

HUMANITIES INSTITUTE
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TOUCH OF EVIL (1958)
Orson Welles

OVERVIEW

Auteur Orson Welles is one of the most important and influential filmmakers in American film history. After making a name for himself in theatre and radio, Welles signed with RKO Pictures to write and direct two motion pictures, a deal that was unprecedented at the time in terms of the creative control Welles enjoyed. His directorial debut, *Citizen Kane*, would go on to become arguably the greatest film ever made thanks to its innovative techniques and unconventional narrative style. He quickly became a household name releasing a total of twelve movies that include critically-acclaimed films like *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947), *Touch of Evil* (1958), and *Chimes at Midnight* (1965). He won the Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay for *Citizen Kane* with Herman J. Mankiewicz, and *Othello* (1951) won the prestigious Palme d'Or at the 1952 Cannes Film Festival. Orson Welles died in 1985.

Film One of the finest examples of *film noir*, *Touch of Evil* is a murder mystery set in an imaginary border town between the United States and Mexico. While the police investigation into the assassination of a rich property developer provides the context, actual story focuses on the metaphorical bullfight between detective Hank Quinlan and his Mexican counterpart Miguel Vargas. What follows is a compelling set of flawed characters in an intriguing and sophisticated web of relations. With its sublime cinematography and Wellesian camera work, *Touch of Evil* can also be seen as another chapter in Orson Welles' political activism, possibly responding to the unjust prosecution of Mexican youth by the American police in 1942-43, also known as 'the Sleepy Lagoon Trial'. Even though the studio buried the film in a double bill when it was first released (by making a poster better suited to a B-movie), it later claimed its rightful place in director's *oeuvre* as one of his greatest achievements. *Touch of Evil* ranked 51st on the BBC's "100 Greatest American Films" list, voted on by film critics from around the world.

Background The movie was adapted from the mystery novel *Badge of Evil* [1956] by Whit Masterson, but Welles made two significant changes to the original story: 1) He moved the setting from interior California to a border town, and 2) he named the protagonist Miguel Vargas to place racism and border politics at the center of the story. Aside from its political undertones, *Touch of Evil* is also (in)famous for its post-production woes. Following initial screening, the studio thought the movie was a mess. They barred Welles from entering the editing room and hired a new director to shoot additional scenes. Orson Welles, seeing this new copy, sent a 58-page memo to the studio teaching them how to re-edit his movie based on his vision. Ultimately, the relationship became too acrimonious to be salvaged. The studio produced a 93-minute version of the movie and released it without any promotion, essentially killing it before it was even born. In 1976, inside the Universal archives, a 108-minute print was discovered and released to public. In 1998, Walter Murch, using this new print and all the other available footage, re-edited the film based on Orson Welles' memorandum. This 1998-version received awards from the New York Film Critics Circle, the Los Angeles Film Critics Association and National Society of Film Critics.

CINEMATIC NARRATION

Touch of Evil opens with one of the most legendary shots in cinema history. Lasting three-and-a-half minutes, this one-take tracking crane shot introduces many elements of the story—the bomb, the border town, two main characters, and the explosion—via virtuoso camerawork by Russell Metty. Welles famously detested the studio for overlaying a musical score and film credits onto the opening sequence since he originally wanted "to feature a succession of different and contrasting Latin American musical numbers" to give the effect "of our passing one cabaret orchestra after another." Aside from his usual deep-focus photography (see Images 1-4) and high-contrast lighting (see Images 5-6), Welles and his cinematographer Metty also employed sophisticated shadow plays and dynamic lighting to serve the mood of a particular scene—like the one between Hank and Joe Grandi: In this scene, while we wait anxiously to see if Hank will kill Grandi, a rotating streetlight turns the room dark and bright alternatingly, giving the scene an eerie suspenseful weight (see Images 7-8).



Vargas framed by the window-mirror like one of the matadors on the wall



Hank in the same frame with the trophy suggests association with a bull(y)



Susan is stuck in between two Grandis, who are scheming against her



Introduces the setting, characters, and suspense all at once

Images 1-2-3-4: Deep focus photography and subtext in Wellesian mise-en-scène





Images 5-6-7-8: Shadow and light play offering depth, ambiguity and suspense



Image 9-10: Use of perspective in service of the story and characters' mood

MAIN CHARACTERS

Miguel “Mike” Vargas He is a Mexican special prosecutor, who is married to a white American woman.

