PRESERVATION HYPERREALITY

EXAMINING THE IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF HISTORIC
PRESERVATION IN AMERICAN CINEMA

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ABSTRACT

This terminal project examines the ideological representation of historic preservation found within American narrative films, and how such cinematic narratives compare with the current privatist paradigm of American preservation practice. While the field of historic preservation and film studies have a sizable track record of tackling subjects such as architecture, ideology, and memory studies, both fields have yet to compile comprehensive studies examining the methods by which preservation is represented to the general public. Referring to the work of preservation scholar Christopher Koziol, this study determines a quantitative ideological commonality among twelve American preservation-themed films, as well as a qualitative, historical-interpretive, formalist examination of three films representing three ideological depictions of preservation. Upon further examination, this study found populism to be the most common ideological trend among American preservation-themed films, with only two out of twelve films selected having diverged from the predominant populist trend. Additionally, the American preservation-themed films with the widest range of cultural representation included the two films diverging from the predominant populist trend. This study determined that none of the twelve films examined in this study exalted a privatist message akin to the current state of the American preservation field. In short, the American cinematic representation of preservation offers a false depiction of how the American system of preservation actually works, thereby imprinting a simulacrum, or false image, upon the imagination of the American public. As long as the American public believes in this simulacrum, they will continue to unintentionally foster misguided impressions that naively negate how the preservation field has intertwined itself with privatist modes of real-estate speculation, housing policy, revitalization, and economic development. Acknowledging this fact does not discount the original progressive intentions that birthed the American preservation field in the 1960s. Rather, the predominantly populist milieu of American preservation-themed cinema is a reflection of a deeper American desire to have underrepresented communities, marginalized histories, person-oriented streetscapes, and unique cultural landscapes preserved for the benefit of every citizen. In this way, we should think of American preservation-themed cinema as a guide to the future rather than a simple hindrance to, or distraction from, the present privatist paradigm.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The popular American understanding of historic preservation is highly influenced by depictions found in American mass media.[1] Narrative films, in particular, hold enormous power in shaping the ideological perspectives of the public.[2] Preservation-themed American films hold particular influence through narrative and visual techniques that intentionally accentuate ideological perspectives advancing the function and purpose of preservation within American society.[3] Within the fields of historic preservation and film studies, a large body of work has already examined the role of ideology through qualitative and quantitative methods.[4] Additionally, a sizable community of film scholarship has examined the interrelationship between film and architecture. This branch of study is often connected to a film-analytical practice known as the 'haptic' approach.[5] Additionally, recent preservation scholarship has examined how the American preservation discipline can be aided through documentary film research.[6] However, there is a limited scope of scholarship examining the representation of historic preservation within cinematic mediums. Additionally, no scholarship has yet engaged in ideological studies of historic preservation within film narratives, despite extensive ideological studies within the respective fields of film studies and historic preservation. Without a deeper understanding of preservation's ideological representations in mass media, particularly in narrative film, there may arise a disconnection between the public aspirations of the preservation field and its ultimate function within economic, social, political, and cultural discourses. A lack of understanding of preservation's ideological representation will also leave us with the inability to recognize moments when forms of mass media, including narrative film, coerce public opinion in favor of existing power structures, social practices, economic models, and political

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[1] Christopher R. Eck, "Preserving Heritage: The Role of the Media," *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, New York, NY: Springer, 2014, 7.

[2] Laura Fairman, "Influence and Appreciation of Film in Today's Society," Film, *Rife Magazine* online, May 19, 2016, https://www.rifemagazine.co.uk/2016/05/influence-and-appreciation-of-film-in-todays-society/.

[3] Emily Potter, "15 Awesome Preservation-Themed Movies," Reel Places, *National Trust for Historic Preservation* online, last updated February 11, 2014.

[4] Erica Christine Avrami, *A Systems Approach To Historic Preservation in an Era of Sustainable Planning*, Dissertation, Historic Preservation Dissertations, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 2012, 47, 106.

[5] Antonia Lant, "Haptical Cinema," *October* 74 (1995): 45-46.

[6] Jane Kang, *Documentary Films for Preservation: Representation Techniques For The Field*, Master's Thesis, Historic Preservation Theses, New York, NY: Columbia University, 2018, 16.

systems that advance the existing model of preservation practice. Recognizing ideological patterns within any discourse, as well as the ideological representations thereof, enables the public to gain the power of critical observation, informed participation, and idealistic intentionality.

Ideological representations of discourse can orient perspective in a variety of directions. Such representations have the power to legitimate the existing ideological paradigm within a given discourse. Other representations can potentially differ from the existing ideological paradigm and create a false impression of how that discourse functions within society. Alternatively, a multivariate of ideological representations could emerge that both legitimizes the dominant ideological paradigm and utilizes differing ideological perspectives to sway non-conforming spectators toward a positive view of the dominant ideological paradigm. The final example would be the inverse of the latter, with a multivariate set of ideological representations that acknowledge the presence of the dominant ideological paradigm, while actively advocating for the legitimation of a differing ideological paradigm. To examine such patterns, this study will need to initially identify preservation-themed films that have been publicly recognized within the preservation field. In addition, this study will identify other contemporary films that exhibit preservation themes.

