The Filming of *Quo Vadis* in Italy," *American Cinematographer*, October 1951, 417. *Quo Vadis* art director Edward Carfagno also remembered the studio as being rundown with many of its soundstages in need of repair. "An Oral History with Edward Carfagno," interview by Barbara Hall, (Beverly Hills: AMPAS Oral History Program, 1991), 87-88.

⁶² Henry Henigson, Cinecittà Studio survey, March 7, 1949, *Quo Vadis* (Miscellaneous), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁶³ Surtees, "Filming of *Quo Vadis*," 419.

By 1959, advertisements promoting the release of *Ben-Hur* highlighted the fact that the film was shot at Cinecittà. One ad in *Daily Variety* reads, “Filmed at Cinecitta...the studios of spectacular productions...Rome-Italy.” It then lists off previous Hollywood productions shot there, including *Quo Vadis*, *Helen of Troy* (1956), *Roman Holiday*, *Barefoot Contessa* (1954), *Boy on a Dolphin*, *A Farewell to Arms* (1957) and *The Nun’s Story*. The studio’s quality services to some of Hollywood’s biggest foreign productions helped transform the name Cinecittà into a mark of excellence.

However, there were drawbacks to Italian studios since most soundstages were not fully soundproofed owing to the fact that Italian films primarily relied on dubbing dialogue instead of direct sound recording. In addition, while Cinecittà was one of the biggest studios in Europe, the demand for studio space by large-scale productions created competition. According to Fred Zinnemann, his film *Teresa* had to be shot in a small studio in Rome since *Quo Vadis* monopolized Cinecittà.⁶⁴ About a decade later, because of the mega-production *Cleopatra*, which dominated Cinecittà and spilled over to the nearby Centro Sperimentale, Jerry Wald’s production of *Hemingway’s Adventures of a Young Man* (1962) was denied space and had to move studio work to Hollywood.⁶⁵

French Studios

In France, the use of studios by Hollywood in the late 1940s and early 1950s was limited, to some extent owing to soaring production costs in the late 1940s.⁶⁶ In addition, unlike many of the British studios, French facilities were not well supplied with equipment and

⁶⁴ Fred Zinnemann, *A Life in the Movies: An Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1992), 91.

⁶⁵ “‘Cleo’ Crowds Wald ‘Adventures’ Out Of Rome Studios,” *Daily Variety*, July 17, 1961, 1, 4.

⁶⁶ “French Costs Kill H’wd But Own Industry Booms,” *Hollywood Reporter*, May 9, 1949, 3.

they were understaffed with few contracted workers in order to maintain low overhead.⁶⁷ Part of this situation was a result of the banking credit restrictions of the late 1940s and the inability for French studios to maintain year-round staffs and a consistent production output. As a consequence, the studios were often rented out empty to production companies either without a set staff or a very small workforce.⁶⁸ In a 1947 *American Cinematographer* report, a representative of a U.S. equipment company visited studios around Paris and described “antiquated equipment,” a small layout, and “practically no activity.”⁶⁹ Additionally, while producer Norman Krasna praised the work of French technicians from his experience of shooting *The Ambassador’s Daughter* (1956), he explained that French studios were not equipped with the necessary set materials and props to handle “American action.”⁷⁰

Even though many Hollywood productions in France opted to exploit picturesque French locations while shooting interiors in Los Angeles, as was the case on *Little Boy Lost* and *Funny Face*, a handful of Hollywood productions shot in French studios.⁷¹ In the early 1950s, principal studios in the Paris area included Studios de Billancourt, Studios de Boulogne, Studios de Neuilly, Studios Éclair, and Franstudio, which

⁶⁷ Interview with Christian Ferry, February 18, 2011, Paris. Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 121-128. For an overview of French studio facilities and equipment, see various years, *Annuaire du Cinéma*.

⁶⁸ “Signes précurseurs de crise?,” *La Technique Cinématographique*, December 30, 1948, 515.

⁶⁹ W. Irvin Brennan, “Paris Letter,” *American Cinematographer*, December 1947, 437. The French industry publication *La Technique Cinématographique* took issue with this assessment. See “Un Américain à Paris,” *La Technique Cinématographique*, February 19, 1948, 63. About a year later, producer Irving Allen described equipment available in France as modern, owing to imported equipment from the U.S. and Britain. “French Costs Kill H’wd But Own Industry Booms,” *Hollywood Reporter*, May 9, 1949, 3.

⁷⁰ “Don’t Shoot ‘American’ In Paris, Warns Krasna,” *Daily Variety*, March 7, 1956, 1, 3.

⁷¹ *Little Boy Lost* briefly rented the Franstudio at Saint-Maurice but only to shoot screen and wardrobe tests. Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, August 26, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

encompassed the studios at Saint-Maurice and Joinville.⁷² Studios outside of Paris included Studios La Victorine in Nice and Studios de Marseille in the city of Marseilles.⁷³

The 1950 film *The Man on the Eiffel Tower* shot interiors at the Studios de Billancourt and Joinville while facing production delays and power rationing caused by a coal shortage in France.⁷⁴ Also, on account of the fact that Germans occupied these studios during the war, the facilities were virtually gutted when the Germans retreated, so lighting equipment had to be shipped from London.⁷⁵ Billy Wilder's *Love in the Afternoon* was shot at the Studios de Boulogne, where the interiors of several Parisian locales, such as the Ritz Hotel and the Paris Opera, were replicated. Darryl Zanuck balanced location work on his D-Day epic, *The Longest Day* (1962), with numerous indoor and outdoor sets at Boulogne. After shooting on location in Libya, Nichola Ray's Franco-U.S. co-production of *Bitter Victory* moved to La Victorine Studios for interiors. Despite the increase in Hollywood companies' use of French studios in the early 1960s, the number of French facilities dwindled as the popularity of television cut into the rate of film production, as urban expansion took hold of the area surrounding Paris, and as location shooting grew in popularity.⁷⁶

⁷² In 1930, Paramount bought and expanded the Saint-Maurice Studios to produce multilingual versions until the studio shifted its operations from production to dubbing just a few years later. See Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 22-24. Harry Waldman, *Paramount in Paris: 300 Films Produced at the Joinville Studios, 1930-1933, with Credits and Biographies* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998).

⁷³ For an overview of these studios, see "Les Studios française" supplement in *La Technique Cinématographique*, April 1953, 99-113.

⁷⁴ "Paris Power Blinks Out on 'Tower'," *Daily Variety*, November 3, 1948, 1.

⁷⁵ Interview with Stanley Cortez, "Filming 'The Man On The Eiffel Tower'," *American Cinematographer*, February 1949, 46-47.

⁷⁶ Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 123-125.

Foreign Labs

Undertaking productions far away from the many laboratories in the Los Angeles area proved a challenge to the processing of exposed footage. Some studios opted to fly footage all the way back to New York and Hollywood, which led to delays. For example, in order to fly exposed footage from British East Africa to New York for the production of *King Solomon's Mines*, re-icing stations were placed along a stopover route at Johannesburg, Leopoldville, Dakar and the Azores.⁷⁷ Even with quicker air service from Europe, the shipping time still resulted in a holdup in viewing dailies. In the case of the Italian shoot for *Prince of Foxes*, processing the dailies in Los Angeles allowed Darryl Zanuck to have the first look at rushes before they were sent back to director Henry King in Italy.⁷⁸

When dailies had to be processed back in Los Angeles, the location crew often had to shoot “blindly” for a period of time. Such delays and lengthy shipments caused anxiety. “There is no better road to nervous prostration,” remarks writer-producer Carl Foreman, “than to await the return of rushes which have to be air-expressed to a laboratory three or four thousand miles away—the usual lot of the distantly-based producer.”⁷⁹ For the production of *Little Boy Lost*, dailies were shipped from French locations back to Los Angeles for development, where Paramount studio personnel viewed the rushes and reported their assessment to the unit in France. However, because of unpredictable weather conditions on location, the production unit needed to shoot daily

⁷⁷ “MGM Cooling Stations For ‘Solomon’ Footage,” *Daily Variety*, September 13, 1949, 9.

⁷⁸ “20th Flies ‘Prince’ Rushes From Italy To Preserve Density,” *Daily Variety*, October 21, 1948, 3.

⁷⁹ Carl Foreman, “To Film Or Not Abroad—That Is Not The Question,” *The Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, December 1960, 11.

tests, which were developed closer at G.T.C. Labs in Paris, providing the crew with more immediate photographic results.⁸⁰

A contribution to the facilitation of Hollywood's foreign activities was the already established presence of U.S.-owned laboratories in Europe, which gave Hollywood productions the security of familiar processing procedures. In 1949, the U.S. firm Cinecolor opened a lab in London, where Hollywood companies could expend frozen funds to develop prints.⁸¹ Probably the most important facilities were the Technicolor labs in London, Rome and Paris, which were installed to support European production, but were able to supply Hollywood's European shoots with equipment and enabled these productions to develop dailies closer to filming sites.⁸² Before the Technicolor lab in Rome was built, the dailies for *Quo Vadis* were flown to the Technicolor lab in London, where two prints were made. One print was flown to MGM in Culver City, the other back to Rome, allowing the filming unit to more quickly do retakes and added scenes when needed.⁸³ With the introduction of Eastman Color in the early 1950s, Technicolor lost its grip on color production to the newer single-strip, multi-layered color film, which could more easily be processed in nearly any lab. The spread of Eastman Color also spurred the production and manufacturing of color films in European industries.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, December 16, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952-53), Paramount Pictures Production Records. AMPAS Library.

⁸¹ "Cinecolor Getting Site In London," *Daily Variety*, March 3, 1949, 2. "Cinecolor Sets Up Lab To Process Pix In Britain," *Daily Variety*, April 13, 1949, 5.

⁸² For an overview of Technicolor in Great Britain, see Sarah Street, "'Colour consciousness': Natalie Kalmus and Technicolor in Britain," *Screen* 50 no. 2 (Summer 2009): 191-215.

⁸³ Robert L. Surtees, "The Filming of *Quo Vadis* in Italy, Part Two," *American Cinematographer*, November 1951, 473.

⁸⁴ Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* (London: Starwood, 1992), 241-243. David Bordwell, "Technicolor," *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 357. Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 208. Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 140-141. Crisp points out that the Technicolor Paris lab shut down in 1959 due to a lack of demand.

Hollywood productions also made use of local, foreign labs, some of which looked at the Technicolor facilities as a threat to their business.⁸⁵ For *Roman Holiday*, director William Wyler and his editing staff worked with the Luce laboratory in Rome. Despite the fact that it ruined a couple of scenes as well as the retakes of those scenes, Wyler characterized the lab as “modern and well-equipped.”⁸⁶ During the Paris shoot of Vincente Minnelli’s *Gigi*, MGM wanted to fly the exposed footage back to the U.S. for developing. But to avoid delays, the production staff insisted that the film be processed closer to the shooting site, so this was done at the L.T.C. lab outside of Paris. According to Minnelli, the results were so impressive that MGM copied the processing technique at their Culver City lab.⁸⁷

Instead of exporting unexposed film stock from the U.S., some production could employ foreign-made film stock. While shooting in France, Billy Wilder’s *Love in the Afternoon* used French-manufactured Eastman Plus-X black-and-white negative film, which was faster than U.S.-made Plus-X. This stock allowed director of photography William Mellor to film with unusually low-key lighting set-ups.⁸⁸ However, foreign-made stock was not always praised. A number of scenes were ruined during the shooting of *Roman Holiday* because of the British-manufactured Eastman Kodak raw stock, which had scratches and damaged emulsion.⁸⁹ During the London production of Stanley

⁸⁵ Robert F. Hawkins, “Roamin’ In Rome,” *Daily Variety*, November 29, 1956, 3.

⁸⁶ William Wyler to Don Hartman, July 26, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁸⁷ Vincente Minnelli with Hector Arce, *I Remember It Well* (London: Angus and Robertson, 1975), 313. Vanessa Schwartz, *It’s So French! Hollywood, Paris, and the Making of Cosmopolitan Film Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 46. Jean Domarchi and Jean Douchet, “Rencontre avec Vincente Minnelli,” *Cahiers du Cinéma*, February 1962, 4.

⁸⁸ Frederick Foster, “High Key Vs. Low Key,” *American Cinematographer*, August 1957, 533.

⁸⁹ William Wyler to Don Hartman, July 26, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

Donen's *The Grass is Greener* (1961), the director complained that Eastman Color's faster film stock manufactured in Britain and processed at Technicolor London was poor in quality, resulting in grainy and bluish images.⁹⁰ On the other hand, for the shooting of Richard Fleischer's international production of *The Big Gamble* (1961), the same stock was commended. The film's producer Darryl Zanuck attributed the quality results to tests performed by MGM and Fox and the close collaboration with Paris' L.T.C. laboratory, where the movie was processed.⁹¹ Ultimately, since most of the post-production of Hollywood's continental films was done in Los Angeles, U.S. companies usually used European labs only for the processing of dailies and Hollywood labs to develop prints for post work.

Equipment

At the beginning of 1950, *Daily Variety* reported that Hollywood companies had shipped over the course of a few months more than one million dollars worth of sound and electrical equipment to locations around the world.⁹² For *Quo Vadis* alone, MGM dispatched over 200 tons of equipment from its Culver City lot to Cinecittà despite apparent pressure by Italian equipment interests on the Italian government to deny import permits to Hollywood companies. Much of the exported material included electrical and

⁹⁰ "'Grass' Not Only Greener In Britain, Donen Says Foreign Stock Turns It Blue," *Daily Variety*, May 5, 1960, 3.

⁹¹ "Zanuck Finds New Eastman Film Makes Ould Sod Green Enuf For Hibernians," *Daily Variety*, June 28, 1960, 6.

⁹² "\$1,000,000 Film Production Gear Shipped Abroad," *Daily Variety*, February 14, 1950, 8.

lighting equipment since the film was the first Technicolor motion picture shot in Italy and because of the need for enough power and light to shoot in that format.⁹³

Over time, though, import and export taxes and shipping costs discouraged transferring equipment from the United States. To secure lighting, grip, sound and camera equipment, Hollywood companies formulated a global assemblage approach, shipping essential equipment from Hollywood and obtaining the rest from European rental houses and studios and other Hollywood productions shooting on the continent. On *Little Boy Lost*, Paramount used a Parisian company for grip and electrical equipment, generators and trucks. This equipment was balanced by Mitchell cameras from Hollywood.⁹⁴ Many Paramount foreign productions used the shipping agency Frank P. Dow Co. to coordinate the actual exportation of filming materials from the U.S. Then in Europe, the studio employed foreign shipping brokers, such as Cipolli & Zannetti in Italy and Michaux and Co. in France, to clear the equipment through customs and send materials back to the U.S.⁹⁵

Just as U.S. labs operated branches in Europe, Hollywood lighting company Mole-Richardson had a production plant in London and supply shops in Rome and Paris—the latter provided lighting and electrical equipment for *To Catch a Thief* and *Funny Face*. In fact, in 1949, company head Peter Mole spent three-and-a-half months traveling through Europe to establish business ties and lay the foundations for supplying

⁹³ “Leo Packs For ‘Quo Vadis’ Trek,” *Daily Variety*, March 8, 1950, 4. Anonymous, “Notes on Problems of Film Production in Italy,” February 25, 1949, *Quo Vadis* (Production), Turner/MGM Scripts, AMPAS Library.

⁹⁴ Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, December 16, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records. AMPAS Library.

⁹⁵ Various correspondence in *September Affair* (Production Department Files), *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

equipment to various foreign film industries.⁹⁶ Similarly, a representative of lighting manufacturer Bardwell & McAlister traveled through Europe to survey business prospects.⁹⁷ In addition, because of the close association between Paramount's VistaVision widescreen system and Technicolor, which processed most of the format's films, Technicolor's European branches could supply foreign productions with VistaVision cameras.⁹⁸ For *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, Technicolor London furnished the production with two Technicolor-converted VistaVision cameras and a sound blimp for filming in Morocco and England.⁹⁹ With these U.S. equipment manufacturers having secured a foothold in Europe, Hollywood productions could count on the technology that they were accustomed to.

As Hollywood production was internationalizing in the postwar era, U.S. labs and equipment companies had already been expanding internationally by setting up shop in Europe to export Hollywood-based technologies, methods and attendant film styles to foreign industries. The introduction of equipment developed in the U.S. either through the foreign branches of U.S. suppliers or via shipping from studios contributed to European film industries' utilization of new sound and grip equipment and widescreen systems.

⁹⁶ "Italian Threat To Ban U.S. Film Techs Is Overcome," *Daily Variety*, July 22, 1949, 3. By the early 1960s, Mole-Richardson ran advertisements in *American Cinematographer* with declarations such as "Production Worries in Europe solved by Mole Richardson." *American Cinematographer*, December 1962, 727.

⁹⁷ Brennan, "Paris Letter," 437, 455.

⁹⁸ Martin Hart, "The Development of VistaVision: Paramount Marches to a Different Drummer," The American Widescreen Museum, last modified 2006, <http://www.widescreenmuseum.com/widescreen/vvstory.htm>

⁹⁹ Frank Caffey to Russell Holman, April 6, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

On the Warner Bros. production of *The Hasty Heart*, a unidirectional microphone, which was already in use at Warner's Burbank lot, was employed for the first time in England.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, British cinematographer Christopher Challis recalls that in the postwar era, Technicolor London had brought over a dolly from the United States, which the supplier customized with a hydraulic mechanism that functioned similar to a crane.¹⁰¹ British director of photography Jack Cardiff penned an article in *American Cinematographer* about the English production of *Under Capricorn* and acknowledged his debt to U.S.-made lighting equipment, such as Mazda photospots and photofloods.¹⁰²

The exchange of equipment worked both ways, however, with some Hollywood productions relying on foreign-made—often French—equipment, which in certain instances proved more advantageous than U.S. equipment. On *The Man on the Eiffel Tower*, director of photography Stanley Cortez found the French-made Debie Super Parvo camera “mechanically superior” to many 35mm cameras that he had come across before.¹⁰³ Producers Irving Allen and Franchot Tone relied on the lightweight Caméflex camera developed by Éclair of France, which they used for the filming of *The White Tower* (1950) in the French Alps.¹⁰⁴ Cinematographer Joseph Ruttenberg employed a dolly system developed in France, which facilitated complicated camera movements in a variety of locations on the production of *Gigi*.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps as a reflection of French

¹⁰⁰ Production notes, *Hasty Heart* (Production Notes), Warner Archive.

¹⁰¹ “Christopher Challis BECTU Oral History,” interview by Kevin Gough Yates, (London: BECTU History Project, October 11, 1988).

¹⁰² Cardiff, “Lighting and Photographing ‘Under Capricorn’,” 382.

¹⁰³ Cortez, “‘The Man On The Eiffel Tower’,” 47.

¹⁰⁴ “Featherweight French Camera For ‘Tower’,” *Daily Variety*, June 29, 1949, 7. For info on the Caméflex, see Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 127.

¹⁰⁵ Arthur E. Gavin, “Location-Shooting In Paris For ‘Gigi’,” *American Cinematographer*, July 1958, 425. The dolly and tracks were re-used on Columbia's production of *Me and the Colonel*

equipment companies attempting to supply foreign productions, the publication *La Technique Cinématographique* ran an English and Spanish-language equipment advertising section, which targeted foreign readers who probably would have been interested in both importing equipment from France and using local equipment while shooting in that country.¹⁰⁶ In sum, the exchange of equipment from one national film practice to another permitted a transnational flow of production practices and filmmaking techniques.

Mixing Hollywood and Foreign Personnel

Debates over how many Hollywood personnel to employ on foreign productions arose in the U.S. and overseas. Some Hollywood filmmakers, such as Charles Vidor, made a case for bringing over a high number of Hollywood crew members to insure better production efficiency even if it might result in higher costs.¹⁰⁷ As cinematographer Robert Surtees, who worked on numerous overseas productions, explains, “One American crew member is worth more to a production than all the inexperienced help recruited in the country where the picture is made.”¹⁰⁸ Initially, some studios adhered to this approach and Hollywood-centric attitude. Likewise, U.S. film unions lobbied producers to take large Hollywood crews on foreign location treks.¹⁰⁹ For Fox’s early slate of postwar foreign productions, such as *Prince of Foxes* in Italy, *I Was a Male War Bride* in Germany and

also shot in France. See Arthur E. Gavin, “Rural Route For Realism,” *American Cinematographer*, September 1958, 576.

¹⁰⁶ “Equipments [sic] offered by our advertisers,” *La Technique Cinématographique*, April 1951, 125-26.

¹⁰⁷ “Chas. Vidor Urges Taking Crews for Foreign Production,” *Hollywood Reporter*, May 21, 1953, 1, 4.

¹⁰⁸ Surtees, “Quo Vadis in Italy, Part Two,” 448.

¹⁰⁹ “AFL Gets ‘Tough’ On Runaway Pix,” *Daily Variety*, April 6, 1955, 1, 4. “Lenses Demand H’wood Crews On U.S.-Originated Pix O’Seas,” *Daily Variety*, March 21, 1958, 6.

England, and *The Forbidden Street* (1949) in England, the quantity of studio personnel sent overseas resulted in a temporary depletion of the lot's staff.¹¹⁰

Nonetheless, Hollywood companies capped the amount of employees they brought to Europe not only because of their ability to hire local skilled labor that was cheaper but also because European unions limited the importation of U.S. workers. In Great Britain, unions were alarmed at the potential influx of Hollywood technicians as U.S. majors started shooting in their British studios.¹¹¹ As Jonathan Stubbs has shown, Anthony Asquith, president of Britain's ACT, voiced a nationalist concern over Hollywood's incursions into British filmmaking and the resulting production of decidedly British subject matter.¹¹²

At first, U.S. and British labor groups attempted reciprocity agreements, in which Hollywood workers could go overseas in exchange for British workers coming to Hollywood.¹¹³ The agreements attempted to support an exchange of Hollywood and British art directors and cinematographers for both studio visits and on productions such as Fox's *The Mudlark* (1950).¹¹⁴ To many British technicians, the ability to work in Hollywood held great appeal. In addressing the British Society of Cinematographers, president Freddie Young promoted reciprocity agreements by appealing to notions of transcultural exchange. He expresses, "I think it a splendid idea that the creators of

¹¹⁰ Darryl Zanuck to Fox staff, September 14, 1948, Miscellaneous (Correspondence), Charles Schlaifer Collection, AMPAS Library.

¹¹¹ "Metro Agrees To Stop Using H'Wood Techs in Britain," *Daily Variety*, June 15, 1948, 3.

¹¹² Jonathan Stubbs, "'Blocked' Currency, Runaway Production," 335.

¹¹³ "Unemployment Highest For 10 Years," *The Cine-Technician*, March-April 1948, 63, 65. "Metro Agrees To Stop Using H'Wood Techs in Britain," *Daily Variety*, June 15, 1948, 3. "Is Hollywood Right?," *The Cine-Technician*, January-February 1948, 17-20.

¹¹⁴ "Art Directors Sign Pact On Jobs With British Union," *Daily Variety*, April 26, 1948, 1, 15. "No Ban On H'd Art Directors In England," *Daily Variety*, July 1, 1948, 4. "British Pinch U.S. Talent," *Daily Variety*, February 28, 1950, 1, 8.

Motion Pictures, such as directors, writers, art directors, directors of photography, and others should be allowed to circulate freely and not be confined within the limits of their own countries.”¹¹⁵ Despite this call for a cross-cultural flow of workers, the reciprocity agreements appear to have come up against labor protectionist measures on both sides of the Atlantic, and they were never fully realized. Nevertheless, even though British unions worried about the loss of work to Hollywood personnel, cinematographer Oswald Morris recalls that many British technicians welcomed companies such as MGM since they were pouring money into big-budget productions and giving them an opportunity to learn.¹¹⁶

In order to protect their employment, Great Britain maintained some of the strictest labor regulations. In 1948, during the upsurge in British production by Hollywood companies, the British Film Producers Association limited the entrance of Hollywood personnel to only a handful of producers and directors.¹¹⁷ The British Actors Union also restricted the number of actors brought over from the U.S.¹¹⁸ And in order to qualify for a British quota status, the costs of imported workers on a production, whether from the U.S. or other foreign countries, could not exceed 20% of total labor costs—discounting the expense of two key above-the-line workers, often the star and director.¹¹⁹ For a film such as *The Miniver Story*, Hollywood director of photography Joseph Ruttenberg was able to work on the film only after the British-born and Hollywood-based

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Joseph Ruttenberg, “Assignment Overseas,” *American Cinematographer*, October 1950, 355.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Oswald Morris.

¹¹⁷ “Johnston Trying To Break British Ban On H’d Execs,” *Daily Variety*, April 7, 1948, 1, 9.

¹¹⁸ “WB, British Equity War Over Mayo In Star Role,” *Daily Variety*, January 20, 1950, 1, 11. “Britain Will Grant Permits To U.S. Artists,” *Daily Variety*, March 24, 1950, 52. Stubbs, “‘Blocked’ Currency, Runaway Production,” 343-344.

¹¹⁹ This regulation is explained in a letter from Gerry Blattner to Steve Trilling, January 12, 1952, *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

actress Greer Garson threatened to walk off the film and once a stand-by British cinematographer was hired.¹²⁰

Over the course of the 1950s, Hollywood studios and British unions engaged in frequent negotiations over the importation of Hollywood talent. Not until 1957 did an agreement between Hollywood's MPEA and Britain's ACT stipulate that Hollywood companies could import up to twelve U.S. producers or directors a year for films that could qualify for a British quota. However, the regulation did not apply to films costing over \$840,000 as long as a British producer, associate producer or director was attached to the film.¹²¹ In general, British unions granted foreign work permits usually to one or two lead actors and the producer or director, but in practice, Hollywood firms and British unions arbitrated on a case-by-case basis.¹²²

In France, because of the strong influence of Communism in the film unions and a strain of anti-Americanism that arose in the late 1940s in reaction to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Marshall Plan, there were some objections to the potential influx of Hollywood productions.¹²³ To regulate U.S. labor, French unions required that any crew member brought from Hollywood would have to be matched with a local worker of the same position.¹²⁴ Again, in practice, the French unions were open to negotiating the balance of Hollywood and French personnel, although they were more

¹²⁰ Ruttenberg, "Assignment Overseas," 346.

¹²¹ "Brit Union Eases Limitation On U.S. Directors, Prods," *Daily Variety*, August 13, 1957, 1, 11.

¹²² Robinson, "American Producer in England," 8, 47.

¹²³ Interview with Christian Ferry. Richard Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹²⁴ "French Certify Franc Thaws," *Daily Variety*, August 30, 1949, 5. Interview with Christian Ferry.

sensitive to protecting the employment of French cameramen.¹²⁵ When Hollywood firms realized the strength of French technicians, these companies reduced the number of U.S. crew members to avoid the costs associated with featherbedding.¹²⁶

In Italy in 1949, the Association of Technical Cinematographers at first threatened to ban technicians coming from Hollywood for fear of being inundated with U.S. workers.¹²⁷ Over time, though, the Italian foreign labor restrictions were nominal.¹²⁸ Italian cinematographer Sergio Salvati recalls that Hollywood personnel were welcome in Italy given the epic size of the productions and the resulting employment opportunities for Italian workers, even when a relatively high number of Hollywood technicians were used, as was the case on *Ben-Hur*.¹²⁹

For films shot in multiple countries, productions had to navigate the complex balance of how many foreign workers to import and how many local workers to hire. A production such as *Captain Horatio Hornblower*, which was shot in England and France, had to comply with the demands of both British and French unions. The British trade unions insisted that productions shooting overseas take as much British labor as possible, in order not to deny employment to British workers—the same demand that Hollywood

¹²⁵ Edouard de Segonzac to Richard Mealand, June 16, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹²⁶ “Don’t Shoot ‘American’ In Paris,” 1, 3. Interview with Sylvette Baudrot. Interview with Christian Ferry.

¹²⁷ “Italian Threat To Ban U.S. Film Techs Is Overcome,” 3.

¹²⁸ Manca, “Production of Films in Italy,” 20.

¹²⁹ Interview with Sergio Salvati, March 16, 2011, Rome. “More ‘Ben-Hur’ Treks,” *Daily Variety*, March 14, 1958, 10. Forgacs and Gundle discuss how Italian workers benefited from the technical and organizational training on these Hollywood films in *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, 140.

unions called for with “runaway” productions.¹³⁰ Meanwhile in France, the French trade unions exerted pressure on the Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC) to refuse giving filming permits to foreign productions unless a high number of French workers were used or a foreign production was featherbedded with French personnel.¹³¹ Eventually for *Captain Horatio Hornblower*, Gerry Blattner of Teddington Studios was able to negotiate with both the British Film Producers’ Association (BFPA) and the British Embassy in Paris to arrive at an equitable arrangement.¹³²

Relations with foreign unions could at times be tense. During MGM’s British productions of *Knights of the Round Table* (1954), *The Flame and the Flesh* (1954) and *Crest of the Wave* (1954), the British extras union walked off all three films in protest against the Hollywood studio’s unwillingness to increase wages beyond an initial scale agreement after extras complained about having to work in armored suits. Interestingly, the BFPA supported MGM by refusing to hire the hundreds of extras who boycotted the films.¹³³ Also, Hollywood companies indirectly felt the effects of labor problems when unions went on strike over local labor disputes. For example, in 1955, a breakdown in negotiations between the British extra’s union and the BFPA reportedly interfered with progress on Mike Todd’s *Around the World in 80 Days* while shooting at MGM’s British studios.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ British Equity, the actor’s union, tried but ultimately failed to block the casting of American actress Virginia Mayo in a starring role in *Captain Horatio Hornblower*. “WB, British Equity War Over Mayo,” 1, 11. Stubbs, “‘Blocked’ Currency, Runaway Production,” 343-344.

¹³¹ British Film Producers Association, “British Location Units Working in France,” n.d. *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (Story–Memos & Correspondence), Warner Archive.

¹³² Gerry Blattner to Jack Warner, n.d., *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (Story–Memos & Correspondence), Warner Archive.

¹³³ “Extras Strike All British Pix,” *Daily Variety*, July 10, 1953, 1, 9.

¹³⁴ Harold Myers, “In London,” *Daily Variety*, September 7, 1955, 3.

In Italy on some of the larger productions, Hollywood companies had to navigate the frustrations and demands of large labor pools. *Quo Vadis* screenwriter Hugh Gray recalled that trade unions carried out “lighting strikes,” short-lived stretches of inactivity to protest the working conditions of *Quo Vadis*.¹³⁵ During the shooting of *Ben-Hur*, hostility allegedly erupted when only four extras out of some four thousand that showed up were hired for the day.¹³⁶ On the production of *Cleopatra*, the labor union FULS-CISL called for a halt to all Fox production in Italy because of the many contract violation suits filed against the Fox operation and because more than one hundred Hollywood technicians were apparently brought to work on the film.¹³⁷

Overall, the below-the-line crew on continental shoots was heavily European, but by assigning Hollywood personnel to the role of department heads, the arrangement attempted to bring the ranks of each department in line with Hollywood production practices.¹³⁸ At times, however, the department head—say a key grip—would be matched with a parallel bilingual foreign department head—another key grip—who could communicate with the foreign department.¹³⁹ Furthermore, the technical demands of Hollywood production sometimes required film companies to bring along crew members with specialized skills that could not be found in Europe. For the studio shooting of *Sink the Bismarck* (1960), done at ABPC in Britain, Fox sent over a couple of special effects technicians to look over the facilities and supervise the nautical model work.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Gray, “When in Rome...,” 352.

¹³⁶ “Four Extras Hurt in ‘Ben-Hur’ Riot Okay,” *Daily Variety*, June 17, 1958, 3.

¹³⁷ Robert F. Hawkins, “Rome Union Asks Italy ‘Freeze’ 20th Prod’n; ‘Cleo’ Beef,” *Daily Variety*, June 28, 1962, 1, 4.

¹³⁸ Interview with Christian Ferry. Interview with Sergio Salvati.

¹³⁹ Interview with C.O. Erickson, December 17, 2011, Las Vegas, NV.

¹⁴⁰ See correspondence for *Sink the Bismarck*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

For executing specific cinematographic techniques, key camera technicians were also brought over from Hollywood. The high use of transparency shooting on Paramount's *Little Boy Lost* required Hollywood transparency cameramen.¹⁴¹ The VistaVision shooting of *To Catch a Thief*, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* and *Funny Face* called for largely Hollywood camera units. However, as widescreen filmmaking grew in Europe over the course of the 1950s, studios could look to European technicians, often in London, who had training in shooting widescreen formats. Additionally, as studios became more familiar with European talent over time, established cinematographers, such as Giuseppe Rotunno and Jack Cardiff, and art directors, such as Alexandre Trauner, served as department heads.

One of the attractions of operating out of London, Rome and Paris for Hollywood companies was that in general a film shoot's division of labor was similar across Hollywood and the British, Italian and French industries.¹⁴² However, a notable exception was the position of the gaffer.¹⁴³ In these European craft traditions, the position of gaffer did not usually exist, which meant that the director of photography had to light the set. French production manager Christian Ferry points out that in France, the absence of gaffers was not just a matter of altered duties for the cinematographer, but it also resulted in a loss of efficiency since it was not possible to pre-light the set before the cinematographer and cast arrived, which according to postwar French union regulations typically began at noon.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Frank Caffey to Russell Holman, June 28, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁴² Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 216. Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, 124-140. Crisp, *Classical French Cinema*, 266-323.

¹⁴³ Staiger, "Package-unit system," 333-334.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Christian Ferry.

This change in work routine prompted Hollywood cinematographer Joseph Ruttenberg, who had shot MGM's British production *The Miniver Story*, to write in the pages of *American Cinematographer*, "Certain technicians in Hollywood would blush to see me swinging a lamp in place or moving cables, gobos and barn doors, as I frequently did on this picture." Ruttenberg tries to offset this supposed demotion by re-asserting his authority when he explains that he reorganized British "working procedures to more nearly conform with those followed in Hollywood."¹⁴⁵ So when faced with altered work duties or a foreign crew unfamiliar with U.S. methods, Hollywood technicians retrained below-the-line workers all in the name of increased production efficiency.¹⁴⁶

One drawback of working with foreign crews, expressed by some Hollywood technicians, was the lack of long-term contracted workers and the associated cohesion and professional bonds that developed amongst crew members who worked together film after film. The time then put into orienting and coordinating new unit members potentially added to a loss of efficiency.¹⁴⁷ Joseph Ruttenberg assesses the British film industry along these lines:

Perhaps the greatest single factor that retards development of the technical side of the industry is the practice to use a different camera and grip crews on every picture. In the British studios, the cinematographer invariably is given a new and strange crew of men, all of whom must acquaint themselves with the general working conditions and with the habits of the cinematographer to whom they are

¹⁴⁵ Ruttenberg, "Assignment Overseas," 352-353.

¹⁴⁶ Although Oswald Morris admits he never tried the Hollywood system of gaffing, he believes that British technicians felt their method was faster. Interview with Morris.

¹⁴⁷ For a brief overview of this situation in France, see Gene Moskowitz, "In Paris," *Daily Variety*, April 25, 1958, 3.

assigned. Working with Hollywood technicians, I think, has had tremendous influence on these men and the “team” idea seems to be catching on.¹⁴⁸

In time, though, Hollywood would be faced with the same situation back home as technicians lost their long-term studio contracts resulting in a pool of freelance workers, who had to move from one project to another. Certainly, the employment of Hollywood and European workers reflects the 1950s move towards a package-unit system of production. But here, instead of the entire U.S. industry serving as a source for labor and materials, the world’s film industries served as one giant pool to pick from.

Communication

Director Edward Dmytryk once remarked, “In his own homeland, a director must only put up with the inconsistencies of his own tongue. On alien ground, he must deal with the alien language.”¹⁴⁹ With film workers of different nationalities working together and facing potential language barriers, how did Hollywood personnel and foreign crews communicate in order to execute the heavy demands of production work?¹⁵⁰ After all, language lies at the heart of production work, shaping the countless decisions made on a film set. Language informs creative options, like a director’s ability to convey how to stage an action. It influences logistics, for example an assistant director’s command of a set. Language informs technical matters, such as the discussion of light and lenses amongst the camera team. Any breakdown in communication risks shooting delays,

¹⁴⁸ Ruttenberg, “Assignment Overseas,” 353.

¹⁴⁹ Edward Dmytryk, *On Filmmaking* (Boston: Focal Press, 1986), 203.

¹⁵⁰ Of course, language barriers were rarely a problem in Great Britain, certainly one of many reasons why Hollywood was attracted to working in that region. So the following analysis focuses on communication in Italy and France.

mistakes and even accidents—all potential pitfalls in the technically and logistically complicated work of filmmaking.

Anecdotes about the polyglot nature of Hollywood's foreign productions tend to treat language barriers as disturbances in the operation of productions. For example, language differences could lead to disorder and confusion. Discussing the obstacles of working overseas, producer William Perlberg explains, "One of our biggest headaches was the language barrier. Even in English, (and this can happen in Hollywood), instructions passed along through three or four channels are apt to wind up with distortion. But, with a babel of tongues they can wind up in chaos."¹⁵¹ Language differences also resulted in simple misunderstandings. Director Joshua Logan relates how on the French location shoot of *Fanny* (1961) during a silent scene, he called out to actress Leslie Caron to "look up!" Immediately, the French clapper boy, thinking the director had called out "*le clap*" (the French word for the slate) ran into the shot, ruining the take.¹⁵² In a profession that relies on thousands of specialized terms that help support the work and identities of each production department, linguistic confusions unsurprisingly arose on international productions. As a sign of the increasing interaction of English-speaking Hollywood workers and foreign film professionals and the need to foster effective communication, the *Journal of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers* produced in 1956 a list of technical terms in English, Spanish,

¹⁵¹ William Perlberg, "What Do You Mean? Run-Away Production!" *The Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, December 1960, 33.

¹⁵² Hazel Flynn, "General Josh and 'Fanny'," *The Beverly Hills Citizen*, July 7, 1960, 5.

French, Italian and German.¹⁵³ A few years later, a French-English motion picture technical dictionary was published.¹⁵⁴

Language barriers sometimes resulted in more serious repercussion by interrupting the production workflow. During the Italian location shoot for Paramount's *September Affair*, language barriers prevented certain Hollywood technicians from distributing the workload to the Italian crew members. An assistant to producer Hal Wallis observes, "A great deal of the work cannot be allocated to others, as it continually means interpreters and interpretation, which never get the results... The explanation is seemingly understood, but somehow and somewhere the operation is not successfully concluded or in some cases not even done."¹⁵⁵ Here, the communication breakdown hindered a core organizing principle in Hollywood filmmaking: production efficiency. Language differences posed a major hurdle to the smooth operation of international production, as spoken directions either went through an interpreter, underwent a slow process of gesture and mimicry, or became lost in translation. While the Hollywood division of labor had always aimed to ease this flow of communication, the different languages and working methods of international productions complicated this process.

One of the problems of importing a large Hollywood location staff was the likelihood of language barriers between Hollywood and foreign workers. The head of an Italian talent agency argued that production costs would be lower if Hollywood companies relied on more foreign talent. Assuming that Hollywood studios on average

¹⁵³ "A List of Motion-Picture Technical Terms in Five Languages," *Journal of the SMPTE*, February 1956, 85-91. Subsequently reprinted in Joseph V. Mascelli, ed., *American Cinematographer Manual* (Hollywood: American Society of Cinematographers, 1960), 434-450.

¹⁵⁴ C. Ryle Gibbs, *Dictionnaire technique du cinéma: français-anglais, anglais-français* (Paris: Nouvelles éditions Film et technique, 1959).

¹⁵⁵ Jack Saper to Paul Nathan, August 10, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

sent thirty to sixty technicians, the agent protests, “The producer finds that his head prop man can’t speak Italian, so he has to hire an interpreter. The interpreter speaks both languages but knows nothing about making pictures. So the producer has to hire an Italian prop man. That makes three men for one job.”¹⁵⁶ However, even as U.S. producers reduced the number of personnel they brought overseas, the problem of language barriers remained. As a solution, three basic possibilities existed: hiring interpreters, hiring multilingual foreign workers, or exporting Hollywood personnel familiar with the local language.

The use of interpreters met with mixed results. Interpreters eased communication between crew members, as was the case for director of photographer Stanley Cortez, who relied on his interpreter to facilitate working with his largely French crew on *The Man on the Eiffel Tower*.¹⁵⁷ For Hollywood’s East Asian productions, where language barriers between Hollywood filmmakers and foreign crews were stronger, there was a greater need for interpreters.¹⁵⁸ However, as Edward Dmytryk, who worked on *Soldier of Fortune* (1955) in Hong Kong, conveys, instructions via an interpreter could be easily mistranslated. He reasons, “Blame it on the ambiguity of the language, or on the fact that almost everyone knows how to do it better than you do...this problem is universal. Whether the language was Italian, Hungarian, or Hebrew, local interpreters were frequently inexact.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in “Italian Producer Here, Seeking U.S. Film Faces,” *Daily Variety*, May 20, 1949, 11.

¹⁵⁷ Cortez, “‘The Man On The Eiffel Tower’,” 64.

¹⁵⁸ See Josef von Sternberg’s comments on the problems of communication with a Japanese crew on *The Saga of Anatahan* in his memoir, *Fun in a Chinese Laundry* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 286.

¹⁵⁹ Dmytryk, *On Filmmaking*, 205.

In addition to a slow down in production and the hazards of mistranslation, the use of interpreters also inflated the foreign location budget. As an alternative, the hiring of multilingual foreign workers proved a more efficient and cost-effective solution. Bilingual technicians were thus much sought after. In Italy, two U.S. producers Eugene Lerner and Hank Kaufman took advantage of this demand by setting up a talent agency in Rome to scout English-speaking actors and crew members to work on Hollywood productions in Italy while also searching for Italian talent to be sent to Hollywood.¹⁶⁰ More often, in order to find bilingual talent, film companies relied on foreign offices and reliable local organizers who knew the industry well. For French locations on *Little Boy Lost*, Edouard de Segonzac of Paramount's Paris office suggested that the studio avoid hiring an interpreter and instead look for key English-speaking personnel, such as the assistant director and unit production manager.¹⁶¹ Since these positions were central to the organization and execution of production work, bilingual production organizers served as liaisons between the above-the-line Hollywood personnel and the below-the-line foreign staff.

During the hiring process for international workers, language ability therefore became a new commodity treated alongside technical and organizational know-how. An examination of crew lists reveals that the English-language abilities of foreign workers were often highlighted. Amongst the extant correspondence for *Little Boy Lost*, a list of French personnel identifies individuals and their language abilities. Assistant director Michel J. Boisrond is described as an "excellent fellow – speaks English well and knows picture problems." Assistant cameraman Jean Benezech is characterized as a "jolly good

¹⁶⁰ "English-Speaking Pix Talent Pool On Tap In Rome," *Daily Variety*, April 14, 1954, 4.

¹⁶¹ Edouard De Segonzac to Richard Mealand, June 16, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

worker – understands English – lots of fun.” Transportation worker Hamlet Barbadoro “has own trucks – gets your equipment there on time – very dependable, which is something – all he can say is ‘Let’s go’.”¹⁶²

Even though Hollywood companies hoped for as many multilingual foreign workers as possible, some positions, for example assistant directors and unit production managers, demanded English-language abilities more than others. Positions involved with dialogue, such as dialogue coaches and sound recordists, called for a strong grasp of the language. Script supervisors also required strong English skills. As one of the few English-speaking “script girls” in France, Sylvette Baudrot was guaranteed steady work on Hollywood productions. Baudrot, who grew up in Alexandria, Egypt and then moved to France, spoke Arabic, French, Italian and English.

Foreign production heads, such as cinematographers and art directors, often required a smattering of English-language abilities since they were collaborating directly with Hollywood filmmakers. However, Italian cinematographer Giuseppe Rotunno recalls that having only worked with Italian filmmakers such as Luchino Visconti and Federico Fellini, he spoke very little English when he started working on Hollywood productions, like Henry Koster’s *The Naked Maja* (1959). While he remembers some interpreters facilitating communication on set, the common ground was always the script and the story.¹⁶³

In fact, production materials that were used by these diverse crews were vital to successful filmmaking. To enable multilingual crews to work together, production

¹⁶² List of French personnel, June 7, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. Boisrond would eventually go on to have a successful career as a film and television director in France.

¹⁶³ Interview with Giuseppe Rotunno, March 22, 2011, Rome.

reports, location survey notes and script breakdowns were often printed in both English and the local language and shooting scripts were translated.¹⁶⁴ From his involvement in foreign productions, Henry Henigson made a strong case to William Wyler in preparation for *Roman Holiday* that the Italian crew could only operate well by working from a detailed translated script. He explains, “Scripts intended for foreign production should be much more fully written than they usually are when intended for production at home. The translation should be so detailed that even the foreigner who is forced to work by it will have in his mind a very clear picture of our intentions.”¹⁶⁵

Though not the norm, overseas productions could rely on multilingual personnel from Hollywood. In response to the increasing internationalization of production work, language schools targeted the Hollywood community. In the mid-1950s, advertisements for the Berlitz School of Languages began to appear in the pages of *Daily Variety*, aimed at Hollywood filmmakers going to work abroad. With a dapper-looking cartoon character wearing a pith helmet and wielding a rifle in a vaguely exotic desert scene, the ads seemed to pitch language acquisition as a survival skill necessary to navigating the perils of working overseas.¹⁶⁶

Just as English-speaking skills served as a selling point that foreign labor could use to earn employment, U.S. workers touted their foreign language abilities to serve on pictures shooting abroad. During the early hiring process for MGM’s *Quo Vadis*, workers in the Los Angeles area with knowledge of Italian wrote to John Huston, who was then

¹⁶⁴ See for example Sylvette Baudrot’s French-English production materials for *Atoll K* and *Lust for Life* in Fonds Sylvette Baudrot-Guilbaud. Also, assistant director Bernard Quatrehomme’s French-English materials for *The Longest Day* in Fonds Bernard Quatrehomme, Bibliothèque du film, Cinémathèque française, Paris (hereafter BiFi).

¹⁶⁵ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, April 12, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁶⁶ Berlitz advertisement, *Daily Variety*, April 29, 1955, 7.

attached to direct the film. Having lived and studied in Italy and taken part in the Italian campaign during World War II, the actor Albert Morin spoke fluent Italian and offered his general services to the director. Morin had previously worked at Twentieth Century-Fox teaching Italian to the crew of *Prince of Foxes* in preparation for its shoot in Italy.¹⁶⁷ Query letters, like Morin's, point to the transitional phase that Hollywood was undergoing in the late 1940s and into the 1950s as studio employees lost the stability of long-term contracts and moved into freelance status, which meant that work had to be found through solicitation and networking. Although certainly not as widespread as it was in Europe, multilingualism in the United States could be put to use to secure employment.

When discussing the language abilities of Hollywood personnel, Hollywood should not be synonymous with American, as the U.S. film industry was filled with foreign émigrés and exiles. These filmmakers' move into postwar foreign production was something of a return to their roots, though they did not always work in their country of birth or in their native language.¹⁶⁸ Although fluent in German and French, the German-born William Wyler worked in Italy on *Roman Holiday* and *Ben-Hur*, while the German-born Billy Wilder returned to his native country for parts of *A Foreign Affair* (1948) and *Ace in the Hole* (1951). The Romanian-born Jean Negulesco, who had studied in Paris and worked in the south of France, made *Three Coins in the Fountain* in Italy and *A Certain Smile* and *Fanny* in France. The Ukrainian-born Anatole Litvak, who had directed films in Germany, France and England before moving to the U.S., made Paris his

¹⁶⁷ Albert Morin to John Huston, February 4, 1949, *Quo Vadis* (Staff), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. In the end, Morin does not seem to have worked on *Quo Vadis*.