Susan “Susie” Vargas Married to Miguel, Susan finds herself in the middle of a murder investigation and a Cartel scheme.

Hank Quinlan Hank is a highly respected homicide detective investigating the assassination.

Sgt. Pete Menzies Hank’s partner Menzies helps Hank in the assassination case.

Uncle Joe Grandi The acting head of the Cartel, Joe Grandi is trying to save his brother, who is under investigation by Miguel Vargas.

Marcia Linnekar She is the daughter of the assassinated American building contractor and the wife of the main suspect, Manolo Sanchez.

Manolo Sanchez Secretly married to Marcia Linnekar, he emerges as Hank’s main suspect.

Tana Hank’s old friend and ex-lover, Tana runs a brothel across the border.

SYNOPSIS

Newlywed Miguel and Susan Vargas merrily walk the streets of a crowded border town. After they cross the border, a car explodes killing a wealthy American building contractor and his mistress. Special prosecutor Miguel Vargas decides to help Hank Quinlan investigate the assassination while Susan goes back to their motel on the Mexican side. On her way there, she is intercepted by a Mexican cartel and taken to Joe Grandi, whose brother is under investigation by her husband. Grandi wants Miguel Vargas to lay off his brother. Hank, relying on his intuition, interrogates a young Mexican, Sanchez, who was secretly married to the contractor's daughter. During the interrogation, Hank's team finds two sticks of dynamite in a shoe box in Sanchez's apartment. Sanchez is arrested. Having seen the empty shoe box earlier, Miguel accuses Hank of framing the suspect. In the meantime, Susan is drugged by the cartel and taken to another motel. Grandi offers Hank a deal to destroy Miguel's reputation by arresting his wife for drug use and prostitution. Miguel discovers that Hank had two sticks of dynamite in his possession and that he may have framed all of his previous suspects. He shares this information with Hank's partner, Menzies, but the latter refuses to believe him. Hank and Grandi go to the motel room where Susan is lying unconscious. After Hank reports the incident to the drug police, he kills Grandi. Menzies finds Hank's cane at the crime scene and agrees to wear 'a wire' to force a confession out of Hank. They find Hank at Tana's brothel, where Hank tells Menzies he framed only those who were already guilty. When he realizes he is being secretly recorded, he shoots Menzies and heads down to the river to clean his hands. As Hank readies himself to kill Miguel, the wounded Menzies shoots Hank, who falls backwards into the filthy water.

SCENES

The Bomb A man sets off a time bomb and places it inside the trunk of a convertible. While Miguel and Susan walk towards US customs, where the car carrying the bomb is also headed. Miguel and Susan kiss after crossing into the US and the bomb detonates, killing the car's two passengers.



Investigators Hank Quinlan arrives at the scene with his team. Miguel sends Susan back to the motel and joins Hank's team to help them investigate the assassination. When jurisdiction becomes an issue, Miguel tells them he is staying only as an observer. Thanks to his limping 'game leg', Hank immediately intuits that the explosion was caused by a bomb.



Hank frames Sanchez Hank and Miguel interrogate Sanchez, a young Mexican man, who was secretly married to the contractor's daughter. Sanchez denies the allegations. Miguel steps out to call his wife. After he returns, Hank's team finds two sticks of dynamite in a shoe box and arrests Sanchez. Miguel, having seen the empty shoe box earlier, accuses Hank of planting the evidence.



Miguel investigates Hank Miguel discovers that Hank recently purchased dynamites and confronts him about it in front of men from the DA's office. Hank threatens to quit, but the DA fully supports him, rejecting his resignation. Miguel deepens his investigation and finds that Hank may have framed all his previous suspects. He tells Menzies about it, but Menzies refuses to believe Miguel.



Grandi threatens Susan Susan is stopped by Pancho and taken to a store where she meets the cartel leader, Joe Grandi. He tells her that her husband is investigating his brother and that he should leave him alone. After Susan asks him if she is free to leave, Grandi tells her nobody is holding her. She goes back to the motel. In the meantime, Miguel escapes an acid attack, and Hank, through his intuition, guesses that the assailant must be one of Grandi's men.



Grandi's family attacks Susan A group of men, led by Pancho, arrive at the motel where Susan is staying and play loud music to bother her. When she wants to call the police, Pancho tells her that the lines are down. Women staying in the adjacent room warn Susan through the wall that the boys are trying to break in. After sunset, they finally enter Susan's room and capture her.