Between 2014 and 2016, the National Trust of Historic Preservation released two online lists with a total of 22 preservation-themed films.[7] Each film holds the potential for examining functional, meaning-oriented, national, and international preservation practices through cinematic representation.[8] To establish a shared understanding of American preservation practice, this study will define preservation according to the United States Secretary of Interior's Standards and Guidelines for the Treatment of Historic Properties.[9] Accordingly, this study will engage in a thorough examination of American preservation-themed films, partially informed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Finally, this study will qualitatively analyze how three American preservation-themed films represent ideological perspectives on how

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[7] Potter, 1.

[8] Julia Roochi, "7 More Awesome Preservation-Themed Movies," Reel Places, National Trust for Historic Preservation online, 1.

[9] Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, Technical Preservation Services, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1995, 2017.

preservation functions, as well as the broader meaning of preservation within American society. Altogether, these three research design strategies will qualitatively assess the ideological perspective represented in each film. Overall, the results will help identify the ideological categories present, while contrasting the results with the current, predominant privatist paradigm of American preservation practice.

A larger quantitative form of analysis, as well as additional qualitative analyses, could merit a more nuanced understanding of ideologies governing preservation-themed films. However, considering research and time constraints, this study will only identify common ideological trends among twelve American preservation-themed films. The scope of the project will be further narrowed to three American preservation-themed films accentuating differing ideological representations exemplifying American preservation. Future studies of preservation themes in cinema could develop similar comparative or descriptive qualitative approaches. Such approaches could also merit additional ideological discourses represented through national, as well as international systems of preservation and heritage conservation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

To determine the ideology of a preservation-themed film, I will be using a Preservation Discourse Matrix (PDM) outlined in the work of Historic Preservation Associate Professor Christopher Koziol.[10] In this matrix, Koziol has identified four key categories of ideological perspectives tied to the preservation community. These ideological categories include populism, essentialism, entrepreneurialism, and privatism. According to Koziol, a populist regards value as akin to the relationship between historic resources and their beholder, while seeing no value in subjecting historic resources to market capitalization.[11] In contrast, an essentialist regards value as inherent in historic resources while advocating that the inherent physical state of historic resources should not be subjected to market capitalization.[12] In both cases, essentialists and populists see no value in subjecting historic resources to market forces. As a result, they are both considered 'market indifferent,' with essentialists often taking on roles as curatorial experts, while championing the 'intrinsic value' of historic resources.[13] Populists, on the other hand, often take on roles as social activists, while championing the 'associational value' of a historic resource.[14] In contrast to 'market indifferent' ideologies, entrepreneurialism and privatism are 'market-oriented,' having been characterized by their willingness to commercialize and marketize historic resources.[15] According to Koziol, entrepreneurialists agree with populists that value is subject to the eye of the beholder. However, entrepreneurialists have no reservations about capitalizing on the market valuation of a historic resource.[16]

Koziol's Preservation Discourse Matrix measures each of the aforementioned ideological categories by gauging levels of market orientation and object valuation.[17] For instance, market

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[10] Christopher Koziol, "Historic Preservation Ideology: A Critical Mapping of Contemporary Heritage Policy Discourse," *Preservation Education and Research* 1, no. 1 (2008): 42-43.
[11] Koziol, 42.
[12] Ibid, 42, 44.
[13] Ibid, 42.
[14] Ibid, 44.
[15] Koziol, 42-44.
[16] Ibid, 46.
[17] Ibid, 43.

orientation can be measured through sub-categories such as 'monetized' and 'non-monetized.'[18] While essentialists and populists tend to be less focused on profitability, entrepreneurialists and privatists are primarily focused on profitability. Outside of profitability, object valuation can be measured through sub-categories such as 'physical' versus 'social/cultural.'[19] As a result, essentialists and privatists are typically more focused on physical, tangible heritage while populists and entrepreneurialists are typically more focused on socio-cultural, intangible heritage.

Koziol made a point of saying that American preservation practice is deeply embedded with the existing ideology of privatism.[20] Much of this conclusion is based on qualitative and quantitative studies commissioned by the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) for the Research on the Values of Heritage Project.[21] This project was conducted by the GCI between 1998 and 2005, to expand further understanding of social forces that shape the valuation of heritage conservation.[22] Conversely, the GCI aimed to establish a cross-disciplinary discussion of relevant issues, ideas, planning methods, and economic values relevant to the practice of contemporary heritage conservation.[23] Using sources from the GCI, Koziol points out that the American preservation paradigm has resulted in a conservation process that predominantly prioritizes heritage conservation through real estate valuation.[24] Considering the existing privatist paradigm within American preservation practice, this study seeks to answer whether preservation-themed American films contribute to, or differ from, the predominantly privatist model of American preservation practice.

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[18] Ibid, 42.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid, 47.

[21] Ibid, 43, 44, 47.