¹⁶⁸ Robert Shandley suggests that these expatriate filmmakers' foreign productions allowed them to make films about the complicated relationship between the U.S. and Europe. Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 137.

headquarters in the 1950s as he turned out Hollywood foreign productions. For the Franco-U.S. production of *Act of Love* (1953), the multilingual director shot the film for English and French versions.¹⁶⁹ Many technicians also emigrated to the U.S. and then returned to Europe on foreign location shoots. For Anatole Litvak's European-set war film, *Decision Before Dawn* (1952), which was shot in Germany, German director of photography Frank Planer was able to communicate with the crew in his native language.¹⁷⁰

In the end, language differences were never major impediments. Longtime production manager C.O. "Doc" Erickson worked on many foreign productions, but he never mastered a foreign language. He says that with a couple gestures and a few foreign words, international production workers could understand each other.¹⁷¹ Whether a film relied on interpreters, English-speaking foreign personnel, or multilingual Hollywood workers—and some films used all three approaches—there was no clear standardization to how an international production staff communicated. The means of communication varied not only from film to film but also from individual to individual. Considering the fluid nature of language, communication across nationalities was a matter of adaptability.

In an issue of *Picturegoer*, a profile of the Warner Bros. swashbuckler *The Crimson Pirate*, which was shot off the Italian island of Ischia, provided an insightful portrait of how a multinational crew functioned within a polyglot atmosphere. The reporter writes:

¹⁶⁹ Henry Giniger, "The 'Girl on the Via Flaminia' Takes Shape," *New York Times*, March 15, 1953, X5. *Act of Love* actor Kirk Douglas learned French in order to play in both English and French versions. Kirk Douglas, *The Ragman's Son: An Autobiography* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 214-215.

¹⁷⁰ Herb A. Lightman, "Decision Before Dawn," *American Cinematographer*, February 1952, 84.

¹⁷¹ "An Oral History with C.O. Erickson," interview by Douglas Bell, (Beverly Hills: AMPAS Oral History Program, 2006), 262.

On a typical day aboard the ships every order has to be given in three languages—English and Italian, obviously, and French because the ships’ crews are French. So before a shot you will hear assistant director Gus Agosta...calling ‘Silence! Silenzio! then, French-wise, ‘Silence!’ When director Robert Siodmak and Agosta are talking they slip from English to French and back again apparently without noticing, and when the director is consulting with his cameraman Otto Heller, the language switches from English to German in the same casual way.¹⁷²

In summary, just as the Hollywood mode of production became more flexible overseas by adapting to the features of foreign industries, communication amongst workers also became more flexible. From a production standpoint, Hollywood foreign work was not so much about an intermixing of national identities—American versus French or American versus Italian—as it was an intermixing of film practices, in which foreign filmmaking methods interacted with Hollywood techniques acquired by foreign émigrés who had spent decades working in Hollywood studios.

Production Practices

As Hollywood production moved away from the infrastructure of Los Angeles, with its studios, support facilities and labor pool, Hollywood filmmakers often found themselves confronting different working methods. Within this altered filmmaking context, they had to maintain certain Hollywood production practices in order to sustain large-scale

¹⁷² Stephen Watts, “The Pirate Circus Sets Sail,” *Picturegoer*, September 8, 1951, 13. The same anecdote was previously used in another article by Watts. See his “Warners’ ‘Crimson Pirate’ Crew Leaves Italian Natives Confused But Happy,” *New York Times*, August 19, 1951, X5. Robert Siodmak claimed that his facility with multiple languages helped him work all over Europe. Siodmak, “Why I Left America,” *The Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, March 1963, 13.

production and ensure efficiency. At the same time, they had to adapt to local circumstances based on union regulation, the abilities of local technicians, and, in some cases, environmental conditions that were out of the control of the Hollywood company. So how were Hollywood production practices exported to foreign industries? What happened when these practices interacted with foreign methods?

Within the first few years of Hollywood's move into European production, there were overtures to formalize an exchange of working methods. After a two-month European tour of foreign industries in 1950, Joseph Mankiewicz, then president of the Screen Directors Guild, sought to foster an exchange of directors and techniques between Europe and Hollywood.¹⁷³ Although short-lived, the reciprocity schemes between Hollywood and Britain already mentioned served to facilitate an exchange of practices. In a 1948 issue of the British publication *The Cine-Technician*, various ACT members, under the aegis of the schemes, reported on their visits to Hollywood. They studied R.K.O. Studios and remarked on the "speed and efficiency" of various film units and the distribution of script "breakdowns" across departments.¹⁷⁴ In a similar vein, practices spread through the publication of articles in foreign industry publications about Hollywood methods and technologies, some written by Hollywood technicians.¹⁷⁵ Correspondingly, in the pages of *American Cinematographer*, Hollywood technicians reported on their experiences of working overseas.

¹⁷³ "Mankiewicz Finds European Meggers Eager Beavers," *Daily Variety*, August 24, 1950, 4.

¹⁷⁴ Mark Evans, "The Production Side." "Bob" Attwooll, "Production Routine." George Hill, "Effects Department," *The Cine-Technician*, January-February 1948, 20-22.

¹⁷⁵ See for example, Charles G. Clarke, "Practical Techniques for 3-D and Wide Screen Filming," *The Cine-Technician*, May-June 1953, 54-56. Joseph Ruttenberg, "Overhead Lighting for Overall Set Illumination," *The Cine-Technician*, May-June 1953, 68-69. Charles G. Clarke, "Effets de nuit réalisés en plein jour," *La Technique Cinématographique*, March 1957, 65-66. An issue devoted to U.S. widescreen systems appears in *La Technique Cinématographique*, July 1953.

However, an industry-sanctified exchange of ideas was limited by each nation's labor protection measures and a largely one-way flow of cooperation as Hollywood established a strong foothold in European industries and as most European filmmakers and technicians remained in Europe.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the exchanges of methods happened on the ground during the production of Hollywood films in foreign lands. For example, U.S. producers sought to bring foreign workers in accordance with Hollywood shooting procedures. While local unions frequently dictated the working day schedule, Hollywood filmmakers in Britain found that English workers fell in line with the pace of Hollywood production. After the shooting of *Under Capricorn*, Alfred Hitchcock, who was well established in both Hollywood and British industries, portrayed the increasing efficiency of the British technicians: "They're learning that they have to prepare for shooting more carefully than they have been... They are anticipating difficulties now, rather than waiting until they come up on the sound stage. They told me they were impressed with the way I rehearsed the cast on one stage while the technicians lit up another."¹⁷⁷

Problems with organization and communication initially delayed shooting progress on *Quo Vadis* until the MGM staff trained Italian technicians at Cinecittà to work in teams and taught the thousands of Italian extras to take directions in English.¹⁷⁸ A "school for electricians" was also set up by the production's Hollywood gaffer to train Italian crew members in Hollywood lighting methods. Despite many technical setbacks

¹⁷⁶ Not until the 1960s and 1970s did some European filmmakers come to the U.S. to shoot "European" productions and Euro-American co-productions, including Franco Rossi's *Smog* (1962), Michael Pfleggar's *The Dead of Beverly Hills* (1964), Jacques Demy's *Model Shop* (1969), Michelangelo Antonioni's *Zabriskie Point* (1970), and Jacques Deray's *The Outside Man* (1972).

¹⁷⁷ Quoted in "Hitchcock Sees British Techs Learning Yanks' Pix Tricks," *Daily Variety*, October 26, 1948, 1, 5.

¹⁷⁸ "Rapid 'Quo Vadis' Progress Reported By Film's Scribe," *Daily Variety*, July 14, 1950, 10.

and mistakes, cinematographer Robert Surtees reported that the Italian crew grew rapidly in efficiency.¹⁷⁹ Certainly, Surtees' depiction of transnational work in the pages of *American Cinematographer* reflected an ethnocentric stance common in the discourse of the publication and arguably Hollywood in general.

In France, the Paramount personnel working on *Little Boy Lost* found that the French crew operated in a more relaxed manner. Unit production manager Bill Mull assessed the French crew, declaring, "We are fairly well organized for shooting, but sometimes they frighten me with their two hours for lunch and the business establishment's 'don't worry about anything' attitude."¹⁸⁰ However, a week later, Mull's attitude shifted: "We are pretty well organized and when we get some good light we move fast. The French staff and crew have been hand picked, and once [they] understand what we want they are very efficient."¹⁸¹ In due time, though, Mull admitted that Hollywood personnel "had to fall into their methods because they cannot change to ours."¹⁸²

Despite the Hollywood units' goal of efficiency, their methods were not always seen favorably. Cinematographer Oswald Morris recalls that the Hollywood personnel at MGM's British studios were "very tight and efficient," an approach that was picked up by the British industry. However, he found the methods of MGM-British rigid. He remembers:

¹⁷⁹ Surtees. "Quo Vadis in Italy, Part Two," 448, 473.

¹⁸⁰ Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, September 19, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁸¹ Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, September 26, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁸² Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, December 16, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

That script was sacrosanct. It wasn't allowed to be altered. And some of the American directors would direct on the set and they're not looking at the actors; they're watching the dialogue in the script because they weren't allowed to change a thing—the dullest sort of director you could wish to work with. And the producers sat up in the office, making sure all the finances were fine.¹⁸³

In addition to matters of organization and approaches to production efficiency, minor differences arose out of distinct craft traditions or the specificities of local filmmaking conditions. During the second-unit photography on Paramount's *Knock on Wood* (1954) in London, Hollywood cinematographer William Williams looked to the British technicians, who were accustomed to local weather conditions and had developed techniques for shooting in rain and fog and the ensuing dramatic shifts in light.¹⁸⁴ There was also room for an intermixing of Hollywood and foreign practices. *Quo Vadis* art director Edward Carfagno claims that he helped introduce the Italian set designers to the use of plastic in set construction. Conversely, the Italians showcased their own local methods. In creating the stadium for the film, the Italian set builders used a support structure called *sostacini* that dated back to the ancient Roman times, a procedure that impressed the Hollywood crew.¹⁸⁵

An important regulation that Hollywood units had to conform to were the working hours set by local unions, although producers could negotiate different work schedules. For the production of *Quo Vadis*, the Italian staff and Cinecittà conformed to the

¹⁸³ Interview with Oswald Morris.

¹⁸⁴ Wm. N. Williams, "Shooting 'Second Unit' In Europe," *American Cinematographer*, August 1953, 390-91.

¹⁸⁵ "Oral History with Edward Carfagno," 90, 96.

timetable of Hollywood, even continuing to operate during public holidays.¹⁸⁶ For the Warner Bros. production of *Helen of Troy* (1956) in Italy, two shifts worked around the clock.¹⁸⁷ In Britain for *The Hasty Heart*, director Vincent Sherman was able to petition unions to extend working hours three nights a week, but he was unable to push the schedule into the weekend.¹⁸⁸ MGM, on the other hand, extended the shooting of *Quentin Durward* (1955) to weekends, which were normally off-days in Britain, in order to complete scenes with the film's leading actress.¹⁸⁹

However, one practice that seemed non-negotiable was the union-sanctioned tea break in Britain. During the production of *The Hasty Heart* at ABPC Studios, Vincent Sherman was baffled by this interruption in shooting. He describes, "Just as we were ready to shoot – came a tea break. This meant that everybody, from electricians way up high on down – had to stop to get tea!! From the time that the tea break was called until the men got back, a half hour was consumed. Then the actors had to be warmed up again, and we finally got our first shot around 11 o'clock."¹⁹⁰ Bertram Tuttle, a Warner Bros. art director who worked on *Captain Horatio Hornblower* also at ABPC, explains the ritual in more detail:

A waggon is wheeled in which is known as the tea-trolley and which has an entire crew devoted to its maintenance and manufacture of tea. Even though the cameras are perfectly set-up, the lighting is just right, the entire crew queue up at the tea-trolley, at which time, tea is served with rolls with sometimes an occasional

¹⁸⁶ Gray, "When in Rome..." 349.

¹⁸⁷ "WB Shooting 'Troy' In 2 Work Shifts," *Daily Variety*, July 15, 1954, 6.

¹⁸⁸ Vincent Sherman to Steve Trilling, March 3, 1949, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

¹⁸⁹ "Metro Upsets Weekend Tradition in Britain," *Daily Variety*, March 31, 1955, 11.

¹⁹⁰ Vincent Sherman to Jack Warner, December 12, 1948, *The Hasty Heart* (Story–Memos and Correspondence), Warner Archive.

Frankfurter managing to get in. After tea is served of course the entire crew goes back in a procession, but with the cup still in their hand. Now here is the big problem, you must be sure that your set is clear of empty tea cups before you get your shot... The same entire manouevre occurs in the afternoon at 3 o'clock, the only big difference being in the afternoon—it is pastry.¹⁹¹

The comments by Sherman and Tuttle point to an important aspect of working overseas: That the interaction of Hollywood and foreign personnel and their respective working methods stood as a mixing of cultural customs that could spur creativity, such as the methods of Italian set designers, or spark irritation, such as the British tea breaks. As Roger Corman, who shot a number of films overseas, puts it, “The meeting of different cultures can be stimulating and exciting, but it can also lead to the most intense form of frustration.”¹⁹² In short, through a process of adaptation and reconfiguration, Hollywood companies both exported filmmaking methods and incorporated foreign working procedures. This intermixing of production practices suggests that at the level of day-to-day work, international productions supported a transnational flow of filmmaking ideas.

Production Piggybacking

In Hollywood, film productions could draw on a readily available pool of workers and film materials from the Los Angeles area. However, with quality equipment and skilled workers at a premium overseas, studios turned to various Hollywood foreign units as a filmmaking supply source. The key was exploiting consecutive and relatively nearby productions. So for studios that were scheduling multiple foreign shoots, productions had

¹⁹¹ Bertram Tuttle to Steve Trilling, April 27, 1950, *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

¹⁹² Corman, “Medium-Budget Producer,” 20.

to be coordinated so that personnel and equipment could be transferred from one working film unit to another.

The sharing of personnel with specific technical skills was especially beneficial. For *Under My Skin*, Fox enlisted Dewey Wrigley, a Paramount cameraman who specialized in shooting rear-projection plates, to assist with location work in France and Italy. After that production, Paramount assigned him to travel around Europe compiling location shots for its stock backgrounds collection, before he moved on to Italian sequences for *September Affair*.¹⁹³ Similarly, Fox cinematographer Charles G. Clarke, an expert in shooting exteriors, moved from one foreign production to the next. From *Prince Valiant* (1954) whose exteriors were shot in London and Scotland, he rotated to *Hell and High Water* (1954) whose establishing shots were done in Paris. Then he switched to *Three Coins in the Fountain* in Italy, followed by *Night People* (1954) in Berlin and Munich. Along the way, Clarke collected shots of European landmarks and landscapes in CinemaScope for Fox's stock library.¹⁹⁴

Accomplished and bilingual European workers were also in demand and some of the most reputed were passed around Hollywood productions. In assembling its team for *Little Boy Lost*, Paramount hired Michel Rittener, a French production manager, who at the time was working as an assistant director and unit manager on John Huston's *Moulin Rouge*, which was then shooting in Paris and London. Production manager Bill Mull writes to his studio: "[Rittener] is intelligent, speaks good English, knows all the motion

¹⁹³ Jack Saper to Richard Johnston, June 20, 1949. Farciot Edouart to Dewey Wrigley, July 2, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁹⁴ Charles G. Clarke, *Highlights and Shadows: The Memoirs of a Hollywood Cameraman*, ed. Anthony Slide (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989), 188-194.

picture people, has contacts with the unions and studios.”¹⁹⁵ Rittener soon took over much of the pre-production work that the Paramount Paris office had initiated, including securing equipment, locations and government permits. Pleased with his work, Paramount re-hired him on *To Catch a Thief*.¹⁹⁶

For some of Fox’s Italian productions, Guy Luongo, a staff member of the studio’s distribution office in Rome, had over the years been passed from one Fox production to another as an assistant director and auditor, eventually serving as a unit manager on *Boy on a Dolphin*. With a growing reputation as a reliable worker, Luongo was hired by David O. Selznick as a unit manager on his production of *A Farewell to Arms*.¹⁹⁷ As the examples of Rittener and Luongo demonstrate, the sharing of talent became an integral way for units shooting overseas to maintain some continuity and reliability from film to film. Even actors reused foreign staff members. Audrey Hepburn liked her bilingual Italian wardrobe woman from *Roman Holiday* so much that she employed her again on *War and Peace* (1956) and *Love in the Afternoon*.¹⁹⁸

Into the mid-1950s, as Hollywood companies increased their overseas production output and as foreign industries began to rebuild, competition for stage space, personnel and equipment intensified.¹⁹⁹ While organizing *Funny Face*, Paramount production manager C. Kenneth Deland reported, “There are so many productions shooting

¹⁹⁵ Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, August 5, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁹⁶ While Rittener was valued by the Hollywood staff, he was later criticized for his lack of organization. See C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, June 18, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁹⁷ See correspondence concerning Guy Luongo in *Farewell to Arms*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

¹⁹⁸ William Wyler to John Huston, January 24, 1957, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1957-60), William Wyler Papers, UCLA Arts.

¹⁹⁹ “Prod’n Space Scarce Abroad, Reports Dieterle,” *Daily Variety*, January 28, 1954, 6.

throughout Europe that equipment and personnel are hard to obtain.”²⁰⁰ So with equipment in short supply in Europe, some foreign productions also shared craft materials. The *Roman Holiday* production worked out an agreement with MGM to use office equipment from *Quo Vadis* and camera dollies that had been left behind in Italy by the shoot for *When in Rome* (1952).²⁰¹ Anatole Litvak’s independent production *Act of Love* hired Paramount’s transparency cameraman and rented transparency equipment, which had been brought over for *Little Boy Lost*.²⁰² After the location shooting of *Funny Face* finished in Paris, the camera and accessories were sent on to Madrid for the Paramount-financed production of *Spanish Affair* (1958).²⁰³ Such sharing helped to reduce the costs of shipping the equipment in and out of Europe.

In addition to equipment, set materials were also passed from production to production. Warner Bros. recycled the ships from its production of *Captain Horatio Hornblower* for *The Crimson Pirate* by turning them from 19th century frigates into an 18th century Spanish warship and a pirate ship.²⁰⁴ The studio then revamped these ships for its production of *The Master of Ballantrae* (1953).²⁰⁵ This strategy reflected a Hollywood economical practice in which sets, props and costumes were frequently re-used by a studio. In fact, MGM even shipped from Italy the *Quo Vadis* sets, costumes and

²⁰⁰ C. Kenneth Deland to Frank Caffey, April 14, 1956, *Funny Face* (Production), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁰¹ Jack Karp to Henry Henigson, April 16, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁰² Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, August 26, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁰³ Frank Caffey to Harry Caplan, July 4, 1956, *Funny Face* (Movement and Shipping), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁰⁴ Watts, “Pirate Circus Sets Sail,” 12-13.

²⁰⁵ “‘Warner Fleet’ Sails For Sicilian Waters,” *Daily Variety*, July 17, 1952, 4.

weapons for *Julius Caesar* (1953), shot on the Culver City lot.²⁰⁶ But away from the support system that Los Angeles-area soundstages, equipment rental companies and filmmaking services provided, foreign film units at times had to look to each other for assistance. In these new frontiers of production, competing film studios and units showed a high degree of cooperation.

Production Knowledge

As John Caldwell has pointed out, in the union-backed studio system “trade knowledge” circulated through craft training and apprenticeships down a “vertical hierarchy” of rank.²⁰⁷ For postwar foreign work, vital production knowledge developed to reflect the ecosystem of new filmmaking environments. Rather than moving in regulated ways down work hierarchies, experiences with overseas working conditions, local bureaucratic protocols, foreign studios, equipment and labor were obtained in a piecemeal fashion. These experiences over time consolidated into valued knowledge that would be shared within studio production departments and amongst competing companies.

For early overseas productions, film firms did not have the luxury of relying on their own previous productions to learn the procedure for making movies abroad, so studios turned to other units shooting in Europe. For *The Hasty Heart*, Warner Bros. ran a budget item list by both the general manager of Teddington Studios and the production manager of Hitchcock’s *Under Capricorn*, which was then shooting at MGM’s British studios, in order to figure out if the company was paying for production costs at ABPC

²⁰⁶ John Houseman, *Front and Center* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 394, 399.

²⁰⁷ John Thornton Caldwell, *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 145-146.

Studios at the correct rates.²⁰⁸ The steep learning curve on the production caused Jack Warner, the head of the company's Burbank studio, to comment that the film "is sort of a proving ground and what we learn in this production is bound to help all those following – to their great benefit."²⁰⁹ Some productions also reached out to rival companies for information. Paramount's production of *September Affair* looked to Fox's *Prince of Foxes*, whose assistant director wrote to Paramount Studios to share his Italian contacts, explain union contracts, and relay how to avoid overpaying Italian workers so as not to inflate labor costs for the Italian industry.²¹⁰

Over the years, certain Hollywood production workers who specialized in overseas filmmaking or lived abroad became important contacts. These production organizers—business manager Henry Henigson (*Quo Vadis*, *Roman Holiday*, *Ben-Hur*), MGM production manager William Kaplan (*When in Rome*, *The Last Time I Saw Paris*), production manager Lee Katz (*Moby Dick*, *The Longest Day*), and Fox production manager Robert Snody (*Kangaroo*, *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*)—functioned as go-to people for advice on working abroad. Production manager "Doc" Erickson recalls that for location surveys, he solicited production personnel who had worked abroad for information on the potential shooting sites.²¹¹ By the late 1950s, the Unit Production Managers Guild formalized the distribution of overseas production knowledge by compiling data on producing films in various regions around the globe, including

²⁰⁸ Unsigned (probably Steve Trilling) to Jack Warner, December 23, 1948. Jack Warner to Steve Trilling, January 12, 1948, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

²⁰⁹ Jack Warner to Steve Trilling, February 11, 1949, *The Hasty Heart* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

²¹⁰ Joseph C. Behm to Richard Blaydon, May 6, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²¹¹ "Oral History with C.O. Erickson," 133-34.

information on facilities, equipment, skilled labor and locations. This information was made available to guild members and producers preparing to work overseas.²¹²

Hollywood companies also relied on local foreign contacts familiar with the lay of the land. Just as a foreign office was vital in collecting production knowledge from the local industries, competent foreign filmmakers and production managers also dispensed helpful information. For location work in Marrakesh in preparation for *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, the Paramount Paris office contacted French director Jacques Becker, who had made the film *Ali Baba et les quarante voleurs* (1954) in Taroudan, Morocco. He offered shooting advice and recommendations for reliable local assistants.²¹³ And by hiring capable foreign production people, such as Michel Rittener (production manager on *Moulin Rouge* and *Paris Blues*) and Paul Feyder (assistant director on *Once More with Feeling* and *Crack in the Mirror*), the Hollywood unit could navigate the intricacies of working in foreign locations and with foreign industries.

Over time, though, producers and studios increasingly depended on their own past experience to organize their films. While each new foreign production encountered unique challenges that demanded specialized solutions, this situation was far from a total breakdown of standardized procedure. In many cases, producers appealed to solutions that had worked in the past. Paramount assistant director Richard McWhorter, who helped organize Italian location shooting on *September Affair*, anticipated this point when he wrote to the studio: “[I] am sure that by the time we have finished shooting the picture,

²¹² “Operations World Over,” *The Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, December 1959, 13.

²¹³ Edouard de Segonzac to Alfred Hitchcock, February 5, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Location 1954-55), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

I will be able to help the next Company that goes to Italy, by discussing with them a few of the short cuts that I have found.”²¹⁴

This kind of practical knowledge was formalized in detailed studio correspondence, which future personnel could access. When French location work on *Little Boy Lost* wrapped, Bill Mull wrote a lengthy explanation of strategies for operating in Paris that other productions could draw from.²¹⁵ Subsequently, in preparation for French location shooting on *To Catch a Thief*, “Doc” Erickson studied the correspondence from *Little Boy Lost* to gain insight into the process of acquiring shooting permits, accessing blocked francs and dealing with French unions.²¹⁶ In fact, Erickson makes the case that *Little Boy Lost* functioned as a test-run to orient future Paramount staff members who would go on foreign shoots in subsequent years.²¹⁷

The gathering of trade knowledge, however, was not just about collecting information on methods discovered while overseas; it also functioned the other way, applying Hollywood know-how to foreign production work. Promoting Hollywood practices became especially important with the introduction of new technologies. With the arrival of CinemaScope in 1953, Fox halted all British production since none of the studio’s British personnel were familiar with the new widescreen process. So Fred Fox, the studio’s production chief in Britain traveled to the Hollywood studio to study the

²¹⁴ Richard McWhorter to R.L. Johnston, July 15, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²¹⁵ Bill Mull to Frank Caffey, December 16, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²¹⁶ C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, February 12, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²¹⁷ Interview with Erickson.

process.²¹⁸ By 1955, 20th Century-Fox began to roll out the production of CinemaScope films in England with *The Deep Blue Sea* (1955).²¹⁹ For the production of Selznick's *A Farewell to Arms*, the camera crew was having difficulty with achieving the correct exposure, shooting close-ups and performing camera movements with the new Scope format. Addressing these problems, Fox communicated via cable with Selznick, who was on location in Italy, to work out shooting methods.²²⁰

Visitations by foreign production supervisors and technicians to Hollywood studios to study new technologies also became an important way to export Hollywood equipment and styles. Gerry Blattner, the general manager of Teddington Studios, traveled to the Warner Bros. Burbank lot to study operations—knowledge that could be brought back to England.²²¹ British cinematographer Jack Hildyard spent a few months in Hollywood studying the CinemaScope process and observing Scope productions in preparation for shooting Fox's *Anastasia* (1956) in Europe.²²² Similarly, before shooting his first VistaVision film, *War and Peace*, British director of photography Jack Cardiff spent several weeks in Hollywood studying the new format and shooting tests before going to Rome, where the film was shot.²²³ In preparation for the special effects heavy

²¹⁸ "20th Suspends All British Prod'n For a Year, Till Techs Can Be Briefed On CinemaScope," *Daily Variety*, August 31, 1953, 1, 3.

²¹⁹ "Zanuck To London For Prod'n Parley," *Daily Variety*, November 19, 1954, 1, 3. However, the first CinemaScope production in Britain was MGM's *Knights of the Round Table* (1954).

²²⁰ Cable correspondence between David O. Selznick and Sid Rogell, June 20 and July 15, 1957, *A Farewell to Arms*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

²²¹ Gerry Blattner to Steve Trilling, January 10, 1951, *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

²²² Frederick Foster, "Filming 'Anastasia'," *American Cinematographer*, November 1956, 664-665.

²²³ Derek Hill, "Jack Cardiff's VistaVision Venture," *American Cinematographer*, December 1956, 733.

shooting of *Sink the Bismarck*, British producer John Brabourne visited the Fox lot to study the facilities.²²⁴

Just as competing film companies shared equipment and personnel, the sharing of trade knowledge helped foreign units navigate the uncertainties of production abroad. In due course, as Hollywood personnel accrued experience with the specifics of locations, the skills of foreign workers, and the features of local logistics, this know-how became cemented within individuals and distributed through personal contacts, correspondence and on-set cooperation.

Studio Supervision

For the most part, filmmaking in Hollywood was tightly controlled by the studios, which supervised the details of production, from budgeting matters to the number of takes a director shot. John Huston recounts:

After the picture commenced, your work was monitored. The rushes were viewed—usually by the heads of the studio along with your producer—before you had an opportunity to see them. If they thought you were shooting an inordinate number of takes, there would be an inquiry. If a picture fell behind schedule, they would want to know exactly why. If anything untoward happened on the set, it was reported to the Front Office. . . . The studios went to extraordinary lengths in keeping their houses in order.²²⁵

But what happened on foreign productions? Did Hollywood filmmakers operating overseas have more freedom than their counterparts who worked in Hollywood studios?

²²⁴ John Brabourne to Sid Rogell, March 13, 1959, *Sink the Bismarck*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

²²⁵ Huston, *Open Book*, 83.

To be sure, whether in production centers in London, Rome and Paris or in far-flung locations around the globe, film units could escape the watchful eyes of studio executives and managers. Because of the distance from the Hollywood studio, the film unit working on a foreign location had not only more responsibilities but also operated with more freedom.²²⁶ “Doc” Erickson explains:

You didn’t have to answer to anybody. If you’re in Hollywood, you’ve got to pay attention to the production office hourly, daily. They expected it and you responded accordingly. But once you get out of their clutches, you’re pretty much on your own. You can make your own decisions. You don’t have to run to the phone immediately and say what do you think about this? What do you think about that? So that’s the difference. And you were accorded that respect from the locals, the people you’re working with, because they know you’re the boss. They’re not going to have to worry about somebody else countermanding your orders.²²⁷

Erickson, who also worked on location in the United States with films such as *Shane* (1953), goes on to explain that while one had a certain amount of leeway working on domestic locations, those units were still “hand-cuffed to the studio” through frequent updates via telephone and the presence of studio personnel.²²⁸

²²⁶ On the promise of location shooting’s creative freedom and the limits of studio control in the postwar era, see Aida A. Hozic, *Hollyworld: Space, Power, and Fantasy in the American Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 92-102.

²²⁷ Interview with Erickson.

²²⁸ An *American Cinematographer* profile on MGM’s *Across the Wide Missouri* (1951) explains that the film’s location unit working in the Colorado Rockies had “walkie-talkie-cum-telephone” communication with the studio. However, the crew did not have access to dailies and had to rely on wired reports from studio personnel. William Mellor, “Not Time for Weather,” *American Cinematographer*, May 1951, 178-179, 199.

At its best, filmmakers could match the financial and organizational might of Hollywood with technical experimentation that was easier to achieve overseas. For *Moulin Rouge*, John Huston could harness the talents of Oswald Morris to come up with an unconventional use of Technicolor. With the support of Huston, who had gained a great deal of leverage with studios because of the success of *The African Queen*, Morris experimented with smoke and temperature at Shepperton Studios to achieve a daring play of soft colors associated with Toulouse Lautrec in a way that the cinematographer felt would have never been possible in Hollywood.²²⁹ The results so startled the British staff of Technicolor that at first they wanted their firm's name disassociated from the film.²³⁰

At its worst, production costs could spiral out of control by shooting off the lot and without the careful supervision of budget-minded executives, as was the case with *Mutiny on the Bounty* and *Cleopatra*. On the production of *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, which was filmed at MGM-British Studios, producer-director Mark Robson wrote to Fox executive Buddy Adler that the production staff had significantly added to the budget apparently because of increasing costs and accounting oversights. Angrily, Robson blamed Fox's British production operation for its negligence. Certainly, by shooting far away from Hollywood, such inattention could happen and it took a reliable journeyman like Robson to alert the studio. Robson sums up, "I cannot tell you how I

²²⁹ Interview with Oswald Morris.

²³⁰ Morris, *Huston, We Have a Problem*, 69-70. "Oswald Morris BECTU Oral History," interview by Alan Lawson, (London: BECTU History Project, July 21, 1987), 31-32. "Sir John Woolf BECTU Oral History." Huston, *Open Book*, 211. Sarah Street points out that opposition to Technicolor by British cinematographers were prevalent in the discourse about Technicolor in part to elevate the status of the British cinematographer. Street, "Colour consciousness," 209.

miss the efficiency and planning of our Hollywood production and budgeting department, because here this is a NIGHTMARE.”²³¹

While a studio’s moment-to-moment vigilance of logistical and creative decisions was weakened on foreign productions, studios nevertheless used a number of methods to oversee their film units abroad, which in turn increased the likelihood that Hollywood production protocol would be followed. One means of keeping an eye on production was to develop footage shot overseas back in Hollywood, where executives and editors could monitor filming progress, coverage and quality. For the Italian shoot of *Prince of Foxes*, Fox could have developed the dailies in the labs of Shepperton Studios, where the rushes for Fox’s *I Was a Male War Bride* and *The Forbidden Street* were being processed. Instead, they were developed in Los Angeles to allow Darryl Zanuck to see the shooting results first.²³²

With the introduction of widescreen technologies, the studios were particularly concerned with the appropriate use of the new formats. While viewing the dailies for the VistaVision filming of *To Catch a Thief*, a Paramount production head sent numerous cables and letters to the production in France with advice on how to compose shots for the widescreen system.²³³ During the French location shooting of *Funny Face*, also shot in VistaVision, Paramount studio personnel viewed the dailies and reported to the French unit with their comments and criticism of the photographic work.²³⁴

²³¹ Mark Robson to Buddy Adler, April 23, 1958, *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, Mark Robson Papers, UCLA Arts (capitals in the original).

²³² “20th Flies ‘Prince’ Rushes From Italy,” 3.

²³³ See various letters and cables, June 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²³⁴ Frank Caffey to Harry Caplan, June 14, 1956, *Funny Face* (Production), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Another method of supervision involved trips by studio executives to foreign studios and locations, where U.S. productions were being carried out. Even before Darryl Zanuck left Fox to become an independent producer in Europe, he was heavily involved in the studio's foreign productions, visiting the active units throughout the world.²³⁵ Thanks to his studio's private C-47 plane, Zanuck could move amongst London, Paris, Berlin and Morocco, where Fox was engaged in five different productions.²³⁶ Walt Disney also made frequent trips to Britain to pre-plan and oversee the production of his company's films, including *Treasure Island*, *The Story of Robin Hood and His Merrie Men* (1952) and *The Sword and the Rose* (1953).²³⁷ Likewise, the heads of Warner Bros., Republic and Allied Artists all helped keep an eye on the planning and execution of their studios' foreign production by dropping in on locations.²³⁸

However, visits from studio executives and production heads did not always guarantee a tight control over filmmaking. Even though Fox board members and executives visited the production of *Cleopatra* in Rome to view footage, meet with the filmmakers, and check on spending, costs still spun out of control.²³⁹ Aborted production

²³⁵ "Zanuck Abroad to Visit 20th Units," *Daily Variety*, June 13, 1949, 2. "Zanuck Abroad To Survey 20th Prod'n," *Daily Variety*, January 29, 1951, 1, 7.

²³⁶ "20th Frozen Coin For 5 Pix Abroad," *Daily Variety*, June 27, 1949, 1, 9.

²³⁷ "Disney Plans 4 In Britain, Big Sked Here," *Daily Variety*, August 19, 1949, 3. "Disney Brothers Head For Britain To End 'Island'," *Daily Variety*, October 11, 1949, 14. "Disney Abroad To Supervise Pair Of Live-Actioners," *Daily Variety*, June 12, 1951, 4. "Disney to London," *Daily Variety*, June 23, 1952, 11. "Walt Disney To Britain To Edit 'Rob Roy,'" *Daily Variety*, June 26, 1953, 5. For more on Disney's control of his British films, see Harper and Porter, *British Cinema of the 1950s*, 122.

²³⁸ "Jack Warner to Eye Rome Prod'n Progress," *Daily Variety*, June 23, 1954, 1. "Republic Sets 'Watch' For Global Filming," *Daily Variety*, November 23, 1954, 2. "Mirisch Abroad To Eye AA Prod'n," *Daily Variety*, August 31, 1956, 10.

²³⁹ "20th Boardmen Eye Progress On 'Cleo' In Rome," *Daily Variety*, October 12, 1961, 1, 4. Murray Schumach, "Hollywood Leave," *New York Times*, February 11, 1962, 115. Aubrey Solomon suggests that these frequent set visits contributed to the film's bloated budgets. Solomon, *Twentieth Century Fox: A Corporate and Financial History* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1988), 143.

plans in London, excessive building costs, shipping expenses and shooting delays associated with Elizabeth Taylor's health were among the many reasons that the film became the most expensive at the time.²⁴⁰

Studio executives also used proxies, who, on certain occasions, were on set acting as production managers, to keep them abreast of the latest developments in shooting. For the complicated production of *Quo Vadis*, MGM had studio general manager Eddie Mannix supervise the troubled pre-production and early shooting period until the picture was on track.²⁴¹ Mannix replicated this supervision during the pre-production of *Ben-Hur*. He was then followed by other MGM executives, including Joseph Vogel and Sol Siegel, who visited the set.²⁴² Art director Edward Carfagno recalls that when *Ben-Hur* director William Wyler fell behind schedule, studio representatives traveled "to push him on."²⁴³ In addition, the budget-minded Henry Henigson also served as a kind of studio proxy during his management of *Quo Vadis* and later *Ben-Hur*. For the productions of *Captain Horatio Hornblower* and *The Crimson Pirate*, the manager of Teddington Studios, Gerry Blattner, kept Warner Bros. in Burbank informed of shooting progress, the hiring of crew members and the activities at studio facilities.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ Murray Schumach, "'Cleopatra' Cost Explained at Fox," *New York Times*, August 21, 1962, 36. Joe Hyams, "Cleopatra: Hollywood's Most Expensive Girl Friend," *Los Angeles Times*, November 25, 1962, TW8.

²⁴¹ "Eddie Mannix Returning; Half 'Vadis' Footage Shot," *Daily Variety*, July 18, 1950, 3.

²⁴² "Mannix Returns From 'Ben-Hur' O'seas Task," *Daily Variety*, April 1, 1958, 1. "Vogel Quits Rome After Week's O.O. On 'Ben-Hur' Work," *Daily Variety*, July 1, 1958, 3. "Sol Siegel Plans 10-Day Europe Trek," *Daily Variety*, September 2, 1958, 1.

²⁴³ "Oral History with Edward Carfagno," 168.

²⁴⁴ See the correspondence in *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (Steve Trilling Files) and *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

Finally, the very act of communication via letter, cable, and less frequently telephone kept studio managers informed of filming progress.²⁴⁵ Even if the delivery of letters was held up, any correspondence ensured that the studio was kept up to date on issues of hiring, delays and most importantly spending. In a letter to *Little Boy Lost* unit manager Bill Mull, studio production manager Frank Caffey implores from Hollywood, “Please arrange to drop me a note religiously once a week as of course I am asked questions continuously.”²⁴⁶ Caffey’s request suggests that he needed the foreign unit to be in constant contact with him because of his own accountability to his superiors. During the production of *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, “Doc” Erickson remembers that even during the location work in Morocco, he had to send a daily thumbnail production report back to the studio.²⁴⁷

Surely, independent productions had more latitude overseas than studio productions. But independent productions, which were frequently financed by the majors, were still somewhat beholden to Hollywood studios. Arthur Krim, head of United Artists, traveled to Europe to check up on the various productions that his company was financing, including Sam Spiegel’s *Melba* (1953) and Raymond Stross’ *Shoot First* (1953), both filming in London, as well as *Act of Love* and *Moulin Rouge*, both shooting in Paris.²⁴⁸ During David O. Selznick’s production of *A Farewell To Arms*, Twentieth Century-Fox, as co-producer and financier, was involved in decisions such as spending,

²⁴⁵ As explained in an interdepartmental memo for *Quo Vadis*, transoceanic telephone communication was unreliable during this period. February 1950, *Quo Vadis* (Production), Turner/MGM Scripts, AMPAS Library.

²⁴⁶ Frank Caffey to Bill Mull, August 13, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁴⁷ Interview with Erickson.

²⁴⁸ “Krim Going To Europe On 3-Week Look-See Of United Artists Pix,” *Daily Variety*, August 6, 1952, 1, 7.

the acquisition of equipment, and the hiring of labor. Meanwhile, the film's unit manager, Guy Luongo, an employee at Fox's Rome office, kept the studio abreast of shooting developments.²⁴⁹ With the financing of U.S.-European co-productions, studios also attempted to maintain some oversight. For the production of Raoul Walsh's *Esther and the King* (1960), a co-production between Fox and the Italian company Galatea, the Italian producer Lionelli Santi had to run budget matters by Fox.²⁵⁰

But for some veteran Hollywood filmmakers who sought more independence, the freedom from studio interference on foreign productions trumped the lack of organizational support. For the film *Jessica*, a Franco-Italian co-production with United Artists, director Jean Negulesco had almost complete artistic autonomy, handling many aspects of the film from location scouting to production management. He explains to Vincente Minnelli, "It is a difficult and arduous job. I have never had so much to do, so much to think and so much to check, recheck, but the satisfaction of being able to make immediate decisions without waiting for an okay and even being in the 'in' of everything, it has excited me."²⁵¹ Negulesco's experience testifies to the increasing state of independence both in the U.S. and abroad that many Hollywood directors would find themselves in during the 1960s and into the 1970s.

In the end, production costs rather than the details of creative decisions were the studios' greatest concern on foreign shoots. Nevertheless, despite the reduced supervision, the Hollywood filmmakers working overseas still adhered to the aesthetic

²⁴⁹ See correspondence for *A Farewell to Arms*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

²⁵⁰ See correspondence for *Esther and the King*, Twentieth Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

²⁵¹ Jean Negulesco to Vincente Minnelli, May 14, 1961, General Files (N – Miscellaneous 1961-1966), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library

norms of their domestic industry, even if certain stylistic features, namely location shooting, became more predominant on these productions. Whether they were established masters such as Wyler and Hitchcock or journeymen such as *Little Boy Lost* director George Seaton, these filmmakers fell back on the creative methods and solutions they had employed for decades, especially in the face of the challenges and vicissitudes of foreign production work.

Conclusion: The Influence of Hollywood Foreign Production on European Film Industries

While Hollywood had long thought globally in terms of its distribution reach, Hollywood's postwar foreign film activities point to the intensification of a more international approach to production. Because of economic incentives, production infrastructures and skilled film workers, Great Britain, Italy and France became key staging grounds for Hollywood's move into international filmmaking. Many of the changes to production taking place back in the U.S. were amplified in these new sites: altering the centers of productions, recasting work duties in response to new environments, reconfiguring the flow of materials, and drawing from a more international labor pool.

In the long run, the production centers of London, Rome and to a lesser extent Paris profited from Hollywood's postwar investment in their labor and infrastructure and later the direct financing of their domestic films. However, Hollywood's involvement in these production centers met some resistance. Italian director Roberto Rossellini complained that production costs in the already troubled Italian industry were being

driven up by Hollywood companies, which were inflating prices for studios, production materials and labor.²⁵² Even some U.S. producers complained about the increase in costs. Columbia producer Gregory Rabinovitch accused Fox of overpaying Italian workers for its production of *Prince of Foxes*, making it more difficult for both Italian producers and U.S. independent producers to finance filmmaking in Italy.²⁵³

In response, Darryl Zanuck defended this move as a means to hire the best technicians possible and to pay a Fox-worthy scale, despite admitting to a huge savings in cost. He reasons, “If any other producer or company wants to compete with us for the best Italian labor, he cannot expect to do it on a cut-rate wage scale, because 20th-Fox will not stoop to sweat-shop practices. We are not in Italy for the purpose of exploiting Italian labor or to make a ‘Quickie’ to cash in on another country’s depressed condition.”²⁵⁴ Along these lines, correspondence for MGM’s production of *Quo Vadis* suggests that the studio tried as best it could to not “derogate from the standard scales” and to work through Cinecittà’s employment office when securing Italian labor.²⁵⁵ The Italian government also tried to keep U.S. companies from distorting local costs in order to avoid adversely affecting Italian companies trying to produce films.²⁵⁶

²⁵² “U.S. Locations Hurt Italian Production Rossellini [sic] Says,” *Hollywood Reporter*, January 18, 1949, 4.

²⁵³ “20th Accused Of Raising Film Costs In Italy,” *Daily Variety*, September 13, 1948, 4.

However, in an interview, veteran set dresser Bruno Schiavi remembers that Italian unions set the wage scales, which avoided the potential for inflated payments. This regulation was possibly instituted well after 1948. Interview with Bruno Schiavi, March 22, 2011, Rome.

²⁵⁴ Quoted in “20th Saving \$3 Million On ‘Foxes’ In Italy, Says Zanuck,” *Daily Variety*, September 14, 1948, 3.

²⁵⁵ L.C. Algrant to Henry Henigson, April 7, 1949, *Quo Vadis* (Correspondence), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

²⁵⁶ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, May 2, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

In time, however, production costs did rise in Italy due to the expensive epic films that Hollywood was producing.²⁵⁷ From 1950 to 1952, *Daily Variety* reported that in Italy the cost of film equipment and labor rose one-third.²⁵⁸ Producer Ilya Lopert complained that from 1948 to 1954, production costs had quadrupled.²⁵⁹ By 1956, director Robert Rossen, claimed that there was very little difference in production costs between Italy and the U.S.²⁶⁰ In a pointed attack, two Italian newspapers criticized the U.S. industry for raising production costs that local producers could not meet, along with enacting various unfair competitive strategies.²⁶¹

In France, the industry took an ambivalent stance toward Hollywood productions. On the one hand, French studios and technicians felt that Hollywood films kept local technicians employed and well-paid and they rarely took valuable studio space and equipment away from local films. On the other hand, some French producers felt that the use of money made in the French market should be applied towards true French films rather than Hollywood films. French producers also feared that Hollywood's penchant for paying above wage scales could drive up production costs in France.²⁶²

Despite the wavering positions of these European film industries, Hollywood companies' investment in foreign studios was arguably a boost to the industries of Britain, Italy and France, which for the most part welcomed the economic support after

²⁵⁷ Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society*, 140.

²⁵⁸ "Italian Pix Prod'n Costs Soar 20-40% Since '50 For American Film-makers," *Daily Variety*, August 8, 1952, 1, 5.

²⁵⁹ "Lopert Complains Of Soaring Italo Production Costs," *Daily Variety*, November 16, 1954, 2.

²⁶⁰ "Prod'n Costs In Europe Now Par U.S.; Rossen Reports; Italo Bubble Bursts," *Daily Variety*, February 22, 1956, 3.

²⁶¹ However, various Italian industry organizations called the attacks by the newspapers "vicious and completely unjustified." Robert F. Hawkins, "Italo Sneak Attack On H'wood," *Daily Variety*, August 6, 1962, 1, 23.

²⁶² For a summary of these arguments, see Gene Moskowitz, "In Paris," *Daily Variety*, December 22, 1955, 3.

the wartime slowdown in production. Hollywood productions ushered in pivotal changes to European film industries by bringing them into contact with Hollywood firms and financing, creating opportunities for co-production deals, and eliciting the rebuilding of an infrastructure that had suffered during the war. The internationalization of production therefore benefited not only Hollywood's efforts to build an overseas production network but also Western Europe's attempts to restore its film industries, a process that reflects the interactive mechanisms of proto-globalization.

Chapter Three.

Case Studies: *Roman Holiday*, *To Catch a Thief* and *Moby Dick*

In order to take a closer look at foreign production work and to illustrate the points previously raised, this chapter examines in detail three Hollywood productions shot overseas: William Wyler's *Roman Holiday*, Alfred Hitchcock's *To Catch a Thief*, and John Huston's *Moby Dick*. These three films display a number of important characteristics of foreign productions explored in my study. Firstly, they reflect Chapter One's different geographical configurations (a film shot in a single foreign country, a film shot in multiple foreign countries, and a film shot abroad and in the U.S.) while shedding more light on the experience of making movies in Italy, France and Great Britain raised in Chapter Two. Not only was *Roman Holiday* shot entirely in one country, but its post-production was also done in Rome. *To Catch a Thief* was shot overseas and in Hollywood, with exteriors captured in the south of France and interiors at Paramount Studios. Filmed in multiple foreign countries, *Moby Dick* features exteriors from Ireland, Wales, Portugal and Spain and interiors from ABPC Studios in England. Whereas *Roman Holiday* and *To Catch a Thief* were largely set and shot in the same locations—except for the Hollywood studio work of *To Catch a Thief*—portions of *Moby Dick* were set in the U.S. but shot entirely overseas, one of the controversial features of “runaway” productions for Hollywood unions. The three films also represent different organizational set-ups. While *Roman Holiday* and *To Catch a Thief* were both produced by Paramount under powerful producer-directors, *Moby Dick* was an independent U.S.-British co-production with studio financing from Warner Bros.

Moreover, these three films shared some general but nonetheless vital similarities. Each was directed by a major Hollywood filmmaker who had mastered studio-bound filmmaking and then faced the difficult task of working in foreign locations. These directors' stature and the three films' notable acting talent (Audrey Hepburn in *Roman Holiday*, Gregory Peck in *Roman Holiday* and *Moby Dick*, Grace Kelly and Cary Grant in *To Catch a Thief*) gave the making of these motion pictures a high profile in the film industry and amongst the wider public, both in the United States and abroad.