Hank frames Susan After learning about Miguel's discovery, Hank is met by Joe Grandi, who offers Hank a deal to get rid of Miguel. He takes Hank to his motel, where they find Susan lying unconscious in a bed. Grandi tells Hank that he can arrest her on narcotics charge. Hank strangles Grandi to death. Susan wakes up and sees Grandi's dead face. She goes out to the balcony, screaming for help, but nobody takes her seriously. Susan is taken to the jail for narcotics and murder charges.



The Fall Menzies arrives to the jail and shows Miguel Hank's cane found at the crime scene. Menzies agrees to wear a wire to force a confession out of Hank. Miguel secretly follows Menzies and Hank with radio equipment. Hank indirectly admits to planting evidence but defends his actions. When he realizes he was being recorded via the wire, Hank shoots Menzies and goes down to the river to clean his hands. Miguel finds him there and tells Hank he won't be able to get out of this one. As Hank is about to kill Miguel, the wounded Menzies fires a shot. Hank's dead body falls into the filthy river and floats among the garbage.



CHARACTERS

Hank Quinlan "All the characters I've played, and of whom we've been speaking, are versions of Faust," Orson Welles said, responding to a question about Hank Quinlan. What is the deal Hank has made with the devil, then? He has sold his soul so that he can solve crimes without needing evidence; that's the dark contract. Hank is a "bullyⁱⁱⁱ". He is racist and corrupt. For him, the ends justify the means. But he is also a vulnerable man, lost in the memories of his murdered wife, whose killer slipped through his hands.

Corrupt Failing to find his wife's killer as a rookie detective, Hank goes on a relentless revenge tour spanning years to catch murderers at whatever the cost, even if that means crossing the line. His almost infallible intuition has given him a false sense of superiority, and made him "a good detective, but a lousy cop." He disregards all due process and instead relies on his "game leg" to solve crimes. If he believes a suspect to be guilty and he doesn't have enough evidence, then he manipulates the circumstances or plants evidence to frame them. When Menzies brings this up, Hank's answer is succinct: he has not framed "nobody that wasn't guilty." Like all the corrupt people, Hank is a law unto himself: he is absolute authority, acting as a judge, jury and executioner.

Vulnerable Hank is a man defined by what happened to his wife. His failure to catch her murderer has haunted him, hardening his soul and turning him into an obese tyrant. His power does not originate from his strength, but his vulnerability: He cannot forget. Remembering is his curse. It makes him cruel and ruthless because, deep down, he knows that he will never be able to undo his first mistake. His strangling Grandi to death in the same way her wife was killed years ago points to the lowest point in Hank's life. Out of Grandi's murder comes out not his victory, but his defeat. Afterwards, he goes to Tana's brothel, which he considers his sanctuary—a safe place where old memories reside. He asks Tana to read his future. "You haven't got any," she says, wistfully. "Your future is all used up."

Intuitive One of the perceived advantages of having a limping "game leg" is that it sometimes gives Hank a twinge, "like folks do for a change of weather." That's how he is able to solve crimes. The moment he arrives at the explosion site, he immediately and correctly intuits that dynamite must

have been planted in the car. He guesses, again correctly, that Miguel's attacker was a cartel thug. Although he later frames Sanchez, the movie's ending tells us that Hank's intuition was correct all along. The suggestion here is that Hank has developed so potent a moral code based on his clairvoyance that it has replaced the law.

Racist Whenever Hank interacts with a Mexican, he makes derogatory remarks. He tells Miguel that he doesn't sound like a Mexican since Miguel can speak English very well and without an accentⁱⁱⁱ. Later, when Miguel wants Hank to investigate his wife's harassment, Hank insinuates that she may have been willingly picked up by the young Mexican boy. When Miguel is incensed, Hank tells his partner "let's go back to civilisation," meaning the US side of the border. He cannot tolerate hearing a foreign language. He berates Sanchez and Miguel whenever they speak Spanish because Hank "don't speak Mexican," another thinly-veiled insult. When Miguel tells Hank that the shoe box was empty earlier, Hank gives a meaningful pause and says: "I know how you feel. *You people* are touchy." For Hank, meeting one Mexican means meeting all Mexicans. He regards them as inferior, sentimental and therefore untrustworthy.