[22] "Research on the Values of Heritage (1998-2005)," *The Getty Conservation Institute* online, accessed October 30, 2021, https://www.getty.edu/conservation/our_projects/field_projects/values/index.html.

[23] Koziol, 47.

[24] Ibid.
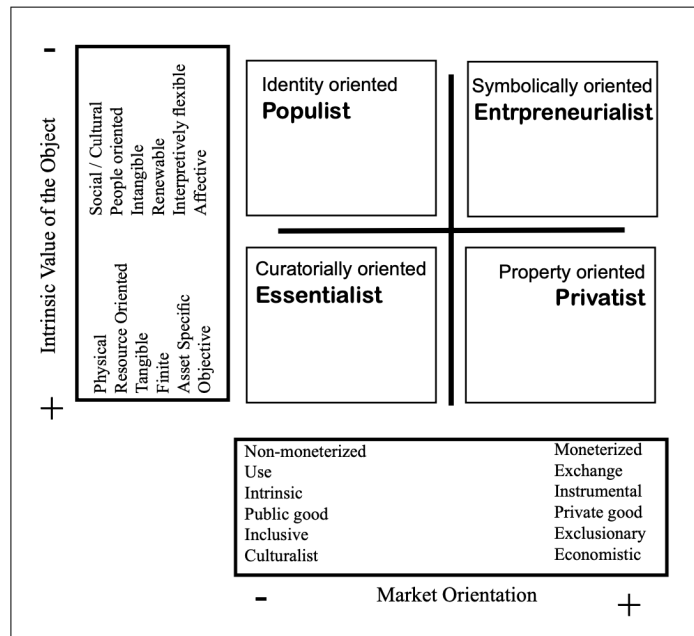
Figure 1. Christopher Koziol Preservation Discourse Matrix (PDM).[25]

Table 1. Two Dimensions of Value.

	Market indifferent **Accepting non-monetary value**	**Market oriented** **Seeking monetary value**
Associational value	The **Populist** holds that value resides in a relationship between artifact and beholder and cannot or should not be subjected to market forces.	The **Entrepreneurialist** agrees with the populist that value is in the eye of the beholder but has no qualms about commercializing the attachments people have for historic artifacts.
Intrinsic value	The **Essentialist** sees value as inherent in artifacts and not reducible to market valuation. Hence, they often see themselves as the specialists best able to identify value and ascribe appropriate policy action.	For the **Privatist**, a building, artifact, or site has intrinsic value, but unlike the Essentialist, the privatist believes that the titleholder can and should be able to exploit this value in the marketplace.

Figure 2. Koziol Table Showing Two Dimensions of Value.[26]

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[25] Koziol, 42.

[26] Koziol, 43.

Research Methods

With Koziol's PDM serving as a model for understanding qualitative markers of preservation ideology, this study will attempt to examine the ideology of American preservation-themed films. To do so, a qualitative interdisciplinary research methodology was needed to be equally applicable in the historic preservation and film studies fields. One such approach, known as discourse analysis, was found to be useful for this study.

Discourse analysis is a qualitative interdisciplinary method for studying language through the examination of text, dialogue, images, symbols, and sounds.[27] Specifically, it is the study of meanings we give language and actions carried out while using such language in specific contexts and practices.[28] Discourse analysis emerged in prominence during the 1960s and 1970s, in tandem with the growth of structuralism and semiotics in the fields of ethnography and comparative linguistics.[29] Since the 1970s, discourse analysis has become enormously influential in the study of ideology as well as the field of film studies.[30] Additionally, discourse analysis methodologies have become more widely practiced within the field of historic preservation since the 1990s.[31]

To incorporate studies of ideology into the methodological purview of discourse analysis, this study will utilize the sub-discipline of critical discourse analysis (CDA) while using what is known as the discourse-historical approach (DHA).[32] Critical discourse analysis, according to Linguistics Professor Norman Fairclough and Nursing Professor Michael Traynor, is a method for analyzing dialectical relationships between discourses and other methods of social practice that foreground issues of power, resistance, and identity.[33] According to Political Theory Professors Jason Glynos and Aletta J. Norval, the advantage of using a discourse-historical

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[27] Sara E. Shaw and Julia Bailey, "Discourse Analysis: What Is It and Why Is It Relevant to Family Practice," *Family Practice* 26, no. 5 (2009): 413-9.

[28] Michael Traynor, "Discourse Analyis: Theoretical and Historical Overview and Review of Papers in the Journal of Advanced Nursing 1996-2004," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 54, no. 1 (2006): 64.

[29] Teun A. Van Dijk, "Introduction: Discourse Analysis as a New Cross-Discipline," RSE Analysis, Volume One, In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Cambridge, MA: Academic Press, 1985, 1, 7.

[30] Stephen Prince, "The Discourse of Pictures: Iconicity and Film Studies," *Film Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1993): 16.

[31] Koziol, 41.