In addition to these general connections, there are some significant differences across the three films. Despite the fact that the three directors were accomplished studio filmmakers, the place of these films in the directors' careers and lives diverged. *Roman Holiday* was the first foreign location film for Wyler, who was born in Germany but whose entire film career up to that point had been in Hollywood. *To Catch a Thief* was one in a series of Hollywood studio films that Hitchcock shot in foreign countries, including his native England, where he had been an established filmmaker before coming to Hollywood. *Moby Dick* was one of many films that U.S. director Huston filmed abroad after having made movies in Mexico (*Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, 1948), Cuba (*We Were Strangers*, 1949), Africa (*The African Queen*), Italy (*Beat the Devil*), France and Britain (*Moulin Rouge*). Whether newcomer or veteran to foreign work, these directors all faced wide-ranging creative and logistical challenges on these productions. Although these filmmakers served as a central force in making artistic and organizational decisions, they depended on other major players. As my case studies show, in different ways production managers, assistant directors and technicians were indispensable figures in foreign production work.

Some technological distinctions also existed amongst the films. *Roman Holiday* was filmed in black-and-white and relied heavily on location shooting. Produced by the same studio only a couple of years later, *To Catch a Thief* was shot in Technicolor and VistaVision, Paramount's newly developed widescreen format. *Moby Dick* showcased an experimental use of color and employed novel special effects work to bring the eponymous whale to life. These technologies impacted the division of labor, technical and artistic decisions, the shipment of equipment and film stock, and the relationships to foreign labs.

By taking a close look at these three films, I aim to flesh out certain issues explored in the previous chapters. At its core, I address this study's guiding question: How were these filmmakers and movie companies able to organize and execute these productions away from the infrastructure of Los Angeles? Answering this question will lead to considering factors such as the role of the foreign office, the importance of production managers, the support of foreign studios and labs, the methods that the studios based in Los Angeles utilized to supervise overseas production, the demands of working with foreign crews, and the efforts to maintain Hollywood production practices while adapting to the conditions of foreign locales.

The extant archival records for these films are instrumental to building these production histories, which paint a picture of the individuals and countless decisions that shaped these motion pictures. The correspondence amongst director, production manager, assistants and studio executives proves essential to understanding how these productions were organized and carried out. The communication via letter, interdepartmental memo and cable between the studios in Hollywood and the overseas production units served as a

means for sharing production knowledge and exchanging intercultural filmmaking practices. These records are supplemented by accounts from trade papers and the popular press, which took great interest in these films not only because of their stars and directors but also because of the relative novelty of operating large-scale productions in foreign locations. Finally, these case studies take the perspective of Hollywood filmmakers rather than the foreign personnel that supported these films, although interviews with veteran foreign production workers attempt to balance this stance. Far from an ethnocentric view, this analysis intends to reveal how Hollywood filmmakers approached foreign productions and discussed their activity as they carried out their work.

CASE STUDY ONE: *Roman Holiday* (1953)

“Italy is a place where it is 99% perspiration and 1% inspiration.”¹

-Henry Henigson

During the early stages of *Roman Holiday*'s pre-production, the film's general manager, Henry Henigson, who had earlier worked in Rome on MGM's *Quo Vadis*, wrote to William Wyler in Los Angeles to explain the trials of making a motion picture in Italy. Henigson's comments point to some of the differences between working within the infrastructure of Hollywood and operating out of the production centers in Europe. He compares:

In the States we have large organizations thoroughly competent with vast resources at their immediate command, all of which is again backed by a general

¹ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, April 12, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

industrial situation within the city and often within the country. We have in the United States major industries at our beck and call. The Italian or European motion picture producing industry is not so constituted. All local production here is a relatively “hit-and-miss” affair. You know no “local” producers carry permanent staffs and hardly anyone connected with our business has any reasonable degree of industrial security as we know it. The result of this situation is one which makes for the inherent difficulties.”²

Henigson’s less than favorable assessment of the European film industries may have been intended to prepare Wyler, a director who had spent his entire career working out of Hollywood studios, for the worst. But Henigson’s portrait lays bare the real-world factors that Hollywood filmmakers confronted when they went overseas.

Considering this situation, how did Wyler and company navigate these “inherent difficulties” to turn out the critical and commercial success of *Roman Holiday*? In answering this question, I aim to animate many of the issues raised in the previous chapter. For example, I examine the key role of the film’s general manager, Henry Henigson. I consider how Paramount Studios exerted some level of supervision over the production. I investigate the different ways Hollywood personnel exported their ideas about labor organization and production procedures. Correspondingly, I look at instances when Hollywood personnel conformed to the circumstances of local filmmaking practices, especially with location shooting.

² Ibid.

Shooting in Rome

What were the primary reasons why *Roman Holiday* was shot in Rome and not in the U.S.? We can look to the convergence of creative and economic factors that contributed to shooting overseas.³ According to Wyler biographer Axel Madsen, the film was originally going to be made in Hollywood. However, the producer-director explained to Paramount studio head Frank Freeman that he would only make the motion picture if it could be shot in Rome. “You can’t build me the Colosseum, the Spanish Steps,” Wyler insists. “I’ll shoot the whole picture in Rome or else I won’t make it.”⁴ He later elaborated on the need to incorporate authentic locations into the film after a special screening of *Roman Holiday* for Los Angeles film students:

I think you will realize that this subject matter, this story, if it had been made in Hollywood as was considered at one time, would not be the same picture by a long shot. If we had to build some of the sets, first of all, you couldn’t afford to build some of the sets that you have seen, and if the background didn’t look real, which they couldn’t possibly, well, the characters would begin to look less real, the whole story would appear to be less real.⁵

To be sure, the creative urge to fill the screen with authentic Roman scenery in the service of the story was a prime justification for why the producer-director wanted to make the film in Italy. For Wyler, reproducing Rome on a Hollywood backlot was

³ Robert Shandley argues that there were two principle reasons for making the film in Italy: the need for authentic Roman locations and the ability to access blocked funds. Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 21.

⁴ Quoted in Axel Madsen, *William Wyler: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1973), 306. Original shooting-time estimates for production at Paramount Studios support the fact that the film was initially envisioned as being made in Hollywood. See William Wyler to Don Hartman, August 7, 1952, William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵ “Transcripts of proceedings held at the Warner Brothers [sic] Beverly Hills Theater,” February 24, 1954, *Roman Holiday* (Transcripts and Interviews), William Wyler Papers. UCLA Arts.

inadequate—as well as too costly. Also, mixing second-unit location shots with studio process shots—always an alternative to carrying out principal photography overseas—lacked the authenticity that the story demanded. “A process shot,” Wyler notes, “even at its best, still looks phony in many cases.”⁶ Nevertheless, some of the film’s interiors were shot at Cinecittà Studios.

As is typical of public pronouncements about filmmaking activities, the discussion of money and its shaping of production decisions are absent. While the need for authentic foreign locations was of great importance for the production, the unblocking of frozen lire was critical in facilitating this risky move. As mentioned in Chapter One, amongst the film’s three sources of funding, the majority of financing came from frozen lire, with additional funds supplied by Paramount and the independent company Liberty Films, which was owned by Paramount.⁷ Correspondence between Paramount and the production office at Cinecittà Studios shows that the release of blocked lire rested upon the Italian authorities’ script approval, a demand that would slow up production.⁸ Also, although cheaper Italian labor and production materials were probably added inducements to making the film in Italy, by 1952 production expenses were rising. Compared to when *Quo Vadis* was shot in 1950, production costs for equipment and

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Production Cost Breakdowns, multiple dates, *Roman Holiday* (Costs 1952-57), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. In addition to blocked lire, frozen sterling was applied to equipment, film stock and processing in London. See Richard Mealand to Russell Holman, June 27, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁸ Correspondence between Jack Karp and Henry Henigson, June and July 1952, Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. Robert Shandley notes that the use of two Neorealist screenwriters, who worked on scene rewrites, likely convinced Italian authorities to release more frozen funds. Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 33.

labor during the time of *Roman Holiday* increased by about a third, reported *Daily Variety*.⁹

We must also consider that another incentive for Wyler wanting to work abroad for the entirety of the film, including the post-production phase, was to take advantage of the eighteen-month tax loophole, so that the taxes on his earnings during the seventeen of eighteen consecutive months when he resided abroad could be exempted. This reason becomes apparent in a letter to the director from his MCA agent, Herman Citron, who writes, “I felt that we were allowing the real purpose of your going abroad to escape us and that of course is the tax benefits.”¹⁰ Eric Hoyt has shown that Wyler’s lawyer, Marc Cohen, advised the director to hire a tax attorney to lobby Congress to limit impending changes to the tax exemption. While Congress restricted the amount of tax-free income to \$20,000, income earned prior to the beginning of 1953 was not subject to taxes, a decision to Wyler’s benefit.¹¹ *Roman Holiday* star Gregory Peck also took up working overseas to exploit the benefits of the eighteen-month tax clause. To sum up, based on the above evidence, the film was most likely shot in Italy due to the intersection of 1) the creative decision to exploit authentic foreign locations; 2) the use of Paramount’s frozen earnings; and 3) Wyler’s desire to take advantage of the eighteen-month tax loophole.

Henry Henigson

The principal organizing force in the production was general manager Henry Henigson, an exacting and budget-minded administrator, who prepared the way for the production

⁹ “Italian Pix Prod’n Costs Soar 20-40%,” 1, 5.

¹⁰ Herman Citron to William Wyler, December 3, 1952, General Files (MCA Artists 1952-1953), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹¹ Eric Hoyt, “Hollywood and the Income Tax, 1929-1955,” *Film History* 22 no. 1 (2010): 15. Yale, “Runaway Film Production,” 73-74.

to run smoothly away from the support of a Hollywood studio while also ensuring that same studio had a responsible representative on the ground. Art director Edward Carfagno remembers Henigson as a frugal manager during the production of *Quo Vadis*. Even though Carfagno worked well with him, he recalls that no one liked Henigson because he was always concerned with the bottom line.¹² French production manager Christian Ferry, who teamed up with Henigson in Morocco on MGM's *Saadia* (1954), claims that Henigson was partly responsible for importing a Hollywood-style division of labor to Italy. Ferry reasons that by bringing over key department heads from Hollywood, he was able to shape each department along the lines of a Hollywood studio.¹³

A former Universal studio manager, Henigson had extensive foreign experience. Before working out of Universal's lot, he served as a company auditor in South America and then general manager of European distribution. In time, he moved to MGM, which placed him in charge of the studio's continental European productions.¹⁴ In 1949, MGM sent him to Italy to study the setup for making *Quo Vadis*. His favorable assessment of Cinecittà Studios helped convince MGM to shoot the film in Rome.¹⁵ Henigson served as business manager of the production, a position that granted him authority over organizational and financial matters. He was eventually assigned to manage the making

¹² "Oral History with Edward Carfagno," 155-56, 182.

¹³ Interview with Christian Ferry. This notion is supported by Austrian production accountant Siegfried Wallach, who served as administration head on *Quo Vadis*, *Roman Holiday* and *Ben-Hur*. Wallach says that Henigson "did indeed import a Hollywood style of management to M.G.M. (and other affiliated companies) work in Europe." Siegfried Wallach, email message to author, May 7, 2011.

¹⁴ "Henry Henigson" Obituary, *Daily Variety*, January 15, 1973, 8.

¹⁵ "Goetz at Metro to Talk 'Quo Vadis' Plans," *Daily Variety*, March 21, 1949, 2. A written sample of Henigson's Cinecittà survey from March 7, 1949 can be found in *Quo Vadis* (Miscellaneous), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

of MGM's *The Devil Makes Three* (1952) in Munich.¹⁶ As this production wound down, Paramount hired Henigson to organize *Roman Holiday* and set up a production base at Cinecittà.

During the early stages of pre-production for *Roman Holiday*, Henigson took a break from his duties as production manager of *The Devil Makes Three* and spent three days in Rome along with Paramount's staff executive Jacob Karp, production manager Kenneth Deland, and the film's art director, Walter Tyler. They negotiated with the Italian government, U.S. authorities and the officials of Cinecittà Studios, where they opened up offices and hired workers. Henigson returned to Munich and while he finished off his work for MGM, Deland and Tyler remained in Rome to organize the production until Henigson got back to Italy.¹⁷

In addition to his organizational skills, Henigson brought with him an international network of contacts and production experience from his previous Hollywood films shot in Europe. Drawing on this background and his knowledge of Hollywood production procedures, Henigson implored the various *Roman Holiday* departments to peruse the script to ascertain special requirements.¹⁸ He also recommended that the dailies process should follow the one used on *The Devil Makes Three*, in which the rushes were developed in a local lab with one copy remaining in

¹⁶ "Henigson To Munich," *Daily Variety*, December 12, 1951, 9.

¹⁷ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, April 12, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁸ Henry Henigson to Walter Tyler, C. Woolstenhulme and Maurice Lodi-Fe, May 12, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

Rome for the crew to view and another flown to Hollywood for Paramount executives to see.¹⁹

From his correspondence with Wyler before the director arrived in Rome, Hengison's thoroughness and attention to detail is impressive and likely added to his reputation for being a fastidious production manager. Years of working abroad presumably resulted in a penchant for anticipating potential production pitfalls and understanding the idiosyncrasies of the local culture, whether it was how to work with Italian chauffeurs or grasping the protocols of tipping.²⁰ For Henigson, like many other Hollywood workers, production knowledge accumulated with each film shot overseas as he continued to work abroad on MGM films such as *Saadia* in Morocco and *Bedevilled* (1955) in Paris, and eventually he reprised his role as business manager on *Ben-Hur* at Cinecittà.²¹ During this last production, Henigson suffered a stroke that forced him into retirement.²²

The Role of Paramount

Roman Holiday was originally a property that belonged to Liberty Films, a company started by Frank Capra, George Stevens, Wyler and former Columbia executive Sam Briskin to produce their own independent productions. But these directors' venture into independence was short-lived owing to financial troubles. They accepted a buyout from Paramount, the terms of which, Thomas Schatz claims, "severely limited their creative

¹⁹ Henry Henigson to Jack Karp, July 3, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

²⁰ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, May 2, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

²¹ "Henry Henigson Back," *Daily Variety*, September 10, 1954, 5.

²² "Henry Henigson" Obituary, 8.

freedom and authority.”²³ Wyler recalls, “[Paramount] assured us we would have the same independence as before, which didn’t turn out to be true. We still had to have their approval of subject and budget. I guess there is no such thing as complete independence unless you put up your own money.”²⁴ Capra, who originally planned to direct *Roman Holiday*, backed off the project when Paramount limited his budget. Wyler eventually took over, thereby fulfilling the contract that Paramount had inherited from Liberty but only on the stipulation that he could make the film in Rome. Although working overseas gave the producer-director some latitude, the fact that this was a full-fledged studio production meant that Paramount held a supervisory role even from far away.

Paramount provided assistance in the form of its European offices, which facilitated the preliminary organization of the film. In the summer of 1951, Paramount’s offices in Paris and London assisted with the search for a lead actress. Eventually, the London branch arranged the screen tests of Audrey Hepburn, which convinced Wyler to cast her in the film.²⁵ Later, the London office secured equipment and film stock for the production.²⁶ Before a production office was established at Cinecittà, Wyler depended on Paramount’s Rome office to carry out location scouting.²⁷ Even during production, Wyler and company used the Rome office for its projection room to watch dailies.²⁸ Also, in

²³ Schatz, *Boom and Bust*, 349. Although Paramount bought out Liberty, production cost breakdowns reveal that the independent entity was listed as a financier of the film. *Roman Holiday* (Costs 1952-1957), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁴ Quoted in Madsen, *William Wyler*, 288.

²⁵ Richard Mealand to William Wyler, August 21, 1951, *Roman Holiday* (Richard Mealand), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

²⁶ Various cables, summer 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Richard Mealand), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

²⁷ William Wyler to Pilade Levi, October 31, 1951, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1951-1954), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library

²⁸ William Wyler to C. Woolstenhulme, May 21, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Production), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

seeking permission to use the names of European newspapers in the film's press conference finale, the production worked with the Paramount offices in London, Paris, Madrid, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Frankfurt and Zurich.²⁹

One way that Paramount ensured that the *Roman Holiday* crew followed Hollywood's methods was by sharing information through frequent letters and cables. Much of the correspondence centered around an exchange between Paramount personnel in Hollywood (staff executive Jack Karp, production manager Frank Caffey and production supervisor Don Hartman) and the production heads in Rome, namely Henigson and Wyler. This communication allowed Paramount a degree of administrative control over spending, hiring and filming, all of which had to be justified and explained to the studio. Correspondence also permitted the Hollywood and Italian offices to coordinate travel, equipment shipments and the securing of blocked funds. This kind of supervision extended into the post-production period when Paramount requested that Maurice Lodi Fe, the production manager who took over many of Henigson's duties after shooting ended, keep the studio updated with periodic reports.³⁰ Beginning in December of 1952 in the midst of editing, William Wyler was contractually obligated to send weekly reports to studio head Y. Frank Freeman.³¹

The studio's monitoring also extended to viewing dailies so that production supervisor Don Hartman could keep tabs on shooting progress. In a letter to Henigson,

²⁹ Henry Henigson to various offices, September 16, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Legal 1952), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

³⁰ Jacob Karp to Henry Henigson, September 22, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952-1953), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

³¹ William Wyler to Y. Frank Freeman, December 13, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

Paramount production manager Frank Caffey explains the purpose of shipping dailies back to Hollywood:

The idea of seeing dailies here, as well as the cut film, as outlined, is simply to permit Don Hartman to be generally familiar with the picture as it is being shot and cut for whatever comments and suggestions he may care to make. He understands completely the problem of duped quality and is perfectly willing to accept it as he will be looking for story points basically.³²

In response to the rushes, Hartman was mostly enthusiastic, complimenting Audrey Hepburn and commending the use of locals and authentic settings. “I do not think we could ever have gotten such results by shooting in Hollywood,”³³ he admits. This praise, however, was balanced by comments about Wyler’s need to quicken the shooting pace and to use fewer takes while also producing more coverage for certain scenes. As Robert Shandley demonstrates in his analysis of the *Roman Holiday* production, the studio was concerned about the unit’s lack of progress and ability to finish in time before Hepburn’s return to the United States.³⁴ Wyler, for his part, seemed to appreciate the feedback, responding, “Your remarks and suggestions regarding some of the rushes are very welcome. Please continue to give me your thoughts both good and bad as they are of definite value to me. I may not always agree with you but I’m certainly very eager to get your criticisms.”³⁵

³² Frank Caffey to Henry Henigson, May 19, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

³³ Don Hartman to William Wyler, July 16, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

³⁴ Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 34-35.

³⁵ William Wyler to Don Hartman, August 7, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

Paramount also checked up on the production with visits from studio executives. During pre-production, staff executive Jacob Karp helped coordinate the film in Rome. Once shooting commenced, Paramount's president, Barney Balaban, paid a visit to the set. Then during post-production, Don Hartman traveled to Europe to check up on Paramount's various film shoots.³⁶ In Rome, he viewed a rough-cut of *Roman Holiday* and happily cabled studio head Frank Freeman to report that even in its rough, overlong form, the film was "superb," adding, "All values of shooting in Rome are on screen."³⁷

As best it could, Paramount tried to reign in the costs during production. Based on Henigson's updates, Karp was particularly concerned that Wyler's shooting methods resulted in excessive costs because of too many takes and superfluous scenes. Karp writes to Henigson:

I think you ought continue your efforts to keep him in line to the extent possible and reasonable under the conditions obtaining. I am sure it is not at all necessary for me to repeat that our objective is to have as fine a picture as possible; however, with conditions at the box office as they are today, the element of cost is a major consideration, particularly with a picture of this kind. Please do talk with Willie to have him understand again that we do want a great picture but that he must, to the extent at all possible cooperate to keep the cost at a reasonable figure.³⁸

Time and again, Karp looked to Henigson to control spending. In the general manager, Paramount found an employee for whom the administration of finances was a top

³⁶ "Par's 1953 Budget \$30,000,000," *Daily Variety*, November 11, 1952, 1, 8.

³⁷ Don Hartman to Frank Freeman, November 25, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

³⁸ Jacob Karp to Henry Henigson, July 22, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

priority. Wyler, however, also had to answer to the studio directly. In a series of updates, Wyler defended his shooting progress and claimed that he was filming only what was necessary. He also explains that his “excessive use of film” was due to improvisation, which “helped the picture considerably.”³⁹

Despite these attempts at supervision, the moment-to-moment creative and logistical decisions were left to the unit working in Rome. Interestingly, Wyler seemed to struggle with this newfound autonomy. Expressing the difficulty of producing a film away from the infrastructure of Hollywood, Wyler observes, “You can not just press a button and get things done – you have to look after every detail yourself, and producing a picture really means what the word implies. You realize that a big studio organization certainly has its advantages in getting things done.”⁴⁰

The Continuation of Hollywood Production Practices

How were Hollywood personnel able to maintain their industry’s filmmaking practices when confronted with a new production situation in Rome? Not only was correspondence helpful to retaining some sense of studio control, but also the production knowledge shared in these exchanges was essential to perpetuating Hollywood methods. In one letter sent to Henigson during pre-production, studio production manager Caffey outlined the basic filmmaking operations carried out at Paramount in response to Henigson’s desire to follow studio protocol. Caffey relayed Paramount’s procedures for production meetings and explained how to fill out call sheets, daily production reports, script clerk notes,

³⁹ William Wyler to Don Hartman, August 7 and 9, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁴⁰ William Wyler to Mark M. Cohen, June 14, 1952, General Files (Mark Cohen 1952), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

camera reports and requisitions for actors and extras while providing some samples of these materials. This exchange of information conveyed and provided a model for the organizational structure of the different studio departments and how the departments processed production materials. Ultimately, the attempts to follow studio protocol were appreciated by Caffey, who expressed his gratitude for Henigson's "desire to tie together the operation as it must be done in Rome with our records here at the Studio."⁴¹

More specialized technical knowledge was passed on by various Paramount department heads also through correspondence. The Paramount director of sound recording and the studio's editorial head offered their recommendations on the kind of post-production equipment available in Rome and what would have to be sent from the U.S. and England.⁴² Paramount's assistant camera department head provided a detailed explanation for marking takes with the camera slate.⁴³ Additionally, in an effort to answer Henigson's questions about certain technical practices, Paramount technicians explained the process for recording "wild tracks" and using rear-screen projectors.⁴⁴ It is unclear if this specific technical know-how was relayed directly to the technicians in Rome or whether the technicians were already familiar with these procedures, but what is certain is that Henigson was collecting this information in an attempt shape the production according to Hollywood practices.

⁴¹ Frank Caffey to Henry Henigson, May 10, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁴² Loren Ryder and Charles F. West to Frank Caffey, April 18, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. This letter was then passed on to Henigson.

⁴³ Bishop's explanation was included in a letter from Frank Caffey to Henry Henigson, April 24, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁴⁴ Richard Blaydon to Frank Caffey, May 8, 1952. Farciot Edouart to Frank Caffey, May 5, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. Again, both letters were forwarded to Henigson.

Perhaps, the most practical means of promoting Hollywood methods was by exporting personnel familiar with Hollywood's filmmaking practices. A number of key Hollywood technicians served as department heads, ensuring that the various departments followed Hollywood methods. Frank Planer, who served as a cinematographer throughout Europe before immigrating to the U.S. to work in Hollywood, was hired as the director of photography.⁴⁵ However, as was the case for most European productions, the director of photography, or the "lighting cameraman" as the position was often called in Europe, had to take on certain gaffing (i.e. lighting) duties. This fact was pointed out to Planer by Henigson, who describes, "As you well know from past experience, the first camera man in Europe is responsible by custom for the quantity of electrical equipment ordered to light a set, and I presume that you will also fall in along these lines."⁴⁶ While the hiring of Hollywood personnel helped ensure the preservation of Hollywood filmmaking methods, in certain cases, a technician might have to take on different responsibilities in accordance with the practices of the local industry.

Another department head sent over by Paramount was editor Robert Swink, who, according to Wyler, had to organize the editorial department and train foreign personnel in Hollywood editing practices. Wyler reports, "Bob Swink had his hands full during the picture with dozens of things that would be automatic at the studio, but he had also to train personnel in our accepted methods, to create a set-up and to inaugurate a

⁴⁵ Eventually, Planer fell ill during the production and was replaced by French cameraman Henri Alekan, although some correspondence suggests that Planer's departure was due to his working difficulties with Wyler.

⁴⁶ Henry Henigson to Franz Planer, May 5, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library. Henigson's reference to "the first camera man" seems to refer to the director of photography. Despite the slightly different European division of labor for cinematography and Henigson's comments, the production used an Italian gaffer.

coordinated plan of work.”⁴⁷ In the end, the combined efforts of general manager Henigson, who prepared the production along the model of Hollywood filmmaking, and Hollywood department heads, who brought the foreign workers they supervised in line with their own procedures, sustained Hollywood practices. In recognition of this work, Wyler remarks to the studio:

The crew is willing and hard-working, with some key personnel bi-lingual. Henigson did a first-rate job of getting things organized, making arrangements with the unions, selecting people, etc. Without his experienced hand, we’d never have organized the production facilities and crews as rapidly and efficiently as we did. Our own Hollywood people have been doing a fine job and have adjusted themselves very well to operating in a foreign country. They are fighting for top quality all the way down the line and are a great help to me.⁴⁸

Foreign Personnel

Language abilities, production knowledge and production piggybacking all played into the assembling of an international crew. During the early stages of pre-production, Henigson wrote to Wyler and stressed the importance of hiring bilingual workers in order to avoid interpreters. Henigson reasons, “We must look for such persons who are somewhat bilingual, if not wholly so. I am certain you can appreciate this for otherwise we would become involved with an army of interpreters, none who interprets correctly

⁴⁷ William Wyler to Y. Frank Freeman, December 13, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁴⁸ William Wyler to Don Hartman, July 26, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

and all of which has a natural tendency to lead to confusion.”⁴⁹ Drawing on his foreign filmmaking experience, he reiterates, “I do try to organize so we may have bi-lingual personnel with as much competence as we can obtain in each department, so that your requirements, and those of others, may be properly interpreted in a professional way... It is economic and solid, and by experience successful.”⁵⁰

Once Henigson got the production office at Cinecittà up and running, he began hiring Italian workers, including a make-up man who was familiar with American make-up.⁵¹ Using his MGM connections, Henigson was able to contract from England an Italian-speaking script clerk endorsed by MGM-British Studios.⁵² On the recommendation of Ingrid Bergman, who at this point had worked in Italy with her paramour Roberto Rossellini, Henigson hired an American camera assistant who had studied at Italy’s Centro Sperimentale film school and had worked with Jean Renoir and Rossellini.⁵³

The relationship between Hollywood personnel and Italian labor came to light when an apocryphal news item about the shortcomings of the Italian crew was printed in gossip writer Louella Parsons’ syndicated column, which was quickly picked up by the newspaper *Rome American News* in Italy. Parsons’ column reads, “From Rome comes word that Willie Wyler is having troubles getting ‘Roman Holiday’ on the screen. Italians

⁴⁹ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, April 12, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, April 28, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Staff and Crew), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵² Henry Henigson to William Wyler, May 9 and 29, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Staff and Crew), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵³ Henry Henigson to William Wyler, May 29, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Staff and Crew), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

no likee [sic] to work in the hot weather and take siestas every afternoon.”⁵⁴ Disturbed by the matter, Henigson wrote to Paramount to demand a statement retraction in light of the cooperation from the Italians and in order to avoid offense. “These people are trying hard and striving to create a foreign production center at this point,” asserts Henigson. He maintains, “There has never been one moment when these people have shirked from their duties, no matter how many hours it took to accomplish, and most of them on several occasions have been required to work round the clock, and it has been done without grumbling on their part of any kind, nature or description.”⁵⁵ Eventually Wyler cabled Parsons reiterating his full support of the hard-working Italians, portions of which the columnist reprinted.⁵⁶

When in Rome: Adapting to Local Circumstances

Just as Paramount and the Hollywood filmmakers working in Rome had to promote their industry’s production practices, these individuals simultaneously had to adapt to the local situation of making a film in Italy. For the Hollywood personnel, this often meant managing the technical shortcomings of Italian services and equipment, even though Paramount seemed prepared to deal with these limitations.⁵⁷ In response to Paramount production supervisor Don Hartman’s complaint about the slow-down in filming, Wyler

⁵⁴ The column viewed appeared in Louella O. Parsons, “Kathryn Grayson Gets Contract She Wants,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 9, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Publicity), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵⁵ Henry Henigson to Jack Karp, September 22, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵⁶ Louella O. Parsons, “Hollywood Greets Visitors From India,” *Los Angeles Examiner*, October 1, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Publicity), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵⁷ Frank Caffey explains the studio’s knowledge of Italy’s photographic and lab quality in his letter to Henry Henigson, May 21, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

enumerates various difficulties, which included “bad raw stock, faulty magazines, dirt in the apertures, the lab ruining scenes with scratches or through their machines breaking down and things of that sort which have required a considerable number of retakes and in the case of one scene, retakes of retakes.” Furthermore, he complains, “The current, the arcs, the generators, the cameras, the lab—all of these things at one time or another present some difficulty and cause for delay—never altogether but only one at a time.”⁵⁸ Adapting to these mishaps became less a matter of applying Hollywood expertise than increasing production efficiency to make up for the delay by further subdividing the labor. Wyler initiated a second-unit crew, but its results seem to have been mixed. The director notes:

The second unit, which we have organized here in order to save both time and expense, has generally been quite useful. While at first they got some good coverage with doubles around the Princess’ escape, what I hoped for was to obtain some good footage in the scooter chase. I am sorry to say it has been a little disappointing as Italian movie makers just don’t know very much about the technique of shooting action film. Nevertheless, we did get some good footage out of them.⁵⁹

Here, we can see how economic concerns—namely, the need for increased efficiency—shaped production practices through the creation of a new department: a second unit. Furthermore, this example illustrates that the unforeseen conditions of foreign shooting did not bring about a unique solution, but rather the application of a proven Hollywood method, even though the results proved unsatisfactory for Wyler.

⁵⁸ William Wyler to Don Hartman, August 7, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount 1952), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

The most striking local factor that the Hollywood personnel, and in particular Wyler, had to adapt to was Roman location shooting. Apparently, because Cinecittà did not have process equipment, the production had to work without process shots, which likely spurred an increase in location shooting.⁶⁰ Robert Shandley contends, “Once shooting begins outside, the production begins to share some of the conditions of contemporary Italian cinema aesthetics, at least in terms of overcoming the technical difficulties of on-location shooting.”⁶¹ In order to overcome this obstacle, Wyler looked to Italian filmmakers and methods. One *Hollywood Reporter* news item announced that the producer-director consulted Italian Neorealist filmmakers Cesare Zavattini and Vittorio De Sica on how to best shoot street sequences.⁶²

In fact, Zavattini offered advice on early treatments of the film by Ben Hecht and the film’s credited screenwriter Ian Hunter.⁶³ His comments mostly concerned issues of action and characterization, but he also had suggestions on which Roman locations certain scenes could be set in. His take on the story also sheds light on Hollywood versus Neorealist approaches to storytelling, which resulted in an odd juxtaposition for Zavattini. He writes, “This story, at least in the pages that I have read, has been written along the most professionally tried rules, but what embarrassed me a great deal was the violent clash found in the contrast between the operetta-like treatment of the story, let us say, and the environment in which the work develops, an environment which has its real

⁶⁰ William Wyler to Don Hartman, July 26, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁶¹ Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 35.

⁶² Irving Hoffman, “Tales of Hoffman,” *Hollywood Reporter*, March 10, 1952, 3.

⁶³ In December 2011, the Writers Guild of America finally gave blacklisted writer Dalton Trumbo credit as a screenwriter of the film. Dave McNary, “WGA gives Trumbo script credit,” *Daily Variety*, December 20, 2011, 2.

streets, its real inhabitants, and its own real and immediate problems.”⁶⁴ For Zavattini, the mixture of Hollywood’s heightened emotionalism and tragicomedy, which was apparently more pronounced in earlier drafts, and the realism inherent in using authentic locations seemed irreconcilable. For Wyler, on the other hand, the ability to insert pictorial realism into a traditional Hollywood romance likely sparked and nurtured his interest in shooting the film in Rome.

The demands of shooting on the streets of Rome prompted Wyler to bring his production methods more in line with the Italian method of shooting without sound. He explains:

Here it has been necessary to shoot scenes and parts of scenes entirely silent, sometimes even without a guide track due to the fact that we had to work with concealed cameras. This will be time-consuming but should not be too costly as people here are experts at this kind of work and do it constantly. I don’t think they do it as meticulously as would be required for American audiences who, I believe, demand perfect matching of sound and picture.⁶⁵

Although the production had to adapt to the Italian method of shooting silently and dubbing in the voices later, Wyler still suggests the need to apply a more precise technique to ensure that the voices and lips matched accurately.

The complication of location work also included shooting authentic interiors, such as Rome’s Palazzo Brancaccio. For a director accustomed to controlling all the elements in a studio, Wyler expresses frustration: “Four walls, none of them wild, no way to rig

⁶⁴ Cesare Zavattini, “Translation Additional Comments,” January 23, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Script), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁶⁵ William Wyler to Don Hartman, August 7, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library. Parts of this letter are also quoted and analyzed in Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 35-36.

platforms for lights, makeshift installations of every sort, and to complicate matters, mirrors everywhere. For sound, we had to close all doors and windows, and with the lights on the temperature rose a degree a minute—on some days we hit as high as 120 degrees!” Despite the technical limitations, Wyler concludes, “I feel that it was well worth the effort because we got stuff on the screen that would be virtually impossible to duplicate at home except for a fantastic price. We paid for what we got in sweat.”⁶⁶ Though Wyler struggled with the difficulties of working on locations, in the end, this kind of work added pictorial value that would have been too expensive to produce in Hollywood.

In sum, Wyler and his crew were able to balance a mixture of Hollywood production practices (i.e. specific technical methods and a certain division of labor) and filmmaking procedures more common in the local industry (i.e. shooting on location without sound). The result was a style that emphasized locations that could never have been recreated in Hollywood, but which were rendered in a way that did not stray from the conventions of Hollywood style.

A Model of Foreign Production?

Over the years, *Roman Holiday* has become an exemplar of the Hollywood foreign production. It has been examined in film scholarship not only for its continental charm, Roman backdrops and collaboration with the Italian industry but also because its extensive archival records chronicle in detail the operation of an overseas production.

Drawing from these records, held at the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Science’s

⁶⁶ William Wyler to Don Hartman, July 26, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Paramount), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library. Again, parts of this letter are also quoted and analyzed in Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 34.

Margaret Herrick Library, Robert Shandley has provided an informative production history of the film in his book, *Runaway Romances: Hollywood's Postwar Tour of Europe*.⁶⁷ The author argues that *Roman Holiday* served as a “production model” for subsequent foreign productions because of the film’s extensive use of locations, its completion of both production and postproduction abroad, and its success as what he calls a “travelogue romance.” Pace Shandley, what evidence do we have that the film influenced other “runaway” productions? While the author presents convincing reasons why this film was a significant “runaway” production, he never substantiates that future productions looked specifically to this motion picture as a model for foreign filmmaking; rather, he just assumes this.

References to *Roman Holiday* in other Paramount production records are minimal. Correspondence for Paramount’s *Little Boy Lost* suggests that the studio’s London office looked to the experience of *Roman Holiday* to understand how to apply blocked sterling to renting equipment, purchasing film stock and processing the film.⁶⁸ Beyond studio documentation, evidence shows that William Wyler passed on to John Huston, who was preparing *A Farewell to Arms* in Italy, a list of European personnel who had worked on *Roman Holiday*.⁶⁹ Also, Stan Goldsmith, who was production managing Stanley Kramer’s *The Pride and the Passion* (1957) in Spain, solicited the post-production budget for *Roman Holiday* to guide the planning of the Spanish-shot film.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, ch. 2.

⁶⁸ Richard Mealand to Russell Holman, June 27, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records. AMPAS Library.

⁶⁹ William Wyler to John Huston, January 24, 1957, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1957-60), William Wyler Papers, UCLA Arts.

⁷⁰ Stan Goldsmith to Herbert Coleman, September 7, 1955, General (Herbert Coleman) Alfred Hitchcock Papers. AMPAS Library.

Besides these examples, we have to work from the presumption that the production shaped other foreign filmmaking. We might surmise that Henigson, the Hollywood personnel who worked on the film, and Wyler probably carried the *Roman Holiday* experience with them on future productions. However, Wyler's next foray into foreign production, the epic film *Ben-Hur*, probably relied more on his studio filmmaking than the location work of *Roman Holiday*. Also, Paramount never shot another film quite like *Roman Holiday* in Italy. Its subsequent films shot in Italy were co-productions with Carlo Ponti and Dino De Laurentiis, which were big-budget historical epics, such as *Ulysses* (1955) and *War and Peace*, or war films, such as *Five Branded Women* (1960) and *Under Ten Flags* (1960).

I suggest that *Roman Holiday* was not so much a model for foreign production work as it was a development and variation of previous overseas productions. The correspondence for the film reveals that Henigson looked to his prior foreign experience on *Quo Vadis* and *The Devil Makes Three* while also drawing from the trade knowledge that Paramount supplied him with. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, production knowledge of foreign activities emerged piecemeal over multiple productions and adaptively addressed specific problems and situations. At times, this knowledge crystallized in correspondence, shared anecdotes and the accrued experience of each individual worker. Shandley's emphasis on *Roman Holiday* and its influence on foreign production work, aesthetics and industry discourse to the exclusion of other overseas productions likely rests on not looking at a wide enough sample of production files and over-relying on one production for which a substantial amount of documentation remains. Unlike Shandley, I do not use *Roman Holiday* to make the case that the film served as "a

useful model for runaway productions” or “among the most radical attempts to both shoot and complete a Hollywood film abroad.”⁷¹ Instead, I offer that the case of *Roman Holiday* shows that the Hollywood mode of production both persisted and adapted to the characteristics of working in Rome.

Conclusion

Through correspondence, sharing production knowledge, using Hollywood production heads, and training foreign workers, Wyler and the Hollywood unit were able to maintain a mode of production that had been developed and refined throughout the studio system. However, minor variations in production practices necessarily occurred as an adjustment to the slight differences in the division of labor and the demands of shooting on location. While interacting with foreign workers and methods and operating far away from the production center of Los Angeles were hurdles for the production staff, the story and look of *Roman Holiday* reveals that on the whole, the film still retains the traits of Hollywood form and style despite the altered working environment. By exporting the Hollywood mode of production with minor variations and making aesthetic decisions in line with Hollywood style, Wyler overcame the trials of foreign location work and the result was not only a successful film but also the appearance of business as usual.

⁷¹ Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 36.

CASE STUDY TWO: *To Catch a Thief* (1955)

“So far no one has complained about being stuck in a hell-hole like the French Riviera. Whether they can long survive on a diet of rich food and Bikini bathing suits, I cannot say, I want you to know that we’ll do our best for dear old Paramount.”⁷²

-C.O. “Doc” Erickson

Before filming *To Catch a Thief* in the south of France in the early summer of 1954, Alfred Hitchcock had directed *Rear Window* (1954), a tale about a wheelchair-bound photojournalist who suspects that one of his neighbors is a murderer. Like *Lifeboat* (1944), *Rope* (1948), and the majority of *Dial M for Murder* (1954) before it, *Rear Window* was shot on a single-set—an experiment in restricted space cinema. The move from the cloistered environment of *Rear Window* to the international production of *To Catch a Thief*, shot in France and Hollywood, represented an opening up of production work for Hitchcock and his key collaborators.

Considering this transition from one film to the next and one mode of production to a variation, which in many ways embodied Hollywood’s shift from the confines of the studio to the new possibilities and trials of foreign locations, how did Hitchcock and his associates negotiate this move? What were the hurdles of shooting in France away from the production center of Paris and how were these challenges overcome? Additionally, what were the obstacles of mounting a film executed both overseas and in Hollywood? Taking into account that this was Hitchcock’s first widescreen picture and an early VistaVision film, how did the director, technicians and studio manage the technical and

⁷² C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, May 25, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

logistical demands of this new format abroad? I will make the case that Hitchcock and his key collaborators brought with them both Hollywood know-how and prior production knowledge of working overseas that they applied to their task in France. The Hollywood unit was also able to rely on the support of French production workers and Paramount studios to pull off this international production.

Hitchcock and Location Work

Hitchcock had an ambivalent stance towards location shooting. Production manager “Doc” Erickson explains, “He liked to go to a distant location, live well and then avoid bad experiences there, get back to Hollywood, where he was very comfortable living at home. He wasn’t anxious to stay out in the field.”⁷³ But for a director who was known for embracing the control of the studio, Hitchcock was also a canny location filmmaker, who balanced real-world exteriors with Hollywood-shot interiors.

The foreign location shooting of *To Catch a Thief* was a natural progression of Hitchcock’s filmmaking experience.⁷⁴ The production was not the first time that he had done location work. After serving as an assistant director and art director in England and at UFA studios in Berlin, Hitchcock shot his first two features in Germany at Emelka studios in Munich and on location in Italy and the Austrian Tyrol. His 1932 film *Rich and Strange* was shot on location in Marseilles, Port Said, Suez and Colombo. Hitchcock’s interest in location was also evident in his Hollywood productions, such as *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943), which showcased an inventive use of Santa Rosa, California, and *Stage*

⁷³ Interview with C.O. Erickson.

⁷⁴ Hitchcock’s 1950s tenure at Paramount also marked a return of sorts to the company that had first employed him after Famous Players-Lasky, the original parent company of Paramount, opened a studio in Islington, where Hitchcock developed his craft as a filmmaker. Donald Spoto, *The Dark Side of Genius: The Life of Alfred Hitchcock* (Boston: Back Bay, 1993), 54-58.

Fright (1950), which nicely balanced London street scenes with studio work. Similarly, he made extensive use of Quebec City in *I Confess* (1953). By the time, he arrived in the south of France in 1954, the director already had more overseas experience than many Hollywood filmmakers. Even after the film, Hitchcock continued to work on location both in the U.S. and abroad, shooting in Vermont, Morocco, London, New York, San Francisco, Chicago, South Dakota, Arizona, Northern California's Bodega Bay, Berlin, West Germany, Copenhagen, Washington D.C. and Paris.

Hitchcock's penchant for location work was complimented by his love of travel. He was an avid traveler his whole life, circling the world with his family in tow and often mixing vacations with international publicity tours.⁷⁵ For Hitchcock, the opportunity to shoot in the south of France not only promised the chance to travel, eat good food and enjoy the luxurious accommodations of the Carlton Hotel in Cannes, but it also provided a colorful background to the story. As Paramount production manager Frank Caffey makes clear, "[Hitchcock] has placed his story against the background of southern France in order to capture its charm, its beauty and its way of life which he is most anxious to portray on the screen."⁷⁶ Indeed for Hitchcock, a setting was more than just a background. He insists, "A rule I've always followed is: Never use a setting simply as a background... You've got to make the setting work dramatically. You can't use it just as a background. In other words the locale must be functional... *All backgrounds must function.*"⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Ibid., 313.

⁷⁶ Frank Caffey to Russell Holman, February 26, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁷⁷ "Hitchcock Talks about Lights, Camera, Action," *American Cinematographer*, May 1967, reprinted in *Hitchcock on Hitchcock: Selected Writings and Interviews*, ed. Sidney Gottlieb (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 313 (emphasis in the original).

While the film was able to take advantage of frozen francs to pay for the French supporting actors and extras, the Riviera backdrop seems to have been the primary justification for shooting in France.⁷⁸ In order to capture these locations, Hitchcock brought with him a crew of key collaborators that helped facilitate working overseas. One of the director's closest allies was Paramount's assistant director Herbert Coleman, who had already cut his teeth on foreign location work with *Roman Holiday*. Another was C.O. "Doc" Erickson, a young production manager at Paramount, who was instrumental in getting the production off the ground in France.

C.O. "Doc" Erickson

Like Henry Henigson, Erickson was one of the prime organizing forces on the foreign location shoot, but unlike Henigson, the production manager was relatively early in his career. He had risen through the ranks of Paramount's production department in the late 1940s and by the early 1950s he reached the level of unit production manager (UPM). He developed a specialization in location work after serving as assistant production manager on a series of location-heavy shoots, including *Shane* filmed in Wyoming, *The Secret of the Incas* (1954) shot in Peru, and *The Naked Jungle* (1954) made in Jamaica. These productions initiated him to the many challenges of working in far-flung locales.

Erickson's first assignment as UPM was *Rear Window*, which inaugurated a fruitful collaboration between Erickson and Hitchcock. Even though Erickson had the experience of working overseas on *The Secret of the Incas* and *The Naked Jungle*, the transition from the studio-bound *Rear Window* to the location-based *To Catch a Thief*

⁷⁸ Production budgets, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Reports 1954-1955), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

was dramatic for the up-and-coming production manager. He recalls that the shoot in the French Riviera “was a huge jump forward for me, working in a foreign country and a distant location, and all the good and bad points of doing that.”⁷⁹

But Erickson’s organizational skills, steady temperament, and commitment to both studio and director proved critical to the relatively smooth operation of the production. In February 1954, Erickson began preparations in Hollywood for organizing the French unit. He conferred with Bill Mull, the production manager on *Little Boy Lost*, and studied correspondence from that film to determine the procedure for securing shooting and work permits, applying for frozen francs, and negotiating with French unions.⁸⁰ Then in France, he worked with Paramount’s Paris office and French production managers to hire local labor, secure equipment and negotiate with authorities.

As pre-production got underway in France, Erickson’s diligence extended to keeping the studio informed of production development. He apprises Paramount, “I hope we are keeping you sufficiently informed of our operational plans and progress and that you are getting all the information you desire. If not, please let me know and we’ll try to do better.”⁸¹ Paramount subsequently asked Erickson to wire the studio with updates every other day once shooting commenced.⁸² When the first unit returned to Hollywood, Erickson remained in the south of France to manage the second unit, frequently keeping the studio posted on the film’s progress via cables and letters. This commitment to

⁷⁹ “Oral History with C.O. Erickson,” 203 (underlining in the original).

⁸⁰ C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, February 12, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁸¹ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, May 23, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁸² Hugh Brown to C.O. Erickson, May 28, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

corresponding with Paramount helped ensure the studio retained some sense of supervision.

Location Survey and Preparations

Working away from the production center of Paris, where Paramount had earlier carried out location work for *Little Boy Lost*, required adjustments in the emerging patterns of foreign location work. Firstly, the relatively under-shot locations in the south of France had to be studied and secured. In March of 1954, some of the film's management and department heads scouted potential shooting sites. A group comprised of Erickson, assistant director Coleman, cinematographer Robert Burks, and art director Joseph "Mac" McMillan Johnson first went to Paris, where they picked up Edouard de Segonzac of the Paramount Paris office, who subsequently helped them with the location survey on the Riviera.⁸³ To guide their location scout, they used the working script, instructions from Hitchcock and a list of settings with descriptions of what would be required in each locale.⁸⁴

As with Paramount's other foreign productions, the studio used its foreign offices to help with logistical matters, which was especially beneficial since the Hollywood unit was going to be operating away from Paris and its support structure. But even outside of the city, Paramount and its Paris office were able to anticipate the procedures for getting permits from the Centre National de la Cinématographie and negotiating with unions

⁸³ Segonzac would also join Erickson and Coleman during their location scout in Morocco for *The Man Who Knew Too Much*.