Miguel "Mike" Vargas His name refers to an old Spanish proverb "*Averiguelo Vargas*," or "let Vargas find out". And that's what the special prosecutor Miguel does: He finds out. And he cleans out. As an honourable officer of the court, he intervenes to solve crimes and restore order. He observes, outs the evil, and saves the innocent from getting touched by it. He does not stop until he makes sure that the world is rid of the bad.

Honorable As an officer of the court and representative of his country, Miguel Vargas feels obligated to help Hank instead of enjoying his honeymoon with his wife. His country's reputation and his own moral code behave him to ensure that the law is upheld. When Hank interrogates Sanchez, Miguel sticks around to observe as he is mindful of Hank's racism and dark past. In order to expose Hank, he leaves his wife in a remote motel and investigates Hank's old case files. Miguel's strict honour code reminds Hank of an angel so much so that Hank accuses his partner of becoming an angel himself by way of association: "Vargas will turn you into one of these here starry-eyed idealists," he says, mockingly. But that's who Miguel is: An honourable idealist who is touched but not wholly stained by evil.

Tenacious It doesn't matter if the crime is committed in his jurisdiction or not; Miguel Vargas will chase after the monster. He's not so much a Mexican prosecutor as a protector of the innocent upholding the law far and wide. While he is investigating the drug cartel in Mexico, he also helps uncover a corrupt detective in the United States. The world is his courtroom. He won't rest until justice is served in all places. If it means going through old case files in a basement to find evidence to support his hunch, he will do it; if it means blurring the line between legal and illegal himself to catch a corrupt cop, he will do it; if it means wading through a filthy river during his honeymoon when his wife has just been attacked, Miguel Vargas will do it so long as good prevails in the world. He speaks English, he speaks Spanish, but most importantly, he speaks the Law.

Susan "Susie" Vargas Just married to a Mexican prosecutor who is investigating a Mexican drug cartel, Susan has also witnessed an assassination, been accosted by a street thug, and threatened by the cartel. Therefore, only ten minutes into the story, her mind is already as divided as the border town: she's scared, but she also tries to hold her head up high by not giving into her fear. She trusts and loves her husband but is also frightened and anxious about being left alone.

Frightened During her interaction with Joe Grandi, we get the impression that Susan is more annoyed than scared. She yells at Pancho and Grandi, calling them names with impunity and acting as if they are wasting her time. She even insults Grandi to his face with a mouthful: "You ridiculous old-fashioned, jug-eared, lopsided little Caesar". It's the same when Pancho holds a flashlight to her face in the motel room. Susan gives back. She responds. But we understand that it is all just a façade. She lets go of it when the stakes are revealed. As soon as Grandi delivers his threat, Susan is faced with real life consequences for the first time. Her face betrays her calm demeanour as she asks if she is free to leave. Or when she is given the picture that shows her standing Pancho as if they were lovers, she once again is reminded of the real threat she and Miguel are facing. She retreats. She decides to stay with Miguel instead of returning to Mexico City because she is truly frightened.

She has *been* frightened all along: she was simply trying to put on a brave face until she couldn't.

Courageous Susan never loses her composure even when she is faced with a serious threat. On her way to the motel after witnessing a terrible assassination, or when she is surrounded by a group of street thugs, she doesn't flinch. In fact, she follows the cartel thug to learn what he has to say about her husband; it might be important for him. During her meeting with the cartel leader, she is bold and headstrong in her defiance. She is the wife of a famous prosecutor; it's her duty to stay firm against evil. Even if she is scared, she won't show it. Until the very moment she is physically attacked and assaulted in the second half of the movie, Susan displays an enormous amount of courage, conducting herself in a brave and composed manner even when dealing with ruthless and scheming criminals.

Pete Menzies Hank's partner is a tragic character who doesn't get enough screen time. Perhaps, it's not a surprise that it is another mysterious character, Tana, who reminds us of Menzies' tragic tale. When Schwartz insinuates that Tana "really liked" Hank, whose dead body floats in the river, Tana points to Menzies' dying body and says: "*He* loved him."