[32] Jason Glynos, David Howarth, Aletta Norval, and Ewen Speed, "Discourse Analysis: Varieties and Methods," Economic and Social Research Council, ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Review, Centre for Theoretical Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences, *National Centre for Research Methods* 14 (2014): 17-20.

[33] Traynor, 64.

approach to CDA is that DHA specifically defines discourse as a content-dependent linguistic practice located within fields of social action.[34] Glynos and Norval these linguistic practices can also act as structured forms of knowledge and memory of social practices.[35] Glynos and Norval further point out that DHA is primarily focused on memory and historical context, and how these factors mediate between objective social structures and subjective social actors.[36] In short, language can be read and understood through cinematic, scriptural dialogue, as well as imagery, and editing techniques. Conversely, context can be understood as the historical context of the film production process, as well as the historical period depicted within the film narrative and the historical period in which a film was made. American preservation practice will be measured according to Koziol's discourse matrix, as well as categories and sub-categories of Koziol's matrix that can be identified within each of the three American preservation-themed films utilized for this study.

To determine Koziol's PDM categories and sub-categories, this study will identify scriptural dialogue, as well as imagery and editing techniques, to gauge the preservation ideology present within each film. The main determinant of preservation ideology will be measured according to the primary cultural resource in consideration of preservation, as well as how protagonists and associative characters regard the resource in consideration of preservation. Though many sub-categories from the Koziol PDM could be identified within each of the films considered, ideological determinations will be made based on the overall message of each film concerning the primary cultural resource in consideration of preservation.

In summary, this study will first identify trends in the overall project findings by examining the ideologies of twelve films using a qualitative chart. Secondly, this study will explain the theoretical undercurrents of French sociologist Jean Baudrillard, including an analysis of how Baudrillard's work relates to the project findings. Next, this study will produce a detailed qualitative examination of three films and their historical context. Each of the three films selected will then be examined for their formal cinematic methods of representation that exhibit qualities of populism, essentialism, and entrepreneurialism. The final aim of this study

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[34] Glynos, Haworth, Norval, and Speed, 18.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid, 20.

will involve an examination of three films that represent the broadest cultural, ideological, and geographic polarities.

Theoretical Approach: Jean Baudrillard

The works of French sociologist and philosopher Jean Baudrillard have become highly useful for the study of cinema since the 1980s.[37] Additionally, Baudrillard's work also has seen minor scholarly application in the field of historic preservation.[38] Many of Baudrillard's central concepts, such as "sign value" and "simulacra," have become essential for any scholar attempting to grapple with the societal effects of postmodernism over the last forty years.[39] Postmodernism is described by *Encyclopedia Brittanica* as a late 20th-century philosophical movement characterized by a wide-ranging skeptical, subjectivist, and relativist stance on a variety of issues.[40] The postmodern approach usually includes a general suspicion of reason, as well as a particular focus on the role of ideology in the structures of political and economic power.[41] While Baudrillard is sometimes lumped into the realm of postmodern thinkers, such as the Algerian-French philosopher Jacques Derrida, this fact is somewhat contested since much of his work is highly critical of postmodern socio-economic and cultural phenomena.[42]

Baudrillard was influenced by the ideas of two highly influential figures in the intellectual and political developments of the 20th century, the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and the German philosopher Karl Marx.[43] From Saussure's semiotics, Baudrillard was inspired by the synchronic analysis of language.[44] Synchronic analysis focused on the relational aspects of language, rather than the previously dominant etymological model of linguistics known as the diachronic approach. Baudrillard fused Saussure's synchronic understanding of language with Marx's model of understanding political economy and consumer society.[45] While

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[37] Jean Baptiste Thoret, "The Seventies Reloaded: What Does Cinema Think About When It Dreams of Baudrillard," *Senses of Cinema* online, Issue 59, June 2011, https://www.sensesofcinema.com/2011/feature-articles/the-seventies-reloaded-what-does-the-cinema-think-about-when-it-dreams-of-baudrillard/.

[38] Thomas Merrigan, "Hyper-Traditions in the Historic American Town: The Fundamentalisms of Historic Preservation," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 18, no. 1 (2006): 30.

[39] Douglas Kellner, "Jean Baudrillard," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* online, April 22, 2005, last updated Dec. 18, 2019, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/.

[40] Brain Duignan, "Postmodernism," *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* online, Jun. 10, 2009, last updated Sept. 4, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/topic/postmodernism-philosophy/additional-info#history.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Sean Illing, "The Post-Truth Prophets," *Vox* online, last updated Nov. 16, 2019, https://www.vox.com/features/2019/11/11/18273141/postmodernism-donald-trump-lyotard-baudrillard.

[43] Lewis Waller, "An Introduction to Baudrillard," YouTube, Then & Now, July 25, 2019, video, 4:15, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Yxg2_6_YLs; Kellner, "Jean Baudrillard."

[44] Ibid.

[45] Kellner, "Jean Beaudrillard."