⁸⁴ Location Notes, March 3, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. "Oral History with C.O. Erickson," 136.

based on their prior experience with *Little Boy Lost*.⁸⁵ Paramount's London office also helped with organizational matters by securing Eastman film stock from the Kodak firm outside of London and settling several foreign labor issues, which was done in coordination with the Paris office.⁸⁶

Despite the useful assistance from the Paris office, Erickson found certain elements of the staff's work underwhelming. Writing to the studio, he complains, "Between de Segonzac's terrible sloppy methods and [accountant Tom] Bennett's one-track accounting mind they've made life miserable for me. My few strands of hair are turning grey. The casting mismanagement alone is enough to make you sick. I'll have to wait till I get home to tell you the details."⁸⁷ But once production got under way in the south of France, the Paris office had a more limited role and the unit operated without a formal organizing office. For a makeshift production headquarters, the unit used the Carlton Hotel in Cannes, where much of the crew was housed and from where correspondence with Paramount was relayed.

Among the demands of working in France was dealing with strong unions and tight labor restrictions. In order to secure shooting permits in France, Paramount had to submit a script in English and French to the CNC. For work permits for Hollywood personnel, the script also had to go to the Ministry of Work and the Union Générale du

⁸⁵ Russell Holman to Luigi Luraschi, January 14, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁸⁶ Cable to Russell Holman, February 5, 1954. Richard Mealand to Russell Holman, March 4, 1954. Richard A. Blaydon to Hugh Brown, May 10, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁸⁷ C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, June 18, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Cinéma. In addition, to access frozen francs, these permits had to be in hand and estimated budgets and shooting schedules had to be submitted to local authorities.⁸⁸

Because of the widescreen technology and to ensure rich production values, Paramount shipped a great deal of equipment to the French location, including sound and grip equipment, cameras, negative film, Technicolor resources, props, wardrobe and makeup.⁸⁹ This shipment was supplemented with lighting and electrical equipment acquired from Mole-Richardson in Paris and La Victorine Studios in Nice.⁹⁰ To shoot the second-unit aerial footage, a helicopter was imported from England.⁹¹

The importation of equipment from Hollywood apparently met resistance in France. According to Erickson, a disgruntled sound technician wanted to rent out audio equipment to the production. But when the unit opted to import its own equipment, the technician filed a complaint with the CNC, which led to a delay to the start of production, as the equipment shipped from Hollywood took longer than usual to be cleared through customs.⁹²

With so much French and U.S. production happening in France at the time, including a great deal of American television production, the unit faced competition for equipment and transportation. As a sign of cooperation between rival productions, the *To*

⁸⁸ C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, February 12, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁸⁹ Equipment list, *To Catch a Thief* (Movement and Shipments 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁹⁰ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, April 23 and 26, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁹¹ *Cahiers du Cinéma* film critic André Bazin, who visited the second unit, suggested that helicopters were scarce in France since they had been used in the springtime battle of Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam. Bazin, "Petit journal intime du cinéma (vu de Tourettes-sur-Loup)," *Cahiers du Cinéma*, August-September 1954, 37.

⁹² C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, May 25, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Catch a Thief unit piggybacked on Fox's *The Racers* (1955) by using the film's generator and some of its electrical equipment.⁹³

Once permits and locations were secured and the foreign personnel and equipment were in place, the production commenced shooting in France at the end of May. After twenty-four shooting days, the Hollywood crew and French supporting actors returned to the Paramount lot for fifty-three days of interiors while a second unit remained in France working for twenty-five more days.⁹⁴ The French unit shot all around the Riviera, including Cannes, Monte Carlo, Nice, St. Jeannet, Cap Ferrat, Tourettes, La Turbie, and along the winding Corniche road.

The production progressed without much incident, except for bad weather, one of the many risks and uncertainties of working on location. Surely an advantage of shooting in Southern California and one reason why a film industry emerged in the area was its dry, sunny and fairly predictable weather. While the south of France shares a similar Mediterranean climate to Southern California, there has always been more precipitation along the Riviera than in Los Angeles. Despite securing weather outlooks for the French Riviera from the National Weather Institute, unanticipated climate difficulties slowed up the production.⁹⁵ As a result some of the scenes planned for location work had to be transferred to Paramount Studios with the use of transparencies.⁹⁶ Shooting these process shots in France was delegated to the film's second unit, directed by Herbert Coleman.

⁹³ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, May 16, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁹⁴ Shooting schedule taken from production cost sheet, January 24, 1957, *To Catch a Thief* (Miscellaneous 1954-1964), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁹⁵ National Weather Institute Report, November 18, 1953, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁹⁶ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, June 6, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Even after the rain passed, however, the dilemma of fluctuating light remained as the sun would shine one minute only to be obscured by clouds the next.⁹⁷

Foreign Personnel

In the paranoid atmosphere created by the anti-Communist HUAC hearings, Paramount's Frank Freeman was concerned about hiring Communist foreign labor on *To Catch a Thief*. The studio chief reached out to New York production head Russell Holman to look into the matter, and Holman subsequently queried de Segonzac in the Paris office.⁹⁸ The Paris representative explained that the French industry was dominated by the Communist-oriented union, the Confédération générale des travailleurs (CGT), which appeared to have amongst its members many of the most skilled workers. However, as de Segonzac pointed out and production manager Michel Rittener confirmed, the technicians in the south of France were just as good and were not part of the CGT. Also, by hiring local workers rather than bringing down crew members from Paris, the production could save on additional transportation and labor costs for location work.⁹⁹ Thanks to the insight of the Paris office, Paramount was well informed about issues that were politically tricky back home. Based on the first-hand knowledge from its French production manager, the film company understood the labor landscape in which they were operating.

To help with hiring and logistical matters, the production relied on two accomplished French production men. Rittener, who had worked on Paramount's *Little Boy Lost*, served as production manager and the French counterpart to "Doc" Erickson.

⁹⁷ "An Oral History with C.O. Erickson," 137.

⁹⁸ Russell Holman to Y. Frank Freeman, February 25, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

⁹⁹ Richard Mealand to Russell Holman, March 4, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Rittener was responsible for hiring the French crew and organizing transportation and equipment. Paul Feyder, who had worked for a number of major French and European directors such as Marcel Carné, Yves Allégret and Max Ophüls, was hired as assistant director and the French counterpart to Herbert Coleman. Feyder provided the Hollywood crew with personal knowledge of the ins and outs of working in France. Erickson recalls that he also looked to a French location manager named Eugène Nase, who assisted in securing shooting permits and negotiating with the local police and other authorities.¹⁰⁰ Through these foreign crew members, crucial production knowledge was passed from the local industry to the Hollywood unit.

Paramount tried its best to limit the number of personnel it brought over from Hollywood in part because French unions dictated that for each Hollywood crew member used in France an additional French worker had to be hired for the same position. As with *Little Boy Lost*, however, there was some room for negotiation.¹⁰¹ Since some positions demanded specialized knowledge, Paramount sent an entire camera unit from Hollywood to operate the VistaVision cameras.¹⁰² In the end, the proportion of French to Hollywood personnel was about even.¹⁰³

Even in its efforts to accommodate French union requirements, the unit from Hollywood discovered that hiring local technicians and actors was not easy. In the spring of 1954, there was so much other production activity that skilled workers and actors were

¹⁰⁰ Interview with C.O. Erickson.

¹⁰¹ Richard Mealand to Russell Holman, May 4, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁰² Frank Caffey to Russell Holman, February 26, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁰³ De Baecque, *Paris by Hollywood*, 184.

in short supply, which contributed to a delay to the start of shooting.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, once the French crew was assembled, Erickson found the workers lacking the kind of planning that he was accustomed to. He asserts:

The French technicians are good hard workers, but they don't understand the first thing about organization. I am really amazed at the way they operate. There is no attempt on the part of our production staff to plan or anticipate anything. We have to tell them again and again and again and check and double check every tiny detail. They just cannot organize anything in advance. Everything is left to chance. I don't have to tell you how exasperating this is.¹⁰⁵

Erickson even took aim at Michel Rittener, expressing, "I had great confidence in Rittener when we started and, I guess, in French terms, he has done a fine job, but his organizational ability is terrible."¹⁰⁶

Despite these complaints, the personal relations between the Hollywood and French crew seemed amicable. In Hitchcock's biography, Donald Spoto recounts how Hitchcock discussed Gallic art and cuisine with the French crew.¹⁰⁷ On the 4th of July, French workers gave the Hollywood crew a bouquet of red, white and blue carnations, prompting Erickson to write to the studio, "It certainly was thoughtful of them and greatly appreciated by us."¹⁰⁸ In honor of their collaboration, Hitchcock and his wife

¹⁰⁴ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, May 23, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁰⁵ C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, June 18, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Spoto, *Dark Side of Genius*, 352.

¹⁰⁸ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, July 6, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

invited Grace Kelly, the Hollywood production heads, and key French crew members to a soufflé dinner in Cannes.¹⁰⁹

In a growing pattern of Hollywood's reliance on foreign workers, several French members went on to work for other Hollywood productions. Towards the end of the French location work, Henry Henigson visited the crew and hired Rittener, Feyder, script supervisor Sylvette Baudrot and other French personnel for Mitchel Leisen's MGM production of *Bedevilled* (1955), which was being set up in Paris.¹¹⁰ These French workers were key to sustaining Hollywood production in France and many of the best jumped from one Hollywood film to another.

La Script Girl: Sylvette Baudrot

Among those French workers who were able to move around Hollywood foreign productions was Sylvette Baudrot, who served as the “script girl” on *To Catch a Thief*. Born and raised in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, Egypt, Baudrot learned French, Arabic, Italian and English—all languages that would serve her well during the growth of international production in the postwar era. She began studying cinema in Egypt and continued these studies after World War II in Paris, where she moved to be with her father. She studied at the French state film school, the Institut des hautes études cinématographiques, focusing on film history and theory. During this time, she supervised the continuity of her colleagues' student films and then decided to pursue a career as a script supervisor in the French film industry. During the course of her training, she met French production managers Christian Ferry, Julien Derode and Paul Feyder,

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Sylvette Baudrot.

¹¹⁰ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, July 6, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

who would go on to serve on many Hollywood productions and help her obtain work. “It was a sort of a network that brought me a tremendous amount of work between the 1950s and the 1970s,” recalls Baudrot.¹¹¹

On *To Catch a Thief*, Baudrot’s job was one of the positions that the production doubled up on. While the first unit filmed, Baudrot worked with Claire Behnke, the script supervisor brought over from Hollywood. Shadowing Behnke, Baudrot studied how she maintained continuity and filled out production reports. When Behnke and much of the Hollywood crew returned to Los Angeles to shoot interiors, Baudrot took over the role of script supervisor for the second-unit work.

Baudrot’s work highlights some of the variations in shooting procedures in Hollywood and Europe. In France, the script girl was responsible for keeping notes on continuity and filling out camera reports, editing reports, production reports and the daily log. In addition, the position was more attentive to the needs of the director. In Hollywood, the script girl was principally in charge of maintaining continuity and typing up various reports. Baudrot maintains, “When you work ‘à la française,’ you do everything and follow the director everywhere; it’s almost a sacred rule: you have to keep your eyes and ears open all the time, hang on his every word, and be up to the minute on absolutely everything...a French script girl is linked to an author, but an American script girl is linked to the nuts and bolts of the shoot.”¹¹² While Baudrot did not have to carry out all the duties of the French script girl during her work on Hollywood films, she nevertheless kept her own camera and editing reports in order to record the length of each take. At times, the camera assistant would approach her to find out if there was enough

¹¹¹ Quoted in De Baecque, *Paris by Hollywood*, 184.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 185.

film on a roll to do another take since she had been noting the amount of exposed footage.¹¹³ In addition, since the French numbered their takes differently from Hollywood, she used both methods, a strategy that helped her cope with the multinational make-up of the crew.¹¹⁴

Baudrot's diary of the *To Catch a Thief* shoot was published in a fall 1954 issue of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, in which she shared her impressions of the droll Hitchcock.¹¹⁵ By all accounts, the Hollywood crew liked Baudrot and valued her meticulous work. Once back in Hollywood, Hitchcock shared inside jokes with Baudrot in his cabled shooting instructions to the second unit. Erickson also praised her work to Paramount and recommended that she be considered for the Egyptian location unit on *The Ten Commandments* (1956) since she spoke Arabic, though in the end she was never contracted for the film.¹¹⁶ When Paramount was planning to send Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much* to Morocco, which required hiring French personnel, the director requested Baudrot.¹¹⁷ However, the production apparently did not need a French script supervisor and Baudrot was never hired. But as one of the few English-speaking script girls in France, Sylvette Baudrot was guaranteed steady employment on Hollywood productions. After working on *To Catch a Thief*, she went on to assist many Hollywood directors, including Richard Thorpe, Vincente Minnelli, Stanley Donen, Gene Kelly, George Stevens and Jean Negulesco on locations throughout Europe.

¹¹³ Interview with Sylvette Baudrot.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Both methods are reflected in the final shooting script, May 28, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Shooting Script), Fonds Sylvette Baudrot-Guilbaud, BiFi.

¹¹⁵ Sylvette Baudrot, "Hitch, au jour le jour," *Cahiers du Cinéma*, October 1954, 14-17.

¹¹⁶ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, June 22, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹¹⁷ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, April 12, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Technical Challenges

Two demanding technical tasks on the film were working in Paramount's newly minted widescreen format, VistaVision, and coordinating the location work in France with the studio interiors in Hollywood. The correspondence between Paramount and the unit in France reveals the ways that a studio tried to maintain some control over a distant location shoot and shape its films' visual style even with a director as authoritative as Hitchcock. To ensure some management on *To Catch a Thief*, the dailies were processed at Technicolor in London and then shipped back to Hollywood, where Paramount personnel viewed the footage.¹¹⁸

Because the VistaVision process was relatively new, having first been used in late 1953 on Paramount's production of *White Christmas*, the studio was anxious about how the system was employed both on sets and in theatres, where widescreen projection had not been completely standardized. The studio cabled the French unit that they needed to compose shots somewhat loosely for the 1:1.85 aspect ratio, but protecting themselves for a 1:1.66 ratio.¹¹⁹ At the same time, Paramount wanted to ensure that the crew was filming with enough lighting to render shots in sharp focus, as VistaVision's benefit was its ability to produce great definition in the final print.¹²⁰ Cinematographer Robert Burks expressed his own concern that maintaining the backgrounds in sharp focus would be difficult because of Hitchcock's desire to capture "dramatic" close-ups.¹²¹ In later years,

¹¹⁸ Interview with C.O. Erickson.

¹¹⁹ Frank Caffey to C.O. Erickson, June 1, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹²⁰ Frank Caffey to C.O. Erickson, May 29, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. Salt, *Film Style and Technology*, 248.

¹²¹ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, June 1, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Hitchcock articulated his thinking on how to shoot close-ups and maintained, “My argument has always been: Who wants to see around the close-up? Why should it be sharp behind the close-up? But there was always this aim, and this seemed to me to create an unreal effect—this yearning for the modeled figure, and this separation of the image from background.”¹²²

When the dailies were seen at Paramount, studio production manager Frank Caffey cabled Erickson to express that the soft focus in the background of the close-up shots was “disturbing.” He also tried to advocate for the better quality of medium waist-high framing.¹²³ Throughout the production, Caffey persisted to point out the softness of some of the shots’ focus.¹²⁴ Erickson conveyed back to Paramount Hitchcock’s concern over the studio’s fixation on the lack of focus in the close-ups. Erickson writes, “[Hitchcock] finds it very hard to believe that you can put across certain story points without actual close-ups.”¹²⁵ Even though Hitchcock was resolute in his use of close-ups, additional wider shots and background plates were captured for protection.¹²⁶ And while Erickson has suggested that Hitchcock did not heed the studio’s advice, in the end, wider framing dominates the film, pointing to how even for a master like Hitchcock, the studio could influence and ultimately determine precise matters of style.¹²⁷

¹²² “Hitchcock Talks about Lights, Camera, Action,” in *Hitchcock on Hitchcock*, 305.

¹²³ Frank Caffey to C.O. Erickson, June 11, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹²⁴ Various cables from Frank Caffey, June 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹²⁵ C.O. Erickson to Hugh Brown, June 18, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹²⁶ C.O. Erickson to Frank Caffey, June 13, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library. This is a point made by Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 97.

¹²⁷ Interview with C.O. Erickson.

Whatever could not be accomplished in France was added to the shooting schedule back at Paramount. While not all films moved from foreign exteriors to domestic interiors (e.g. Paramount's *Funny Face* began shooting in Hollywood, moved to France, then returned to Hollywood for additional filming), this order characterized *To Catch a Thief*.¹²⁸ Working in this manner was a protective measure since any scenes not captured abroad in authentic locations could be recreated in a studio via sets and process shots. This filming order also meant that the Hollywood studio's production design would take its cue from the real-world spaces captured on location. In preparation for the unit's return to Hollywood, art director "Mac" Johnson wrote to Paramount's head art director with instructions and schematic drawings for recreating the interiors of the protagonist's villa at the studio back home.¹²⁹

Location and studio filming in fact overlapped as the second unit continued to operate in France while the first unit returned to Hollywood to begin interiors. The second unit picked up plate shots and helicopter footage, which Hitchcock watched back in Hollywood. For one complicated car chase sequence, in which Grace Kelly's character tears through the Corniche road in a convertible, almost hitting an oncoming bus and a pedestrian, Hitchcock was unhappy with the timing of the action in the plate shots, so he cabled the French crew to re-shoot parts of the scene.¹³⁰

Another added complication of shooting across two continents was the importation of foreign actors who had already worked on the film abroad. The production

¹²⁸ C.O Erickson remembers that some minimal studio work was done at La Victorine Studios in Nice. Interview with C.O. Erickson.

¹²⁹ Joseph McMillan Johnson to Hal Pereira, June 8, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

¹³⁰ Interview with Sylvette Baudrot. Baudrot, "Hitch, au jour le jour," 17. Various cables, July 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Production Location 1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

brought back supporting actors Brigitte Auber, Charles Vanel, René Blancard, Jean Hebey, Dominique Davray, Jean Martinelli and Georgette Anys, plus a dialogue coach to help them with their English language. In order to bring these foreign players to Hollywood, Paramount had to file petitions with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Los Angeles and work within the strictures of the McCarran Act, a byproduct of the McCarthy era that restricted the entrance of foreigners suspected of Communist affiliations.¹³¹ In spite of the challenges of working this way, Paramount, Hitchcock and many of the same key crew members would repeat this effort on *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, which began its exterior work in Marrakesh and London before returning to Hollywood for interiors.

Conclusion

To Catch a Thief stands as a significant demonstration of the problems of shooting overseas and the various solutions employed. The production represented a major transition from the studio-bound filmmaking of *Rear Window*, and it required a combination of Hitchcock's artistry, assistant director Coleman's foreign experience, the organizational skills of UPM Erickson, and the support of foreign workers to pull off the feat of shooting in a locale that was still relatively untapped by Hollywood. The production also served as an important contribution to postwar Franco-American cultural relations, which built stronger connections between the U.S. and French film industries, resulting in, what Vanessa Schwartz has argued, was a more cosmopolitan movie

¹³¹ For more on the procedures of immigration petitions and the McCarran Act, see correspondence in *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Cast) and (Herbie Coleman), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

culture.¹³² In addition, the film helped foster French film culture's interest in Hollywood cinema and the figure of Alfred Hitchcock, exemplified by *Cahiers du Cinéma's* coverage of the production. Also, the publication's critics and future film directors François Truffaut and Claude Chabrol tracked down Hitchcock during a return visit to France for the dubbing of *To Catch a Thief* at St. Maurice Studios outside of Paris in the winter of 1955, initiating a series of influential publications on Hitchcock's work.¹³³

CASE STUDY THREE: *Moby Dick* (1956)

"*Moby Dick* was the most difficult picture I ever made. I lost so many battles during it that I even began to suspect that my assistant director was plotting against me. Then I realized that it was only God."¹³⁴

-John Huston

In his memoir, cinematographer Oswald Morris recounts an anecdote about the production of *Moby Dick*, in which one of the film's U.S. financiers, producer Harold Mirisch, tried to visit the film's set aboard the ship the *Pequod*. Originally a grain trader called the *Rylands*, the ship made its screen debut in Disney's *Treasure Island* as the *Hispaniola* before being anchored in Scarborough, England as a tourist attraction. The ship was renovated to resemble Melville's triple-mast schooner and to function as a

¹³² Schwartz, *It's So French!*.

¹³³ François Truffaut, *Hitchcock* (New York: Touchstone, 1983), 13-14.

¹³⁴ Huston, *Open Book*, 251.

mobile studio, replete with make-up and dressing rooms and space to accommodate wardrobe and equipment below deck.¹³⁵

Mirisch, more accustomed to Hollywood offices and soundstages than the high seas, grew seasick as his small boat navigated the rough waters to reach the *Pequod*, whose crew deliberately steered the ship to stay out of reach of the film's backer, forcing him to return to shore.¹³⁶ While Mirisch was likely the hapless victim of one of producer-director John Huston's notorious pranks, the situation hints at the development of film production in the 1950s. Here was an instance when a far-flung location prevented the film's main financier from reaching the production unit to check-up on progress, effectively leaving Huston and his crew to operate with a great deal of freedom...for better and for worse.

Unlike *Roman Holiday* and *To Catch a Thief*, both studio productions from Paramount, *Moby Dick* was an independent production backed by a major studio. The film was co-produced by the U.S. independent company Moulin Productions and Britain's ABPC and co-financed and distributed by Warner Bros, a studio that had previously adapted Meville's classic with *The Sea Beast* (1926), *Moby Dick* (1930) and its German-language version, *Dämon des Meeres* (1931). Far more international in scope, Huston's film was shot in Ireland, Wales, Portugal, Spain and in British studios. Working across multiple locations and out at sea in an effort to achieve realism resulted in

¹³⁵ Briton C. Busch, "Fiction, Film, and Fact: John Huston's Trying-Out of *Moby Dick*," *The American Neptune* 61 no. 4 (2001): 384-385. Jack Martin, "Some Reflections on Filming at Sea in Sailing Ships," March 10, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Research), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. Production notes, *Moby Dick* (Micro Jacket), BFI Library.

¹³⁶ Morris, *Huston, We Have a Problem*, 88.

shooting snags that swelled the negative cost of the film to over four million dollars.¹³⁷ No doubt, “runaway” production led to runaway costs, reinforcing a pitfall of working abroad, in which budgets and shooting schedules ballooned as a result of the unpredictability of location shooting and the lack of support from an established filmmaking infrastructure. The pattern would be repeated on another seafaring picture *Mutiny on the Bounty* and more famously on *Cleopatra*.

However, like the productions of *Romany Holiday* and *To Catch a Thief*, *Moby Dick*’s shoot was an instance in which a flexible Hollywood mode of production was maintained thanks not only to a similarity between the British and Hollywood divisions of labor but also to the presence of director Huston, Hollywood associate producer Lee Katz, and British technicians such as Oswald Morris, who had previously worked with Huston. The production as well reveals the hurdles of mounting a complicated shoot on sea locations and exposing cast and crew to unpredictable and at times daunting natural elements.

With this case study, I look closer at the specific kinds of predicaments a special-effects-heavy production such as *Moby Dick* faced as it carried out work in difficult filming locations and across multiple regions, in both studios and in the real world. This case study also opens up the opportunity to examine John Huston, who, more than any other Hollywood director in the postwar era, specialized in foreign location filming. His international career sheds light on some of the benefits and risks of working overseas.

¹³⁷ “‘Moby Dick’ Cruises To \$4,100,000 Negative Cost Over 18-Month Span,” *Daily Variety*, November 3, 1955, 3.

Huston and Taxes

Huston's foreign filmmaking experience cannot be disassociated from personal and economic motivations. He spent the 1950s abroad, living out an itinerant existence and dividing his time between his home in Ireland and filmmaking ventures in Africa, East Asia, the Caribbean, Europe and Mexico. Working away from the studio's supervision suited not only Huston's swashbuckling ways but also his sometimes undisciplined, dilatory shooting methods. While many biographers have focused on the director's adventurous character to explain his wanderlust, we should take into account the financial benefits that Huston reaped by living and working in foreign countries.¹³⁸

In part due to Huston's luxurious lifestyle, profligate spending and his support of various ex-wives and children, the director sought an advantageous tax situation, which he found overseas. From 1951 through 1952, covering the period of the making of *The African Queen* and *Moulin Rouge*, Huston gave up his residence in the United States and lived and worked abroad partly to take advantage of the eighteen-month tax loophole. However, as Eric Hoyt has demonstrated, Congress in 1953 set limits on the amount of tax-free income a worker could earn while overseas.¹³⁹ In anticipation of this change, Huston's business manager advised him to earn as much money as possible during the tax-free period and Huston was one of the few Hollywood filmmakers to benefit fully from the entire tax exemption.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ One recent biography that emphasizes Huston's Hemingway-like character is Jeffrey Meyers, *John Huston: Courage and Art* (New York: Crown Archetype, 2010).

¹³⁹ Hoyt, "Hollywood and the Income Tax," 16.

¹⁴⁰ Morgan Maree to John Huston, February 27, 1952, *Moby Dick* (Morgan Maree 1952), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. "Only Huston and Spiegel, of All Filmsters Who Tried, Get 18-Mo. Tax-Free Ride," *Daily Variety*, July 24, 1953, 1, 12.

The director also looked into the possibility of becoming an official resident of Ireland, which would further improve his tax standing beyond the new limits of the eighteen-month tax clause. Initially in 1952, Huston leased a house in Kilcock, County Kildare, and a year later he purchased a manor house called St. Clerans near Galway.¹⁴¹ By November of 1953, the trades were calling Huston an Irish resident.¹⁴² Although Huston did not become an Irish citizen until 1964, the director lived in St. Clerans in between location shooting sprees until 1972.

As Hoyt has shown, Huston's foreign residence left him in an uneasy professional position, in which he had to steer clear of film projects with any "modern day American setting" to avoid making plain his reasons for staying abroad. Huston openly expresses this fact to his agent Paul Kohner when he writes:

Whenever I am interviewed, one of the question [sic] is why have I chosen to make pictures away from the United States. And I am able to answer that it is simply because my recent pictures—yes, including *Moby Dick*—were more easily made away from home. Either foreign scenes were their background or, as in the case of *Moby*, the little Irish town, which served as the location for the only dry land sequence, is more like old New Bedford than anything in New England today. If, however, I were asked that question having made a picture about New York kids in Mexico or Canada, I would have to confess that it was only to avoid paying taxes, as there isn't a single other reason that would hold water.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Meyers, *John Huston*, 164.

¹⁴² "Ray Bradbury Helping Huston Script 'Moby'," *Daily Variety*, November 25, 1953, 6.

¹⁴³ Quoted in Hoyt, "Hollywood and the Income Tax," 16. Original correspondence comes from John Huston to Paul Kohner, October 25, 1955, Correspondence (Paul Kohner 1954-1960), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

For Huston, the use of an Irish town as a backdrop for *Moby Dick*'s setting was a legitimate creative decision, since it better evoked the times of Melville than anything in the U.S. Nevertheless, this explanation served as believable cover for his tax benefits.

Time and again, the justification put forth for not shooting the film in the original setting or other similar U.S. port towns, such as Nantucket, was that these places were too modern. Press releases put out by Warner Bros. and the unit publicist repeated Huston's reasoning like a refrain: "Too many neon signs, too highly industrialized."¹⁴⁴ Certainly, some economic considerations were in play, such as the fact that converting a foreign seaport town like Youghal in southern Ireland into New Bedford was cheaper than doing it in the States.¹⁴⁵ But much of the argument behind the all-too-modern U.S. small town deflected attention away from Huston's need to maintain his foreign residence in order to avoid paying U.S. taxes, a motive that would have upset Hollywood unions and the public's perception of the director. In actuality, the use of Youghal did not function as an easy stand-in for Melville's New England and required much reworking. The production's art department transformed the town by outfitting building façades with mid-19th century false fronts and rebuilding some of the original New Bedford settings from the days of Melville. Moreover, to allow for safe passage of the *Pequod* rigger, the town's harbor bottom was dredged.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Ernest Anderson, "Bulletin No. 1 from Youghal, Country Cork, Eire," n.d. Transcript for "Radie Harris At Home Abroad—With Huston On 'Moby Dick' Location," n.d., *Moby Dick* (Publicity), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. Various Warner Bros. press releases, *Moby Dick* (Carbon Press), Warner Archive.

¹⁴⁵ Harold J. Mirisch to John Huston, December 4, 1953, *Moby Dick* (Harold Mirisch), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁴⁶ "They're Taking years off Youghal!" *Times Pictorial* July 3, 1954, 5. Charles Hamblett, "On Launching 'Moby Dick' In Eire," *New York Times*, August 15, 1954, X5. Jeanie Sims to "The Curator, The Seamen's Bethel in New Beford," April 29, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Ralph Brinton), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

The possibility of shooting *Moby Dick* in the U.S. had always existed, but like Huston, Gregory Peck, who played Captain Ahab, also desired to take advantage of the eighteen-month tax clause, which added to the impetus to shoot the film overseas. Peck began negotiations to work with Huston in the spring of 1952 as he prepared to move to Rome to work on *Roman Holiday*. Hoping to exploit the tax loophole, he set up a two-picture deal with Huston to do one film overseas in 1953 and another in 1954.¹⁴⁷ But the actor did not begin working with Huston until *Moby Dick* went into production in the summer of 1954. Beforehand, Peck instead performed in Fox's *Night People* in Germany, Rank's *Man with a Million* (1954) in London, and Rank's *The Purple Plain* (1955) in Ceylon and London.

For other tax reasons, Huston had to limit his time in Great Britain in 1955 since a law required that anyone who spent three or more months for four consecutive years in Britain would be considered a resident of the country, which would have led to taxation on Huston's worldwide income for the time he spent there.¹⁴⁸ So to avoid returning to Britain for postproduction, the director along with editor Russ Lloyd edited the film in Ireland in Huston's Kildare mansion. One newspaper reported that Huston had built the first Irish film studio to support the film's postproduction. Obscuring the economic reason why the film was cut in Ireland, the article describes how working away from

¹⁴⁷ Paul Kohner to John Huston, May 21, 1952. Gregory Peck and John Huston contract, September 2, 1952, *Moby Dick* (Gregory Peck), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. Their second film, which was going to be another Melville adaptation *Typee*, never materialized.

¹⁴⁸ Unsigned (presumably Lorraine Sherwood) to Lee Katz, December 21, 1954. Lee Katz to John Huston, July 5, 1955, *Moby Dick* (Lee Katz), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

Elstree Studios allowed “for greater concentration and to be free from noise and bustle.”¹⁴⁹

Huston and the Red Scare

Already in a precarious position with Hollywood unions because of his tax situation, Huston intensified this standing with the more conservative wings of Hollywood labor groups because of his outspoken political views. The director’s first major move into the realm of U.S. politics occurred in 1947 when he, along with screenwriter Philip Dunne and William Wyler, formed the Committee for the First Amendment (CFA), which spoke out against HUAC’s Communist witch-hunt trails and in favor of civil liberties. In the fall of 1947, a delegation of the CFA traveled to Washington D.C. on a highly publicized trip in support of the “unfriendly” witnesses from Hollywood called before HUAC.¹⁵⁰ In some segments of the press, specifically the Hearst papers, Huston’s name became associated with the Communist party, although HUAC never subpoenaed him. Additionally, the CFA was pegged as a front for Hollywood Communists, even though it eventually dissolved after its estrangement from blacklisted filmmakers and writers. Rumors of Huston’s association with Communism were fueled by the 1949 release of *We Were Strangers*, a film about a group of Cuban revolutionaries who try to assassinate the country’s dictator. Upon the film’s opening, the *Hollywood Reporter* charged, “It is the heaviest dish of Red theory ever served to an audience outside the Soviet.” Adding to the attack, the reviewer called it “a shameful handbook of Marxian dialectic.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ “Huston builds Irish studio for The End,” *Daily Mail*, June 2, 1955, *Moby Dick* (Clippings 1952-55), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁵⁰ Ceplair and England, *The Inquisition in Hollywood*, 275-277.

¹⁵¹ “We Were Strangers” review, *Hollywood Reporter*, April 22, 1949, 3-4.

Huston's move overseas for the *African Queen* created some temporary distance from the political turmoil back in Hollywood. In his memoir, Huston recalls his relocation to Europe and insists, "I felt no great desire to return to the United States. It had—temporarily at least—stopped being my country, and I was just as happy to stay clear of it. The anti-Communist hysteria certainly played a role in my move to Ireland shortly afterward."¹⁵² While the director's move was likely more of a financial decision—as I suggested above—than one of political contempt or refuge, Huston would nevertheless find himself drawn back into the anti-Communist fervor in the U.S.

By 1952, the Hollywood AFL Film Council escalated its campaign against "runaway" production by targeting overseas productions that used any "unfriendly" witnesses from the HUAC hearings or Communist foreign unions.¹⁵³ The U.S. release of *Moulin Rouge* coincided with this period of intensified red-baiting. Both John Huston and the film's star, the politically liberal Jose Ferrer, became targets of anti-Communist protests by members of the conservative political organization the American Legion, which picketed the movie's premiere.¹⁵⁴ The Legion also attempted to leverage its boycott of the film in exchange for the denouncement of Communism by the director and actor.¹⁵⁵ Ferrer's political leanings were especially at issue and many newspapers refused to write about the actor, which forced *Moulin Rouge*'s publicity efforts to de-emphasize

¹⁵² Huston, *Open Book*, 137.

¹⁵³ "AFL Nixes 'Unfriendly' Pix Project," *Daily Variety*, August 26, 1952, 3. "UA Undetermined On Handling 'Encounter'," *Daily Variety*, August 27, 1952, 6.

¹⁵⁴ "'Wildcat' Legionnaires Picket 'Rouge' Preem," *Daily Variety*, December 23, 1952, 1, 8. Huston, *Open Book*, 135-136. The Legion had a practice of picketing cinemas and boycotting films. See Lev, *The Fifties*, 70-71.

¹⁵⁵ "Legion May Lift 'Moulin Rouge' Ban Following Talks With Huston, Ferrer," *Daily Variety*, December 30, 1952, 1, 6.

Ferrer's participation and performance and play up "the gaiety of Paris, the can-can dancers, the *Moulin Rouge* sex angles."¹⁵⁶

Huston's difficulties with Hollywood unions lasted into the production of *Beat the Devil* in Italy. Huston's name, along with William Wyler's, landed on a list of Hollywood talent working overseas to take advantage of the eighteen-month tax clause, which was publicized by IATSE West Coast representative and AFL president Roy Brewer.¹⁵⁷ At the same time, further anti-"runaway" production campaigns and anti-Communist efforts took place as the American Legion joined forces with the AFL to promote legislation that would block the import of films from heavily Communist countries and films made with blacklisted Hollywood talent and Communist sympathizers.¹⁵⁸ Huston and his *Beat the Devil* unit found themselves in the tricky situation of working in Italy, where the most skilled technicians were associated with Communist unions.

When Hollywood labor caught wind of Huston's work in Italy, the AFL's European representative Irving Brown lobbied Huston to avoid employing Communist crew members.¹⁵⁹ In January 1953, as Huston was preparing *Beat the Devil* in Rome, the director met with Brown, whose Brussels office was attempting to stem the tide of Communist unions in Europe.¹⁶⁰ Although what was discussed at the meeting remains

¹⁵⁶ Paul Kohner to John Huston, November 26, 1952, *Moulin Rouge* (Correspondence), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁵⁷ "Brewer Lists 21 Names As Seeking Tax-Exempt Assignments Overseas," *Daily Variety*, January 27, 1953, 1, 11.

¹⁵⁸ "AFL Stiffens Attitude On Film Prod'n Abroad," *Daily Variety*, January 21, 1953, 1, 14. "Legion Fights 'Red' Pix Imports," *Daily Variety*, January 22, 1953, 1, 14.

¹⁵⁹ For his anti-Communist labor campaigns in Europe, Brown was denounced as a CIA agent by the Communist press. Glenn Fowler, "Irving Brown, 77, U.S. Specialist On International Labor Movement," *New York Times*, February 11, 1989, 33.

¹⁶⁰ Jeanie Sims to Ron Allday, February 1, 1953, Correspondence (Morgan Maree 1953), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. An expense report shows that politician and ex-Communist turncoat Ignacio Silone was also present at the meeting.

unclear, they were likely devising a strategy for avoiding hiring Communists, a notion supported by the film's star Humphrey Bogart, who later explained that Brown had helped the production secure non-Communist workers.¹⁶¹ *Daily Variety* reported that the employment of non-Communists forced many of the "red" union members to switch to the "free" unions.¹⁶² Around the same time, Huston was engaged in a protracted negotiation with his agent Paul Kohner, Roy Brewer and actor and prominent anti-Communist Ward Bond to craft a letter of recantation to reject Communist ideology and to dissociate himself from Communist front groups and the Hollywood Ten, who refused to testify before HUAC. The letter wound up in Huston's FBI file.¹⁶³

Interestingly, the AFL may have used *Moby Dick* as a bargaining chip with Huston. Correspondence suggests that the plans for moving forward on *Moby Dick* had to be put on hold until controversies surrounding "runaway" productions were settled.¹⁶⁴ Possibly, Huston's desire to make abroad *Moby Dick*, a film with an American setting, raised eyebrows amongst Hollywood unions, which were intensifying their anti-"runaway" production crusade. Following Huston's demonstration that he would avoid using Italian Communist unions on *Beat the Devil*, Huston's agent informed the director, "Brewer will release you from your promise and that they guarantee that you can go ahead with MOBY DICK with Brewer's and the unions' complete blessings."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Humphrey Bogart as told to Joe Hyams, "Movie Making Beats the Devil," *Cue*, November 28, 1953, 14-15.

¹⁶² "John Huston Reports Red Film Unions Losing Their Grip In Europe," *Daily Variety*, August 19, 1953, 1, 10.

¹⁶³ Paul Kohner to John Huston, January 8, 1953, Correspondence (Paul Kohner 1942-1953), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. Meyers, *John Huston*, 132-133.

¹⁶⁴ Paul Kohner to John Huston, January 29, 1953, Correspondence (Paul Kohner 1942-1953), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁶⁵ Paul Kohner to John Huston, March 26, 1953, Correspondence (Paul Kohner 1942-1953), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

As a diplomatic gesture Huston spoke at one of the AFL's meetings when he returned briefly to Hollywood after shooting *Beat the Devil*. *Daily Variety*'s coverage of the event suggests that the bond between the AFL and Huston was sealed, as the director proclaimed that the Communists were losing control of European film unions. Huston also declared that Brown "has done as much if not more than any politician in Europe to fight communism." For his part, Roy Brewer praised Huston for his contribution to weakening Communism's grip on Italian unions by not hiring Communists on *Beat the Devil*.¹⁶⁶

Once a target of anti-Communist attention, Huston ultimately cooperated with the AFL, an organization known for its red-baiting tactics, to win a diplomatic victory that probably helped garner the labor group's approval of *Moby Dick*, a film that fit its very definition of a "runaway" production. While these negotiations undermine the director's outspoken political progressivism, they also reflect the strength of the anti-Communist fervor sweeping Hollywood, which forced even Huston into recantation. In the end, although Huston received the AFL's blessing to make *Moby Dick*, he still had to maintain that it is was impossible to shoot in the U.S. in order to obscure his tax situation.

Production Schedule

The shooting phase of *Moby Dick* commenced in the spring of 1954 with second-unit work around the Portuguese archipelago of Madeira, where hunters who still harpooned their kill were filmed during the seasonal whale migration. In July, first-unit filming began in Youghal for a four-week shoot. There was a one-day excursion to Powerscourt Estate in Wicklow for location work to capture the film's prologue.

¹⁶⁶ "John Huston Reports Red Film Unions Losing Their Grip," 1.

“There’s nothing that compares with the fury of a real storm at sea,” asserts Huston in an appeal for the need of authentic sea locations.¹⁶⁷ So in August, ocean sequences took place off the coast of Fishguard, Wales. However, one of the drawbacks of aiming for realism, especially on the high seas, was exposure to the unpredictable elements of nature. While shooting the fishing scenes, the crew encountered troubled waters and inclement weather. One newspaper reported that the crew faced “70 consecutive days of rainfall.”¹⁶⁸ Huston would later say, “We encountered the worst weather in maritime history for those waters.”¹⁶⁹ In addition, actors Richard Basehart fractured his foot and Leo Genn injured his back during stunt work.¹⁷⁰ The ship also dismasted several times and the film’s mechanical whales, which cost from \$25,000 to \$30,000, were lost at sea.¹⁷¹ Eventually, due to the accumulation of bad weather, sickness, injury and vanished whales, the film fell behind schedule and over-budget. As a result, Moulin Productions did not have the money to carry on paying Gregory Peck beyond the period that his contract dictated.¹⁷²

In the fall, the production moved into ABPC’s Elstree Studios for the interiors and tank work with models of the *Pequod* and the whale. But in order to finish sea footage, additional filming was done in the warmer waters around the Canary Island of Las

¹⁶⁷ Quoted in Arthur Knight, “The Director,” *Saturday Review*, June 9, 1956, 30.

¹⁶⁸ Bennett Cerf, “Whale Of A Tale,” *New York Herald Tribune*, November 13, 1955, sec. 7, 5.

¹⁶⁹ Barbara Thomas, “John Huston, Grand Old Man of American Film,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, May 24, 1978, reprinted in Long, *John Huston Interviews*, 88.

¹⁷⁰ “‘Moby Dick’ Berserk; Basehart, Genn Hurt,” *Daily Variety*, September 10, 1954, 2.

¹⁷¹ Huston, *Open Book*, 254-255.

¹⁷² Unsigned (presumably John Huston) to Gregory Peck, September 13, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Gregory Peck), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

Palmas in December 1954. But even here, more troubles ensued when the latex and steel whales were again lost at sea.¹⁷³

Preparatory Organization and Location Surveys

Early preparation for the production took place via correspondence between Huston and Harold Mirisch of Moulin Productions. Drawing on his own travel experience, the director laid out plans for shooting studio interiors, whaling footage, miniature work and exteriors aboard the ship and on location. Huston wanted to turn over the supervision of these different phases to a production manager who could execute the preparations and organize an effective division of labor. Huston declares, “We most certainly need a production man to assemble all the facts relating to these divisions immediately, and go to work on the problems each one involves. It would undoubtedly call for putting certain individuals at work on each department.”¹⁷⁴

To fulfill these duties, Mirisch hired Lee Katz to serve as the liaison amongst Huston, ABPC and Moulin Productions.¹⁷⁵ Katz, who had previously been a production manager on Huston’s *Maltese Falcon* (1941) and *The Red Badge of Courage* (1951), was able to organize the film according to a Hollywood mode of production while also looking to local workers, such as Huston’s trusted cinematographer Oswald Morris, for recommendations on hiring British personnel. While he fulfilled the duties of a production manager, Katz was eventually credited as associate producer. Katz, who did

¹⁷³ Charles Hamblett, “We Solve the ‘Moby’ Mystery,” *Picture Post*, April 21, 1956, 38-41. Hamblett, a dialogue writer along for part of the production, authored a number of press accounts. Warner Bros. press releases, *Moby Dick* (Carbon Press), Warner Archive.

¹⁷⁴ John Huston to Harold J. Mirisch, November 20, 1953, *Moby Dick* (Harold Mirisch), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁷⁵ Harold J. Mirisch to John Huston, December 24, 1953, *Moby Dick* (Harold Mirisch), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

most of his work out of ABPC Studios, was balanced by Irish production manager Cecil Ford, a theater stage manager, who served the location units.¹⁷⁶

To survey the various locales, “location reconnaissance” teams were sent into the field. In March 1954, British cameraman Freddie Francis, British production manager Roy Parkinson and cetologist Robert Clarke traveled to Madeira. The aim was to not only scout possible shooting locations and the feasibility of filming whales but to also cast extras, hire local labor, secure equipment, identify the means of communication and look into the availability of boats.¹⁷⁷ Additional location surveys were done in Lisbon and the island of Fayal in the Azores.¹⁷⁸

Another location scouting trip was carried out by assistant director Jack Martin, who visited numerous harbors in Ireland and Wales, including the future shooting locales of Youghal and Fishguard. The possibility of filming on a ship at sea prompted an investigation into issues specific to ocean locations, so Martin researched seasonal winds, filming sites protected from the sea winds, the depth of the water, the direction of the sun in relation to the sea and land horizons, and the ability to film at sea without unwanted water traffic and land in the background.¹⁷⁹ Then, in need of warmer waters after the setbacks at Fishguard, a location survey was conducted in Las Palmas, which produced information on the sea temperature, weather, transportation options, shipping,

¹⁷⁶ Ernest Anderson, “Bulletin No. 1 from Youghal, Country Cork, Eire,” n.d., *Moby Dick* (Publicity), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁷⁷ Location reconnaissance meeting notes, March 18, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Locations), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁷⁸ Report from Roy Parkinson to Lee Katz, April 1, 1954. Report from Bob Sterne to Lee Katz, April 29, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Locations), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁷⁹ Inter-departmental memo from Ralph Brinton, March 18, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Ralph Brinton). Jack Martin, “Report On Irish Sea Locations,” n.d., *Moby Dick* (Locations). Jack Martin, “Some Reflections on Filming at Sea in Sailing Ships,” March 10, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Research), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

accommodations, local labor, cinemas for projecting rushes, and local construction companies that could manufacture a whale.¹⁸⁰

These surveys were valuable for not only discovering landscapes that would be pictorially interesting but also identifying an infrastructure to support the production. The scouting trips were essential to pulling off the feat of remote location work without the traditional support mechanisms of studios and the production centers of London, Rome and Paris.

Location Production Offices and ABPC Studios

Once the locations were chosen, the production managers were responsible for setting-up temporary offices in order to centralize organization and communication, effectively replicating the support system of studios and filmmaking centers. In Youghal, the town hall housed the make-up, hairdressing and wardrobe departments while shooting equipment and materials were stored in locked sheds along the town's docks. A secondary office was run out of the Adelphi Hotel, where private phone lines were installed to facilitate communication. Additional support services were put in place around Youghal. Dailies were shown in the Regal Cinema while the town's Catholic clubhouse was converted into a commissary to serve the more than 300 actors and crew members.

In Fishguard, the unused Bay Hotel was re-opened, serving as the production office with space for the make-up and hairdressing departments, a camera workshop, a dark room and accommodation for above-the-line personnel and a large portion of the

¹⁸⁰ Robert Stone, "Report On Las Palmas—Canary Islands," November 8, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Locations), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

below-the-line unit. Mobile stations were erected along the town's quay for storage and equipment maintenance. Radio communication connected the hotel, the *Pequod* and a tugboat named the *King's Cross*, which helped steer the film's ship through the waters.¹⁸¹ The flexibility of the film's mode of production was predicated on reshaping this local infrastructure.

However, the locations could not fully support heavy special-effects work, so additional filming was done at ABPC Studios, where replicas of the *Pequod* and the white whale were built and water tanks were constructed. To shoot the storm scenes, the *Pequod's* stern was erected on one soundstage and the foredeck on another. To simulate waves, hydraulic chutes attached to retrofitted truck beds unleashed a rush of water onto the set. For wind, propeller engines from a World War II plane produced gusts over the water tank, but the noise proved so loud that they were abandoned for powerful electric fans.¹⁸² Both these techniques and the water tanks that were built for the production were lasting contributions to the infrastructure of ABPC, which would benefit both British productions and future Hollywood films such as Fox's *Sink the Bismarck*, which reused the tanks in 1959.

For a Hollywood film to be made overseas, a production had to rely on the facilities and workers of foreign industries while also having the adaptability to move into unexploited locations and rework them to accommodate the great demands of big-budget filmmaking. At times, this meant choosing locales that could replicate the story's

¹⁸¹ Cecil Ford to John Huston, June 19, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Locations). Cecil Ford, production plan, July 2, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Production 1954-1955). Ernest Anderson, "Bulletin No. 1 from Youghal, Country Cork, Eire," n.d., *Moby Dick* (Publicity), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library. "Filming 'Moby Dick'," *The Cine-Technician*, November 1954, 203.

¹⁸² Morris, *Huston, We Have a Problem*, 85-87. "Filming 'Moby Dick'," 203.

settings and then reshaping them to fulfill the film's artistic needs, as was the case with the Youghal location.