Tragic Tana's observation suggests that the love she refers to is more than the brotherly or fraternal love, but a homoerotic one between the two men. All those years, Hank has caught the suspects by relying on his "game leg" while Menzies has helped him deliver justice by enabling his intuitions and questionable methods. Their friendship was so strong that, during a gunfight, Hank wounded himself by stopping a bullet meant for Menzies. Hank has used a cane for his resulting limp. The ironic tragedy for Menzies is that it is that cane that ultimately forces Menzies to relent and face the real person behind his beloved partner/friend— a corrupt detective. Even Hank is aware of the irony and tragedy as his last words, after Menzies shoots him, prove: "Pete, that's the second bullet I stopped for you." It's Menzies' bloody index finger that Hank follows for the last time towards the filthy river. Hank killed Menzies who, in turn, killed Hank—partners also in death.

Loyal It could be argued that Menzies is more loyal to his own moral code than to Hank, but there are a couple of moments in the film that signal deep admiration and loyalty from Menzies towards Hank, too. When Menzies finds the sticks of dynamite in Sanchez's bathroom, he refuses to take the credit by announcing and celebrating Hank's famous intuition. Menzies warns Hank that Miguel is an important man and that he should be careful when Miguel accuses Hank of framing Sanchez. On cue, after Miguel does discover Hank's questionable past, Menzies fervently refuses to acknowledge the fact because he does not want to; he cannot be disloyal to his partner. Betraying his friend will also mean betraying himself as it was Menzies who has enabled Hank to operate for all those years. We can see how distraught Menzies is when he agrees to wear the wire to trap his friend. It's not just Hank who is being exposed. Menzies doesn't want to do that. He doesn't want it to be true. Alas, it is the truth and he must stay loyal to his code more than to Hank in the name of justice.

THEMES

1. **Racism** It is not far-fetched to argue that Welles based Hank Quinlan on the Los Angeles Sheriff, E. Duran Ayres, who testified during the Sleepy Lagoon Trials^{iv} as an expert witness that Mexicans as a community had a "blood-thirst" and a "biological predisposition" to killing, citing "the culture of human sacrifice practiced by their Aztec ancestors." Hank has a similar xenophobic and racist profile in his dealings with Mexican characters, treating them as inferior to himself and, by extension, to Americans. Class, socio-economic status, or level of education does not matter in Hank's bigoted mind. His marker is race. Shoe clerk or special prosecutor receive the same treatment from Hank because they share one common denominator: They are both Mexicans, and, therefore, inferior.

2. **Border** The film plays off the idea of border on several levels. As a physical concept, border forms the setting that separates two countries, or two cultures. In some ways, this separation leads to segregation between those two parties that fall on opposite sides of the border; segregation leads to xenophobia, racism, and bigotry. A similar split occurs on a moral level between the two opposing forces: Evil and Good. The small border town, while separating the two nations, also offers a place for a showdown between good and bad. This distinction, just like the physical line of a border, gets blurry now and then. Evil, manifested as Hank, is not an irredeemable mythical devil; we are asked to feel somewhat sorry for him. In the same way, Good, in the form of Miguel Vargas, steps over the line in

trying to trap Hank. The symbolic border between good and bad, like the physical line marking the border, can be lifted momentarily. Miguel, in trying to rid the world of evil, ultimately gets touched by the same.

3. Law enforcement Similarly, Welles' treatment of law enforcement is not binary. While Hank and the local DA office represent the corrupt side of power, Menzies and Miguel emerge as idealizations of benevolent power. The DA office, while trying to protect one of his own, refuses to hear Miguel's evidence and supports Hank. This enables corruption and creates a culture of toxic fraternity that prioritizes an internal code over the law. Even if Hank's morally ambiguous methods are self-serving, his ambition to catch murderers and solve crimes still serves society. Miguel Vargas emerges as another law enforcement figure, through which Welles offers a nuanced argument *vis-à-vis* morality. Miguel plays the chivalrous man of justice who protects the weak, the innocent, and the pure at all costs. The ironic twist is that he, too, resorts to extra-legal methods to achieve his end. On the surface, it seems that the "good" law enforcement agents, Miguel and Menzies, utilize their collective authority to deliver justice for a more noble purpose, but they still cross the line as do their "evil" counterparts.

4. Cartel The movie turns the tables on expectations regarding the cartel, or mafia, by setting them up for failure from the outset. Susan is supposed to be threatened and scared by them, but she challenges them and even insults its leader with impunity. Another member of the cartel, a rogue youth, tries to throw acid at Miguel's face, but fails miserably. Welles ensures that we get a separate scene in which the cartel leader berates that assailant for acting without permission, a sign that the leadership is in disarray and the cartel may just be a source of ridicule rather than threat. This view is supported by the scene between Grandi and Hank. The power dynamics between the two men is so skewed towards Hank that we are frightened more by a detective than a cartel leader.