Marx focused on factors such as "use value" and "exchange value" to understand societal factors, Baudrillard theorized that a third factor was present in political economy and consumer society.[46] He called this new phenomenon "sign value," and he believed that it would soon supersede use and exchange value.[47] Use value is a way of describing the value of an object based on its usefulness and utility.[48] Examples of use-value include objects such as doors, hammers, and tables. Baudrillard, similarly to Marx, described how such items of use-value were highly prized in pre-modern and pre-industrial societies. Items with exchange value, in contrast, were not as prized in pre-modern and pre-industrial societies since they were only valuable using a market share price.[49] Exchange value could include commodities such as diamonds, gold, or silk. Marx argued that modern industrial societies increasingly focused their attention on exchange value, creating a cycle of consumer behavior that he called "commodity fetishism," a phenomenon of marketizing the desirability of objects baring monetary value.[50] Using Saussure's synchronic approach, Baudrillard began to notice how advertisers and companies were developing a process of marketization focused on the compatibility of individual commodities with other similar commodities.[51]

During the 1950s, Baudrillard noticed brands were advertising products to convince consumers that they could abandon functional approaches to commodities. He identified that advertisers were now upselling the relational value of objects to other objects. For instance, if a consumer bought a Frigidaire brand refrigerator, that same consumer would also be encouraged to buy stoves and appliances to create a unified brand aesthetic. Since the 1950s, this advertising approach has become relatively universal, with companies such as Ikea and Apple Corporation continually convincing consumers to buy within a brand to create a unified brand experience. Baudrillard identified these phenomena as "sign value," the relational meaning of objects according to their association with social prestige.[52]

Understanding sign value is important for understanding the American system of historic preservation. Within the American preservation system, historians regularly research the

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Waller, 3:00.
[49] Ibid, 7:50.
[50] Ibid, 8:00.
[51] Ibid, 5:55.
[52] Kellner, "Jean Baudrillard."

significance of towns and commercial sites that exhibit character-defining features unique to their locales.[53] A theoretical understanding of sign value can become increasingly useful when examining nominations for company towns, such as the Pullman neighborhood in Chicago. It can also be useful for analyzing commercialized cultural spaces, such as Disneyland in Southern California.

The crux of theoretical analysis for this study will revolve around the post-Marxian stage of Baudrillard's career, encapsulated by his 1981 publication *Simulacra and Simulation*. In *Simulacra and Simulation*, Baudrillard further extrapolates upon his theory of sign value to a theoretical construct analyzing the transformation of what he considers 'modern' and 'postmodern' societies.[54] Baudrillard believed that society was moving away from the older, 'modern' mode of production and exchange that defined the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[55] He theorized that in place of the 'modern' mode of production and exchange, we were moving toward a 'postmodern' society dominated by sign value. Postmodern society, in turn, would be organized around simulations, where a play of images denoted codes, models, and signs as the organizing force behind the new social order. In this new social order, it did not matter what was real and material, but instead what was represented on screen.[56] Signifiers, in short, would become detached from the objects they signified.[57] Baudrillard called this phenomenon 'simulacrum,' meaning a copy or representation of something.[58] He believed that when society began to organize around simulations, identities could be constructed through the use of images, codes, and models to orient how individuals perceive themselves to others.[59] Baudrillard expanded on this by indicating that simulations in the postmodern era, and the simulacra maintaining simulations, would come to dominate economics, politics, sociality, and culture.[60] His approach is particularly useful for this study since the bulk of preservation-themed American

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[53] Lee H. Nelson, *Preservation Brief 17: Architectural Character: Identifying the Visual Aspects of Historic Buildings as an Aid to Preserving Their Character*, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Heritage Preservation Services, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1988, 1-12, https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/17-architectural-character.htm.
[54] Kellner, "Jean Beaudrillard."
[55] Ibid.
[56] Waller, 13:20.
[57] Ibid, 14:00.
[58] Ibid, 13:50.
[59] Kellner, "Jean Beaudrillard."
[60] Ibid.

films emerged after the 1970s when the growing influence of postmodernism became increasingly relevant.

Baudrillard's work has seen extensive use in the field of film studies, as well as some minimal applications in the field of historic preservation. As recently as 2010, Canadian sociological philosophy professor Gerry Coulter wrote about Baudrillard's direct interpretations of contemporary cinema's technically-refined visual effects, abandonment of historical realities, and embrace of realism over fantasy.[61] Baudrillard believed these contemporary features were connected to a process of degradation dating back to the beginning of the cinematic art form.[62] He describes degradation as a slow shift in cinematic presentation from the 'real,' purified state of a still image, to a moving image full of audiovisual effects.[63] With successive steps in the historical development of the cinematic medium, Baudrillard believed cinema was divorcing itself from the purity of the photographic image.[64] One of the principal steps in this process is the development of technically-refined visual effects. Baudrillard believed that cinema was slowly moving away from fantasy and mysticism to a focus on realism and hyperrealism.[65] He postulates that in the early days of cinema, there was a "living, dialectical, full, and dramatic relationship between cinema and the imaginary."[66] To understand this point, it is important to clarify the difference between the 'real' and the 'imaginary' within Baudrillardian discourse.[67] For Baudrillard, the 'real' is the opposite, or discursive polarity, of the 'imaginary.'[68] The 'real,' in a nutshell, is the actual, sensory, living experience of sustenance, shelter, work, and travel that we actively participate in.[69] The 'imaginary,' on the other hand, is any creation of pure imagination that is generally agreed to be an imaginary construction.[70] For this reason,