Cinematography

Another of the film's major undertaking was experimenting with color cinematography, a process that was encouraged by Huston and overseen by Oswald Morris. Unlike the path of most cinematographers, Morris started out filming locations before he moved into the studio. He specialized in foreign location work, shooting his first film, *The Golden Salamander* (1950), in Tunisia, followed by *Cairo Road* (1950) in Egypt and *Island of Desire* (1952) in Jamaica.¹⁸³ In 1952, Huston hired Morris for *Moulin Rouge*, beginning a close collaboration that would last over two decades, during which the cinematographer thrived under Huston's hands-off directorial style. As with *Moulin Rouge*, Huston and Morris wanted to push the boundaries of color cinematography in *Moby Dick*.

Initially, Jack Warner tried to convince Huston to shoot the film in CinemaScope since the studio was trying to promote the system with both domestic films and foreign productions, such as Howard Hawks' *Land of the Pharaohs* (1955), shot in Egypt and Rome, and *Helen of Troy*, filmed in Rome. Nonetheless, the director and his cinematographer decided to shoot in a "flatter" format.¹⁸⁴ In part, Huston opted out of CinemaScope because he subscribed to the prevailing notion that the action would be difficult to follow if scenes were cut quickly, as was required for the film's whale hunting sequences.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ "Oswald Morris BECTU Oral History," 27-30.

¹⁸⁴ Technical listings of the film's aspect ratio tend to be at 1.66:1 or 1.75:1.

¹⁸⁵ Jack Warner to John Huston, February 19, 1954. Jack Clayton to John Huston, February 16, 1954, *Moby Dick* (CinemaScope), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

Huston and Morris also chose to shoot the film in Eastman Color, instead of Technicolor, although they used the latter's London lab for processing. However, Lee Katz expressed some reluctance to rely on the Technicolor lab since at that time it had little experience processing Eastman Color.¹⁸⁶ This hesitation was overcome and unlike the experience of *Moulin Rouge*, in which Technicolor London initially wanted its name disaffiliated from that film's color experimentation, *Moby Dick* proved a fruitful collaboration between the firm and the production. Morris recalls, "Technicolor was eating out of our hands after the succès d'estime of *Moulin Rouge*."¹⁸⁷

In order to achieve the film's unusual color quality, two different negatives were struck from an Eastman Color negative that Morris shot. One negative was a de-saturated color master and the other a black-and-white print. The two negatives were then printed together to achieve what the cinematographer suggests was "how the film would have been shot if it could have been made in 1810—a classic color style to match a classic original."¹⁸⁸ Huston describes the process, saying, "Based on the technique of the mezzotint, it will provide a glimpse into the past."¹⁸⁹ But Technicolor did not produce a color effect that satisfied Morris until three months into production.¹⁹⁰

As with *Moulin Rouge*, Huston and Morris achieved a level of stylistic experimentation that might have been more difficult to accomplish had the film been made in Hollywood, as their push against Jack Warner's urging to shoot in CinemaScope

¹⁸⁶ Lee Katz to Oswald Morris, July 16, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Oswald Morris), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁸⁷ Morris, *Huston, We Have a Problem*, 83.

¹⁸⁸ Derek Hill, "'Moby Dick' Sets New Style In Color Photography," *American Cinematographer*, September 1956, 534.

¹⁸⁹ Quoted in Ernest Anderson, "Memorandum to Editors," January 15, 1955, *Moby Dick* (Publicity), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁹⁰ Hill, "'Moby Dick' Sets New Style," 534-535.

suggests. Away from the supervision of the financial backers and with the support of Technicolor London, *Moby Dick* achieved a color design that prompted a *Los Angeles Times* movie critic to remark, “The color in this picture is exceptionally different in its washed-out character...It looks as if it had been really swept by the sea.”¹⁹¹

British Nationality

From the outset, Mirisch and Huston aimed to have the film qualify for the British quota and to receive Eady funds, which shaped the national composition of the crew and prompted the participation of ABPC Studios. In order to work within the dictates of the British quota laws, the principal film crew was British with a handful of notable exceptions, including Huston, his secretary Lorraine Sherwood and associate producer Lee Katz, who were all American. In addition, production manager Cecil Ford and second assistant director Kevin McClory were Irish, and make-up man Charles Parker was Canadian, though he worked for MGM’s British studios. However, away from ABPC Studios, the location unit in Ireland and Wales was able to rely on non-union locals as extras and below-the-line workers.

While the film did qualify as a British quota picture, *Moby Dick* outside of Great Britain was largely seen as a U.S. production. This notion came to light when the possibility arose of screening the movie at the Cannes Film Festival, where motion pictures had to represent particular nations. If the film had not been shown as a British production, it would have risked sacrificing the benefits of being considered a quota film. Huston thus makes the case, “I would hate to see MOBY presented anywhere else than in

¹⁹¹ Edwin Schallert, “‘Moby Dick’ Packed with Many Thrills,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1956, 12.

England as anything but an American picture.”¹⁹² The director argued against showing the film in Cannes, instead opting for a premiere in New Bedford on June 27, 1956.

Nevertheless, some British film critics proudly considered the movie a product of the British industry. Writing for the *Evening News*, a reviewer affirms, “Apart from the American director and two other American stars, Orson Welles and Richard Basehart, ‘Moby Dick’ is very much a triumph for British acting and British studio technicians.”¹⁹³ Whatever the nationality, the film featured a international mix of Hollywood and British production forces. Its financing, organization and much of the acting talent and directorial vision came from Hollywood on the one hand with the technical expertise and filmmaking infrastructure stemming from the British motion picture industry on the other.

Conclusion

Throughout his career, Huston, the self-avowed “location man,” kept up the veneer that his foreign work was dictated by creative reasons not financial ones. In a 1963 issue of *The Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, he reasons, “Story needs and not economics should dictate where a picture should be filmed. I have never saved money by shooting on location. The cost is just as much in the long run. You take people to another country, support them, incur travel expenses and consume time.”¹⁹⁴ While Huston may not be wrong about the savings by shooting abroad, he undoubtedly benefited financially by

¹⁹² Unsigned (presumably Huston) to Alfred Crown, February 15, 1956, *Moby Dick* (Publicity Correspondence), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

¹⁹³ Jympson Harman, “Peg-leg Peck may be a Jonah,” *The Evening News*, November 8, 1956, 6D.

¹⁹⁴ John Huston, “Home Is Where The Heart Is – And So Are Films,” *The Journal of the Screen Producers Guild*, March 1963, 4.

working overseas first through the eighteen-month tax exemption and then by maintaining a foreign residence and work status.

Few other Hollywood directors would so fully commit to producing decidedly international films that relied on foreign actors, crews and infrastructures. And few other filmmakers exploited foreign locales for artistic benefit, from Ireland, Madeira and the Canary Islands (*Moby Dick*) to Tobago (*Heaven Knows, Mr. Allison*), and from Japan (*The Barbarian and the Geisha*) to French Equatorial Africa (*The Roots of Heaven*). “If I have a trademark at all,” Huston suggests, “it’s that I prefer to make my movies where they happen.”¹⁹⁵ It is foreign location as a trademark within promotional and critical discourses that we turn to next.

¹⁹⁵ Peter S. Greenberg, “Saints and Stinkers: The *Rolling Stone* Interview,” *Rolling Stone* 337, February 19, 1981, reprinted in Long, *John Huston Interviews*, 112.

Chapter Four.

The Promotional and Critical Discourses of Authentic Foreign Locations

From 1929 to 1930, MGM produced *Trader Horn*, an adventure picture set in Africa. Instead of shooting the entire film on jungle sets erected in the studio, the company sent a production crew to Africa to obtain location footage, a novel decision worthy of Hollywood-style ballyhoo. While this undertaking did receive some attention in the film's souvenir programs and pressbook, the location shooting was not mentioned on the film's posters and advertisements.¹ Twenty years later, MGM produced another African-set adventure film, *King Solomon's Mines*. Although not quite a remake of *Trader Horn*, the cast and crew traveled to many of the same African locales where the original production had been filmed.² This time, however, the posters proudly publicized, "Filmed Entirely in the Wilds of Africa in Technicolor." So why the change? Why do the posters for *King Solomon's Mines* highlight the fact that the film was shot on location in Africa while the advertisements for *Trader Horn* do not?

In this chapter, I examine the promotion of Hollywood's postwar foreign productions by focusing on why authentic locations were foregrounded in these films' promotional campaigns.³ I also look at the different publicity and advertising strategies used by the film industry to sell this stylistic feature to audiences. I concentrate on U.S. audiences, but in places I describe how these films were publicized in the foreign market.

¹ *Trader Horn* (Clipping File), AMPAS Library.

² "Metro Will Shoot 'Solomon's Mines' On 'Trader' Locale," *Daily Variety*, July 11, 1949, 3.

³ Reflecting Tino Balio's analysis of United Artists' promotional campaigns, I treat promotion as a "catchall term for advertising, publicity, and exploitation." Balio, *United Artists*, 199.

Finally, in an attempt to gain a fuller picture of the discourse surrounding Hollywood overseas productions, I examine how film reviewers evaluated foreign locations.

The prominence of authentic foreign locations in these campaigns reveals important changes in Hollywood's promotional practices and in the self-image that the U.S. film industry was advancing in an era of transition. More crucial for this study, the interest paid to foreign locations in the publicity surrounding the films, in advertising campaigns, and in film reviews all helped to shape the practice of foreign location shooting. "What advertising stressed," explains Janet Staiger, "became grounds for competition and a large part of the set of standards for film practice."⁴ I argue that by emphasizing authentic foreign scenery, the discourse of publicists, advertisers, journalists and critics reinforced and perpetuated location shooting as a salient stylistic characteristic of overseas productions, guiding filmmakers in their depiction of real locales.

Product Differentiation and New Technologies

For film producers, shooting a motion picture on the actual geographic location where the story was set became a way to bring audiences striking sights and sounds often captured by new color and widescreen technologies. The emphasis on foreign locales in promotional campaigns proved particularly beneficial at a time when studios were retrenching and when a single successful film could comprise most of a studio's annual earnings, which meant that the "pre-sell"—the long advance build-up of a film—became

⁴ Staiger, "Standardization and differentiation: the reinforcement and dispersion of Hollywood practices," *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 97.

crucial.⁵ The use of foreign locations as a selling point also fulfilled the promotional aims of the postwar era, which were, according to Tino Balio, “to create ‘must see’ attitude and to upscale the product in the minds of the public to justify higher ticket prices.”⁶ Promoting foreign locations also helped to individualize the film product during a period when, as movie critic Jay E. Gordon asserts, “Each motion picture should be sold as a separate article of commerce, advertised in accordance with its own merits and within the bounds of established rules of salesmanship pertinent to creations of art.”⁷

More than just a decorative feature of foreign productions, real locations became a way for film companies to differentiate their products from each other and to entice back into movie theatres U.S. audiences lured away by television and new leisure-time activities. In 1951, *Daily Variety* reported that Darryl Zanuck aimed to shoot Fox’s films on foreign locations whenever the subject matter called for it. For Zanuck, location shooting was one of the film industry’s means of successfully competing with TV.⁸ Producer Irving Allen shared a similar view in suggesting that the future of Hollywood was in international production and that diverse location work would bring audiences back to the cinemas.⁹

However, Hollywood’s overseas films were not unique in their exploitation of foreign places or their promotion of location shooting. Some U.S. television commercials

⁵ “Bigger Ad Budgets Urged By Perlberg to Hypo B.O,” *Hollywood Reporter*, June 20, 1951, 3. “Early Pre-Sell Need Greater Than Ever To Get Pix Coin; UI’s Lipton,” *Daily Variety*, April 1, 1958, 1, 5.

⁶ Balio, *United Artists*, 197.

⁷ Jay E. Gordon, “There’s Really No Business Like Show Business,” *Hollywood Quarterly* 6 no. 2 (Winter 1951) reprinted in *Hollywood Quarterly*, eds. Smoodin and Martin, 289.

⁸ “Zanuck Sees Actual Locale Lensing As B.O. Stimulant And TV Antidote,” *Daily Variety*, July 19, 1951, 1, 4.

⁹ “Irving Allen Opines H’wood’s Future Lies In Int’l Production,” *Daily Variety*, January 6, 1954, 3.

and programs such as *Foreign Intrigue* (1951-1955), *China Smith* (1952-1955) and *Ramar of the Jungle* (1953-1954) were shot in foreign countries during this period. The trend in “runaway” television became widespread enough that in the early 1950s the Hollywood AFL Film Council protested the phenomenon.¹⁰ Even though in time television aimed for realism through documentary techniques, with cinema—as promotional campaigns drove home—producers could more fully represent foreign locations through color and widescreen technologies and deliver to audiences a vividness and scope that TV could not approximate.¹¹

Also, just as foreign-shot movies promoted their locations, certain domestic film productions spotlighted authentic locales. Posters for Jules Dassin’s crime picture *Naked City* (1948) publicize, “Filmed in the streets of New York with a cast of 8 Million New Yorkers!” One *Daily Variety* advertisement for *Silver City* (1951) announces, “High Adventure Actually Filmed in the High Sierras!” while another for *Bayou* (1957) states, “Photographed in its entirety on location in the magnificent Cajun country.”¹² However, the focus on location in promotional efforts and critical discourses for domestic productions was less pronounced than for overseas productions.

Much has been written about how Hollywood developed new color, widescreen and stereoscopic technologies as a response to the loss of audiences in the early 1950s.¹³ More recently, some historians have observed how the combination foreign location

¹⁰ “‘Run-Away’ Foreign Film Production Irks AFL Council,” *Daily Variety*, July 9, 1952, 5. “AFL Council Blacklists Duryea Vidpix Makers,” *Daily Variety*, December 3, 1952, 2. “AFL Accelerates Drive Vs. Telefilming Abroad,” *Daily Variety*, January 7, 1953, 1, 3. Yale, “Runaway Film Production,” 71-72.

¹¹ “Realism Next Big TV Trend: Leonard,” *Daily Variety*, October 9, 1958, 8.

¹² *Silver City* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, December 26, 1951, 9. *Bayou* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, November 5, 1956, 16.

¹³ Lev, *The Fifties*. John Belton, *Widescreen Cinema* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

shooting and widescreen technologies contributed to the formation of new film cycles in the postwar era. Vanessa Schwartz has considered the representation of foreign locales through blending widescreen with location shooting in 1950s “Frenchness” films, such as *Funny Face* and *Gigi*, and 1960s “cosmopolitan” films, like *Around the World in 80 Days*.¹⁴ Similarly, Robert Shandley has shown how studios captured European locations using widescreen formats in “travelogue romances,” such as *Three Coins in the Fountain*, *To Catch a Thief* and *Funny Face*, which helped give audiences a greater sense of “immediacy” of foreign locations.¹⁵ As I will demonstrate, bringing foreign location shooting into the discussion of postwar technologies reveals that advertising and industry rhetoric routinely elevated overseas locales alongside these technological innovations, at times directly linking foreign locations with color and widescreen.

This practice was most overt in the copy and design of movie advertisements. A poster for *Green Fire* (1955) reads, “M-G-M’s action-hit, filmed in the South American wilds in COLOR and CinemaScope.” Advertising *Sayonara* (1957), a poster promises, “Filmed in Japan in the never-before-seen beauty of Technirama and Technicolor.” For Richard Fleischer’s *The Vikings*, a poster promotes, “Actually Filmed Amid The Ice-Capped Fjords Of Norway And The Sea-Lashed Cliffs Of Brittany! In Horizon Spanning Technirama And Magnificent Technicolor!” These rhetorical flourishes, which paired location shooting with color and widescreen, hyped the way that foreign productions harnessed new technologies to render exotic and spectacular views from around the world. The effect promised audiences spectacle and a semblance of realism.

¹⁴ Schwartz, *It’s So French!*, chs. 1 and 4.

¹⁵ Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, ch. 4.

Spectacle and Realism

Janet Staiger has shown that in the early years of cinema, producers and exhibitors purposefully appealed to notions of spectacle and realism to sell films. For example, Thomas Edison advertised one of his projection systems in the late 1890s by promising a heightened experience of realism, while an advertisement for a 1912 multi-reeler titled *Homer's Odyssey* underscored its realistic and spectacular qualities.¹⁶ Prefiguring postwar off-the-lot filming, independent companies in the 1910s sent motion picture units on location journeys both in the U.S. and abroad, a venture that was advertised in order to emphasize the spectacular and realistic features in these films.¹⁷ In the postwar era, foreign productions continued this tradition by promoting the photographic depiction of a geographic reality and a sense of spectacle that was achieved through the global travel of film companies and the marvel of new technologies.

But realism and spectacle were not discrete categories since one attribute shaped the other. "The advent of sound, color, and widescreen," argues John Belton, "was identified not only with realism but with spectacle. The attention of the audience was drawn to the novelty of the apparatus itself. The 'greater realism' produced by the new technology was understood, it would seem, as a kind of excess, which was in turn packaged as spectacle."¹⁸ The particular brand of realism and spectacle that arose during this period reflected changes in both visual culture and postwar film style.

Industry commentators reflected on the increasing importance of connecting a foreign-set story to its actual locations through more realistic approaches to cinema as a

¹⁶ Staiger, "Standardization and differentiation," 100.

¹⁷ Staiger, "The director-unit system: management of multiple-unit companies after 1909," *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 122.

¹⁸ Belton, *Widescreen Cinema*, 202

growing awareness of the wider world amongst the public took hold. *Hollywood Reporter* columnist W.R. Wilkerson points out:

Not only is foreign-made product inspiring greater foreign attendance, but those same pictures, with their authentic backgrounds, are attracting greater interest with the domestic ticket buyers because such shows give them a pictorial insight, an educational screening of great centers of the world and the lives and habits of the people—locations and facts that most domestic customers have read about but have never seen until brought to our screens in stories that lend themselves to such picturizations.¹⁹

Writing in 1957, film researcher Dorothy B. Jones proposed that evolving film aesthetics called for the use of foreign locations, claiming, “Documentary techniques, which had been developed during the war and which became generally prevalent in Hollywood during the late 1940’s, required that a story laid in a foreign country be, in part at least, shot on location. More recently, it has been found that color and the new wide-screen techniques can be employed to best advantage by using the most fascinating sights of the world as a backdrop for Hollywood productions.”²⁰

While a thorough examination of the cultural reasons for audiences’ shifting awareness of the world is outside the scope of this study, I want to suggest that the horizon-spanning occurrence of World War II reported via radio, newspapers, magazines and newsreels brought the U.S. public a greater recognition of lands abroad. Through foreign-set stories staged in authentic overseas backdrops, filmmakers exploited this consciousness amongst U.S. audiences while also capitalizing on the first-hand

¹⁹ W.R. Wilkerson, “Trade Views,” *Hollywood Reporter*, August 29, 1955, 1.

²⁰ Dorothy B. Jones, “Hollywood’s International Relations,” *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television* 11 no. 4 (Summer 1957): 370-371.

knowledge of the world of both foreign audiences and millions of U.S. military personnel who had served in the war.²¹ As cinematographer John Alton concluded in 1949, “During the war, millions of soldiers were sent to various locations to shoot, but not motion pictures. These men know a real London fog, were disappointed in the women of the jungle, and recognize Rio, Budapest, or Cairo when they see them on the screen. No more will they buy Hollywood-made Africa. Backgrounds now have to be authentic.”²²

Furthermore, some producers argued that recreating foreign settings in Hollywood studios was no longer practical because of changing audience expectations and the economic need to innovate. Producer William Perlberg makes the case, “Competition for the entertainment dollar has wedded us to big films and to global stories. Clarity of pictures and size of screen are increasingly taxing the abilities of our art directors to provide believable exterior settings... When it comes to making Paris on the back lot, our trick bag is falling apart at the seams.”²³ So in order to evoke Paris—and other locales abroad—film companies had to shoot the real thing.

Paired with greater international travel by the middle class and a move towards documentary realism in cinema in the mid to late-1940s, these developments led to a growing audience desire for real depictions of setting and they signal how the film industry and the press conceived of a need to produce a more realistic rendering of the

²¹ In a publication of the Society of Motion Picture Art Directors, an article on *The Desert Fox* discusses the need to seamlessly match studio work with African and European locales, which “were known from the personal experiences of millions of American Servicemen, the British Commonwealth, and to both German and French audiences.” Herman Blumenthal, “‘Desert Fox’: Maurice Ransford, Art Director,” *Production Design*, October 1951, 14. Also quoted in Beverly Heisner, *Hollywood Art: Art Direction in the Days of the Great Studios* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1990), 209.

²² John Alton, *Painting with Light* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 69.

²³ Perlberg, “What Do You Mean?”, 7.

wider world. The responsibility to prepare consumers and critics to appreciate foreign locations then fell to publicists and studio promotions departments.

PROMOTIONAL DISCOURSE

What were the various ways that film companies sold foreign productions and their locations? Let us first look at the “pre-production/production phase,” when publicists generated press stories, and then the “pre-release/release phase,” when studio advertising and publicity departments distributed pressbooks, production notes and advertisement materials just prior to a film’s theatrical opening.²⁴ I will show that throughout this process, foreign locations were frequently highlighted in promotional campaigns.

Unit Publicists

In order to feed film trades and the popular press with production stories, a movie company relied on studio publicity departments, public relations firms and unit publicists who worked on location. Keeping an ear to the ground, unit publicists could convert the challenges and intricacies of location work into promotional material, which proved especially useful in selling foreign productions. For *Moby Dick*, the film depended on the Warner Bros. publicity and advertising division and the public relations firm Rogers & Cowan, which hired Ernest Anderson, a London-based unit publicist who had worked for Jose Ferrer on *Moulin Rouge* and had a wide array of contacts with the European and U.S. press.²⁵ From various locations in the United Kingdom and Ireland, where *Moby*

²⁴ I am basing the distinction of these phases on Balio’s conception of film promotion in *United Artists*, 199.

²⁵ John Huston to Henry Rogers, April 24, 1954. Henry Rogers to John Huston, May 7, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Henry Rogers), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

Dick was shot, Anderson published personalized press releases full of anecdotes about the locations and the logistical trials that the crew faced.²⁶ With a first-hand perspective on the production, Anderson transformed the unfolding drama of the film's shoot into material that publications both in the U.S. and abroad turned into news items and stories.

To handle publicity in Rome for *Roman Holiday*, Paramount enlisted Jack Gold, a reporter and former Hollywood publicist, and his associate Ed Hill, a former newspaper editor. Based in the Italian capital, Gold and Hill helped oversee the editorial department of *The Rome Daily American* while also running a publicity office to support Hollywood and Italian producers making films for the U.S. market.²⁷ They pitched their services to Paramount's publicity director and eventually they were employed, saving the studio the expense of sending over one of its own publicists and allowing the studio to pay Gold and Hill in lire since both resided in Italy.²⁸ With their connections to publications around the world, the two publicists sent out news stories via various wire services and set up production pieces with magazines and newspapers.²⁹ While Gold and Hill took charge of publicity and generated their own articles, Paramount requested that all promotional photos and stories written by the unit publicists be sent to the studio for editing and distribution.³⁰ In this way, the studio could contract out the production of copy and stills while maintaining editorial control of all promotional material.

²⁶ Ernest Anderson, "Bulletin No. 1 from Youghal, County Cork, Eire," n.d., *Moby Dick* (Publicity), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

²⁷ "Jack Gold Opens Flackery In Rome," *Daily Variety*, February 15, 1952, 3.

²⁸ Jack Gold to Teet Carle, April 2, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Correspondence 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

²⁹ Jack Gold and Ed Hill to Teet Carle, July 7, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Publicity), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

³⁰ Teet Carle to Frank Caffey, May 16, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Publicity), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

Press Stories

As publicity campaigns placed greater weight on the production phase of overseas shoots, the U.S. and international press responded with a growing interest in Hollywood foreign production work. From the late 1940s through the 1960s, the popular press, the film trades and professional publications were filled with news articles and profiles of productions shooting overseas. For example, Robert F. Hawkins reported for *The New York Times* on John Huston's *Beat the Devil* from the town of Ravello. As with many of these production accounts, the shooting location inspired the journalist to advance a travelogue writing mode. Opening the piece, Hawkins describes:

Ravello, the tiny one-time pirates' lair perched high above the Amalfi coastline south of this city, provides, in one of the civilized world's less accessible spots, what must be the most exclusive, as well as the most colorful, movie location in Italy today. After a seemingly endless, twisting road takes one to the Ravello fork, a steep, unreasonably narrow driveway lead [sic] to the steep village in question. There the mule takes over. Years ago, while in Italy with the United States Army, John Huston's practiced eye caught sight of Ravello and its surroundings...He has been looking for a story to fit the setting ever since.³¹

While Hawkins also throws in bits of celebrity gossip, such as a set visit by Roberto Rossellini and Ingrid Bergman, the portrait of Ravello foregrounded the film's location in the minds of readers and potential film spectators.

A few years later in 1956, Hawkins inaugurated a column in *Daily Variety* called "Roamin' in Rome," which chronicled "Hollywood on the Tiber" with a particular

³¹ Robert F. Hawkins, "Observations on the Italian Picture Scene," *New York Times*, April 5, 1953, X5.

emphasis on the movie business and celebrity sightings in Italy.³² Other international *Variety* columnists included Gene Moskowitz, who reported from Paris through his column “In Paris,” and Harold Myers, who covered the British film scene with “In London.”³³ In the late 1950s, occasional columns emerged from Madrid and Tokyo as well.³⁴ In addition to reporting on Hollywood films in production, national film festivals and celebrity gossip, the publication of these dispatches marked the emergence of these regions as key production centers for Hollywood companies. The articles also indicate that the very act of shooting in a foreign country was news itself.

The professional publication *American Cinematographer* represented locations abroad through features on production personnel who shared technical tales from their foreign work. Interestingly, throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s as Hollywood unions attempted to curb the tide of “runaway” production, *American Cinematographer* never covered the phenomenon of foreign filmmaking from the perspective of workers losing their jobs.³⁵ Instead, the American Society of Cinematographers (ASC), the publisher of the magazine, treated foreign production as both a swashbuckling experience and a creative hurdle that the director of photography triumphed over through competence, professionalism, technical know-how and artistry. Reflecting the public identity of the ASC, which had long promoted cinematographers as artists rather than

³² The inaugural column seems to be “Roamin’ In Rome,” *Daily Variety*, July 3, 1956, 6.

³³ Moskowitz’s first column seems to be “Paris Patter,” *Daily Variety*, March 15, 1954, 3, which then became “In Paris,” *Daily Variety*, May 27, 1954, 3. Myers’ first column seems to be “In London,” *Daily Variety*, June 21, 1955, 3. Dispatches from Rome, Paris, London and other cities around the world were also featured in *Weekly Variety*’s “Chatter” section.

³⁴ Early versions include Hank Werba, “In Madrid,” *Daily Variety*, February 27, 1958, 3. Dave Jampel, “In Tokyo,” *Daily Variety*, October 21, 1959, 7.

³⁵ One news item in the magazine did explain that the ASC joined SAG and the Screen Extras Guild to boycott the sponsors of foreign-produced television programs. See “Industry News,” *American Cinematographer*, December 1958, 663-664.

mere laborers, this discourse was found in articles sometimes written by the cinematographers themselves, who aimed to distinguish their work by framing foreign filmmaking as stories of adventure and technical hurdles.³⁶ These pieces fell in line with the strategies of promotional campaigns by playing up the feat of filmmaking to boost the worth of motion pictures.

In describing his African location work on *King Solomon's Mines*, director of photography Robert Surtees enumerated the number of crew members who ended up in the hospital and the “native participants” who died during the shoot. He goes on to write:

Without a doubt it was the most difficult job of motion picture filming ever attempted. Danger varied from intense tropical heat reaching up to 140 degrees, to a freezing blizzard atop Mount Kenya, a 17,000 foot mountain peak in equatorial Africa. Our crew was attacked by spear-bearing natives and more than once was charged by wild animals. And then there were the deadly African spitting cobras.³⁷

Surtees portrays the location trek as a thrilling exploit, as if the experience of working in Africa reflected the film's jungle expedition. For cinematographers like Surtees, foreign locations represented logical and technical problems that could be overcome through the known solutions of Hollywood production practices, which in turn served to promote the technique of location shooting and the excitement of overseas filming.

The foreign press also followed Hollywood's international productions, which helped fulfill the aims of Hollywood promotional efforts to build audience anticipation all

³⁶ Patrick Keating analyzes the origins of the ASC's public identity in *Hollywood Lighting from the Silent Era to Film Noir* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), ch. 1.

³⁷ Robert Surtees, “Location Filming in Africa For ‘King Solomon's Mines’,” *American Cinematographer*, April 1950, 122.

over the world. At a time when the foreign market was making up for dwindling domestic audiences, Hollywood producers and publicists advanced their efforts to attract film viewers overseas. Now when a Hollywood company with publicity-generating stars came to a foreign location, the local press took great interest in these films, churning out stories and photo spreads for a foreign public hungry for a taste of Hollywood glamour in its native land.

The foreign press was particularly captivated when its nation became the setting and location for a Hollywood shoot and when local stars were employed. The French popular press covered the Warner Bros. adaptation of Marcel Pagnol's *Fanny*, which was shot on location in Marseilles and starred French-turned-Hollywood actors Leslie Caron, Maurice Chevalier and Charles Boyer. Both *Paris Match* and *Jours de France* carried lengthy photo spreads of the actors performing and cavorting in the port of Marseilles.³⁸ However, Hollywood's depiction of foreign cultures and landscapes was received with scrutiny from local journalists, as was the case with *Fanny*, which was panned by the French critics.³⁹ With *The Man on the Eiffel*, one of Hollywood's first postwar films to be shot in Paris, a French commentator criticized the picture's superficial, tourist's eye view of the city.⁴⁰ Antoine de Baecque makes the case that French critics continued to deploy the "critique of artifice" into the early 1960s whenever Hollywood films took on French subject matter.⁴¹

³⁸ "Oui c'est César," *Paris Match*, May 28, 1960, 88-93. Yves Salgues, "Fanny à l'américaine," *Jours de France*, June 11, 1960, *Fanny* (Publicity Clips), Warner Archive.

³⁹ "French Critics Blast 'Fanny' Film Version," *Times* (Herald-Tribune-London-Observer Service), April 20, 1962, *Fanny* (Publicity Clips), Warner Archive.

⁴⁰ Raymond Barkan, "L'art et les coproductions," *La Technique Cinématographique*, March 1950, 76.

⁴¹ De Baecque, *Paris by Hollywood*, 190, 196-197.

In Italy, the “Hollywood on the Tiber” phenomenon produced a great deal of media coverage of Hollywood filmmakers and movie stars working and unwinding throughout Italy. For *Prince of Foxes*, one of the first major Hollywood films to be shot in postwar Italy, the melding of imported Hollywood film materials and Italian backgrounds generated notice in *Rivista del cinematografo*.⁴² John Huston’s *Beat the Devil* received coverage in film publications such as *Cinema Nuovo*, which reported on the film’s location work in Ravello, and *Cinema*, which published a photo spread of Bogart and Huston on the location film set.⁴³

As Giuliana Muscio has demonstrated, Italian film publications offered dedicated coverage of both Hollywood productions in Italy and Hollywood movie stars in general. However, the reactions of these publications were mixed, sometimes provoking negative responses when Hollywood studios sent over an “invasion” of production units viewed as “a manifestation of economic and cultural imperialism.”⁴⁴ While at other times, these productions garnered admiration for the allure of visiting Hollywood film stars. Italian newsreels tended to concentrate on this aspect by filming Hollywood actors, producers and directors landing in Rome’s Ciampino Airport. For instance, the newsreel program *La Settimana Incom* recorded Audrey Hepburn and Mel Ferrer’s arrival in Rome to shoot *War and Peace* while *L’Europeo Ciac* documented King Vidor’s arrival to direct *A*

⁴² “Il principe delle volpi,” *Rivista del cinematografo*, November 1949, 28.

⁴³ Federico Frascani, “Per Andare In Africa Huston Parte Da Ravello,” *Cinema Nuovo*, April 1, 1953, 210-211. “John Huston a Ravello Fra Diavoli E Tesori,” *Cinema*, February 28, 1953, 113.

⁴⁴ Giuliana Muscio, “Invasion and Counterattack: Italian and American Film Relations in the Postwar Period,” in “*Here, There and Everywhere*”: *The Foreign Politics of Popular Culture*, eds. Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 116-131.

Farewell to Arms and Ava Gardner's entry to star in *The Naked Maja*.⁴⁵ For foreign audiences, the presence of Hollywood stars working in their home countries caused eager anticipation for the release of films connected with the local region and culture.

As with France and Italy, news of Hollywood's incursions into the British industry sometimes met with ambivalence by the British press, which treated the influence of U.S. talent and capital as an affront to a sense of nationalism. In a review of George Cukor's MGM production of *Edward, My Son* published in the Sunday newspaper *Reynold's News*, the writer protests, "I do not like the idea of directors and stars from across the Atlantic being brought to British studios to make films."⁴⁶ In a write-up of the Warner Bros. production of *The Hasty Heart*, a reviewer for the magazine *Time and Tide* remarked on the difficulty of assigning national origin to Hollywood's British productions. She reasons, "The peaceful invasion from the West, Hollywood style, continues, bringing with it a trail of confusions to befuddle even the astutest of conscientious filmgoers."⁴⁷ However, as with other nations, the presence of Hollywood stars working on local soil also elicited excitement. A journalist for the newspaper *The Star* reported on Doris Day's work in Hitchcock's London shoot for *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. The reporter observes, "Hollywood stars in London so rarely venture beyond their West End hotel suites. You don't expect to meet them in Brixton... What was Miss

⁴⁵ *La Settimana Incom*, April 21, 1955. *L'Europeo Ciac*, July 31, 1957 and May 1, 1958. Cinecittà Luce, <http://www.archivioluca.com/archivio/>

⁴⁶ "Edward, My Son" review, *Reynolds News*, July 6, 1949, *Edward, My Son* (Micro Jacket), BFI Library.

⁴⁷ Margaret Hinxman, "The Hasty Heart" review, *Time and Tide*, September 24, 1949, *The Hasty Heart* (Micro Jacket), BFI Library.

Day doing there? Filming location scenes.”⁴⁸ Most likely, the news of a Hollywood star acting in a working-class neighborhood in London captivated the publication’s readers.

In some cases, publicists facilitated these stories by arranging location visits for the press.⁴⁹ For *Moby Dick*, Rogers & Cowan and the film’s publicity team invited reporters from London, Dublin and Paris to the movie set in Youghal.⁵⁰ Something of a novelty, these media junkets themselves became the basis of press releases from the film’s publicists.⁵¹ *Hollywood Reporter* columnist W.R. Wilkerson even picked up on the story, noting, “The shooting of a big motion picture in this location already was big news throughout Ireland, Scotland and England, and the press junket brought notice and early publicity for the picture to the attention of the whole of Europe, and because of that big coverage it is now reaching the papers here in the U.S... forming a pedestal of public anticipation that will sell a lot of tickets when the film finally is exhibited.”⁵²

As with the productions themselves, these promotional efforts point to Hollywood’s more global approach. In 1959, *Daily Variety* reported, “‘International’ and ‘global,’ two key words in the lexicon of the film companies in recent years, continue to be repeated as often as a non-stop disk as the major American film companies expand their world-wide thinking and facilities. Internationalization of promotion and publicity

⁴⁸ Roy Nash, “Doris Day Knows Too Much,” *Star*, June 4, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Micro Jacket), BFI Library.

⁴⁹ While set visits were typically restricted to invited press, Cinecittà opened up its gates to tourists interested in visiting the sets of *Ben-Hur*. A *Los Angeles Times* article described that from May to December of 1959, some five thousand tourists visited the grand sets, which reportedly sparked great interest comparable to Rome’s ancient landmarks. Philip K. Scheuer, “‘Ben-Hur’ Ready for ’59,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 1958, D1-D2.

⁵⁰ Leslie Frewin to John Huston, July 13, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Publicity Correspondence), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵¹ Ernest Anderson, press release, July 24, 1954, *Moby Dick* (Publicity Correspondence), John Huston Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁵² W. R. Wilkerson, “Trade Views,” *Hollywood Reporter*, August 5, 1954, 1.

activities appears to be the newest contribution to U.S. film to the one-world concept.”⁵³

Pressbooks and Production Notes

Once the production wrapped, the promotional campaign turned its attention to exhibitors while also continuing to develop public interest through advertising materials. Central to the pre-release/release campaign was the pressbook. Studio advertising and publicity divisions produced these manuals, which contained a company’s suggested words, graphics and exploitation gimmicks for movie theater managers to use to advertise films in local newspapers and at their own cinemas.⁵⁴ For Hollywood’s foreign productions, sample advertisements and pre-written stock articles commonly played up a film’s location. By highlighting foreign scenery, studio press departments shaped the way that exhibitors promoted the films to audiences.

In the pressbook for Warner’s swashbuckler *The Master of Ballantrae*, for example, poster prototypes exclaim, “Filmed on the historic cliffs and moors of Scotland and Cornwall-and in the Mediterranean!” with images of Scottish highlands and castles in the background. A headline for a stock story declares, “Warners Film ‘Master of Ballantrae’ In Authentic Historical Locations” and the copy says that the studio had “the opportunity to bring to the screen the colorful beauty of the Scottish moors, the azure

⁵³ “Global Pitch As Columbia Policy,” *Daily Variety*, August 17, 1959, 1, 11.

⁵⁴ For an overview of pressbooks see Mark S. Miller, “Helping Exhibitors: Pressbooks at Warner Bros. in the Late 1930s,” *Film History* 6 no. 2 (Summer 1994): 188-196. Also, Balio, *United Artists*, 212.

Mediterranean and the tang of the West Indies.”⁵⁵ Even for a period adventure film, real locations invested the film with an air of authenticity.

In the pressbook for Paramount’s *September Affair*, a prepared article titled “Joan Fontaine in Love—with Lucky Italy!” presents the Italian filmmaking experience of the lead actress as a cultural holiday. The article reads, “The company filmed scenes in Rome, Naples and Florence, as well as on the Isle of Capri, so Joan had plenty of time to get the lay of the land. Her verdict: ‘Italy is unbelievably beautiful, and the people themselves—well mentally, I think they’re the healthiest people in the world. They’re so warm and spontaneous and happy. They seem to have found the secret to good living.’”⁵⁶ Though intended to emphasize the film’s authentic locations and Italian backdrop, the copy comes off as an advertisement for tourism in Italy.

In fact, the pressbooks at times linked moviegoing with travel by recommending cross-promotional tie-ins that encouraged trips to the films’ foreign locations. The pressbook for *Roman Holiday* informs exhibitors that that they can hold a contest for an “all-expense-paid round trip to Rome for two” sponsored by the Italian State Tourist Office and the American Society of Travel Agents.⁵⁷ The pressbook for *Funny Face* urges exhibitors to work with local travel bureaus to present displays in the movie theatre lobby. Alongside photos of the film’s stars in Paris, a travel bureau could set up its own exhibition with the suggested tie-in line: “SEE PARIS THROUGH THE EYES OF AUDREY HEPBURN AND FRED ASTAIRE IN ‘FUNNY FACE’ ... THEN LET US HELP YOU SEE IT FOR YOURSELF!”⁵⁸ In an era when more U.S. middle-class

⁵⁵ *The Master of Ballantrae* pressbook, *The Master of Ballantrae* (Publicity), Warner Archive.

⁵⁶ *September Affair* pressbook, Paramount Pictures Press Sheets, AMPAS Library.

⁵⁷ *Roman Holiday* pressbook, Paramount Pictures Press Sheets, AMPAS Library.

⁵⁸ *Funny Face* pressbook, Paramount Pictures Press Sheets, AMPAS Library.

families were able to travel abroad, these gimmicks aimed to take advantage of a rising interest in international tourism, which Hollywood's foreign productions gave audiences a taste of.⁵⁹ This appeal to tourist desires, though, had an established tradition, dating back to travel films that arose in the earliest days of cinema.⁶⁰

Publicity departments also generated production notes and souvenir programs that provided the press and audiences with behind-the-scenes information. Once again, locations were given prominence. A program for Jean Negulesco's *Count Your Blessings* (1959) amplifies the scenery of Paris, the French countryside and London. "Of especial interest," the program specifies, "are the sequences showing famous sights in England and France. The movie-goer is taken on a tour of London's Albert Memorial, the Tower Bridge, Tower of London, Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, and the Houses of Parliament. In France, the best-known Parisian landmarks are visited, in addition to the lush countryside and centuries-old chateaux."⁶¹ A similar description of the film's locations appears in a *Hollywood Reporter* review, which reiterates the information from the program notes: "All of this is set against backgrounds of an escapist's dreams of opulence in England and France. Though it is in no sense a travel picture, there are charming interludes at Windsor, Hampton Court, the White Tower, the Bois de Boulogne and chateaux in the wine country."⁶² By prompting the press and audience members to

⁵⁹ "New Pix Meet Fans Travel Urge," *Daily Variety*, November 16, 1948, 11. Belton, *Widescreen Cinema*, 93-94. Schwartz, *It's So French!*, 192-93. Shandley, *Runaway Romances*, 93-95.

⁶⁰ Charles Musser, "The Travel Genre in 1903-1904: Moving Towards Fictional Narrative," in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, and Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 123-32. Tom Gunning, "'The Whole World Within Reach': Travel Images without Borders," in *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*, ed. Jeffrey Ruoff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 25-41.

⁶¹ Program, *Count Your Blessings*, Jean Negulesco Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁶² Jack Moffitt, "'Count Blessings' Also Will Have Exhibs Counting B.O.," *The Hollywood Reporter*, April 3, 1959, 3.

focus on foreign locations, a film's publicity brought to the forefront these elements into the experience of motion picture reception.

Posters and Print Advertisements

From the pressbooks, theater managers could order a wide range of film posters and print advertisements. Even though the ads relied on the proven appeal of movie stars and images of lust and romance, they stressed foreign locations. Films shot in European cities were regularly pitched as urban tours on both movie posters and in trade press advertisements. For Irving Allen and Franchot Tone's production of *The Man on the Eiffel Tower*, one poster pronounces just above an image of the titular landmark, "Paris...Gay, Alluring...Masking a Strange Adventure!," at the same time giving fifth billing to "the city of Paris." In a *Daily Variety* advertisement for *The Last Time I Saw Paris* (1954), the city is evoked with a literary flourish: "Daring, intimate love story of the wildest beauty in the Paris whirl. The city of romance and revelry as only the pen of F. Scott Fitzgerald could reveal it!"⁶³ Two years later, Paris still held its allure as a promotional focal point. An ad for *The Ambassador's Daughter* (1956) explains, "Writer-producer-director Norman Krasna has sent a sextet of stars and a wonderfully witty story Cinemascope through the bistros and boulevards, the fashion salons and embassies, the hot spots and cool dives of the maddest, gladdest, wickedest, womanest city in the world—Paris."⁶⁴ In the advertising of these films, the city of Paris itself was a sign of sex and thrills that previously might have been delivered solely through character and story.

⁶³ *The Last Time I Saw Paris* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, November 18, 1954, 5.

⁶⁴ *The Ambassador's Daughter* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, July 27, 1956, 16.

Many advertisements promised portraits of cities and countries previously unseen, with the implication that the filmmakers had journeyed into these locations with a pioneering spirit. In small print, an ad for *Tokyo File 212* (1951) avows, “The First American Motion Picture Filmed Entirely in Japan” while another for *Kangaroo* (1952) exclaims in big, bold letters, “The First American Picture Made in Australia,” above a landscape that is overstuffed with cattle, jumping kangaroos and menacing Aborigines.⁶⁵ Over a map of the Indian subcontinent, the copy for a *Bhowani Junction* (1956) advertisement declares, “M-G-M took a complete company on the first great Hollywood venture in far-off Pakistan.”⁶⁶ Even after films such as *Tokyo File 212* and *House of Bamboo* (1955) mined Japanese backdrops, filmmakers promoted untapped locales, as expressed by an ad for *Escapade in Japan* (1957) that states, “Filmed entirely in the seldom-seen corners of the real Japan!”⁶⁷

Posters and advertisements for films shot in Africa and South America oftentimes underscored the adventurousness of their geographical sites and location shoots. Through pithy taglines, these ads evoked the technical challenges and feats that press and professional accounts also conveyed. A lurid-looking poster for John Huston’s *The African Queen* asserts, “Actually filmed in the splendor and dangers of the Belgian Congo!” An advertisement for *Green Fire* announces, “Filmed on location in the danger-laden jungles of Colombia, South America!”⁶⁸ A poster for the 1957 MGM production *Something of Value* touts the fact that it was “Filmed under military protection in Africa

⁶⁵ *Tokyo File 212* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, July 6, 1951, 6-7. *Kangaroo* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, May 27, 1952, 6-7.

⁶⁶ *Bhowani Junction* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, June 5, 1956, 5-8.

⁶⁷ *Escapade in Japan* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, December 11, 1957, 5-9 (underlining in the original).

⁶⁸ *Green Fire* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, January 12, 1955, 5.

where it happened!,” a statement that at once brings to mind the film’s controversial subject matter (the anti-colonialist Mau Mau uprising in Kenya) and the danger of shooting on location in Africa. Collapsing the film’s story and its making has been a long-running trope in film promotion, which found particular resonance in foreign productions when the story (a safari, combat, tourism, etc.) functioned as a metaphor for the movie’s overseas filming.

Other posters and advertisements brought forth making-of information, i.e. trivia about the production experience. For *His Majesty O’Keefe* (1954), a poster trumpets the length of the shoot: “Adventure beyond the fabulous! Two years in the making! All of it actually filmed in the Fiji Islands!” A poster for Howard Hawks’ *Land of the Pharaohs* plays up the production’s epic undertaking by promoting, “Spectacularly filmed in Egypt with a cast of 11,500 by the largest location crew ever sent abroad from Hollywood!” Some advertisements accentuated the distance that a production unit traveled to make the film. An ad for *Stopover Tokyo* (1957) describes, “Filmed on-the-spot by cast and crew that traveled 10,000 miles...half-way round the world...to make it!”⁶⁹ An advertisement for *Bhowani Junction* (1956) is more elaborate, visually laying out the production route, which spanned Hollywood, the North Pole, Copenhagen, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Egypt and Pakistan. Included is the line: “No motion picture company ever traveled as far (12,840 miles) and suffered such travail to film a great book in it’s [sic] actual fascinating and exciting locale...and no company was ever so richly rewarded”⁷⁰ Along with using location and making-of information to evoke realism and spectacle, these advertisements’ promotion of a production’s dramatic execution gave added value to the film.

⁶⁹ *Stopover Tokyo* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, November 5, 1957, 12.

⁷⁰ *Bhowani Junction* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, July 7, 1955, 6-7.

As the conditions of productions themselves increasingly became selling points, film companies in the mid-1950s made public their productions' locations and start and end dates in the pages of *Variety*. An advertisement for *Lust for Life* reports simply, "The production of 'Lust for Life' started Monday in the actual scenes of Van Gogh's Life... France, Belgium and Holland."⁷¹ "Allied Artists takes pleasure in announcing," proclaims an ad for *Love in the Afternoon*, "Aug. 20 in Paris Billy Wilder will start the love affair that will be felt around the World!"⁷² An ad could embellish a production's political resonance, as with Phil Karlson's *The Secret Ways* (1961): "Universal proudly announces production has started in Vienna: ... 'shooting' in the very shadow of The Iron Curtain!"⁷³

Even the location survey was worthy of some ballyhoo, as seen with *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, a film that would win union approval for eventually being filmed in the U.S. Nevertheless, an original production advertisement reports, "After more than two years of preparation and research George Stevens and his staff have departed for the Holy Land, Rome and Spain to seek locations for the forthcoming production for 20th Century-Fox of Fulton Oursler's tale of the greatest life ever lived."⁷⁴ Some production ads now look naïve in their ambitions. "20th Century-Fox Announces The Todd-AO production Of *Cleopatra* Now Shooting In London Will Be Available For Selected Engagements In June," publicizes one announcement whose release date was off by two years and whose filming site would eventually be moved to Rome.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Lust for Life* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, August 8, 1955, 6-7.