5. Past The story is a fast-paced murder mystery set in the present time containing no flashbacks; however, the weight of the past is felt throughout. We are given two very important characters with which to track time: Hank Quinlan and Tana. Hank's memory about his wife's murder is the main construct behind his motives and psychology. It's his first "sin" that he's been trying to undo by punishing others' "sins". Deep down, he knows that this is futile, hence his need for nostalgia and wish fulfilment. It is no coincidence that, after killing Grandi, Hank goes back to Tana's brothel because it's the place that "sure brings back memories." It's where he can find some peace in the safety of his memories. There is very little interaction between Hank and Tana. Hank sits in the chair, drinking while she plays cards. In their only interaction, Tana tells Hank that he's used up all his future, meaning that his end is approaching. Tana, in one sense, represents the nostalgic past that Hank wants to retrieve. With her mysterious air, she is Hank's conscience and memory. She *is* time itself. "What does it matter what you say about people?" she says. Through her, we think that life is transient anyway, that we all change, and that past is in the past.

6. Gender What is "touched by evil" is that which is innocent, pure, and preferably virgin. Susan fulfils this destiny. She is utilized in the movie as bait, a sacrificial lamb, among men fighting over her honour. Her husband, who is the literal law, is there to protect her against the forces of evil. That's his manifest destiny, while Susan's is to enable his. In his memo, while explaining the reason why he split the newlyweds and used parallel editing, Orson Welles refers to the women's "classic failure to fully appreciate and sympathize with that sense of abstract duty so peculiar to the male." The so-called duty is highly gendered in the movie. For Miguel, it is his duty to protect Susan's honor so that "[n]othing's been touched by all this... filth." On the other hand, Susan's duty is to let him perform his societal duty by becoming an object that deserves to be saved. In the balcony scene where Susan is screaming for help, onlookers laugh at her, assuming that she is a prostitute and therefore does not deserve to be saved. Her body, as an object, has already been touched by evil; therefore, there is no manifest destiny or duty to be fulfilled. Susan's "polluted body is transformed and becomes invisible to her husband." It is frustrating because the movie, in the first half, introduces Susan as a courageous, powerful and strong woman who can defend herself. It's the second half that completely erases and disregards that image, turning her into a plot device amidst the men's fight for power.

7. Intrigue The film's first image is a time bomb in the hands of an anonymous man, which heightens the stakes from the very beginning and adds a significant amount of suspense and intrigue that spans the entire length of the movie. Interesting part is that the mode of intrigue functions like a virus jumping from one host to another throughout the movie: it originates in the bomb, then moves onto Susan and her dealings with the cartel, then travels back to Hank and his intuition-based detection methods, and ends with Tana. We are constantly invited to question those characters'

motivations: Who planted the bomb? Why did Susan not tell Miguel about the photograph or Pancho holding a flashlight at her? Why is Hank so determined to frame Sanchez? And why does Tana seem like she knows everything just by looking? Tana is indeed one of the biggest sources of intrigue. It is assumed that she has a past with and almost a psychic connection to Hank. The way she tells Hank that "he has used up all his future" while playing tarot cards makes us wonder who she really is. And at the end of the movie, instead of delivering the closure, Tana leaves us even with more intrigue by another Hank-related judgement: "He was some kind of a man." As she walks away from the camera, we are left to believe that she was also "some kind of a woman" who, at times, had an angelic quality that belonged more to a fantastic world than to reality.

ⁱ This review is based on the 1998 re-edit performed by Walter Murch in accordance with Orson Welles' notes in his famous 58-page memo.

ⁱⁱ Oliver, Kelly, and Benigno Trigo. "The Borderlands of Touch of Evil." *Noir Anxiety. NED-New edition*, University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

ⁱⁱⁱ There is a meta-analysis waiting to be made here about a Mexican character being played by a white actor in Charles Heston.

^{iv} These trials eventually led to the Zoot Suit Riots between 1943 and 1944. After the immense pressure from the *The Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee* (SLDC), made up of Los Angeles activists, convictions of the seventeen Mexican-American were overturned due to lack of evidence.

^v Oliver and Trigo, 2003.