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[61] Gerry Coulter, "Jean Baudrillard and Cinema: The Problems of Technology, Realism, and History," *Film-Philosophy* 14, no. 2 (2010): 8-14.
[62] Coulter, 6.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, 7.
[65] Ibid, 8.
[66] Jean Baudrillard, *The Evil Demon of Images*, trans. Paul Patton and Paul Foss (Sydney: Power Institute of Fine Arts, 1987), 31.
[67] Ibid, 11.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Waller, 25.
[70] Christoph Wulf, "From the Subject of Desire to the Object of Seduction: Image, Imagination, Imaginary," trans. Maggie Rouse, *International Journal of Baudrillard Studies* 2, no. 2 (2005), WordPress, last updated April 10, 2019, https://baudrillardstudies.ubishops.ca/from-the-subject-of-desire-to-the-object-of-seduction-image-imagination-imaginary/.

Baudrillard believed that early cinema was more in tune with the forces of the imaginary since there was a much less sophisticated apparatus of visual effects technology that could make images look lifelike in appearance.[71]

Alongside visual effects technology, Baudrillard believed that cinema was increasingly incorporating elements of realism.[72] To understand this standpoint, we must understand what Baudrillard means by realism and hyperrealism. In Baudrillard's work, unlike the common definition, realism amounts to any audiovisual attempt at representing reality. Hyperrealism, by contrast, is when entertainment, information, and communication technologies provide experiences more intense than the scenes of everyday reality.[73] He argues that any attempt at representing reality in postmodern society is inherently misleading.[74] He further believed that realism was supplanting any element of imagination in favor of hyperrealistic experience that he called an 'indefinable perfection,' a way of describing media that attempts to create immersive virtual reality experiences and subsequently evoke a seamless depiction of actual reality.[75]

Beyond technology and realism, Baudrillard's critique of contemporary cinema is concerned with the thematic use and abuse of history. According to Baudrillard, our contemporary understanding of history is being progressively separated from what he considered the 'historical real,' in favor of what he calls the 'invocation of resemblance.'[76] Much of this position is based on Baudrillard's writings concerning signs and referents. In semiotics, signs (words, images, sounds) and referents (objects represented) cooperatively inform our collective and individual references (thoughts, connotations).[77] In this case, we can still think of signs as words, sounds, and images, with the referent being history. For Baudrillard, the shift from a

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Wulf points out how the word imaginary comes from the etymologically Greek root word for fantasy, which the Romans translated to mean imagination.

[71] Baudrillard, 8-9.

[72] Baudrillard, 8-11.

[73] Kellner, "Jean Baudrillard."

[74] Ibid, 14.

In his work entitled *The Evil Demon of Images*, Baudrillard states, "the immense majority of present day photographic, cinematic, and television images are thought to bear witness to the world with a naive resemblance and a touching fidelity. We have spontaneous confidence in their realism. We are wrong. They only seem to resemble things, to resemble reality, events, faces. Or rather, they really do conform, but their conformity itself is diabolical.

[75] Coulter, 9.

[76] Ibid, 12.

[77] James McElvenney, "Ogden and Richards' *The Meaning of Meaning* and Early Analytic Philosophy," *Language Sciences* 14, no. B (2014): 212-221.

modern, industrial, production-based society, to a postmodern, post-industrial, image-based society constituted a dramatic shift in the relationship between signs and referents. In postmodern society, he believed that signs were drowning out historical depictions to the point of rendering factual, historical reality irrelevant.[78] Baudrillard felt that history was increasingly becoming a 'lost referential,' because those who depict history on screen can create whatever dialogue, imagery, or auditory stimulus they need to create an immersive historicist experience.[79] He felt this to be a great danger since the loss of direct historical reference meant that any depiction of history would be swallowed up in the expectations of contemporary society.[80] Instead of entertainment accurately depicting historical reality for the sake of public, intellectual, and educational engagement, entertainment could selectively curate historicism to fit the aims of contemporary issues and aspirations. Baudrillard categorized this phenomenon as a switch from 'historical time,' in which a 'historical stage' of real events would inform nuanced understanding, to 'real-time,' in which a 'mythic stage' of selected events were to inform or reconstitute contemporary issues.[81]

In Baudrillard's mind, the purest form of cinema is that which acknowledges its role in the construction of reality, either through the overt embrace of a non-computerized imaginary or through a self-reflexive, critical take on the construction of reality.[82] Despite his reservations about virtual technological realism, he believed that cinema had enormous potential. Coulter described how Baudrillard saw the medium, writing, "cinema, precisely at the time of its absorption into technology, is more important than the best-written histories in terms of its reach and impact on consciousness."[83]