⁷² *Love in the Afternoon* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, July 19, 1956, 6-7.

⁷³ *The Secret Ways* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, August 15, 1960, 6-7.

⁷⁴ *The Greatest Story Ever Told* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, May 16, 1960, 6-7.

⁷⁵ *Cleopatra* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, September 14, 1960, 12.

One of the most interesting advertisements concerns Burt Lancaster and Harold Hecht's 1956 multinational co-production of *Trapeze*. An ad taken out in *Daily Variety* builds up the film's six million dollar budget and what producer Harold Hecht calls the "Global Look." After describing the film's international cast and crew and the foreign locale of Paris' Cirque d'Hiver, Hecht advances the international scope of the production as a paradigm for a new kind of picture. Below a globe of Earth, a note from the producer claims, "It's a new look in pictures—this Global Look—an international array of world-renowned artists in a production surpassing size and concept... The concept of the Global Look... will inspire the entire future of our film productions"⁷⁶ Though certainly not the first film to use international talent and locations, the advertising for *Trapeze* stands out as a self-conscious effort to sell the film industry on an internationalism that would continue to grow through the rest of the decade.⁷⁷

Trailers

In her study of film trailers, Lisa Kernan posits that one convention of the form—the use of "shots of nature and other scene-setting devices"—creates a travelogue effect that promises audiences an experience of travel through a mixture of titles, voice-over narration and moving imagery.⁷⁸ Trailers for overseas productions fulfilled this commitment to transport audiences by depicting foreign places. For example, a sequence in a trailer for *Three Coins in the Fountain*, the first CinemaScope film to be shot in Italy,

⁷⁶ *Trapeze* advertisement, *Daily Variety*, April 20, 1956, 6.

⁷⁷ Lancaster and Hecht's production company would develop this strategy further in 1958 as they set-up publicity-promotion representatives in Paris, London, Rome, Berlin and Tokyo. "H-H-L 1st Indie With Global Look," *Daily Variety*, June 6, 1958, 1, 4.

⁷⁸ Lisa Kernan, *Coming Attractions: Reading American Movie Trailers* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 12.

plays like a travelogue as images and voice-over demonstrate how the widescreen format renders St. Peter's Basilica, the Borghese Gardens and the Venice canals. A trailer for Fox's *House of Bamboo* similarly flaunts location with images of Tokyo and Yokohama, including Mount Fuji, a playground atop the Matsuya department store, and the waterways of the Sumida River, while a voice-over boasts, "Sensational in locale, as the magic cameras of CinemaScope go to Japan for the first time to capture thrills never filmed before!"

As with certain advertisements, some trailers also called attention to making-of information as a way to promote the production's spectacular undertaking. In a trailer for John Ford's *Mogambo*, a narrator declares over images of the film's white characters traveling through Africa, "*Mogambo*, unforgettable adventure in untamed Africa. Africa, known for centuries as the white man's graveyard. Yet into its veldts and mountains went a crew of actors and technicians determined to return with a motion picture unlike anything ever brought to the screen." Here, the story of white adventurers in black Africa becomes a dubious metaphor for the filmmaking experience.

Other trailers used direct address to plug a movie's production circumstances. In a trailer for Alfred Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, Jimmy Stewart speaks to the camera and recounts how the film unit traveled thousands of miles to Marrakesh and then to London for backgrounds. In a ten-minute featurette trailer for *The Ten Commandments*, director Cecil B. DeMille speaks from a library set and relates that the film was shot in the actual Egyptian locations where Moses once walked. He traces the path of both production and prophet on a map of the Sinai Peninsula, moving from the

Land of Goshen to Mount Sinai, thereby imbuing the production with an aura of religious significance.

The early 1950s also saw the resurgence of longer trailers that employed behind-the-scenes details, such as the Italian location shooting of *Quo Vadis*.⁷⁹ During this time, MGM released the nearly hour-long preview compilation film, *The MGM Story* (1950), which was initially aimed at exhibitors, but its popularity led the studio to distribute the promotional film to the public.⁸⁰ Introduced by MGM production head Dore Schary, the film presents previews of upcoming pictures, including *King Solomon's Mines*, *Quo Vadis* and *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman* (1952), whose foreign locations were stressed. Reminiscent of *The MGM Story*, Fox released in 1957 *The Big Show*, a feature-length promotional film that played around the country and showcased upcoming releases for “exhibitor staffs, press, stockholders, motion picture councils and organizations, civic leaders and opinion-makers!,” a trade press notice for the film explains.⁸¹ Behind-the-scenes material consisted of directors introducing their productions from the Fox studios and foreign locations. In an office in London, newly independent producer Darryl Zanuck divulges the forthcoming slate of foreign productions, including *Island in the Sun* (1957). In addition, director Henry King discusses *The Sun Also Rises* (1957) from the rooftops of Mexico City, while producer David O. Selznick plugs *A Farewell to Arms* and *Tender Is the Night* (1962) from the Swiss Alps, where he announces, “We shall have fantastic spectacle against backgrounds never before seen on the screen.”

⁷⁹ “One-Reel Trailers Back In Vogue,” *Daily Variety*, July 24, 1951, 3.

⁸⁰ “‘MGM Story’ Getting Fresh Format For General Release,” *Daily Variety*, November 7, 1950, 5.

⁸¹ “The Big Show” advertisement, *Daily Variety*, May 6, 1957, 5-7.

Promotional Featurettes

Trailers in which a film's personnel recounted how a movie was made signaled a shift in promotional campaigns, as behind-the-scenes clips and anecdotes began to sell the story of a film's production, a trend that found an unlikely home on television. In the late 1950s, when studios such as Disney had proven the success of using sneak peeks into new films and the filmmaking process on its show *Disneyland*, other film companies saw the value of promoting theatrical releases with behind-the-scenes footage.⁸² This trend also reflected a wider public interest in making-of information found on television and in magazines.⁸³ By the 1960s, studios realized that TV networks liked to show promotional featurettes as accompaniments to primetime movies.⁸⁴ Although these kinds of films date back to the silent studio era when cinemagoers were treated to visual tours of studio backlots, the 1960s upsurge was ushered in by the cross-promotion potential of television and new portable equipment that allowed small crews to travel all around the world to obtain footage of production work.

Authentic foreign locations and the attendant obstacles of working abroad became a major point of interest in promotional featurettes. A making-of short for Nicholas Ray's *King of Kings* shows the filming of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. The promo details the Super Technirama crew's difficult camera and lighting set-up, the use of thousands of Spanish extras, and the creation of production facilities and a commissary in the hills outside of Madrid. For Carl Foreman's *The Guns of Navarone* (1961), Columbia Pictures

⁸² Christopher Anderson, *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the Fifties* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), chs. 6 and 7.

⁸³ Denise Mann, *Hollywood Independents: The Postwar Talent Takeover* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 25-26.

⁸⁴ "Promotional Featurettes for TV (5 to 30 Mins., Up to \$25,000) Enjoy Spreading Acceptance," *Variety*, December 11, 1963, 5, 16.

produced a series of featurettes recounting the parade of elite visitors to the film's set, the Greek honeymoon of star James Darren, and the shopping spree of actresses Irene Papas and Gia Scala. Also illustrated are the difficult camera positions on the island of Rhodes. As the camera crew perches precariously alongside vertiginous sea cliffs, a voice-over narrates, "A studio would be safer, but only such rugged landscapes as these could capture the searing drama and high adventure of a lastingly great film."

The imagery and rhetoric of these featurettes, which celebrate the films' foreign settings and the filmmakers' expertise, also fell into a promotional campaign's discourse of realism and spectacle. Perhaps more significantly, these promos served a critical function by giving the public insight into the culture of filmmaking and the production process—albeit in a hyped-up way—which could be accessed through television. Even though the promotion of foreign locations was in part a tactic to lure audiences away from television, in time Hollywood would use TV to market the very features—spectacular landscapes, widescreen and vivid color—that the boxed medium could not yet deliver. This fusing of cinema and television points to the growing convergence of these media for promotional purposes, one which would increase all through the rest of the 20th century.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE

As Hollywood films that were shot overseas began to lay emphasis on foreign locations in the style of the movies and promotional campaigns, U.S. film reviewers in turn evaluated this aesthetic change. In part, the film reviewers' regard for foreign locations likely stemmed from a combination of a film's visuals as well as the production notes and

press kits provided by studios, which typically underscored where the picture were shot. But also during this period, the industry was in transition and trying to draw in audiences with new stylistic and technical innovations, and in this context foreign location shooting became part of the critical discourse in the trade press that at once reflected changes in the films and helped spur on these changes in a kind of feedback loop. As Lea Jacobs explicates, “The trade press is considered as *producing* a discourse on films and on audiences, not as a *reflection* of what real spectators did with the movies they watched.”⁸⁵

Nowhere was this discourse more apparent than in the pages of *Variety*, which had a long tradition of appraising technical and stylistic matters. As a film industry publication, this trade press paper, which came out in both daily and weekly editions, provided producers, filmmakers and technicians a critical discussion of overseas production practices in its trademark idiom, thereby helping to institutionalize foreign location shooting. “*Variety* was the single best source for understanding how the industry evaluated its product,” Jacobs suggests.⁸⁶ Examining its reviews gives us a good opportunity to see how assessments of foreign locations were articulated within the industry.⁸⁷

Location Shooting as a Selling Point

For a publication that gauged films for their business potential, *Variety* reviews often treated foreign locations as an element that could increase a film’s box office prospects.

Assessing William Berke’s low-budget independent production *The Jungle* (1952), which

⁸⁵ Lea Jacobs, *The Decline of Sentiment: American Film in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 18.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁷ As Lea Jacobs did in her book, I do not refer to the names of reviewers since the reviews were written anonymously with the writer identified by “three-or four-letter ‘dog-tags’.” *Ibid.*, 21.

was shot in India, the review contends that the film's Indian locations enhanced what was an otherwise run-of-the-mill "programmer." The reviewer writes, "The exploitation values that accrue to 'The Jungle' from its location lensing in India make it a good bet for ballyhoo dates. Fights between wild animals, elephant stampedes, slithering snakes and treacherous natives are displayed against a jungle background to give it a strong selling material for the programmer market."⁸⁸ For the U.S.-British co-production *A Prize of Gold* (1955), the reviewer offers, "Berlin backgrounds which give a vivid impression of the war-damaged capital and a tense plot describing an attempt to hijack a plane in mid-air and seize its load of bullion, are the key b.o. ingredients."⁸⁹ While new color and widescreen technologies were being touted as developments to draw in audiences, reviewers also equated location shooting with these new innovations and their added impact on revenue projections. For *Sayonara*, the reviewer deduces, "The story values, lush Technicolor lensing of Japanese backgrounds in the new Technirama widescreen process and skilled production all add up to wow boxoffice potency..."⁹⁰

In some *Variety* reviews, a movie with a weak story could be improved with interesting location shooting. Describing Paramount's Pine-Thomas production of *Jivaro* (1954), whose background footage was shot in the Brazilian Amazon, the reviewer reasons, "Edward Ludwig's direction is deft enough to overcome the stereotyped aspects of the plot, and his use of Amazon footage heightens the melodramatic effect."⁹¹ A review for the independent production *Flight to Hong Kong* (1956) notes, "'Flight to Hong Kong' is given a lift by backdropping its unfoldment against actual locations in

⁸⁸ "The Jungle" review, *Daily Variety*, August 7, 1952, 3.

⁸⁹ "A Prize of Gold" review, *Daily Variety*, February 21, 1955, 3.

⁹⁰ "Sayonara" review, *Daily Variety*, November 13, 1957, 3.

⁹¹ "Jivaro" review, *Daily Variety*, January 18, 1954, 3.

Hong Kong and other foreign parts, but episodic treatment of the story slows film's pace."⁹² The appreciation of location shooting in these reviews reflects the pictorial benefit that a natural background could provide films, even poorly plotted ones.

Interestingly, over time, the overuse of certain foreign locations led to a locale's loss of visual interest. By the early 1960s, certain cities such as London, Paris and Rome had been picked over for their locations, leaving little cinematographic originality. A negative review for the Warner Bros. production of *Rome Adventure* (1962) articulates the idea. "Commercially," the piece reads, "the picture will have to contend with its own listless, artificial story and draggy tempo, and perhaps, to some extent, with the fact that Rome in recent years has been thoroughly exploited as the site of screen vehicles lauding its beauty, antiquity and ingrained romanticism."⁹³

Probably influenced by the promotional mechanisms of studios and film companies, some *Variety* reviews accentuated making-of knowledge as an added draw for the film. A review for Howard Hawks' *Land of the Pharaohs* makes plain where this insider information comes from: "A program note states that 9,787 people appear in one quarry scene and it's easy to believe when scanned through the sweeping eye of the CinemaScope camera."⁹⁴ A review for Henry Hathaway's Fox production of *White Witch Doctor* (1953) describes the lengths that the film went to in rendering its locations. The reviewer remarks, "Producer Otto Lang spent several months in the Belgian Congo with a camera crew for this story, which benefits immeasurably by such footage. Vast panoramas of the Congo River and the jungle, native dances and ceremonies and other

⁹² "Flight to Hong Kong" review, *Daily Variety*, October 1, 1956, 3.

⁹³ "Rome Adventure" review, *Daily Variety*, March 14, 1962, 3.

⁹⁴ "Land of the Pharaohs" review, *Daily Variety*, June 21, 1955, 3.

fascinating backgrounds have been limned for pictorial interest.”⁹⁵ For *War and Peace*, the reviewer reports, “Hollywood and Italian know-how, some \$6,000,000 capital investment, and an overwhelming production personnel which, in the recreated battle scenes utilized between 5,000 and 6,000 Italian troops doubling as celluloid soldiers, have produced a visual epic that is assured of permanent stature in the annals of the motion picture industry.”⁹⁶ Less a critical assessment of the films, these reviews come off as an extension of the film companies’ publicity efforts by mentioning the conditions of production.

The Spectacle and Realism of Locations

As discussed above, authentic foreign locations relied on notions of spectacle, a long-established criterion for not only selling but also assessing motion pictures. At times, reviewers discussed this sense of spectacle in terms of the capturing of authentic monuments. A review for Frank Ferrin’s independent production of *Hindu* (1953) equates spectacle with location, stating, “Spectacle, including interiors filmed inside the fabulous palace of the Maharajah of Mysore and the splendor of the Dasara, most important of all Hindu religious ceremonies, plays impressive parts in footage photographed with fine regard for pictorial values.”⁹⁷ At other times, a less definite but equally admirable foreign landscape could convey a sense of spectacle, as the review for *Land of the Pharaohs* implies: “While shy of proven draw value in cast names, the Howard Hawks production for Warners compensates for that lack with romance, adventure and intrigue played

⁹⁵ “White Witch Doctor” review, *Daily Variety*, June 15, 1953, 3.

⁹⁶ “War and Peace” review, *Daily Variety*, August 22, 1956, 3.

⁹⁷ “The Hindu” review, *Daily Variety*, May 20, 1953, 3.

against a grandioso backdrop of actual story locales populated with teeming masses of thousands upon thousands of extras.”⁹⁸

Just as the spectacle of locations functioned as a critical criterion, the realism of locations also shaped the appraisal of a film. A reviewer for Paramount’s *Little Boy Lost* perceives, “Realistic values are furnished in the William Perlberg-George Seaton production by scenes lensed in France and for further authentication of the Gallic local, the cast, with the exception of Crosby, is French.”⁹⁹ Here, both French location and cast worked in tandem to convey an overall sense of authenticity. For Joseph Mankiewicz’s production of *Barefoot Contessa*, which was shot in Italy, the review appraises, “The Figaro production provides fitting backdrops for the international goings-on. Film, lensed abroad, looks authentic and authoritative with its actual places and expertly designed sets.”¹⁰⁰ For George Cukor’s *Bhowani Junction*, the reviewer writes, “Metro went to Pakistan to shoot a film about India. The journey has paid rich dividends, for the sense of realism in the film is one of the best things about it.”¹⁰¹ Considering the usage of locations in films during the postwar era, whether or not a film was shot in an authentic locale shaped a reviewer’s standards of spectacle and realism in assessing movies.

During this period’s increase in location shooting, reviewers were especially sensitive to instances when studio work looked fake or the integration of shots done on soundstages and those accomplished on location did not match. A review for *Beat the Devil* mentions, “All the exteriors were lensed on location in Italy, with fine matching

⁹⁸ “Land of the Pharaohs” review, 3.

⁹⁹ “Little Boy Lost” review, *Daily Variety*, July 8, 1953, 3.

¹⁰⁰ “Barefoot Contessa” review, *Daily Variety*, September 27, 1954, 3.

¹⁰¹ “Bhowani Junction” review, *Daily Variety*, May 4, 1956, 3.

work at Shepperton Studios.”¹⁰² Any hint of fakery could result in a pan, as was the case in a review of *Duel in the Jungle* (1954), a U.S.-British co-production shot on location in South Africa and in Elstree Studios. The reviewer makes the case, “On the basis of the formula entertainment values achieved, a lot of production time and coin could have been saved by doing the lensing in Griffith Park. Despite the authentic footage, many of the principal scenes are obviously played in front of a process screen so realism never has a chance.”¹⁰³ For the U.S.-British co-production of *Killers of Kilimanjaro* (1960), with locations filmed in Kenya, the reviewer commends the “striking locales” and interiors shot at Shepperton Studios. “There is some difficulty on several occasions, however,” the reviewer assesses, “when cuts from wild animal footage to performer reaction shots don’t quite match in hue or clarity.”¹⁰⁴

The use of stock footage was also noticed by reviewers, especially when it was not integrated smoothly. For *The Americano* (1955), the reviewer explains, “Brazilian footage is interesting, adding a jungle setting to a prairie plot. However, cutting in of some stock shots of coy birds, slithering snakes and bloodthirsty piranha is overdone.”¹⁰⁵ One brazen use of stock footage was MGM’s 1959 film *Watusi*, which recycled large sections of the studio’s earlier production of *King Solomon’s Mines*, shot about a decade earlier. The reviewer observes, “Original footage for ‘King Solomon’s Mines’ is excellently hatched by cameraman Harold E. Wellman and editor William E. Gulick. New exteriors are remarkable in duplicating the African veldt. But it was surely an error to use in ‘Watusi’ two of the most famous sequences from the earlier film—the stampede

¹⁰² “Beat the Devil” review, *Daily Variety*, December 4, 1953, 3.

¹⁰³ “Duel In the Jungle” review, *Daily Variety*, August 6, 1954, 3.

¹⁰⁴ “Killers Of Kilimanjaro” review, *Daily Variety*, April 7, 1960, 3.

¹⁰⁵ “The Americano” review, *Daily Variety*, December 29, 1954, 3.

scene and the Watusi dance scene.”¹⁰⁶ For these reviewers, the prominence of foreign locations in Hollywood’s overseas productions helped develop the criteria for movie realism by solidifying the connection between story setting and location. Any blatant deviation from this connection could potentially detract from a film’s sense of realism, as was evident with the poor mismatching of studio and location work and the clumsy use of stock footage.

The Style and Form of Location Shooting

Coinciding with the introduction of new widescreen technologies in the mid-1950s, the panoramic rendering of location also became a benchmark for judging film style. A review of *Three Coins in the Fountain* highlights the use of CinemaScope in portraying Italian locations. The reviewer takes note, “The excellent Sol C. Siegel production, making perhaps the best use of CinemaScope to date, carries a four-minute prolog dwelling on Rome’s many fountains, paced by the strains of Jule Styne-Sammy Cahn’s song hit of the same title, for superb pictorial and musical effect.”¹⁰⁷ A review for Robert Aldrich’s *Vera Cruz* (1954) states that the film “is the first release in SuperScope...and the anamorphic lensing is in an easy-on-the-eyes 2-to 1 aspect ratio, entirely ample to the demands of the outdoor locationing in Mexico and to the sprawling action that features much of the footage.”¹⁰⁸ With new widescreen cameras trained at spectacular foreign scenery, a critic could evaluate the deployment of the new camera technology and the inherent beauty of the landscape brought to light by the camera.

¹⁰⁶ “Watusi” review, *Daily Variety*, April 13, 1959, 2.

¹⁰⁷ “Three Coins in the Fountain” review, *Daily Variety*, May 12, 1954, 3.

¹⁰⁸ “Vera Cruz” review, *Daily Variety*, December 22, 1954, 3.

For the movie reviewer, a foreign location was worthy of appreciation for its qualities of realism and spectacle and the application of new technologies, but to be truly admired, the rendering of location needed to be motivated by story. Because of classical Hollywood cinema's formal convention that style should support narrative, the way a location was integrated into storytelling became a critical measurement for judging the use of locations. Typically, a reviewer deemed location shooting successful if locales did not distract from the film's story. In the review for Edward Dmytryk's *Soldier of Fortune*, this assessment is mobilized: "The standout lensing by Leo Tover takes the audience on an intriguing tour of Hong Kong, but wisely never lets the picture become a travelog that would interfere with story-telling."¹⁰⁹ Similarly, the review for the Japan-shot *Sayonara* insists that director Joshua Logan "has made excellent use of the natural backgrounds without letting them intrude upon the story line."¹¹⁰

Less successful in the eye of the film reviewer was when a movie's story and the use of locations did not cohere. A reviewer for MGM's *Betrayed* (1954), shot in London and Holland, surmises, "These settings, effectively caught in Eastman Color by F.A. Young's photography, add a picturesque touch, and often the pictorial values overshadow the story-telling."¹¹¹ In the review for *Rome Adventure*, the critic contends, "A good half of the film is little more than a travelog, with incidental plot. Over one expanse, virtually nothing appreciable transpires in the way of story for a full 50-minutes as the picture lapses into a virtual guided tour of Italy."¹¹² As will be discussed in the next chapter, the

¹⁰⁹ "Soldier of Fortune" review, *Daily Variety*, May 25, 1955, 3.

¹¹⁰ "Sayonara" review, 3.

¹¹¹ "Betrayed" review, *Daily Variety*, July 19, 1954, 3.

¹¹² "Rome Adventure" review, 3.

natural integration of locations into a film's narrative became a convention for Hollywood filmmakers, a notion supported by the trade reviews.

One possible result of foregrounding location in a film's narrative was that a motion picture played like a travelogue, which became a frequent metaphor for evaluating a foreign production's use of locations. A review for Jean Negulesco's Paris-shot *A Certain Smile* maintains, "The travelog aspects of the film are among its most attractive features" while another review for *It Started in Naples* (1960) puts forth, "A more dazzling Neapolitan travelog is difficult to envision."¹¹³ A reviewer for *The World of Suzie Wong* (1961) commends the "the enchanting shots of Hong Kong," adding, "There are several passages of sheer travelog, worthwhile glimpses of culture-in-action. Audiences unfamiliar with the city will marvel at them."¹¹⁴

Other reviews treated a movie's use of locations as a cursory filmed tour by invoking the idiomatic expression "Cook's tour," inspired by the 19th century British travel agent Thomas Cook. A review for Douglas Sirk's *Interlude* (1957) notes, "Best feature of the Ross Hunter production is the striking photographic tour it provides of Munich, Germany and Salzburg, Austria... With the Cook's Tour covered, there's little else to praise."¹¹⁵ Additionally, a reviewer for *The Seven Hills of Rome* (1958) writes, "'Three Coins in the Fountain' started the easy-chair, cinematic Cook's tour of Rome in Technicolorful celluloid and Mario Lanza's 'The Seven Hills of Rome' completes it."¹¹⁶ Reflecting the fleeting tourist's view of the world evoked by the Cook's tour idiom, some reviews read like a checklist of a traveler's itinerary. For MGM's Egypt-shot *Valley of*

¹¹³ "A Certain Smile" review, *Daily Variety*, July 30, 1958, 3. "It Started In Naples" review, *Daily Variety*, July 6, 1960, 3.

¹¹⁴ "The World Of Suzie Wong" review, *Daily Variety*, November 10, 1960, 3.

¹¹⁵ "Interlude" review, *Daily Variety*, May 7, 1957, 3.

¹¹⁶ "The Seven Hills of Rome" review, *Daily Variety*, January 8, 1958, 3.

the Kings (1954), the reviewer expresses, “Viewers are treated to day and night scenes of great beauty as the cameras pick up the Sphinx and Pyramids, historic Mount Sinai, the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, the vast desert, Cairo streets and buildings, Mena House, a famous hotel near the Pyramids, and other landmarks.”¹¹⁷ Essentially, these reviewers played into the efforts of producers and promotional campaigns to associate foreign-shot films with tourism, which reflected the U.S. public’s growing consciousness of the rest of the world and a greater interest in international travel. As both an estimation of production work abroad and an expression of Hollywood’s attempt to promote the value of these films, these reviews helped set the terms for thinking and discussing the practice of foreign location shooting.

Conclusion: Changes in Hollywood’s Promotional Methods and Public Image

The selling of foreign productions through the promotion of authentic foreign scenery and the monumental operation of achieving these images indicates some consequential developments in Hollywood production practices and the tastes and habits of movie-going consumers. Because of the amplification of realism and spectacle in response to the popularity of television as well as the U.S. public’s mounting interest in international travel and their awareness of the wider world, Hollywood had to embark on a new method of portraying foreign-set stories via location shooting. Publicists and advertisers subsequently brought to the fore this stylistic characteristic by fostering production stories in the press and accenting authentic foreign locales in exploitation tie-ins, posters, advertisements, trailers and featurettes.

¹¹⁷ “Valley of the Kings” review, *Daily Variety*, July 6, 1954, 3.

Moreover, the promotional campaigns for foreign productions reflect some influential changes in Hollywood publicity and advertising strategies and the image of the U.S. film industry. During the classical studio era, campaigns kept promotional activities during the production phase to a minimum. Even as studios previously employed “unit men” to turn out pre-production anecdotes, star biographies and industry gossip, much of this material was assembled before the film began shooting.¹¹⁸ Additionally, production stories—both true and apocryphal—trickled into the public through fan magazines, newsreels, craft journals and ultimately pressbooks, but this kind of publicity usually became a part of a film’s pre-release campaign.¹¹⁹ In the postwar era, the hiring of unit publicists and the facilitation of press coverage increased the benefit of doing promotional work during the production phases, rather than waiting until the production finished to sell the film.¹²⁰

This shift led to a second change in film promotions: The production experience itself became content for publicity and advertising campaigns. The publicity surrounding the production circumstances was not new in Hollywood. Advertising the high costs of filmmaking and a production’s scope and size was a common promotional strategy that dated from 1910s.¹²¹ However, in the postwar era, the concern with location shooting—especially foreign location shooting—and the difficulties that such work entailed were dramatized in press releases, advertisements, trailers and promotional featurettes as a way

¹¹⁸ Miller, “Helping Exhibitors,” 191-92.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 189. Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 283-84.

¹²⁰ “Agency Plumping For Ad-Bally Prior To Films’ Shooting,” *Daily Variety*, May 14 1958, 4.

¹²¹ Staiger, “Standardization and differentiation,” 99-100.

to provide a dwindling movie audience with proof of a film's worth and the continuing ingenuity of the cinematic medium.¹²²

Finally, the ways that Hollywood foreign productions were promoted unveils changes in the postwar U.S. film industry. The promotion of foreign location shooting signals that Hollywood production was becoming more international. These campaigns also shed light on marketing a self-image contrived by the industry during a time of transformation. As John Caldwell asserts, marketing can be “viewed as a quintessential form of industrial self-representation.”¹²³

During the classical studio era, the U.S. film industry had cultivated a self-image of a glamorous and technically savvy artists' colony that was closely tied to Hollywood the geographical place and Hollywood the symbolic space. However, by the 1950s, this image of Hollywood was becoming outdated as film companies and independent producers were shooting movies around the globe, a new reality captured in film publicity. Nevertheless, these images were just as semi-manufactured as anything that had come before. Instead of stars living out their fantasies in Beverly Hills mansions, there were globetrotting actors involved in the high adventure of exotic location shoots—an idealization that sometimes masked the lure of tax incentives. Instead of directors conjuring up illusions on Hollywood soundstages, there were filmmakers working all over the world and overcoming the most difficult of logistical challenges. At once

¹²² These changes coincided with what Denise Mann suggests was a significant shift in postwar promotions when studios gave up their hold on film fan magazines and as industry gossip columnists lost their influence in shaping the image of the industry. In their place, she contends that TV entertainers offered the public “insider references.” Mann, *Hollywood Independents*, 25-26.

¹²³ Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 274.

accurate and exaggerated, these images tell us a good deal about evolving production practices and an industry that was navigating a period of major transition.

Chapter Five.

The Art and Practice of Foreign Location Shooting

In 1932, MGM made *Red Dust*, a story of a rubber plantation owner, who is torn between a prostitute and the wife of a land surveyor. Although set in Indo-China, the film was shot at MGM's Culver City studios and backlot on sets recycled from *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932), where director Victor Fleming stages a key scene of arrival and departure.¹ On a mock river, a steamer docks to deposit a well-to-do surveyor named Gary Willis and his wife, who plan to work for a rubber plantation owner. In this jungle setting, the murky river, the ramshackle boat and tropical vegetation all suggest an exotic locale (figure 1). Like many films of this era, foreign scenery is recreated in the studio and outdoor sets, where production design and story work together to convey a faraway setting.

The plantation owner Carson, played by Clark Gable, wants to put on board the prostitute Vantine and send her away, but she balks at having to depart. In an intimate two-shot, Carson misreads Vantine's hesitation and offers her money, thinking she wants payment for keeping him company (fig. 2). Meanwhile, in the background, Carson's workers—referred to in the film as “coolies”—load the woman's luggage on the boat. To Vantine's chagrin, Carson gives her an abrupt goodbye and then boards the boat to greet his guests. Inside the cabin of the surveyor, Carson is taken aback by Mrs. Willis, an exchange her husband misses as he tries to hide the symptoms of his oncoming fever. Back outside, Carson introduces the couple to McQuarg, the manager of the plantation (fig. 3), who subsequently leads Mr. Willis to Carson's homestead. In a medium close-up,

¹ Michael Sragow, *Victor Fleming: An American Movie Master* (New York: Pantheon, 2008), 185.

Carson stays with Mrs. Willis and expresses his disbelief at seeing a woman of her class and beauty in such a remote place—a lascivious suggestiveness that unsettles her (fig. 4). Again, the local labor can be seen in the background, loading and unloading the boat.

In 1953, MGM remade *Red Dust* as *Mogambo*, moving the story setting from Indo-China to East Africa and focusing on Victor (again played by Gable), a big game hunter who makes his living capturing animals and selling them to zoos. This time, the film's exteriors were shot in the British East African colonies, trading in the mutability of the studio for the fixedness of place. Director John Ford restages the original arrival and departure scene, but now he shoots the color film entirely on location, emphasizing new story points and capitalizing on the authenticity of the African backdrops. Again, the steamer arrives, but now the camera is placed further back from the action to highlight a right-to-left recessional composition of the river and the bush in the background, all rendered in deep focus (fig. 5). A line of African women in the foreground and African men in the middle ground on the dock add to the slanted directionality.

Replacing the character of Vantine, Kelly now waits, sitting on her luggage as Victor explains his decision to send her packing (fig. 6). The film cuts to a series of alternating over-the-shoulder shots, whose backgrounds highlight the conflict between the two characters. Behind Kelly lies the river, down which Victor wants her dispatched (fig. 7). Behind Victor are a tangle of trees and a corner of his home, where Kelly would like to stay (fig. 8). As in the first film, Kelly is just a fling for Victor, who wants her gone in order to focus on his new guests, an anthropologist named Nordley and his wife, who have hired the white hunter to take them on safari.

Victor walks to the docked boat to welcome his guests (fig. 9). Once more, the camera remains further back than in the earlier film in order to keep the river and the horizon line of trees in the frame. There is a cut to a closer, medium long shot as Mrs. Nordley expresses her delight in being in Africa (fig. 10). In the background, Victor's men load the boat, and Victor has his manager Brown-Pryce lead the couple to the homestead. Then Ford gives us a crucial interaction absent from the first film: The couple walks past Kelly in a long shot (fig. 11). The women trade glances, but Kelly's gaze makes Mrs. Nordley avert hers. The camera stays at a distance taking in both the exchange of looks and the African backdrop with lines of slim tree trunks and dockside pulleys forming geometric quadrants for the two women. Kelly next boards the boat and here Victor offers money for airfare out of Africa, which she treats as a cheapening payment (fig. 12). Victor watches Kelly leave and the film's color scheme is encapsulated in this shot (fig. 13): the white of Kelly's dress, the yellow of her parasol, the red of the steamer chimney, and the green of the African backdrop and vegetation. She tries to remain stoic in the face of disappointment and humiliation as she is relegated to the status of the caged leopard beside her.

In *Mogambo*, the script and Ford's direction shift the focus of the scene away from Clark Gable's character onto Kelly, using her as the scene's fulcrum by concentrating on her reaction to being cast off and replaced. This point is underscored by withholding the hints of Victor's infatuation with Mrs. Nordley and the suggestion of her husband's fever until later. This nuance is typical of Ford's handling of character, but just as striking is the use of locations. The river, the African backdrop and the natural lighting give depth to the image through recessionary compositions and deep focus. During the key

exchange between Victor and Kelly, the background becomes a reflection of their conflict, in which Victor wants Kelly to leave and she wants to stay with him. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of colors and the interplay of natural background, props and costume all form a color scheme that develops over the course of the film. The scene is not without its dubious aspects though. At times, the welcoming Africans are represented as mere decoration, another sign of supposed authenticity. While it may not be on the same level as the blatant racist depiction of “coolies” in *Red Dust*, the film still consigns the locals to the status of décor. Nevertheless, Ford demonstrates how an authentic foreign location can be brought in line with Hollywood storytelling and style while also holding expressive potential. It is these issues of foreign locations and film style that we will focus on in this chapter.

Location Shooting and Hollywood Conventions

Despite the changes in craft practice and shooting locations of foreign productions, these films were not radically different in terms of form and style from films made back in Hollywood studios. Hollywood filmmakers who went to Europe or other regions around the world did not turn out Neorealist films or movies under the sway of emerging new waves.² Hollywood overseas made Hollywood-style films by developing a more flexible and transcultural filmmaking process that continued production practices established in the Hollywood studio system while adapting to foreign film industries. Unlike most new waves and realist movements, Hollywood films shot abroad were largely big-budget affairs that took advantage of lower overseas costs to realize higher production values.

² In the early 1960s, the discussion of creating an American New Wave took place not on these foreign productions but at home as a reflection of low-budget filmmaking. This debate appears in various issues of *Daily Variety* in 1961.

While certain genres such as semi-documentary war pictures, romantic films about Americans abroad, and historical epics became more pronounced, the stories operated within the norms of classical narration: goal-driven characters and plots unfolding across a cause-and-effect chain of events. Similarly, the style of these films stayed constant from earlier decades, with editing and spatial orientation shaped by continuity principles and audiovisual devices in the service of narrative.³ However, one key stylistic element became more prominent in these films: location shooting, a characteristic, as I have shown, that was foregrounded in promotional and industry discourses. The task for Hollywood filmmakers working abroad then was to harness a location and bring it in line with the conventions of Hollywood story and style.

To carry out this inquiry into location work, I ask: What technical and stylistic problems did authentic foreign locales present to Hollywood filmmakers? What composition conventions guided filmmakers representing foreign locations? How did these conventions change during the postwar period, especially as new filmmaking technologies were introduced? What storytelling and stylistic functions did foreign locations fulfill and how did these functions develop over time? In order to answer these questions, I reconstruct the creative choices that the filmmakers confronted, using a wide sampling of films, technical discourse from *American Cinematographer*, information from production files, and anecdotes about craft practice from memoirs.

My focus is on the locality as it exists in the real world. Whether the location is a built environment (e.g. a city street, a building or a ruin) or a natural environment (e.g. a landscape, a mountain or a body of water), filmmakers had to incorporate these spaces

³ Bordwell, "Part One: The classical Hollywood style 1917-60," *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 1-84.

into the film frame and shape them to satisfy narrative and stylistic demands. An

American Cinematographer article notes:

The problems encountered when shooting exterior scenes out of doors (some ‘exteriors’ are shot indoors on the sound stage) arise, paradoxically, from the rather over-abundant generosity of Nature. That is to say, the chief concern in shooting exteriors is not so much to record on film the basically necessary photographic elements—lights, subject, etc.—but to *control* those elements, which have been so lavishly placed at our disposal, in order to obtain the best possible pictorial result.⁴

While the concentration of this chapter is on exterior scenes, I will touch on the shooting of location interiors, where many of the same concerns of controlling lighting, décor and staging come into play.

Location shooting exists somewhere in the fuzzy realm between production design and cinematography. It shares with set design the ability to convey setting and certainly some art directors have dressed locations and added structures to manipulate their look. Unlike the construction of sets, however, locations exist in the real world and filmmakers must adapt to the particulars of a locale. The creative use of a location is based on selection, composition, the control of natural and artificial lighting, and the relationship between character and background. By studying how filmmakers portrayed a location and set an action within it, my aim is to arrive at a better understanding of the composition tactics that Hollywood filmmakers drew from and how location can fulfill expressive and storytelling functions.

⁴ “Some important things to remember when Shooting Exteriors,” *American Cinematographer*, October 1961, 602 (emphasis in the original).

This examination of authentic foreign location carries on my overall project to trace how Hollywood filmmakers undertook making films overseas. To guide this pursuit, I invoke David Bordwell's problem-solution model of stylistic history, which offers a way to reconstruct the continuities and changes of foreign location shooting as a "network of problems and solutions" confronting the filmmaker.⁵ Important to this study of stylistic history is the concept of stylistic conventions. By looking at the conventions that were available to filmmakers as they shifted production abroad, we can identify some of the established traditions of composition that directors and cinematographers drew from as they moved into foreign locations. Furthermore, we can treat the ways that filmmakers worked within these conventions as proximate causal forces that shaped location shooting but also consider how these practices intersected with other influencing factors, such as technology and economics.

In addition, the problem-solution model allows for the coexistence of different approaches to locations at the same time. In any given year from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, a filmmaker may have opted to shoot entirely on location, another may have mixed authentic exteriors with studio-bound interiors (both foreign and Hollywood studios), and yet another may have shown foreign location through rear projection. For this reason, the following account of foreign location shooting does not follow a tidy and linear progression of change. However, through a careful analysis of films and a reconstruction of filmmakers' choices, we can point to the development of some of the reigning conventions that guided these filmmakers' shooting techniques on foreign locations.

⁵ David Bordwell, *On the History of Film Style* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 149-157. Idem, *Figures Traced in Light: On Cinematic Staging* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 249-254.

One caveat before proceeding: The following methods of analysis could be applied to location shooting in the United States. Hollywood filmmakers encountered corresponding logistical and technical difficulties with location work both domestically and abroad, so a consideration of foreign locations should be seen within the wider context of the move towards increased off-the-lot filming throughout the postwar era. However, isolating foreign location shooting from domestic location shooting grows out of a couple of factors. Firstly, the analysis of foreign location shooting rests on the flexible mode of production analyzed in Chapters Two and Three. Due to the lack of domestic infrastructure and lessening of studio supervision, both of which would have been available even to film units on location in the U.S., filmmakers working overseas faced a more intensified series of obstacles when shooting on location. Secondly, as explored in Chapter Four, the promotion of foreign locations and the discourse amongst critics, filmmakers, publicists and advertisers helped foreground locations in the films' visuals and in the minds of potential viewers in a way that domestic locations for the most part did not. This foregrounding, as I will demonstrate, at times found an imaginative expression in a film's internal patterning and its interaction with narrative.

A Brief History of Hollywood Location Shooting

Location shooting originated in the earliest of films, with the Lumière Brothers shooting their actualities in real locales to take advantage of available natural light and the spectacle of a cinematic reproduction of the world. In the 1910s, independent film companies based in New York and Chicago sent location units traveling throughout the U.S. with the occasional jaunt abroad to turn out fictional multi-reel films. Selig

Polyscope had its director-producers working out of different locations around the country while the Independent Motion Picture Company deployed a unit to Cuba for exteriors in warmer climates. Aiming to bring viewers stories set against distant backdrops, the Kalem Company sent its filmmakers and players overseas, including Ireland, Egypt and the Holy Land. Other companies such as Essanay and Lubin discharged units all over the U.S. to shoot authentic locations. Out of repeated location treks to Southern California, a film colony eventually emerged that benefited from good weather, varied climates and an open-shop labor pool, eventually evolving into the production center of Hollywood.⁶

By the mid-teens, Hollywood companies tapered location shooting because of its expense and attendant logistical complications. Furthermore, improved studio facilities and the growing mastery of lighting techniques and production design all contributed to a decrease in filming on location.⁷ With the transition to sound in the late 1920s and into the early 1930s, the majority of Hollywood films moved indoors in order to control the recording of dialogue.⁸ Here, foreign locales were replicated through set design and the rear projection of background plates shot in lands abroad. Moreover, filmmakers recreated exteriors on the studio backlot, the studio “ranch” and in the diverse environs surrounding Los Angeles, which could stand in for all kinds of settings. Looking back on this trend of studio filmmaking, industry analyst Dorothy B. Jones summarizes, “There used to be a saying in Hollywood that any place or any thing under the sun could be re-

⁶ Staiger, “The director-unit system,” 121-123. Gary W. Harner, “The Kalem Company, travel and on-location filming: The forging of an identity,” *Film History* 10 (1998): 188-209.

⁷ Staiger, “The director-unit system,” 125. Juan Antonio Ramírez, *Architecture for the Screen: A Critical Study of Set Design in Hollywood’s Golden Age*, trans. John F. Moffitt (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 16-21.

⁸ Salt, *Film Style & Technology*, 210.

created on the back lot. Producers had reasoned: Why go to tremendous expense and become embroiled in the many difficulties inherent in taking a production unit abroad if it can be shot just as well or better on the back lot?”⁹ The notion that landscape in and around Los Angeles could fulfill any demand of story setting was embodied in the industry maxim: “A tree is a tree, a rock is a rock: shoot it in Griffith Park!”¹⁰

Even during this period, though, some filmmakers ventured out of Southern California to shoot fresh scenery. King Vidor’s *Billy the Kid* (1930) was shot on location in New Mexico while Raoul Walsh’s *The Big Trail* (1930) was filmed in the Northwest and the Southwest of the United States. MGM produced a series of “outdoor” pictures, including *Trader Horn* in Africa, *Eskimo* (1934) in the Arctic, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935) in the South Seas, and *The Bad Man of Brimstone* (1937) in Utah. John Ford, who excelled at location shooting, balanced studio filming with exterior work throughout his career. In *Stagecoach* (1939), he portrayed Monument Valley in Utah, a region that would become a cinematic icon in both his films and popular culture.

During World War II, filming trends began to shift as restrictions on the building of movie sets forced some film companies to shoot on location.¹¹ Additionally, with a shortage of lighting and studio space and an intensifying focus on realism in wartime documentaries, more filmmakers opted to shoot movies in authentic locales. After the war, even though set limits were eased, location filming increased due to a variety of technical, industrial and economic reasons that helped spur exterior shooting both in the

⁹ Jones, “Hollywood’s International Relations,” 370.

¹⁰ Richard Dyer MacCann, “Hollywood Faces the World,” in *The Movies in Our Midst: Documents in the Cultural History of Film in the United States*, ed. Gerald Mast (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 667.

¹¹ Ramírez, *Architecture for the Screen*, 113. Bordwell, “The bounds of difference,” *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 77.

U.S. and abroad. As part of the postwar retrenchment effort, studios began cutting overhead and selling off their backlots. As another cost-saving solution, studios found that labor expenses were cheaper outside of California. Developments in faster film stock, smaller lighting units and more portable camera and sound equipment facilitated the move to locations.¹²

However, location shooting was not the quick fix for all studios since making a film off the lot, especially in a distant location, could be expensive. Paramount, which was the first studio to divest its theater chain, opted to curtail location treks and instead recreated exteriors in the company's studio and backlot.¹³ Other companies tried to shorten location shooting schedules in order to cut down on costs.¹⁴ Fox changed plans on a pair of films to be shot in North Africa to economize. For *Desert Fox*, North African scenes were recreated in California while Arizona stood in for North Africa in *David and Bathsheba* (1951).¹⁵

Still, certain postwar filmic trends reflected a growing naturalism that was heightened by working on location. In 1945, Twentieth Century-Fox and producer Louis de Rochemont made *The House on 92nd Street* and initiated a cycle of films referred to as "semi-documentary." Directed by Henry Hathaway, this series of films went on to include *13 Rue Madeleine* (1947), *Kiss of Death* (1947) and *Call Northside 777* (1948). Elia Kazan's *Boomerang!* (1947) and *Panic in the Streets* (1950) were also part of the trend. Characterized by procedural narratives, omniscient voice-over narration, and stories often based on true events, the films derived much of their appeal to realism with

¹² Bordwell, "Deep-focus cinematography," *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 349-350. Salt, *Film Style & Technology*, 229-230, 241-245. Schatz, *Boom and Bust*, 333.

¹³ "Par Giving UP Location Treks," *Daily Variety*, February 9, 1948, 6.

¹⁴ "\$640,000 Saved On Location Shots for 8 Films," *Daily Variety*, November 29, 1948, 16.

¹⁵ "20th Filming 'Fox' Here, Not Africa; Economy Move," *Daily Variety*, December 20, 1950, 2.

extensive location shooting, a fact often highlighted at the beginning of the films through voice over and in the opening credits.¹⁶ By drawing on techniques associated with documentaries, these films, according to *American Cinematographer*, employed a style that personified “the essence of reality.”¹⁷

William Lafferty offers a series of economic reasons for the rise of the semi-documentary film and its realist impulse of location shooting. These reasons include rising production costs due to postwar inflation; labor strife in 1945 that cut into studio-bound production; a post-1945 flurry of production by independent companies and studios to offset the cutbacks in productions due to labor strikes; Britain’s ad valorem tax and studios’ corresponding decrease in production costs; and a move to shooting in New York to cash in on cheaper labor. All of these factors, Lafferty argues, helped spur location shooting.¹⁸ “Rather than a stylistic attribute of the semi-documentary alone,” he writes, “the emphasis upon location shooting of features seems to have arisen out of economic necessity during the mid-to late-1940s.”¹⁹ Moreover, location shooting was facilitated by a series of postwar era technological developments that made filming in real-world locales more feasible. In 1947, these stylistic changes prompted film critic James Agee to write, “One of the best things that is happening in Hollywood is the

¹⁶ Schatz, *Boom and Bust*, 379-381. Andrew Tracy, “Documentary and Democracy in *Boomerang!* and *Panic In the Streets*,” and Patrick Keating, “Elia Kazan and the Semidocumentary: Composing Urban Space,” in *Kazan Revisited*, ed. Lisa Dombrowski (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2011), 133-162.

¹⁷ Herb A. Lightman, “New Horizons for the Documentary Film” *American Cinematographer*, December 1945, 442.

¹⁸ Lafferty, “Reappraisal of the Semi-Documentary,” 22-26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

tendency to move out of the place—to base fictional pictures on fact, and, more importantly, to shoot them not in painted studio sets but in actual places.”²⁰

While the semi-documentary cycle was not necessarily a direct influence on foreign production, the films point to the industry conditions that impelled location shooting of all stripes. However, Fox’s commitment to the techniques of the semi-documentary had some impact on war-themed productions overseas, such as *The Big Lift* and *Decision Before Dawn* (1951). The importance of the semi-documentary motion pictures and other 1940s location films was that they helped promote the technology, techniques and organizational principles that would catalyze location shooting abroad. Filmmakers working all over the world could draw on the logistical and stylistic strategies developed in the 1940s, which themselves built on location shooting practices from earlier decades.

By the late 1940s, Hollywood productions looked overseas for viable shooting locations to expend frozen earnings and, in the push for greater realism, to set foreign-located films in their authentic settings. Director Fred Zinnemann, who made *The Search* in Germany in 1946-1947, recalls, “Nobody dreamt of doing films on location at that time. It was too soon after the war; pictures were made on studio stages and back lots, using exterior shots made by second units. It was considered outlandish to work in anything other than controlled conditions, saving lots of time in turning out the ‘product’ efficiently, as on an assembly line. We were one of the first Hollywood companies to break that pattern.”²¹ Zinnemann, like many other Hollywood filmmakers to come, took advantage of the still war-torn European landscape and locations around the globe, which

²⁰ James Agee, *Agee on Film: Criticism and Comments on the Movies* (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 363.

²¹ Zinnemann, *Life in the Movies*, 59.

previously had not been depicted fictionally by Hollywood on the big screen, in order to bring audiences vivid backdrops and to refresh Hollywood stories during a time of major industry change.

Location Surveys

As Hollywood filmmakers moved into foreign territories, location surveys, typically conducted before the core production unit came out from Hollywood, were essential to finding shooting locales that fulfilled story setting requirements and held picturesque qualities. As explored in Chapters Two and Three, the survey was pivotal for identifying and securing film production infrastructure, such as local crews, extras, studio space, equipment and accommodations to support a large film unit. Fundamentally, choosing a location was based on a balance of the visual requirements of story setting and the practicalities of a given filming locality. For example, in searching for an arid Australian cattle ranch for the production of *Kangaroo*, the location scouting party selected some foothills near the town of Port August for both its pictorial values and access to transportation, housing and supplies.²²

The makeup of the survey team varied from film to film, but in general, it included some combination of director, cinematographer, art director, unit production manager and, on occasion, a local individual familiar with the geography, language and bureaucracy of the host region. Using the script and visual references as guidelines and tips from other filmmakers and production managers acquainted with a certain region, the

²² Charles G. Clarke, "We Filmed 'Kangaroo' Entirely in Australia," *American Cinematographer*, July 1952, 292-293.

survey team would then explore a location for specific shooting sites.²³ Surveys could take place in stages: a preliminary survey might study the practical and pictorial offerings of a location, followed by a closer examination of the compositional possibilities once the locale was secured.

Cinematographer Burnett Guffey sums up the procedure for the location survey on *Me and the Colonel* (1958), which was partly shot in France. He recounts:

We spent ten days scouting locations, traveling by plane, train and automobile—the latter, part of a six-car location caravan. Previously, the area had been ‘pre-scouted’ by the producer, director and art director. They had selected tentative sites and general locations. Our group finalized everything. We pin-pointed each location, decided the direction we would shoot and at what time of day, and decided what additional set construction was necessary on the various locations.²⁴

For *The Crimson Pirate*, the production had to find a location in the Mediterranean that could serve as a Caribbean setting. Associate producer Norman Deming, working as the film’s key production organizer, surveyed locations along the Italian coastline and the islands of Capri, Sardinia and Sicily. The company eventually settled on the island of Ischia, near Naples, whose tropical-looking vegetation and the buildings’ resemblance to Spanish colonial architecture suggested a Caribbean island. Whichever building looked too Italian was dressed with Spanish tiled parapets. From this survey, Deming sent producer Harold Hecht a lengthy report on Ischia with

²³ “Oral History with C.O. Erickson,” 134.

²⁴ Quoted in Gavin, “Rural Route For Realism,” 553.

accompanying drawings, photos and a map, detailing the angles where the photos were taken.²⁵

Hollywood companies also sent technicians all over the world on location scouts to shoot test footage and potential background material in order to determine if a location was suitable for filming. In preparation for *Samson and Delilah* (1950), associate producer Ralph Jester and a camera crew embarked on a two-month trek across North Africa to shoot footage that was sent back to director Cecil B. DeMille. After DeMille selected the locations, a second-unit crew followed the initial two thousand-mile long journey to film final footage, which was then used for rear-projection and inserts for the mostly studio-bound motion picture.²⁶ Similarly, before the filming of DeMille's *The Ten Commandments*, a location survey team spent three months studying Egyptian sites mentioned in the Book of Exodus, which eventually fulfilled both the practical requirements of production and the needs of authenticity.²⁷

For the final selection of these locations, filmmakers relied on photos, drawings and diagrams. Hollywood studios had long used location departments and the cataloguing of location photos to support off-the-lot filming.²⁸ Foreign productions, however, journeyed to new territories where survey teams had to generate original material to bring back to studios and filmmakers. Already, this process began the consideration of how to

²⁵ Norman Deming to Harold Hecht, February 2, 1951. Unsigned (likely Norman Deming) to Harold Hecht, April 17, 1951, *The Crimson Pirate* (Steve Trilling Files), Warner Archive.

²⁶ "Jester Scouting 'Samson' Locations," *Daily Variety*, June 11, 1948, 3. "Second 'Samson' Crew Leaving for Africa," *Daily Variety*, July 12, 1948, 6. "'Samson' Location Unit Back From Africa," *Daily Variety*, August 10, 1948, 5. Interestingly, Jester and his crew had to stop in Paris to get permission to shoot in the French colonies.

²⁷ Arthur Rowan, "Cinematography Unsurpassed," *American Cinematographer*, November 1956, 558-660, 680-682.

²⁸ Staiger, "The division and order of production: the subdivision of the work from the first years through the 1920s," *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 148.

compose shots on location. For *Captain Horatio Hornblower*, the assistant director and production manager scouted locations in the south of France, taking hundreds of photographs from which director Raoul Walsh chose locations and preliminary camera setups.²⁹ Instead of extensive location surveys for *Love in the Afternoon*, director Billy Wilder picked out Parisian sites from thousands of photos and drawings.³⁰

Besides the visual references for the selection of locations, some Hollywood productions looked to foreign filmmakers acquainted with locales abroad. For *Roman Holiday*, Paramount hired Italian filmmaker Cesare Zavattini, who offered suggestions on where to shoot certain scenes in Rome.³¹ In the midst of the pre-production of *Little Boy Lost*, French director Michel Bernheim broke down the script and gave detailed descriptions for possible locations in Paris and the surrounding areas. Some recommendations contained compositional ideas. For an exterior scene in a Parisian sidewalk café, Bernheim proposed a spot next to Notre Dame: “The cathedral will be in the background, the Seine in the foreground, and a great deal of activity on the sidewalk.” The director went on to detail dozens of suggested locations, many of which were not used, but some, such as the town of Monfort, ended up in the film.³² At a time when Rome and Paris were still relatively undershot by Hollywood companies and understudied by Hollywood location surveys, reliance on foreign filmmakers’ insider knowledge helped shape the scenery that ended up on screen.

²⁹ Gerry Blattner to Jack Warner, February 22, 1950, *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (Story–Memos & Correspondence), Warner Archive.

³⁰ Foster, “High Key Vs. Low Key,” 506, 532.

³¹ Cesare Zavattini to William Wyler, January 15, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Script), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

³² Michel Bernheim, “Suggestions for location shots in Paris and France,” June 17, 1952, *Little Boy Lost*, Paramount Pictures Scripts, AMPAS Library.

While location shooting usually recorded pre-existing spaces, the art director was still important in the selection and alteration of the locale. One Warner Bros. art director explains, “An outdoor set presents more of a challenge, or a problem. Once you’ve found the location for the set, your imagination has to begin working from the ground up. The terrain gets the first consideration in relation to the amount of sunlight it receives, what sort of background the distant horizon offers, and how well the topography of the ground fits into the requirements of the script.”³³ In many cases, the art director had to dress up locations in order to realize the needs of story, design and cinematography. For *To Catch a Thief*, art director “Mac” Johnson enhanced Bellini’s restaurant in Monte Carlo by building a terrace wall and planting trees.³⁴

Certainly, the weather of foreign locations was taken into account when deciding where to shoot. Weather may be the single greatest force to affect location shooting, determining geographical filming sites and production schedules. Typically, Hollywood companies operating in continental Europe aimed to shoot films in the spring and summer months. Some movie companies relied on the Motion Picture Division of the National Weather Institute in Los Angeles to ascertain the meteorological forecast for a particular location. In anticipation of shooting *Little Boy Lost* and *To Catch a Thief* in France, Paramount looked to the National Weather Institute for forecasts in France.³⁵ Despite these preparations, rain along the French Riviera interrupted the production of *To*

³³ Quoted in “Motion Picture Art Direction For Exterior Productions” *American Cinematographer*, February 1948, 48.

³⁴ Joseph McMillan Johnson to Hal Pereira, May 18, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

³⁵ National Weather Institute Report, March 14, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952). National Weather Institute Report, November 18, 1953, *To Catch a Thief* (Pre-Production Location 1953-1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

Catch a Thief. While many planned exterior scenes were moved to the Hollywood studio, some of the temperamental weather conditions produced beautiful shots (fig. 14).

Compositional Conventions

For Hollywood filmmakers, shooting in a studio or a backlot with a constructed set commonly resulted in a finite number of angles that a scene could be shot from.

However, on a location exterior with its open space and intensified lighting, filmmakers had more composition options.³⁶ But the number of choices did not overwhelm these filmmakers; they were guided by established conventions for representing space. I want to focus on two dominant conventions of composition: 1) Backgrounds should not distract from the action; and 2) an image should convey a sense of depth.

Backgrounds Should Not Distract

As a 1947 *American Cinematographer* article points out, an abiding guideline in Hollywood cinema is that backgrounds should not divert the audience's attention away from the action. The article reads, "We may borrow a thought from Ernst Lubitsch and Norman Bel Geddes, who say that if a background is so beautiful and commanding that it detracts from the action it is a crime."³⁷ Composition then becomes a key technique to guide where the viewer looks within the frame. Another *American Cinematographer* article suggests, "The function of effective composition is to lead the eye directly to the most important point in the scene. For this reason, action should be so staged that the

³⁶ David Bordwell, "CinemaScope: The Modern Miracle You See Without Glasses," in *Poetics of Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 296.

³⁷ Howard T. Souther, "Composition In Motion Pictures," *American Cinematographer*, March 1947, 85.

lines of the setting in which it is played will lead to the areas of greatest dramatic importance.”³⁸ Vital for a filmmaker on location is how to shoot a dialogue scene without letting the backdrop distract from important story information while at the same time achieving pictorial interest generated by the authentic locale—a key reason for mounting the production abroad in the first place.

Some filmmakers elected to shoot dialogue entirely on foreign locales by balancing characters having a conversation in the foreground and a prominent location in the background within the same shot. In *The Man on the Eiffel Tower*, a lunch between a killer and a police inspector takes place on the eponymous tower, with a shot-reverse-shot pattern revealing the expanse of Paris in the distance in one medium shot (fig. 15) and segments of the monument’s intricate ironwork in another (fig. 16). In *Beat the Devil*, speculator Billy Danrather and his wife have breakfast on a balcony. They fall into half-shadow in the foreground as the sunlit town of Ravello serves as background (fig. 17). During a stopover while on safari in *Mogambo*, a lunchtime meal with a missionary is introduced with a group shot highlighting the expanse of a river valley in the background (fig. 18). This image is followed by a closer two-shot, which focuses our attention on dialogue and expression (fig. 19). Here, John Ford amplifies the options of location filming by using editing, framing and focus to shape our awareness from background to foreground.

In *Roman Holiday*, William Wyler develops a comparable strategy by shooting foreground action and an arresting background to present via editing a key interaction on the Spanish Steps in Rome. The director films a staged chance encounter between an

³⁸ Charles Loring, “Techniques For Filming Exteriors,” *American Cinematographer*, January 1953, 44. Although this article is aimed at the semi-professional cinematographer, it summarizes some of the general conventions guiding composition in outdoor shooting.

American newspaper reporter and a princess in a medium long shot with the Baroque stairway leading up to the towering church of SS. Trinità dei Monti (fig. 20). As the two sit down, the film cuts to a low-angle medium shot in which the characters and the church tower form a slight left-to-right recessional line (fig. 21). This composition inverts in the reverse angle, showing a right-to-left slant from the reporter to the princess to a globe at the bottom of the steps (fig. 22). The shot compositions prioritize dialogue and gestures, while also incorporating architecture at the edges of the frame for visual ornamentation and added depth. For a director like Wyler, who favored staging scenes in deep focus, exterior location shooting provided the abundance of lighting to achieve his preferred style.

In *Three Coins in the Fountain*, Jean Negulesco employs another option that mixes both location and studio work. Like Wyler, the director exploits the scenic allure of Rome's famed landmarks in another commoner-royal interaction. Negulesco films a couple, an American ex-pat working in Rome named Maria and Prince Dino, as they pull up near the Colosseum in a car. Then in a medium shot favoring Maria, the Colosseum on the left and the Arch of Constantine on the right frame the background (fig. 23). In the reverse shot that faces the prince, the director cheats the shot a bit by placing in the backdrop the ruins of the Temple of Venus and Roma, in reality many meters away (fig. 24). Here, pictorial value trumps geographic fidelity by using the diagonal of buildings and columns to create recessional depth. However, as the conversation progresses and we move to medium close-ups (figs. 25-26), the film jumps to the Fox Studios, ostensibly where the performances could be better recorded and the surroundings did not compete with the significant information imparted by the dialogue when Maria discloses her

stratagem to seduce the prince. At the end of the scene, we revert to a location shot as the prince drives off, angry that he has been deceived (fig. 27). As with so many productions shot overseas, this scene development follows a pattern of wider shots achieved on location to highlight the pictorialism of the space, followed by closer shots done in a studio, where the priority is on dialogue and gesture.

John Farrow explores a looser style in *Plunder of the Sun* (1953), which uses a composite space made up of the Zapotec ruins of Monte Albán and Mitla in Oaxaca as a staging ground for conversations done in long takes. In one scene involving an insurance adjuster-turned-smuggler and an archeologist-turned-tomb raider, the director tends to film medium long shots with the bright sunlight illuminating the characters as they move through the space. As the men hatch a plot to uncover hidden treasure, Farrow splits up the conversation across a series of eye-catching visuals: ancient architectural wonders in the distance (fig. 28), multiplanar shots (fig. 29), and robust recessional backgrounds (fig. 30). This kind of movement through ruins offers an advance and retreat staging strategy that mirrors the story's cat-and-mouse game of treasure hunting.

Conveying Depth

As the previous examples demonstrate, one of the rewards of shooting on location is that open spaces and available natural light can enhance depth rendered in sharp focus. Many filmmakers working overseas exploited this phenomenon to situate character and action in exterior foreign localities. At once, these filmmakers captured a sense of depth by selecting locations that brought out this perspective and heightened this sense by deploying certain principles of composition.

Filmmakers could enhance depth by creating diagonals that ran from one side of the foreground to the other side of the background. The recessional technique of composition appears in 17th century painting and early film actualities.³⁹ In his treatise on composition in the visual arts, Rudolf Arnheim describes, “Diagonals, although dynamically active through their deviation from the Cartesian grid, perform like the trusses in a building. By cutting across the dichotomy of vertical vs. horizontal and mediating between the two dimensions, they add stability.”⁴⁰ Picking up on this enduring feature of visual design, Hollywood cinematographers promoted this compositional device. One *American Cinematographer* article insists, “diagonal lines are more forceful and more pleasing to the eye than straight vertical or horizontal lines.”⁴¹ Another article recommends shooting a setting from an oblique angle, which “reveals the frame’s depth, imparts a feeling of solidity and prevents it appearing simply as a cardboard cutout.”⁴²

Working on location, Hollywood filmmakers could apply the recessive approach to instill shots with greater depth, often using elements of a locality shot from a slanted angle. In *Night and the City*, Jules Dassin uses the suspension cables of London’s Hammersmith Bridge to create a powerful sweep away from the film’s crooked racketeer Kristo with his henchmen and car waiting in the distance (fig. 31). In *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman*, bullfighter Juan Montalva saunters along a beach boardwalk, which forms a pitched line out to the bay and town of Tossa de Mar in Spain (fig. 32). These

³⁹ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*, trans. M.D. Hottinger (New York: Dover, n.d.), 73. Bordwell, *History of Film Style*, 169-170.

⁴⁰ Rudolf Arnheim, *The Power of the Center: A Study of Composition in the Visual Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 145.

⁴¹ Charles Loring, “Pictorial Composition—Key Element In Cinematography,” *American Cinematographer*, August 1962, 489.

⁴² Joseph V. Mascelli, “How And When To Frame A Scene,” *American Cinematographer*, March 1958, 174.

examples show how architecture, nature and on-location set design in coordination with staging can create a diagonal trajectory within the shot, encouraging the viewer to zero in on particular points in the frame while enhancing the depth of the image.

Another means of bringing about increased depth in the image is to layer foreground, middle ground and background planes. Filmmakers can use various facets of a setting (e.g. trees, architecture or even people) to create multiple planes within a shot to produce overlap depth cues. In his 1949 book, *Painting with Light*, cinematographer John Alton suggests that a filmmaker can expand depth by adding to the composition a foreground item, which is often darker than the background.⁴³ Patrick Keating connects this device of lighting contrast to *repoussoir*, a painterly technique of darkened foregrounds and brighter backgrounds that became a standard cinematography technique.⁴⁴

On location, some filmmakers practiced the layering option by positioning bodies in the foreground set off from location elements in the background through a contrast of lighting. Early in *Berlin Express* (1948), we see a Parisian café, where a staggered arrangement of patrons leads to a government official rising from his seat and the Moulin Rouge in the distance (fig. 33). Likewise, a montage of views of Oaxaca opens *Plunder of the Sun* and showcases a strategic placement of bodies. One shot depicts a shoeshine boy cleaning a man's shoe and behind him passersby filmed in silhouette, which all contrast with a brightly lit side view of the city's cathedral in the background (fig. 34). Such shots help to fulfill multiple functions of location shooting: they enhance depth,

⁴³ Alton, *Painting with Light*, 123, 125-126.

⁴⁴ Keating, *Hollywood Lighting*, 88.

they allow for inventive compositions, and they quickly establish setting and an authenticity of place.

At several points in *Vera Cruz*, Robert Aldrich uses Mexico's vegetation and colonial architecture to give shots depth, often with a more mannered variant of the layering technique. In an opening chase sequence, the director shoots cacti at the sides of the frame as characters race through the landscape on horseback (figs. 35-36). These compositional details not only heighten a sense of depth and the forward movement of characters but they also serve as markers to chart the passage of chasing figures. In other scenes, architecture provides frames for establishing shots. A thick arch in the foreground frames a small town plaza (fig. 37). Giant wooden doors that open onto a monastery dominate the sides of the frame, inviting us to appreciate a play of heights, from monk to officer on horseback to bell tower in the distance (fig. 38). In an inverted approach, slices of architecture appear in the background, adding dimension and a volumetric dynamism (fig. 39). Throughout the film, Aldrich pulls compositional elements from nature and architecture to create depth and a brazen ornamental style that forms a cohesive visual system.⁴⁵

Other strategies for conveying depth that built on the layering approach also existed. Certain filmmakers orchestrated a precise coordination of actors, décor, props and location for a pictorial synthesis of mise-en-scène details and a play of depth. In *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman*, Albert Lewin shoots a dance party on a Spanish beach, in which the placement of antiquities in the foreground, dancers in the middle ground, and the landscape of Tossa de Mar in the background form a surreal tableaux

⁴⁵ In his landmark essay on CinemaScope, Charles Barr described the film as “an absolute orgy of formalism.” Barr, “CinemaScope: Before and After,” *Film Quarterly* (Summer 1963): 9.

(fig. 40). In *The Master of Ballantrae*, when the Scottish rebel Jamie Durisdeer and a French buccaneer enter the port city of Tortugas, a deep-focus shot puts on view Durisdeer's various objects of desire (fig. 41). In the foreground stand Durisdeer on the right and the buccaneer on the left. In front of them, the dancer Marianne leers at Durisdeer, who has designs on her. In the far middle ground sits the pirate Mendoza, who is infatuated with Marianne. Beyond in the bay lies Mendoza's ship, a Spanish galleon, which Durisdeer plans to seize. By shooting in the bright Mediterranean sunlight of Palermo, the various obstacles and goals are connected in a single depth shot, linking Durisdeer to Marianne to Mendoza to the ship.

A filmmaker can likewise achieve a sense of depth through camera movement on location. In John Huston's *Beat the Devil*, Billy Danrather and the offbeat English woman Gwendolyn Chelm have a liaison on Ravello's Belvedere of the Infinity, which overlooks the Alafi coastline. At the beginning of the scene, the camera swoops down from an extreme long shot, which takes in the characters and their surroundings (fig. 42), to a medium long shot that emphasizes the recessional perspective shaped by the terrace they are standing on (fig. 43). This motion is reversed in a later scene as the two prolong their liaison. Now the camera climbs upwards from a medium shot of Danrather and Chelm sitting in a garden overlooking the sea (fig. 44) to an extreme long shot, which reveals on the edge of the frame a statue and the swindler O'hara, who overhears Chelm boasting of her husband's desire to buy land that is rich in uranium deposits—an important plot point (fig. 45). These rhyming camera movements emphasize the height of the perched locations and balance key dialogue with the spectacular scenery.

We might argue that recessive compositions, multiplanar layering and the other techniques for conveying depth threatened to undermine the practice that backgrounds should not distract. However, as will be explored further below, filmmakers frequently inserted the most flagrant uses of recessive and layering designs at the beginning and end of films, at the beginning and end of scenes, and during moments of heightened action and moments of pure pictorialism. During conversations, recessive perspective tends to be subdued as the camera cuts to closer views of character interactions either on location (figs. 21-22) or in a studio (figs. 25-26). Hollywood's foreign productions did no so much deliver a dialectic of self-consciously artistic location shots and more low-key dialogue shots as much as fuse different location techniques to perform different tasks of storytelling and aesthetics.

Location Interiors

Hollywood companies tended to favor shooting exteriors while working abroad since outdoor filmmaking was easier to execute than location interiors, which could be replicated in Hollywood or foreign studios. However, some filmmakers made the most of the insides of unique buildings, applying the same compositional conventions deployed for exteriors. In *Decision Before Dawn*, Anatole Litvak turns the interiors of European buildings into key locales, using lighting and composition to maximize depth. The Eberbach monastery in Germany becomes an American army headquarters, in which the play of light and the vanishing perspective of a nave enhance depth (fig. 46). In a parallel space, the Schleissheim Palace near Munich serves as a German outpost. Its decaying opulence underscores the decline of the German army (fig. 47), while a gallery of arched

windows forms a recessive diagonal for a striding Nazi major (fig. 48). The film not only uses architecture to create depth but it also shows how one waxing army and another waning one were forced to take refuge in some of the unlikeliest of locales.

A major problem of shooting within practical interiors was how to illuminate the space while keeping the set lights out of the camera's view. In a studio, moveable walls and open sets allowed cinematographers to place lights almost anywhere. In a location interior, the cinematographer and the lighting crew had to work within the confines of a room. For *I Confess*, which was shot in Quebec City in authentic exteriors and interiors, Hitchcock and his cinematographer Robert Burks often avoided backlighting and overhead lighting because of the difficulty of hanging lights from ceilings, and instead they lit the set from the ground with lights hidden behind chairs and under desks.⁴⁶

The production of *Gigi* encountered the hurdle of shooting the Belle Epoque décor of the Paris restaurant Maxim's, whose mirrored walls risked exposing production lighting, equipment and crew members. At first, cinematographer Joseph Ruttenberg thought about covering the mirrors with black velvet, but Minnelli countered, "The great thing about Maxim's—the signature of Maxim's—are the mirrors and their art nouveau frames. You can see all the sections of the room behind people. They give the whole room its character."⁴⁷ As a solution, Ruttenberg shot with low-key lighting to cut down on the amount of equipment and placed suction cups on photofloods to allow for a more flexible placement of lights. Cinematographer and director then synchronized camera

⁴⁶ Hilda Black, "The Photography Is Important to Hitchcock," *American Cinematographer*, December 1952, 525.

⁴⁷ Minnelli, *I Remember It Well*, 314.

movement and staging through the mirrored space to generate shots that avoided unwanted reflections in the mirrors.⁴⁸

When Gaston shows off his young courtesan, Gigi, to Parisian society at Maxim's, Minnelli and Ruttenberg create multiple planes of visual interest (fig. 49): the couple in the foreground, the gossiping onlookers in the middle ground, and in the background the intricate art nouveau walls, upon which a mirror expands the depth of the restaurant by revealing a dance floor. Earlier in the film, Minnelli and company benefit from the grandeur of another interior when Gaston brings then girlish Gigi to the Palais de Glace for a friendly outing. Here an audience of onlookers, including Gaston and a delighted Gigi, take in the ice skaters along the expanse of the ice rink (fig. 50). A blend of artificial light and sunlight shining through the skylight fills the room with a warm glow. In both Maxim's and the Palais de Glace, Minnelli takes the colorful and intricate compositions that he perfected on Hollywood soundstages into the real world by turning these authentic locales into sumptuous sets.

By overcoming the limitations of shooting interiors, a filmmaker could use the inside of a building to stage actions that gave dramatic weight to a space. In *Roman Holiday*, Wyler favors exterior locations, but he explores his penchant for depth shots in the Palazzo Colonna, where its galleria becomes the bittersweet site of newspaper reporter Joe Bradley's farewell to Princess Ann. After a press conference with Rome's international press corps, where the princess and Joe formally divulge their true identities and leave their love for each other unspoken, the Galleria Colonna empties. Except for the flanking servants, Joe walks the opulent Baroque room alone. The camera tracks with him until he stops to look back at the Princess's empty throne (fig. 51). The architecture

⁴⁸ Ibid., 314. Gavin, "Location-Shooting In Paris For 'Gigi'," 442.

of the space forms a linear perspective connecting Joe and the brightly lit chair, emphasizing the vast gulf of social and cultural ranks that creates an impossible love affair.

In *Paths of Glory* (1958), Stanley Kubrick finds an equally inventive way to stage a scene within a stately interior. He uses the grand hall of Schleissheim Palace (the same location used as the Nazi headquarters in *Decision Before Dawn*; see fig. 47) as the setting for a court martial of three soldiers chosen to stand in for their outfit's alleged "cowardice in the face of the enemy." Blending wide-angle lenses, a play of lighting and precise character placement within a cavernous space, Kubrick gives us an orderly process that contradicts the military's "mockery of human justice" (fig. 52). The scene unfolds as each character comes forward to both the military tribunal and the camera like a series of chess moves (figs. 53-55). The precise alignment of players and architecture reflects a pretense of order, in contrast with the travesty of the court martial taking place. The Baroque architecture and characters together become a manifestation of the film's clash of old-world corruption and the humanity of the soldiers.

Rear Projection and Process Shots

Rear projection had long been a solution for producers who wanted to better control the sound and image of "exterior" settings and to avoid the expense of carrying out principal photography on location. Instead of traveling to a foreign city to shoot a scene of a couple talking and strolling down a street, the process photography department recreated the scene in a studio with a background plate of stock footage or shots made especially for that project. This background footage would then be projected onto a translucent screen

from behind, with the actors walking on a treadmill in front of the screen. Dialogue scenes in moving vehicles on location were especially tricky to execute, so most often a specialist in process photography would shoot exterior footage from various angles in a car, which would then be projected onto a screen behind the actors who performed in a stationary vehicle in a studio.

Over the years, companies and technicians made various refinements to the process, including advancing techniques for lighting a set that used back projection, increasing the brightness of the rear screen, and improving the synchronization of camera, projector and actor movement. Black and white background plates were usually shot on fine-grained panchromatic film stock to ensure a rich image.⁴⁹ For rear-projection in color, Paramount developed a process in which three different background projectors cast the same image superimposed on top of one another to achieve the desired luminous image.⁵⁰ Despite the economic and logistical merits of rear projection and its technological improvements, the system still tended to look artificial because of the absence of realistic depth cues.⁵¹

For Hollywood's postwar foreign productions, rear projection shot in Hollywood or foreign studios became a common method for recording dialogue and traveling scenes. Because of the difficulty of recording sound and controlling lighting in exteriors, very often dialogue scenes began on location to establish setting and to highlight pictorialism and then moved to the studio for closer views, where performance took precedence. In

⁴⁹ Charles L. Anderson, "Background Projection Photography," *American Cinematographer*, August 1952, 342, 359-361. Joe Henry, "The Science of Process Photography," *American Cinematographer*, January 1958, 36-37, 56. Frederick Foster, "The Photography Of Background Plates," *American Cinematographer*, February 1962, 98-99, 114-118.

⁵⁰ Henry, "The Science of Process Photography," 37.

⁵¹ David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction*, 9th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010), 180.

John Huston's *We Were Strangers*, the exteriors were shot on location in Havana, where Cuban doubles stood in for the film's Hollywood leads. Here, a double for Jennifer Jones walks through the city center as a car pulls up alongside her (fig. 56). When dialogue ensues, we cut to closer views of the film's principal actors in Columbia Studios in Hollywood, where rear projection shows us Havana (fig. 57). The switch from location to studio was not just a technical solution but also an economic one. A production could cut down on costs by shooting the wide shots and rear projection background plates on location with extras, leaving the closer shots for the studios, where the paid extras were not needed.⁵² In the case of *We Were Strangers*, Columbia Pictures also saved on the cost of flying the film's stars to Cuba by hiring doubles for the location wide shots.

Some films intercut location footage with rear-projection studio shots. Throughout *Berlin Express*, the war-torn landscape of Germany materializes in spectacular fashion, but these views are often presented in rear projection as characters interact in the foreground. The ruins of Frankfurt pass by outside a train window as the film's protagonists look on (fig. 58), followed by the full location shot of destroyed buildings (fig. 59). The film ends in the heart of Berlin with the departure of an international cast of newly made allies, who stand for the different interests in the city, including the U.S., the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and Germany. Closer views of the characters are shot in a studio with the Brandenburg Gate back projected (fig. 60). These studio shots are edited with footage filmed in the real locale, such as a character's point of view that displays a location shot of a British subject departing in front of the bombed-out Reichstag (fig. 61).

⁵² Cinematographer Burnett Guffey discusses this method on *Me and the Colonel* in Gavin, "Rural Route For Realism," 576.

The most common use of rear projection was during driving scenes when the difficulty of sound recording, lighting, clearing roads and the insurance risks of performing in moving vehicles frequently forced Hollywood productions to shoot these sequences in a studio. For foreign productions, driving scenes often began with establishing shots in an exterior, followed by a cut to a closer view of the car's occupants filmed in a studio in front of a rear projected image. Alfred Hitchcock opens *Stage Fright* with an extreme long shot of London's St. Paul's Cathedral as a convertible approaches from a distance (fig. 62). The director cuts to two successive shots, moving closer to the car, until the vehicle drives over the camera (fig. 63). Finally, we move to the studio for a two-shot of a frantic-looking drama student and her friend, who explains how he has been pulled into a murder plot, as the streets of London trail behind on a rear projection screen (fig. 64).⁵³ In later films, Hitchcock, who opted for a precise breakdown of action, used rear projection to achieve a greater control of an event. In *To Catch a Thief* during a car chase through the Corniche road in the South of France, the director mixes location shots done by a second-unit crew with studio shots employing back projection (figs. 65-66).

However, not all filmmakers relied on rear-screen projection for location-heavy films. Some aimed for a documentary-like realism with driving scenes shot on location, especially when dialogue was absent or minimal. In *Night and the City*, Jules Dassin shoots one of the film's most striking sequences from inside a car as an underworld goon drives through London's Piccadilly district to spread the word that there is a bounty out on an American hustler's head (fig. 67). In one long take, the driver proceeds along the

⁵³ The execution of this scene is detailed in a transcript of a pre-production discussion between Hitchcock and production supervisor Fred Ahren. "Hitchcock Notes," n.d., *Stage Fright*, Robert Lennard Collection, BFI Library.

streets, moving from one contact to the next, their verbal exchanges unheard under a blaring score.

While rear projection could translate to cost savings and allowed for greater control within the studio, continuity problems arose when trying to match shots of the principal actors in foreign places and location footage used for background projection. During filming in Paris, Frankfurt and Berlin, the production of *Berlin Express* addressed this problem by bringing on location a process cinematographer to shoot the background footage to be used in rear projection from the same camera position and lighting setup as the master shot, which the film's director of photography, Lucien Ballard, arranged.⁵⁴

For *Under My Skin*, Fox sent two camera crews: one to France to document horseracing scenes at a various French tracks and a second to Italy to record supplementary racing scenes and rural landscapes. Some of these scenes were used for rear-projection and some were intercut with footage shot on the Fox backlot, where a section of a racetrack was constructed. The two overseas crews also filmed long shots with doubles hired in Paris and Rome, which were combined with closer shots of the film's principal actors made in Hollywood. The challenge for the studio cinematographer was to match the quality and source of the lighting from the location footage with the recreated atmosphere in the studio. *Under My Skin's* cinematographer Joseph La Shelle points out, "When a picture is made in this manner, using long shots with doubles, plus a variety of background and process shots, it later becomes the task of the director of photography to keep the connecting shots in key with the light and mood of the location shots so that they will match and all tie together visually without jarring. How well he

⁵⁴ Herb A. Lightman, "The story of filming 'Berlin Express'," *American Cinematographer*, July 1948, 233.

accomplishes this job determines whether or not the picture has a look of reality as well as artistry.”⁵⁵

Besides rear projection, several studio alternatives to location shooting existed. One cost-saving tactic was the use of giant translucent photo backgrounds of cityscapes and landscapes, which could be placed outside of windows in studio sets to suggest a location backdrop. By the late 1940s, the process for creating these backgrounds had improved so that large twenty by forty-five foot translucent sheets in color and black and white could suggest a vast continuous panorama.⁵⁶ Another way of recreating a locale in a studio was with various forms of matte work, in which a filmed or painted setting was combined in the laboratory with another segment of film containing the actors or another key piece of the setting.⁵⁷ This method was used in a chariot chase in the production of *Quo Vadis* since Cinecittà did not have rear projection capabilities (fig. 68). The scene was built up from shooting location footage from a moving camera—similar to the background plate of rear projection—and then filming actor Robert Taylor performing in a chariot in front of a brightly-lit blue backdrop. The two sets of shots were sent to MGM’s British studio, where they were combined for a composite shot.⁵⁸

For the most part, foreign productions that shot both in studios and on locations accomplished the location filming before the studio work. This enabled a crew to better match interiors with exteriors and recreate any scenes that were not shot on location due

⁵⁵ Quoted in Herb A. Lightman, “Matching Location Footage With Studio Shots,” 197, 215.

⁵⁶ Phil Tannura, “Translucent Photo Backgrounds Cut Production Costs,” *American Cinematographer*, 240-241, 259-260.

⁵⁷ Ray Kellogg and L.B. Abbott, “Special Photographic Effects In Motion Pictures,” *American Cinematographer*, October 1957, 662-665, 672-676. Victor L.A. Margutti, “Some Practical Traveling Matte Processes,” *American Cinematographer*, November 1960, 670-671, 684, 686-689. Salt, *Film Style & Technology*, 248-249.

⁵⁸ Robert L. Surtees, “Quo Vadis in Italy, Part Two,” 475.

to delays, scheduling conflicts or weather problems. On the production of *Me and the Colonel*, a Moviola editing viewer was used in the studio to screen footage filmed on location in France so that it could be matched with the studio shots.⁵⁹ Not all productions followed this order though. For *A Certain Smile*, interiors in Hollywood were shot before exteriors in France. The production also had a Moviola on set so director Jean Negulesco could watch interior footage and match it with the exteriors. However, certain sequences shot at Fox studios did not match with location work. Ultimately, because of weather problems in France, retakes and added scenes were done back in Hollywood.⁶⁰

Equipment Development

As the practice of location shooting grew from the late 1940s into the 1950s, new developments in technology and technique aided working in a variety of off-the-lot environments. In the late 1940s, studios began employing a process called latensification, which increased the speed of film by exposing the negative to small amounts of light after the film was used in the camera but before development. The increased film speed was especially helpful in achieving photographic detail and density when shooting location interiors and night scenes, where light levels were low.⁶¹ This process helped a Fox crew shoot scenes from *The Big Lift* in Berlin's U-bahn, where only a few added photofloods could supplement the trains' practical lights.⁶² The ability to shoot in the tight enclosed space heightened a sense of anxiety and claustrophobia during a Soviet

⁵⁹ Gavin, "Rural Route For Realism," 577.

⁶⁰ Various correspondence for *A Certain Smile*, 20th Century-Fox Production Files, UCLA Arts.

⁶¹ Hollis W. Moyses, "Latensification," *American Cinematographer*, December 1948, 409, 426-427. Phil Tannura, "The Practical Use Of Latensification," *American Cinematographer*, February 1951, 54, 68-70.

⁶² Charles G. Clarke, "Getting A Lift From 'The Big Lift'," *American Cinematographer*, May 1950, 173.

military search for smuggled goods (fig. 69). In like manner, latensification helped Anatole Litvak and cinematographer Frank Planer execute extensive night shooting on German streets in *Decision Before Dawn*.⁶³ Here, the cover of night harbors both the horrors of war and shadows for a German spy to sneak through (fig. 70).

Location crews also gained from the development of lighting methods and more portable lighting units, such as photofloods, which were easy to transport and could use the current of local utility lines instead of generators.⁶⁴ Other small but powerful lightweight lighting units, such as Garnelites, Masterlites and Colortrans, helped illuminate location interiors and nighttime exteriors.⁶⁵ One of the difficult tasks of shooting in natural interiors was manipulating the bright light coming through windows and doors from the exterior so that it would not “blow out” the interior scene. The need for generators and enough lighting equipment to balance the interiors and exteriors proved expensive and time-consuming. Blasting a set with intense light was also uncomfortable for the actors. To reduce the exterior light the use of gauze was cumbersome and cutout gels for openings were not efficient for large windows and doorways. As a solution, one cinematographer proposed using large screen filters that could be unrolled to cover openings to the outside or placed behind actors in tighter framing.⁶⁶ In *Kangaroo*, cinematographer Charles G. Clarke shot the Australian

⁶³ Herb A. Lightman, “‘Decision Before Dawn’,” *American Cinematographer*, February 1952, 62-63, 83-84.

⁶⁴ Frederick Foster, “Economy Lighting with Photofloods,” *American Cinematographer*, January 1950, 10-11, 20.

⁶⁵ Frederick Foster, “‘Hitch’ Didn’t Want It Arty,” *American Cinematographer*, February 1957, 113-114. Walter Streng, “Realism In Real Sets and Locations,” *American Cinematographer*, October 1957, 650. Joseph Mascelli, “Portable Lighting Equipment Sparks Trend Toward More Location Filming,” *American Cinematographer*, November 1957, 732-733, 749.

⁶⁶ Victor Milner, “Filter Screen Recommended For Interior – Exterior Shots,” *American Cinematographer*, January 1948, 7.

landscape through windows and doors by combining a blue camera lens filter with neutral density sheets over the openings to the outside.⁶⁷

Widescreen

Another key technological development in the 1950s was the proliferation of new widescreen systems, whose more expansive frame could both benefit from and heighten the spectacle and realism of location shooting. Early boosters of CinemaScope wedded the format to epics shot on location. “CinemaScope is ideally suited to spectacle films in which most of the action can be played against huge outdoor panoramic vistas,” one *American Cinematographer* article insists.⁶⁸ John Belton similarly contends that CinemaScope “introduced a level of visual spectacle that often threatened to overwhelm the narrative. This threat could be contained only by a shift in terms of the kinds of films that were made—a shift to historical spectacle—which functioned to naturalize pictorial spectacle.”⁶⁹ But the early widescreen films were not limited to historical epics; they featured all manner of stories.

The connection between widescreen and foreign location was forged in film after film, from nonfiction travelogues to fictional foreign-set motion pictures. The Cinerama process made use of foreign locales with *This Is Cinerama* (1952), showcasing Italy, Scotland and Spain, followed-up by more international views in *Cinerama Holiday* (1955) and *The Seven Wonders of the World* (1956). All of these films exhibited foreign

⁶⁷ Clarke, “We Filmed ‘Kangaroo’ Entirely in Australia,” 316.

⁶⁸ “CinemaScope—What It Is; How It Works,” *American Cinematographer*, March 1953, 134.

⁶⁹ Belton, *Widescreen Cinema*, 194.

locations in a documentary-like episodic fashion in order to highlight the medium.⁷⁰

Other travelogues such as the Oscar-winning short *The Vesuvius Express* (1953), which recorded a Milan-to-Naples train ride, also created spectacle by marrying foreign

locations with widescreen.⁷¹ In the fictional realm, the Italian locales in *Three Coins in the Fountain* became an important way for Fox to highlight its CinemaScope process.

Michael Todd explored the creative possibilities of shooting foreign scenery in the Todd-AO format for *Around the World in 80 Days*. For these films, the locations brought out the new dimensions of widescreen as these new formats simultaneously highlighted the grandeur of foreign vistas.

Shortcomings and Advantages

With the switch to widescreen shooting, filmmakers encountered a new set of technical and stylistic limitations. David Bordwell has described how CinemaScope introduced an array of technical shortcomings, including image distortion, lenses that reduced sensitivity to light, and restrictions on composition and staging. Filmmakers came up with various remedies, such as shooting further back from actors to increase the depth of field and “clothesline staging” for clear dialogue exchanges.⁷² Many of these problems and solutions wound up in Fox’s second CinemaScope film, *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953). But by *Three Coins in the Fountain*, also directed by Jean Negulesco, some of the technical glitches that befell his first Scope feature were fixed for the Italian-shot picture.

⁷⁰ David Bordwell, “The wayward charms of Cinerama,” *Observations on film art* (blog), September 26, 2012, <http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/2012/09/26/the-wayward-charms-of-cinerama>

⁷¹ Charles G. Clarke discusses the shooting of this Scope travelogue in *Highlights and Shadows*, 196-198, 216-222.

⁷² Bordwell, “CinemaScope,” 281-325.

“A wide variety of shots became possible on the second film which were mechanically ruled out of the first,” Negulesco claims. “Lens, film stocks, process shots and editing requirements all have improved with general know-how in handling the medium.”⁷³ In time, new technologies and techniques helped address the imperfections of widescreen. Indeed, the emphasis on exterior shooting on foreign productions resulted in many strategies that helped filmmakers overcome the technical drawbacks of the new widescreen formats.

One of the great blessings of shooting in outdoor locations was the high level of natural lighting, which allowed cinematographers to heighten the depth of shots in sharp focus. Early widescreen required more lighting since the anamorphic lenses had longer focal lengths and were less sensitive to light. This was especially important for films shot on color film stock, which needed even more lighting than black and white stock to attain deeper focus. Furthermore, additional lighting was called for to illuminate the larger space composed by the wider frame formats.⁷⁴ In this way, exterior location shooting served as an important solution to the initial limitations of widescreen and color by offering brightly lit settings to achieve a greater depth of field. In *House of Bamboo*, director Samuel Fuller exploits exterior lighting to produce dynamic compositions, like the jutting feet of a corpse in the foreground and Mt. Fuji in the background (fig. 71). Or he plays out actions in long range, such as when a gangster shoots wildly from a rooftop amusement park down into a crowd and guns down an innocent bystander seen as a distant white speck falling to the ground (fig. 72).

⁷³ Quoted in “Negulesco, Only 2-Campaign C’Scope Vet, Finds Process More Flexible,” *Daily Variety*, October 1, 1953, 3.

⁷⁴ Leon Shamroy, “Filming ‘The Robe’,” in *New Screen Techniques*, ed. Martin Quigley, Jr. (New York: Quigley, 1953), 180.

Another master of widescreen, Nicholas Ray caught the brilliant lighting of the Libyan desert with the more sensitive black and white film stock in *Bitter Victory* to stage scenes in pronounced depth. After a violent sandstorm, a British platoon discovers that its major has died from a scorpion sting. The men move from the background to the major's corpse in the foreground (fig. 73). When the rest of the battalion arrives over the sand dune in the distance, the men reverse their movement as they run towards the horizon (fig. 74). In *El Cid* (1961), Anthony Mann also uses the bright sunlight to achieve an extreme interplay of close foregrounds and distant backgrounds, but this time in color. In a deep focus shot, Prince Sancho, the elder son of the fallen king, advances from a distance to the castle of his sister, Princess Urraca, who will order Sancho's death (fig. 75). As the princess looks on from above, the edge framing that encloses Sancho and his men prefigures the trap he is about to walk into. Shooting outdoors, both Ray and Mann use staging and compositional strategies to activate the depth and width of the widescreen format.

Bringing Widescreen into Accord with Location Conventions

As these examples demonstrate, exterior location shooting helped filmmakers achieve deep focus and a great depth of field that initially had been difficult to produce in the studio while working in widescreen. With films shot in studios, CinemaScope initially made recessive compositions and linear perspectives more difficult, but by working on location, filmmakers revived this strategy. *Knights of the Round Table* was MGM's first foray into CinemaScope and it was the first Scope film to be shot in England. While much of the film relies on studio work and process shots, at times the movie combines

location and widescreen to attain compositions that play with both depth and the length of the screen. For example, during an ambush on Sir Lancelot, a path through the forest forms a dramatic central vanishing point (fig. 76). After the death of King Arthur, a zigzag recession shot links Sir Galahad in the foreground on the right; Sir Lancelot, who casts Arthur's sword into the sea, in the middle ground on the left; and the Cornish cliffs of Tintagel in the background on the right (fig. 77). Unlike the relatively stilted staging and compositions within the studio, these location shots achieved greater pictorial strength through the natural light and the expanse of authentic locales.

Some filmmakers played with the spatial geometry of architecture and landscape to shape the perception of space in widescreen. In *The Brave One* (1956), director Irving Rapper uses the famed bullfighting ring Plaza de México to both expand the CinemaScope frame and plunge our vision into depth. The boy Leonardo arrives in the arena, where his beloved bull will fight later in the day. The boy's position in the foreground frame left boosts our sense of the deepness of the bullring floor while the concentric circles of the ring build out to the edges of the frame (fig. 78). In *Vera Cruz*, which was shot in SuperScope, Robert Aldrich employs the architecture lining a road through a Mexican town to create a linear perspective that leads our eyes to a vanishing point where a mercenary arrives in the distance (fig. 79). Vincente Minnelli stages a portion of *Gigi*'s opening number, "Thank Heaven for Little Girls," in the Bois de Boulogne, where a park road and path form a recession line, along which the upper crust of Paris promenade (fig. 80).

With the extra breadth of the widescreen frame, filmmakers could stretch out recessive compositions into splashy diagonals that extended depth and width. Often,

filmmakers sought out locations that could highlight the virtues of the new screen format. In *El Cid*, the cornering of a Moorish king takes place atop Spain's Peñíscola fortress rampart, whose recessive line connects a sword wielding Spanish fighter in the left foreground, the trapped king, and the enclosing army in the distance (fig. 81). In the prologue montage of Roman fountains in *Three Coins in the Fountains*, the camera frames Tivoli's Viale delle Cento Fontane with recessionary levels of water plumes flowing from moss-covered fountains, alongside a walkway where lovers stroll (fig. 82). The oblique perspective is balanced by the edge framing of red and white flowers in the foreground.