While Baudrillard's work holds important applicability to film studies, his writings can also help unravel contemporary issues in historic preservation. In a recent historic preservation thesis published by the University of Georgia, graduate student Rebecca Mcmanus examined

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[78] Coulter, 12.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid, 13.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid,10,15.
Coulter writes of how Baudrillard was partial to films such as *Minortiy Report*, *Mulholland Drive*, and *The Truman Show*, because each film commented on the societal blurring of reality and virtuality, which he believed was one of the central themes and greatest struggles of the postmodern era.
[83] Ibid, 15.

how UNESCO world heritage site designs were being replicated in other parts of the world.[84] Her work examined ways in which these UNESCO world heritage site replicas aligned with the ongoing debate over authenticity and interpretation in historic preservation.[85] Mcmanus describes how *authenticity* is an increasingly hard term to define within the historic preservation field.[86] For one, the definition of *authenticity* has changed multiple times with the evolution of preservation philosophies over the last two centuries.[87] Mcmanus points to the Venice Charter as well as the Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction for guidance in defining authenticity as it relates to world heritage sites. Additionally, Mcmanus points to postmodernist philosophy, with Baudrillard in particular, as a useful theoretical basis for understanding indistinguishable replicas of their source.[88] After combining Baudrillard with the work of Italian medievalist Umberto Eco and American journalist Bianca Bosker, Mcmanus claims that creating lesser-quality equivalency replicas have a reality-twisting and detrimental impact on the status of world heritage sites.[89] Mcmanus further argues that this phenomenon happens because, instead of focusing on the realness of the replicas, heritage studies often focus on the lack of originality present in replicas. Mcmanus points out how this has a direct relation to Baudrillard because his work *Simulacra and Simulation* pointed to how hyperreal replicas threatened the difference between truth and falsehood, as well as the difference between reality and fabrication.

To advance this train of thought from *Simulacra and Simulation*, Mcmanus further points to Baudrillard and Umberto Eco's examination of Disneyland.[90] In the mind of Baudrillard and Eco, Disneyland represented one of the best cases for a place that attempted to create a world unto itself.[91] By creating a new sense of space and place, Baudrillard and Eco argued that Disneyland mentally removed visitors from the outside, real-world, and into an alternative, idealized, unreal version of the real world. This unreal experience allowed for what Baudrillard

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[84] Rebecca Leigh Mcmanus, *The Sincerest Form of Flattery: An Analysis of Full-Scale, Ex-Situ Replicas of World Heritage Sites*, Master's Thesis, Historic Preservation Theses, Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 2016, i.
[85] Ibid.
The world heritage sites examined in her study included Stonehenge, as well as The Parthenon, Hallstatt, and The Great Sphinx at Giza. Replicas of each world heritage sites were found in five countries, including Greece, Austria, China, the United States, and the United Kingdom.
[86] Mcmanus, 4.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid, 5.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid, 68.
[91] Ibid.

believed to be the enjoyment of a fantastical past. Baudrillard, according to Mcmanus, believed this enjoyment of a fantastical past could only be enjoyed with the successful construction of illusion. In other words, Disneyland's false construction of reality could only work through the application of an immersive likeness to the places it seeks to replicate. Baudrillard further postured that if replicas achieved immersive likeness indistinguishable from their original inspiration, observers could end up falsely believing replicas to be authentic representations.[92] The well-known case of the 1950s Sleeping Beauty Castle in Disneyland is especially prescient since it is primarily based on the design for Bavarian King Ludwig II's Neuschwanstein Castle, a fantastical nineteenth-century design interpretation of Gothic medieval castles.[93]

In summary, the work of Jean Baudrillard has wide-reaching applicability for this study, from the fields of both film studies and historic preservation. This study will use Baudrillard's theories to unpack the formal characteristics of each film selected. I will then examine how these formal cinematic techniques portray how preservationism, as well as the resources slated for preservation, function in each film. In tandem with Baudrillard's theoretical framework, this study will then utilize the work of Christopher Koziol to explain the ideological representation of preservation present in each film.

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[92] Kellner, "Jean Baudrillard."

[93] Max Herford, "From Bavaria to Disney: Modern Castles Built for Entertainment," *Literature and Aesthetics* 27, no. 1 (2017): 55-59.

ANALYSIS

Ideological Matrix of American Preservation-Themed Films

Films	Ideology	Market Orientation	Value of the Resource
Barbershop	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
Batteries Not Included	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
The Blues Brothers	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
Cars	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
The Descendants	Essentialist	Market Indifferent	Intrinsic
Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil	Entreprenurealist	Market-Oriented	Associational
Motherless Brooklyn	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
The Last Black Man in San Francisco	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
The Majestic	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
These Amazing Shadows	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
Two Weeks Notice	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational
Who Framed Roger Rabbit	Populist	Market Indifferent	Associational

Figure 3. Simplified Qualitative Chart of Ideological Results.