After *Three Coins in the Fountain's* prologue and credits, the film proceeds to exploit architecture to emphasize the length of the screen and to elicit decorative principles that give linear space deepness. The story opens on Rome's Modernist Termini train station (fig. 83). The building's horizontal lines impel the viewer's eyes to glance across the length of the frame. This perceptual push continues as the film cuts inside the station to the arrival of Maria. We first see her in the central gallery, which results in a right-to-left recession (fig. 84). Then in the ticketing hall, the camera composes for a slight left-to-right diagonal and a plunging linear perspective running down the undulating cantilever roof as Maria looks for her ride (fig. 85). The movement of extras across the frame helps to accent the length of the widescreen. The opening scene activates the Scope format by training the viewer's eyes early on to sweep across the frame and dive into it even as Maria remains the center of attention. Like many widescreen foreign productions to come, the film captures locations in a way that

reflected the rhetoric surrounding postwar widescreen, which treated the new format as a participatory medium that aimed for greater three-dimensionality.⁷⁵

Fusing widescreen and location, Samuel Fuller synthesizes many of the above-mentioned techniques to stage his finale to *House of Bamboo* in a Tokyo amusement park atop the Matsuya department store (fig. 86), where American gangster Sandy Dawson is trapped by Japanese cops and military police agent Eddie Spanier. Fuller treats the location like a playground, placing the camera on a moving children's train and eventually atop a revolving steel carousel in the shape of Saturn. Through framing, the camera draws attention to the carousel's precarious position above the city (fig. 87). It becomes a central staging area, where Dawson takes cover as the cops attack from all sides. From across the rooftop, a camera sits inside a Ferris wheel behind a police officer who fires at Dawson (fig. 88). The bars of the ride form a central perspective, converging at the carousel, where the gangster shoots back. Finally, in a climactic moment, Spanier sneaks up on Dawson for the final kill, as the urban landscape forms a sweeping backdrop (fig. 89). In this bravura piece of postwar action cinema, Fuller takes his cue from the particulars of the location to blend widescreen, space and staging.

Location as Expressive Element

For the majority of Hollywood foreign productions, filmmakers relied heavily on conventional pictorial designs with occasional distinctive images of locations at the beginning and end of films, during connective sequences, and at the heads and tails of scenes. However, some films could develop an internal patterning of locations or use them in expressive ways that not only amplified decorative appeal, but could add

⁷⁵ Bordwell, "CinemaScope," 286-287. Belton, *Widescreen Cinema*, passim.

thematic weight to a story as well. As Fred Zinnemann declares, “the location is an actor, a dramatically active ingredient in itself.”⁷⁶ The goal of the filmmaker thus becomes how to mobilize this ingredient in innovative ways while remaining within the bounds of Hollywood stylistic norms.

For foreign productions shot in the late 1940s, especially those shot in Germany, filmmakers exploited the sight of ruined cities to bring audiences an image of spectacle imbued with the horror and destruction of war. While viewers would have been familiar with cityscapes full of rubble from newsreels and the printed press, portraying these scenes in 35mm as the backdrops to war-themed movies of intrigue and romance heightened the drama of the films. But for the photographic conscious technician, the mere documenting of the rubble was not enough. After all, newsreels had done a fine job of that. To shoot a fictional story in front of ruins, filmmakers needed to make them cinematic.

The Big Lift makes use of the ruins of post-war Berlin as an expressive background for a love story set against the Berlin Airlift. In one sequence, the Allied military police chase Danny MacCullough, an air force sergeant, through the devastation of war, revealing the destruction of monumental landmarks (fig. 90). The sergeant’s love interest is a German woman named Frederica Burkhardt, a *Trümmerfrau* (rubble woman) who earns her rations by cleaning up debris. Several of their encounters occur in front of bombed-out buildings and writer-director George Seaton allows for expressive flourishes with these backdrops. For example, when Danny confronts Frederica about her deceit, her crestfallen look is mirrored in a collapsing building, which appears like an emotional

⁷⁶ Zinnemann, *Life in the Movies*, 90.

punctuation (fig. 91). Throughout the movie, Seaton finds real-world analogues within the Berlin setting for a story of love and betrayal in U.S.-German postwar relations.

As much of the promotional and industry discourse surrounding foreign locations played up, the authentic locale can have a spectacular quality when it becomes the staging ground for elaborate action. For some, postwar international productions are best remembered for their orchestration of a “cast of thousands” across foreign landscapes, such as Moses leading the Israelites out of the city of Per-Rameses constructed in Egypt in *The Ten Commandments* (fig. 92) or Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount staged in the hills outside of Madrid in *The King of Kings* (fig. 93). Or in the case of *The Brave One*, a cast of thousands becomes a real crowd of spectators that fill the Plaza de Mexico to watch the bullfighter Rivera take on a young boy’s pet bull (fig. 94).

Films can also stress the spectacle of architecture in rousing ways. *The Man on the Eiffel Tower* orchestrates its concluding chase atop the titular landmark and profits from the design of the tower and its vertiginous height with little use of process work. The killer Radek escapes from the police and returns to the place that gives him a sense of mastery over people. With the police and the thief Heurtin in pursuit, Radek decides to climb up the tower. At times, shots of the characters scaling the structure result in a constructivist sense of composition (fig. 95). The sequence additionally emphasizes the danger of the performers’ ascent and the dizzying sense of verticality over Paris (fig. 96). The views of Radek and Heurtin moving up the crisscrossing girders expose the architecture of the tower and open up stunning views of Paris in the background (fig. 97). By staging a chase atop the Eiffel Tower with largely location shots, the film achieves a dramatic spectacle of place and the real-life thrill of heights.

Specific landmarks can move beyond their decorative function by taking on a symbolic force through their repeated appearance. *Three Coins in the Fountain* uses Rome's Trevi Fountain as a structuring device to trace the development of the film's female protagonists. Early on in the film, three single American women express their respective wishes by the famed fountain, whose legend dictates that if you want to return to Rome, you must throw a coin into the waters (fig. 98). Maria hopes to stay in Rome at least a year, Francis asks for another year of happiness, and Anita refrains from tossing a coin since she is about to move back to the United States. But as the film eventually makes clear, these women's true wish is to find a husband and settle down. We return to the Trevi Fountain at the end of the film after the women have won and then lost their suitors. In the end, the women re-unite with their respective suitors at the fountain, as if the famed landmark had granted their deepest desire.

Both natural and urban landscapes can take on a symbolic quality as well. In *The Brave One*, the Mexican landscape suggests a looming threat to the boy Leonardo's innocence when a cactus forcefully dominates the frame as he runs through a field to find his bull, Gitano (fig. 99). Then moments later when the horizon is placed at the bottom of the frame to allow the sky to dominate, the environment connotes a sense of freedom (fig. 100). Afterwards, when Leonardo follows Gitano to Mexico City, where it will fight in the Plaza de Mexico, the bustle of a big city becomes a menacing force as traffic nearly overwhelms the boy while he desperately searches for the country's president in order to obtain a pardon for his bull (fig. 101). Through an expressive treatment of locale, the trials and triumphs of this coming-of-age tale find resonance in the rural and urban landscape that the boy must navigate.

The juxtaposition of settings can equally give meaning to locations. In *Paths of Glory*, a binary of spaces plays out between the Schleissheim Palace, which is associated with the old-fashioned corruption of military officers, and the trenches where the decisions of the corrupt generals are enacted. This opposition comes to the fore when the film cuts from an ornate parlor, where Generals Broulard and Mireau plan another futile frontal assault by their exhausted army (fig. 102), to a shot—ostensibly made in the Geiseltal Studio outside of Munich—of “no-man’s land” from the perspective of the trenches (fig. 103). This transition is reversed towards the end of the film when we cut from the execution of three soldiers condemned of cowardice (fig. 104) to the same two generals carelessly eating breakfast back in the parlor room (fig. 105). The incongruity of locations heightens the disconnect between these officers’ insulated lives and the absurdities of war.

Filmmakers can also explore the juxtaposition of place by playing with the color and tone of locations for allegorical purposes. Color can enhance a setting by associating particular locations with certain color schemes. For *The Nun’s Story*, Fred Zinnemann wanted to shoot the European scenes in black-and-white and the Congo sequences in color in order “to burst out into all the hot, vivid, stirring colors of Central Africa.”⁷⁷ However, studio head Jack Warner opposed this “too tricky” artistic flourish. As a compromise, Zinnemann and cinematographer Jack Cardiff shot the Belgium scenes in muted colors embodied in the black-and-white nun habits (fig. 106) and the African scenes in richer colors (fig. 107) to help highlight “the contrast between austerity on one hand and the explosive fertility and joy of life on the other.”⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Ibid., 166.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

In John Ford's *The Quiet Man* (1952), the green of the Irish countryside reproduced in the brilliant hues of Technicolor dominates the film. A primary color scheme fuses with the appearance of character. When an Irish-American arrives in his boyhood hometown of Innisfree, he sees a young woman herding sheep. His future wife appears almost as a vision of pastoral beauty, with her vibrant red skirt and blue work shirt and waist shawl popping out from the surrounding green landscape, so that love for the woman and country become intertwined in a synthesis of design elements (fig. 108).

Location can reflect or add to the emotions and nature of characters as well. In *Mogambo*, Mrs. Nordley and the hunter Victor share their first kiss with waterfalls in the background, a visual echo of flowing passions (fig. 109). Or consider how Jules Dassin frames the racketeer Kristo in a climatic moment in *Night and the City* when an American hustler emerges from his hideout to face the man he has been running from. The director films Kristo from below, using the lofty suspension tower of the Hammersmith Bridge to heighten the gangster's imposing menace (fig. 110).

Some filmmakers utilize location as a manifestation of character subjectivity. In Minnelli's *Two Weeks in Another Town*, Jack Andrus learns that his long-time director Kruger had an affair with his ex-wife. The already unhinged actor becomes upset by the revelation. He moves towards a hotel room's open balcony, outside of which sits the Fontana dei Fiume in Rome (fig. 111). As Jack becomes overwhelmed by turmoil, the film provides a montage of various angles of Bernini's Baroque fountain as if the assemblage of fountain sculptures became the illustration of his tortured psyche.

A different kind of stylistic flourish is on display in *Othello*, in which Orson Welles uses the walled sections of Essaouira (formerly Mogador) in Morocco as a stand-

in for a port fortress in Cypress. Here, the director turns architecture into a pure decorative ingredient. Setting the camera far back from the figures and architecture at the bottom of the frame against the sky, location takes on an abstract form (fig. 112). The slope of a ramp becomes a pattern of geometric vectors as Iago tries to get Cassio drunk (fig. 113). A bulging tower that looms over a miniature Desdemona and a small boy becomes a play of proportions (fig. 114). And using the sun as backlight, both buildings and bodies fall into depthless shadow during the film's final funeral march (fig. 115). For Welles, the shaping of location through purposeful framing and natural lighting allows for a level of expressive play that the director had once explored in the studio.

The Narrativization of Locations

Despite the salience of locations in Hollywood foreign productions, they never become pure spectacle or mere episodic travelogues, as is the case in a number of Cinerama films. The presentation of location is narrativized and motivated by story and character action, an attribute that conformed to the norms of Hollywood form and style. Even during the unfolding of a scene, the location is given a secondary status during key pieces of dialogue and action, which falls within the narrational characteristics of Hollywood classicism. Typically, the openings and conclusions of classical Hollywood films are the most "self-conscious" passages of the film. In foreign productions, the opening might showcase a montage of location shots. At a more local narrative level, the beginnings and endings of scenes become instances of overt narration.⁷⁹ During these moments, wide shots of overseas locations that accent pictorialism might appear before moving to tighter

⁷⁹ David Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 160.

shots of conversations done in a studio, where dialogue and performance are stressed. In this fashion, the narration highlights locations during passages when classical conventions had always permitted a greater degree of self-conscious showiness.

Openings

The narrative of the Hollywood foreign production typically frontloads the film with foreign locations to clearly establish the setting for the audience. At times, these images will play underneath the opening credits. The settings' connection to authentic locales can also be reinforced with a credit title that announces where the film was shot, not unlike the way that some movie trailers mention shooting locations. As in its advertisements, the credits for *The Man on the Eiffel Tower* give "the City of Paris" fifth billing over a shot of the Eiffel Tower in the far background (fig. 116). In *Roman Holiday*, an opening title card explains that the movie was made in Rome over an image of the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Roman Forum stretching out into the distance (fig. 117). In *House of Bamboo*, an omniscient narrator informs us that the film was shot in Tokyo, Yokohama and the Japanese countryside, a gesture that at once establishes the setting and the film's connection to an authentic local. This point is reinforced as Mt. Fuji looms in the background, a constant visual emblem through the opening train heist (fig. 118).

In some cases, an opening credit will give thanks to local authorities that supported location shooting. The credits for *Decision Before Dawn* recognize, "This motion picture was filmed in its entirety in Europe, where the story actually took place. 20th Century-Fox expresses its appreciation to the United States Army, Navy and Air

Force, as well as to the Armed Forces of France, without whose cooperation this film could not have been made.” Or credits salute the participation of foreign talent, such as the credit at the beginning of *Mogambo* that is given to the Samburu, Wagenia, Bahaya and M’Beti peoples. These acknowledgements pay tribute to the authorities and cultures that the filmmakers had to work with in order to execute the film shoot while simultaneously underscoring for the audience the film’s authenticity.

Films set in foreign cities oftentimes open with montage sequences with picture-postcard views of cityscapes. Or these views might become more integrated into a narrative through a chase or a ride through a city. David Bass compares these sequences, along with the opening title statement of where a film was shot, to the proof of “really being there” traditionally provided by postcards and tourist snapshots.⁸⁰ Certainly, the shooting of well-known monuments and landscapes (e.g. the Eiffel Tower, the Coliseum, Mt. Fuji), which so often appeared in the opening of foreign productions, served as evidence of a Hollywood crew having really been there.

Fox’s *Three Coins in the Fountain* commences with a four-minute prologue featuring the film’s titular theme song played over shots of Rome’s many fountains. The travelogue effect not only roots the film in authenticity, but seeing as this was Fox’s second CinemaScope film, the locations highlight the new widescreen format. Later on in the movie when three of the characters visit Venice, a comparable sequence of location shots unfurls, this time brought on by Prince Dino taking his object of desire, Maria, and her chaperon on a tour of the city. The frontloading of these location shots fulfills multiple functions by helping to establish the setting, emphasizing the fact that the film

⁸⁰ David Bass, “Insiders and Outsiders: Latent Urban Thinking in Movies of Modern Rome,” in *Cinema & Architecture: Méliès, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia*, eds. François Penz and Maureen Thomas (London: BFI, 1997), 85-86.

was shot in a real locale, and priming the audience to take notice of authentic foreign sights throughout the film.

Although Billy Wilder's *Love in the Afternoon* was shot entirely in France, the film is mostly made up of studio interiors. However, the prologue brings viewers a tour of Paris as voice-over narration introduces the city of lovers through a synchronized play of words and images, carefully laid out by Wilder and co-writer I.A.L. Diamond in their script.⁸¹ The opening begins with a pan from an artist's rendition of the city to a couple kissing, oblivious to their surroundings (fig. 119), as the voice of the character Chavasse explains: "This is the city. Paris, France. It is just like any other big city – London, New York, Tokyo. Except for two little things. In Paris, people eat better. And in Paris, people make love...well, perhaps not better, but certainly more often. They do it any time – any place..." The film cuts to the Seine River (fig. 120), where a man and woman stroll and kiss along the quay as the narrator continues, "...on the Left Bank..." A whip pan across the river and a hidden cut reveal another man and woman kissing on the edge of the quay (fig. 121) as the voice-over proceeds, "...on the Right Bank..." A hard cut to a boat on the Seine shows an additional couple kissing (fig. 122) with the pronouncement, "...and in between." The prologue goes on with this gameplay, showing various Parisian locations, from butcher shops and bakeries to iconic monuments, all serving as backdrops for smooching in order to fix the story in an authentic place.

⁸¹ The *Love in the Afternoon* script suggests that the locations and how to film them were already identified by Wilder and Diamond at the writing stage, although final locations differed somewhat than what appears in the continuity script. January 3, 1957, *Love in the Afternoon* (Continuity Script), Fonds Lucie Lichtig, BiFi.

Motivating Locations

Once the plot commences, many of these films motivate the foregrounding of locations by following prototypical story structures in which real locales materialize as characters pursue their goals. A film may be based on a globetrotting trip (*Around the World in 80 Days*), a land journey (*Berlin Express*, *Escapade in Japan*, *The Sundowners*, *The Big Gamble*), a sea voyage (*The Crimson Pirate*, *Mutiny on the Bounty*) an African expedition (*King Solomon's Mines*, *The African Queen*, *Mogambo*, *Killers of Kilimanjaro*), a treasure hunt (*Valley of the Kings*, *Plunder of the Sun*), a city tour (*Roman Holiday*, *Summertime*), or a military mission (*Decision Before Dawn*, *Bitter Victory*, *Guns of Navarone*, *The Longest Day*). In some of these films, maps become key devices for laying out the trajectories of these characters' movements and orienting the audience geographically. As in *The Guns of Navarone*, a film that relies heavily on visual plans, maps can either be shown diegetically (fig. 123) or non-diegetically (fig. 124), in the latter case by superimposing a map over a shot of the genuine setting.

In *Decision Before Dawn*, the unfolding of locations follows the route of Steiner, a Nazi soldier-turned-Allied spy, who must undertake a "tourist mission," moving through Germany to discover where one of the last remaining divisions of the Nazi army is planning to attack. His journey, laid out on a map, will take him from Munich to Augsburg to Stuttgart to Mannheim (fig. 125). However, a series of checkpoints, delays and diversions force him to go to other German towns, including Wurzburg and Nuremberg. Each location becomes a chance to showcase a still war-torn backdrop, but Steiner's movements always propel the exhibition of place.

For *Roman Holiday*, despite some consultation with Italian filmmakers and heavy location shooting, William Wyler's emphasis on the landscape of Rome does not result in Neorealist dramaturgy, in which causality is loosened and narrative development becomes episodic.⁸² Instead, the depiction of the Eternal City conforms to the conventions of Hollywood storytelling. The pursuit of sharply defined goals inspires the rendition of the urban environment both in terms of composition and story. For example, a tour of the city and its famed sights is prompted by Princess Ann's desire to explore the city and encouraged by reporter Joe Bradley's attempt to steal candid photos of her in the most un-royal of circumstances. Rome's landmarks (e.g. the Trevi Fountain, the Spanish Steps, a café by the Pantheon, the Colosseum, the grand avenues, the Mouth of Truth, and the barges along the Tiber River) become sites where the princess can delight in her newfound freedom and the electrifying vibrancy of a big city. Ultimately, Wyler captures Roman scenery in grand fashion while maintaining the narrative coherence of Hollywood storytelling.

In motion pictures set in Africa, excursions and safaris become the justification for views of nature. In *King Solomon's Mines*, Beth Curtis hires white hunter Allan Quartermane to track down her husband who has gone missing after setting out to find a diamond mine in uncharted African territory. A hand-drawn map left by the husband is the only clue for his whereabouts and it roughly lays out the expedition that the search party will go on (fig. 126). This trek drives the views of African wildlife and nature, including the imposing peak of Mt. Kenya (fig. 127). Central to the plot's search framework is the party's encounter with different African societies that can provide

⁸² Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film*, 205-213.

crucial information on the missing husband. Each entrance into the villages highlights the differences in cultures: the thatched mud huts of the Masai (fig. 128) and the straw royal palace of the Tutsi (fig. 129). Each village also becomes a chance to showcase the dress, music, dance and customs of the different groups.

Mogambo follows a similar course into East Africa. Shortly after Mrs. Nordley's arrival at the African homestead, her walk triggers views of wildlife and sets up a reason for the hunter Victor to rescue her from the dangers of the bush, thus sparking their affair. To hide their liaison from Mrs. Nordley's husband, they carry out their dalliances in the wild, representing a visual connection between the verdant African environment and their passions. Later in the film, a safari deeper into the African landscape to track down gorillas drives more sights of nature and wildlife.

A film can provoke a display of locations through discrete arcs of actions instead of whole plot trajectories. For *Funny Face*, director Stanley Donen flaunts iconic Parisian localities during the musical number "Bonjour Paris" and then an on-location fashion shoot. In *The Man on the Eiffel Tower*, chases narrativize a bold presentation of Paris. The geography of the city is cut up into angular perspectives as two cops pursue the petty thief Heurtin. He catches his breath in front of the Lion of Belfort monument in Place Denfert-Rochereau (fig. 130). His run out of the Invalides gate towards the Alexandre III bridge highlights the linear perspectives formed by the city's grand avenues and urban landscape (fig. 131). As he ducks into the columned forecourt of the Palais-Royal, the architecture forms an impressive central vanishing point (fig. 132). When he reaches the old bridge of Grenelle, the railing forms a recessive diagonal while a replica of the Statue of Liberty creates a vertical vector (fig. 133). Later in the film, an equally vivid chase

takes place as the killer Radek scales the roofs of Paris with a police officer in pursuit (fig. 134). By motivating the display of locations through the chase, the spectacle of place is naturalized. Like other Hollywood filmmakers working overseas, director Burgess Meredith exploits the play of perspectives built into architecture and urban planning to produce forceful compositions that enhance the action.

As the above examples show, writers and filmmakers found ways to incorporate locales into stories so that they conformed to the conventions of Hollywood form and style. But more importantly, these filmmakers also hit upon ways to make a location expressive through its decorative quality or its relationship to character action. On a broader level, locations—whether serving as symbolic spaces or signposts for narrative development—did not serve as mere backdrop, but became important components of the drama. To get a closer look at how a film company negotiated the style and narrativization of locations, let us examine the notable use of place in Vicente Minnelli's *Lust for Life*.

Case Study: Lust for Life (1956)

A movie about Vincent van Gogh and the landscape he painted in, *Lust for Life* epitomized postwar middlebrow tastes with its portrayal of the life of a popular artist, not unlike John Huston's Toulouse Lautrec biopic, *Moulin Rouge*, whose success MGM hoped to reproduce. But the film also stands as an innovative exploration of authentic foreign locations by Minnelli and his collaborators. The making of the film provides important insights into how Hollywood filmmakers undertook location shooting from a logistical and creative level.

When Minnelli and producer John Houseman convinced MGM executive Dore Schary to approve the production in late February 1955, they discovered that the studio had only nine months left before the rights to the *Lust for Life* book would revert back to author Irving Stone unless the film was completed. Despite this impending deadline, the filmmakers committed to shooting the production's exteriors in authentic locations in Europe, a goal that was complicated by the fact that Minnelli was obligated to work on *Kismet* (1955) until the middle of July. So Houseman, associate producer Jud Kinberg, and various MGM personnel began organizing the international production, with location work set for Europe followed by interiors at MGM's Culver City studio. In addition, original Van Gogh paintings had to be tracked down around the world to be filmed and reproduced for incorporation in the final movie.⁸³

In a letter to MGM production executive J.J. Cohn, Houseman in collaboration with Minnelli provided an overview of the film's visual concept, which was developed before writer Norman Corwin started work on the script. The producer and director articulate how the film's locations will go beyond serving as mere setting or just conveying pictorial beauty in order to "bear an important and even vital psychological relationship to the story."⁸⁴ The letter was written in anticipation of the second-unit crew traveling to Arles, France to shoot footage for the film's springtime sequences. Once the

⁸³ Houseman, *Front and Center*, 462-464.

⁸⁴ John Houseman to J.J. Cohn, February 24, 1955, *Lust for Life* (Production), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library. Although the letter is signed by Houseman, a subsequent piece of correspondence refers to the memo as containing information compiled by *both* Minnelli and Houseman. See William Kaplan to Vincente Minnelli, March 11, 1955, *Lust for Life* (Production), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library.

second unit arrived in Europe, Houseman followed up with supplemental guidelines for filming in authentic locales.⁸⁵

Location Survey and Production Phase

In the spring of 1955, unit production manager William Kaplan, cinematographer Joseph Ruttenberg and MGM art director Edward Carfagno traveled through Europe to begin pre-production arrangements on *Lust for Life*. For portions of the location trek, script supervisor Sylvette Baudrot, along with a small assistant camera crew, accompanied the team to keep track of camera reports for pre-production filming and to help match locations with Van Gogh's paintings.⁸⁶ To guide the cinematographic work and the choice of locales, the team used diagrams created by Minnelli, the memo compiled by the director and producer, and a follow-up letter from Houseman, which offered ideas for filming in Brussels, the Borinage, Neunen, Paris, Arles and Auvers-sur-Oise.⁸⁷ In particular, Houseman highlighted the importance of filming in the original wheat fields of Auvers, where Van Gogh painted his last pieces and shot himself.

The survey team gathered footage both to be incorporated into the final picture, such as the cherry blossoms in Arles, and to experiment with different ways of photographing locations. Baudrot recalls that Ruttenberg tested different film stocks to

⁸⁵ John Houseman to William Kaplan, April 8, 1955, *Lust for Life* (Production), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library. While it is unclear how much of the second-unit footage ended up in the final film, many visual ideas from Houseman and Minnelli shaped the production teams' approach to location shooting.

⁸⁶ Interview with Sylvette Baudrot. Rapport de Montage, March-April 1955, *Lust for Life*, Fonds Sylvette Baudrot-Guilbaud, BiFi. Ruttenberg, Carfagno and Baudrot did not continue working on the first-unit production phase of the film.

⁸⁷ John Houseman to William Kaplan, April 8, 1955, *Lust for Life* (Production), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library. Minnelli, *I Remember It Well*, 289.

see which could best replicate Van Gogh's paintings.⁸⁸ This footage was then flown back to MGM Studios, where Houseman, Minnelli and MGM executives viewed the exposed film. Additionally, the team produced photos, sketches and diagrams of possible shooting locations and researched the flowering, browning and harvesting of various crops and vegetation in France.

In early July, John Houseman flew to London and then on to Paris to help prepare the production as Minnelli finished *Kismet* and in anticipation of the ripening of the wheat fields in Auvers-sur-Oise. An Anglo-French crew was assembled, headed by production manager Julien Derode and transportation captain Christian Ferry. Production finally began in late July with the cast and crew working in reverse chronological story order. They began in Auvers, where van Gogh committed suicide, then moved to Arles, where the painter had his most fertile period. Next came Paris, where he was exposed to the work of the Impressionists, then by the village of Neunen in Holland, where he returned to his childhood home to focus on his painting. The location unit finished in the coal-mining region of the Borinage in Belgium, where van Gogh worked as a preacher.⁸⁹

As the unit moved from one location to another, the director and his collaborators improvised with shooting locations, incorporating evocative sights as they came upon them. In his memoir, Houseman recalls, "Occasionally Minnelli would be so entranced by some place he saw during the day that Jud [Kinberg] and I would sit up all night digging something out of the letters or writing a new scene that could be shot in the location we had just discovered."⁹⁰ According to Minnelli, as the crew hunted for locations, the unit compared Van Gogh's original paintings with the film sites and then

⁸⁸ Interview with Sylvette Baudrot.

⁸⁹ Houseman, *Front and Center*, 467-468.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 475.

positioned Kirk Douglas, who portrayed the artist, within the landscape from the appropriate vantage point, which would then be shot.⁹¹ However, this was done in the face of resistance from the MGM production department, which attempted to limit any extra time and expenses that accrued during the location shoot, resulting, according to Houseman, in “screams of anguish that emanated daily from Culver City.”⁹²

The Development of Location and the Psychology of Place

As in other foreign productions, the locations become narrativized in *Lust for Life* when Van Gogh moves to new towns—the Boringe, Neunen, Arles and Auvers-sur-Oise—using each new locale as inspiration for his paintings. These wanderings around Europe follow a development in the film’s atmosphere and color, reflecting the changes in the painter’s life. This progression is articulated by Houseman, who explicates, “*Lust for Life* will be essentially the story of a painter who progressed from darkness to light—from the literal darkness of black, grim coal mines to the dazzling sunlight of Provence; from the murky, labyrinthine gloom of his own uncertainty and lack of confidence, to the ultimate triumph of his powers and talent.”⁹³

An aspiring preacher, Van Gogh is placed by an evangelical committee in the mining town of the Boringe, a ruthless environment characterized by the stark landscapes and drab colors of industrial spaces and slag heaps (fig. 135). Convinced by his brother, Theo, to move back home to Neunen, Van Gogh throws himself into painting by

⁹¹ Minnelli, *I Remember It Well*, 292.

⁹² Houseman, *Front and Center*, 477. In his memoir, however, Minnelli recalls that after initial “battles with the studio during pre-production,” the location crew was left to its own devices. *I Remember It Well*, 287-288.

⁹³ John Houseman to J.J. Cohn, February 24, 1955, *Lust for Life* (Production), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library.

reproducing the pastoral scenery of his hometown, full of deep greens and rich browns. These artistic pursuits develop as he continues to hone his craft, eventually focusing on workers toiling the land (fig. 136).

After a brief stay in Paris with Theo, Van Gogh moves to Arles in the south of France. The region's beauty and colors seem to erupt when the painter opens his windows in the morning to the blossoming of trees (fig. 137). "It will be in Arles, for the first time," explains Houseman, "that we burst into the luxuriant light and brilliant color that characterized the greatest period of his work."⁹⁴ Here, Van Gogh thrives, trying out new colors such as rich yellows and new forms (fig. 138). Finally, after his mental breakdown and fight with his friend, the painter Paul Gauguin, he enters a sanatorium in Auvers-sur-Oise, where the golden hues of the wheat fields spark his late work and fuel a return to madness.

Throughout this journey, location acts as an expression of Van Gogh's mental state. The soot-covered atmosphere of the Boringe becomes a manifestation of the painter remaining in the dark as he pursues the life of a preacher instead of his artwork. His most prolific period occurs in the open spaces of Arles, where the colors, landscapes and people inspire his work. For Houseman, the Arles segments would not be a travelogue of southern French vistas but would become a reflection of the painter's subjectivity and a "dramatic event" for Van Gogh. The producer writes, "The spring material will be integrated into the final film not from the viewpoint of some neutral observer [sic], but as the experience of our central figure—to whom landscapes and seasons and all manifestations of Nature meant vastly more than a series of pretty picture post-cards: they were his blood and guts. He lived and died for what he saw in the moods of nature

⁹⁴ Ibid.

and in its many colors and textures and forms.” Houseman goes on to write that the landscape of Arles “will have a positive physical and psychological relationship to the man—it will explode upon him—he (along with our audience) will be drinking in the intoxicating vistas of Springtime in Provence.”⁹⁵

One of Van Gogh’s worst fears is being confined indoors, where he is unable to work without direct contact with the environment of his paintings’ settings. But Van Gogh’s great tragedy, as portrayed in the film, is that at once his work is driven by his madness and his work intensifies his madness. Just before shooting himself, he paints *Wheatfield with Crows*, illustrating the birds that fly around the landscape of Auvers-sur-Oise (fig. 139). Unable to cope with his mental anguish, he walks to a nearby tree, scrawls a suicide note and pulls out a pistol. These actions become a realization of another painting, *Wheatfield with a Reaper*. The painting, he explained earlier to a nurse at his sanatorium, contains the figure of death, which is not a sad death because “it happens in the bright daylight—the sun flooding everything and the light of pure gold.” Minnelli, Houseman and company blend location and character to create a portrait of an artist, stimulated by the world around him but too psychically fragile to exist in it

Making the Settings of Paintings Cinematic

Minnelli and his collaborators employ locations to bring to life the iconic sites of Van Gogh’s paintings. By placing him within the settings, we get to see the painter at work. “My plan,” explains the director, “was to re-create the subject matter of Van Gogh’s paintings, not as frozen tableaux, but within an everyday context.”⁹⁶ The paintings then

⁹⁵ Ibid. (underlining in the original).

⁹⁶ Minnelli, *I Remember It Well*, 290.

become a reference point for recreating the landscape, the figures and the colors of the original work. The film gives us the mill of *Water Mill at Kollen Near Neunen* (fig. 140), the woman of *Fisherman's Wife on the Beach* (fig. 141), and the drawbridge of *Langlois Bridge at Arles* (fig. 142). As if come to life, the landscape of *Wheatfield with Crows* seems to accost Van Gogh (fig. 139), a manifestation of how his feverish painting sessions fuel his madness.

For Houseman and Minnelli, the aim of location shooting was to generate imagery that rivaled Van Gogh's work. Houseman reasons, "The mood we seek to capture is not lyrical but exultant, climatic, with the strength, the boldness and the urgency with which Van Gogh impaled them on his canvas."⁹⁷ The producer concludes by advocating an approach that conflated Van Gogh's painting with the cinematic rendering of the artist: "We are dealing with the story of one of the greatest creative artists—a human volcano of boldness and imagination—and the camera need not be shy about the scope of its palette or the vigor of its brush strokes."⁹⁸

To mimic Van Gogh's rich color palette for both the location scenes and the reproduction of the artist's paintings, the filmmakers opted to use Ansco Color, a high-speed, fine-grained stock that became the basis for MGM's Metrocolor process.⁹⁹ Houseman and Minnelli learned that Eastman Kodak, which by the mid-1950s dominated the supply of color film in Hollywood, had "so attenuated and prettified its colors" that

⁹⁷ John Houseman to J.J. Cohn, February 24, 1955, *Lust for Life* (Production), Vincente Minnelli Papers, AMPAS Library.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ In his memoir, Houseman refers to the stock as AGFA. Ansco Color was a derivative of AGFA. *Front and Center*, 465. "M-G-M's 'Lust For Life' Shot on New Ansco Color Film," *American Cinematographer*, January 1956, 44. Drew Casper, *Postwar Hollywood 1946-1962* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 94. For info on Ansco Color, see Salt, *Film Style and Technology*, 241.

the vibrant hue of color that characterized so many of Van Gogh's paintings could not be achieved.¹⁰⁰ But the filmmakers discovered that Ansco film could reproduce the colors they desired. However, because of Kodak's monopoly on film stock, Ansco for 35mm feature films came to an end. The filmmakers, though, were able to track down enough remaining Ansco film stock to shoot the picture and convince the company to establish a lab in Houston to process the picture.¹⁰¹ To view dailies, the location team had to wait for the exposed footage to go from the south of France to Paris to Houston, where the film was developed, then to Los Angeles, where MGM executives could view the footage, and finally back to the south of France.¹⁰²

Less in line with the filmmakers' vision was the picture's widescreen format. Initially, Houseman and Minnelli resisted the idea of shooting in CinemaScope, preferring to work in a squarer aspect ratio. "If ever a picture shouldn't have been filmed in Cinemascope [sic]," argues Minnelli, "it was *Lust for Life*, since the dimensions of the wider screen bear little relation to the conventional shape of paintings."¹⁰³ Houseman shared similar feelings about CinemaScope, recalling, "By 1955 this ridiculous process, adopted and publicized by Fox in its desperation, had swept the industry. Over the protest of every respectable filmmaker, the vermiform screen had triumphed: every large movie-house in the Western world was installing the hateful lenses; every major studio had given the order that all high-budget pictures must henceforth be shot in the new ratio."¹⁰⁴

Despite their protests, MGM president Arthur Loew overruled the filmmakers' objections and the picture was in the end shot in CinemaScope. While Minnelli puts to

¹⁰⁰ Houseman, *Front and Center*, 465.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 465. Minnelli, *I Remember It Well*, 288-289.

¹⁰² Houseman, *Front and Center*, 478.

¹⁰³ Minnelli, *I Remember It Well*, 288.

¹⁰⁴ Houseman, *Front and Center*, 466.

use the wider canvas to create compositions that force our eyes to scan the frame, the shots tend to be static with Van Gogh seated or standing in the central zone of the frame as he paints against a beautiful landscape. Intensifying the shots' depth seems to be more important than filling out the shots' length. As with other filmmakers working in the format, Minnelli utilizes recessionary lines, the layering of planes and natural light to amplify the depth of the shots.

The location shooting of *Lust for Life* proved that working in authentic locales could galvanize the creative process. Houseman writes, "Our work in the studio, though it included many of our biggest dramatic scenes, was less exciting than on the locations, where we had the constantly thrilling sense of feeling the same burning sun, treading the same dry earth and reacting to the same violent colors that had helped drive Vincent into madness three-quarters of a century earlier."¹⁰⁵ For Minnelli, the production was "the most thrilling and stimulating creative period" of his life.¹⁰⁶ As an example of location filming, the making of *Lust for Life* shows us the logistics and planning that went into shooting a story in its original and authentic settings. The film also indicates how locations can work on an expressive level. In this case, the locations help advance the color scheme of the film and they become filmic analogues to Van Gogh's paintings. Finally, the film demonstrates that location can be narrativized by becoming the source inspiration for the main character's paintings and by mirroring his fluctuating psychological state. Through a process of selection, composition and staging, Minnelli, Houseman and their collaborators manipulate locations to bring both a sense of realism and drama to the image.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 481.

¹⁰⁶ Minnelli, *I Remember It Well*, 287.

Conclusion: Postwar Hollywood Film Style

Just as the Hollywood industry underwent a transitional phase in its business practices and organization in the postwar era, film style during this period was also in flux. This style is characterized by its eclecticism.¹⁰⁷ Motion pictures in Technicolor and then Eastman Color turned up alongside black and white films. Across the 1950s, aspect ratios expanded and contracted, moving from the Academy ratio to Cinerama and from CinemaScope to VistaVision, along with an array of other widescreen systems. Films featured studio work and location footage, shot both in the U.S. and abroad. Foreign productions contributed in important ways to the diversity of these styles.

While foreign location shooting was shaped by Hollywood stylistic conventions, the mixing of Hollywood and foreign creative personnel point to these film's transnational dimensions at the production level. However, as I have shown, these films on the whole were distinctly Hollywood products. In part, these films remained classically Hollywood in terms of form and style because of a more flexible mode of production that allowed motion picture companies to preserve established Hollywood production practices while adapting to the conditions of overseas locations. Moreover, in order to naturalize the presentation of foreign location shooting, Hollywood companies developed stories about expeditions, city tours, military missions, etc. that motivated a bold display of place. Within these story parameters, Hollywood filmmakers looked to enduring compositional principles to guide them as they increasingly moved off the studio lot.

¹⁰⁷ Bordwell makes a similar point: "The Scope era may have been the last period of genuine stylistic variety." "CinemaScope," 310.

My account of location shooting, however, is not one of rigid stylistic continuity; it is ultimately one of measured change. These foreign productions' stress on location shooting contributed to what I would suggest were gradual shifts in Hollywood style by promoting a refined set of location practices and conventions that naturalistic film trends in the 1960s and 1970s would draw from.

Conclusion.

Hollywood Foreign Productions, Yesterday and Today

In this dissertation, I have tried to build a historical account of Hollywood's postwar foreign productions by considering a range of causal forces that affected the making of these films. In Chapter One, I identified three key features—economics, geography and the relationship between the film's story setting and shooting location—that played a role in determining the organization of these productions and the debates that arose within the film industry in the United States. This analysis aimed to provide a more systematic explanation of foreign productions than either journalistic narratives or other academic studies have proposed.

In Chapter Two, I used an inductive approach that examined dozens of films to arrive at a set of important characteristics of productions that were shot in Great Britain, Italy and France. These countries became critical sites for Hollywood's international filmmaking activities due to foreign financial incentives, production infrastructures and skilled workers. By adapting to these features and continuing certain established filmmaking practices, Hollywood was able to rely on international production to cope with the industrial, cultural and political climate of the postwar period.

Chapter Three gave more specificity to the issues raised in the previous chapter through the case studies of *Roman Holiday*, *To Catch a Thief* and *Moby Dick*. The investigation of these films not only spotlighted above-the-line personnel (e.g. William Wyler, Alfred Hitchcock and John Huston) but also below-the-line workers from Hollywood and abroad (e.g. Henry Henigson, C.O. "Doc" Erickson, Sylvette Baudrot and

Oswald Morris), whose contributions to overseas production work are largely overlooked in studies of “runaway” productions.

Chapter Four considered the selling of a key stylistic trait of overseas productions: authentic foreign locations. The emphasis on this aspect in promotional campaigns and in film reviews reveals how locations were foregrounded in the discourse amongst movie producers, publicists and critics. Through these promotional efforts, the industry was manufacturing a new self-image at a time when studios were retrenching; when production was no longer strictly tied to soundstages and backlots; as the power of independent producers, directors and actors was expanding; and as domestic movie-audience numbers were contracting. This evolving image intended to portray production as a global odyssey, filmmaker and actor as swashbucklers, and a film industry that was more international and cosmopolitan in its ambitions.

The promotional and critical discourse analyzed in Chapter Four helped set the parameters for the practice of location shooting explored in Chapter Five. Here, I broadened the scope of the project by looking at a wider range of films that were shot around the world in order to be attentive to the diversity of locales that Hollywood captured. I argue that while location was highlighted more in foreign productions than in most domestic productions, Hollywood filmmakers applied enduring and industry-wide technical conventions in rendering foreign scenery with sometimes inventive results. Accordingly, filmmakers never radically broke from the norms of Hollywood form and style, a situation that was itself predicated on creating a more flexible mode of production.

Even with this stability at the formal and stylistic level, the overseas production work that Hollywood undertook from the late 1940s to the early 1960s signaled some consequential shifts from studio-era filmmaking. The infrastructures changed, the personnel became more international, the means of financing were more diversified, and the locations spanned the world. Remarkably, though, these productions were very much in line with U.S. film industrial practices in terms of organization and execution. By both adapting to the conditions of foreign locations and employing Hollywood craft practices and stylistic regimes, producers turned out products that were for the most part consistent with what was being made domestically. Because of this, Hollywood foreign productions became a vital strategy for weathering the transformations and economic challenges of the postwar era.

From an international perspective, these productions brought significant modifications to the foreign regions where they were made. While much more research remains to be done about the experience of overseas workers and industries involved in Hollywood production and the long-term effects of Hollywood's presence in these foreign countries, let me gesture towards a few prominent changes. One of outcomes of Hollywood's production work in Western Europe was the rebuilding of filmmaking infrastructures that had been damaged during the war. Through investments in studios, the proliferation of U.S. equipment, the creation of foreign subsidiaries, and the steady employment and training of European technicians, Hollywood companies helped lay the foundation for the flowering of French, Italian and British film industries in the 1950s and 1960s.

Ironically, by helping to build up these industries abroad, Hollywood inadvertently strengthened its own competition. For many in Hollywood, however, investing in foreign industries was necessary to reach some of its short-term goals. 20th Century-Fox president Spyros Skouras made the case that U.S. investment in foreign productions would help restore film industries abroad, which would have the upshot of easing remittance restrictions overseas for Hollywood companies.¹ Moreover, the renovation of filmmaking infrastructures in Western Europe helped support foreign studios and technicians and promoted knowledge of Hollywood equipment and technique that Hollywood companies could in turn take advantage of. While the far-ranging might of Hollywood is not in dispute in this study, my examination has sought to demonstrate that the hegemony of Hollywood is not one of pure domination of foreign film industries and markets. It is a far more adaptive process that conforms to the circumstances and needs of foreign nations as the U.S. film industry aggressively pursues its own objectives.

Despite the conflicts that arose on these productions for both Hollywood and foreign industries, these collaborations persisted throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, heralding some of the practices and patterns of contemporary international production work. Today's global Hollywood, which notably emerged in the 1980s, is characterized by synergistic multinational conglomerates and corporations whose film financing, production and distribution activities are robust and widespread.² Within this context, "runaway" production has taken root in new areas of industrial agglomeration: cities and regions in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Eastern Europe and increasingly China.

¹ "20th Backs 6 Latin Pix Abroad," *Daily Variety*, August 31, 1949, 1, 6.

² Tino Balio, "'A major presence in all of the world's important markets': the globalization of Hollywood in the 1990s," in *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*, eds. Steven Neale and Murray Smith (New York: Routledge, 1998), 58-73.

Additionally, the proliferation of film commissions throughout the world, along with new tax incentives and co-production deals, have attracted and facilitated Hollywood's overseas filmmaking enterprises.

These more recent location sites, however, have a far more mutable and versatile status than their postwar predecessors. In the past, foreign locations often played themselves, a fact that was key to the films' style and selling point. Today, a foreign location might play itself, but more often it serves as a substitute for another setting both real and make-believe. Ben Goldsmith and Tom O'Regan make the case that in the contemporary global film industry, "the built and natural environments of a place are valued as much for what they can stand in for, what they bent/reshaped to represent, as they are valued for themselves."³

Nonetheless, even within these modern developments, some of the attributes of postwar foreign productions endure. The interaction and communication of Hollywood and foreign personnel, the exportation of craft practices and technologies and their reconfiguration according to local conditions, and the representation of foreign locations: All of these matters, which were so crucial in the postwar era, remain a critical component of the process of globalization and film production. Although the specific economic and geopolitical mechanisms of today's globalization may differ from yesterday's internationalism, unpacking Hollywood's foreign productions from the postwar era can help us better understand the transnational exchange of labor, filmmaking practices, work routines and aesthetic ideas of an interconnected world.

³ Goldsmith and O'Regan, *Film Studio*, 8.

ILLUSTRATIONS



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13



fig. 14



fig. 15



fig. 16



fig. 17



fig. 18



fig. 19



fig. 20



fig. 21



fig. 22



fig. 23



fig. 24



fig. 25



fig. 26



fig. 27



fig. 28



fig. 29



fig. 30



fig. 31



fig. 32



fig. 33



fig. 34



fig. 35



fig. 36



fig. 37



fig. 38



fig. 39



fig. 40



fig. 41



fig. 42



fig. 43



fig. 44



fig. 45



fig. 46



fig. 47



fig. 48



fig. 49



fig. 50



fig. 51



fig. 52



fig. 53



fig. 54



fig. 55



fig. 56



fig. 57



fig. 58



fig. 59



fig. 60



fig. 61



fig. 62



fig. 63



fig. 64



fig. 65



fig. 66



fig. 67



fig. 68



fig. 69



fig. 70



fig. 71



fig. 72



fig. 73



fig. 74



fig. 75



fig. 76



fig. 77

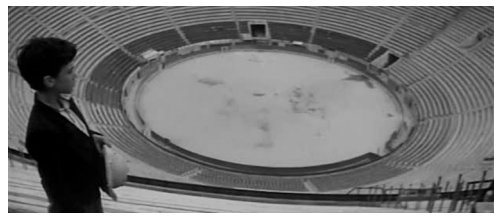


fig. 78



fig. 79



fig. 80



fig. 81



fig. 82



fig. 83



fig. 84



fig. 85



fig. 86



fig. 87



fig. 88



fig. 89



fig. 90



fig. 91



fig. 92



fig. 93



fig. 94



fig. 95



fig. 96



fig. 97



fig. 98



fig. 99



fig. 100



fig. 101



fig. 102



fig. 103



fig. 104



fig. 105



fig. 106



fig. 107



fig. 108



fig. 109



fig. 110



fig. 111



fig. 112



fig. 113



fig. 114



fig. 115



fig. 116



fig. 117



fig. 118



fig. 119



fig. 120



fig. 121



fig. 122



fig. 123

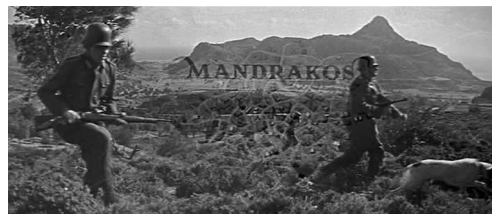


fig. 124



fig. 125

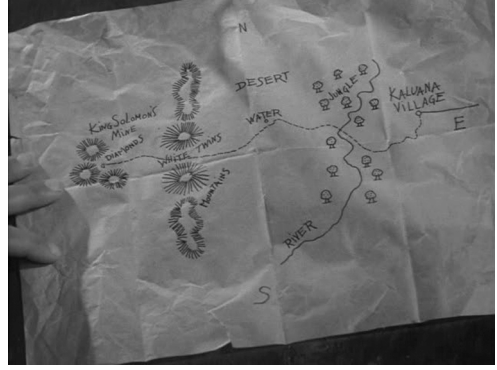


fig. 126



fig. 127



fig. 128

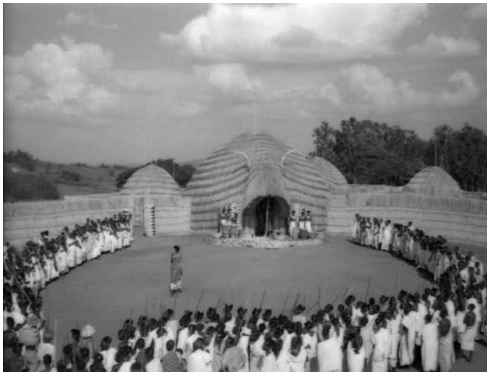


fig. 129



fig. 130



fig. 131



fig. 132



fig. 133



fig. 134



fig. 135



fig. 136



fig. 137



fig. 138



fig. 139



fig. 140



fig. 141



fig. 142

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