Above is a simplified chart representing twelve films studied for the ideological qualities present. The results listed are an amalgamation of small-scale determinations concerning the films, as well as their portrayals of the resource considered for preservation in each case. Of the films selected for this chart, two films are relatively new and were not identified using the National Trust's website. These two films are the 2019 Joe Talbot film *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, as well as the 2019 Edward Norton film *Motherless Brooklyn*. These films were selected for determination based on their significant preservation themes, along with their setting in two major American cities. One of the films listed above, *These Amazing Shadows*, is a documentary feature heavily embedded with populist messaging and preservation themes. Results for this chart are based on results determined using data listed in Figure 4 below.

Films	Barbershop	Batteries Not Included	The Blues Brothers	Cars	The Descendants	Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil
Non-Monetized		x		x	x	
Use	x	x	x	x	x	x
Intrinsic	x	x	x	x	x	x
Public Good	x	x	x	x		x
Inclusive	x	x	x	x		
Cultural	x		x		x	x
Monetized	x		x	x		x
Exchange	x			x		x
Instrumental						
Private Good			x		x	x
Exclusionary					x	x
Economistic	x	x		x		x
Social/Cultural	x	x	x	x	x	x
People-Oriented	x	x	x	x		x
Intangible		x		x		
Renewable	x	x	x	x		
Interpretively Flexible		x		x	x	x
Affective	x	x	x	x	x	x
Physical				x	x	
Resource-Oriented				x	x	x
Tangible	x		x	x	x	x
Finite				x	x	
Asset Specific	x		x			
Objective						

Films	Motherless Brooklyn	The Last Black Man in San Francisco	The Majestic	These Amazing Shadows	Two Weeks Notice	Who Framed Roger Rabbit
Non-Monetized	x	x	x	x	x	x
Use	x	x	x	x	x	x
Intrinsic	x	x	x	x	x	x
Public Good	x		x	x	x	
Inclusive	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cultural	x	x	x	x	x	x
Monetized						
Exchange						
Instrumental						
Private Good		x				x
Exclusionary						
Economistic						
Social/Cultural		x	x	x	x	x
People-Oriented	x	x	x	x	x	x
Intangible	x	x		x	x	x
Renewable	x	x	x		x	x
Interpretively Flexible	x	x		x	x	x
Affective	x	x	x	x	x	x
Physical	x			x		
Resource-Oriented					x	
Tangible			x			
Finite				x		
Asset Specific			x			
Objective						

Figure 4. Detailed Charts of Identified Ideological Subcategories.

Differences Present in Qualitative Data

To establish the main differentiations present in the data, there must be an examination of the simplified results in Figure 3, as well as how those results relate to the data presented in Figure 4. To start with, the main difference found among the final examination results lies with two films among the twelve films examined. Those films included Alexander Payne's 2011 film *The Descendants* and Clint Eastwood's 1997 novel-to-film adaptation of *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*. While it was found that *The Descendants* exhibited tendencies akin to essentialism, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* exhibited tendencies akin to entrepreneurialism. The reasoning for both characterizations is grounded in the methods by which preservation resources are portrayed in each film, as well as how the primary preservation-oriented protagonists are portrayed in each film. To understand this determination, it is imperative to understand each film's preservation resource and preservation-oriented protagonist.

The Essentialism of Alexander Payne's *The Descendants*

In Alexander Payne's 2011 film *The Descendants*, the resource under consideration for preservation is a pristine swath of untouched Hawaiian beachfront property on the island of Kaua'i.[94] The protagonist of the film is Matt King, played by the actor George Clooney.[95] In the story, King is a wealthy real-estate lawyer, as well as a descendant of Hawaiian royalty, whose life is primarily concentrated around his law practice in Honolulu.[96] Though the majority of the story development revolves around King's relationship with his children, as well as the secrets of his comatose wife, while beginning and ending with deliberations over what to do with the family land trust.[97] The land itself is central to the theme of the story, which pits King between

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[94] Elbert Ventura, "Palm Tree of Life: The Sneaky Profundity of The Descendants," Culturebox, *Slate Magazine* online, Feb. 23, 2012, https://slate.com/culture/2012/02/the-descendants-alexander-paynes-movie-is-as-profound-as-terrence-malicks-tree-of-life.html.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Amelia Rayne Kim, "The Descendants: 10 Inaccuracies About Life in Hawaii," *Screenrant* online, Oct. 9, 2020, last updated 2022, https://screenrant.com/the-descendants-inaccuracies-about-hawaiian-life/.

[97] Ventura, "Palm Tree of Life."

the rationalist, practical side against his emotional, existential side, slowly brought out by his daughters throughout the film. At the beginning of the film, King is considering the sale of his family's estate, of which he is the sole trustee and one of twenty beneficiaries to the King family trust.[98] The estate described is a valuable 25,000-acre parcel of beachfront land in Kaua'i that is under consideration for real estate development.[99] The family trustees, as a result, are slated to become incredibly wealthy if King decides to sell the land for private development. By the end of the film, right when King is about to sign the final document approving the sale, he rejects the sale, deciding instead to preserve the estate. In looking at each of these plot points, this study determined the film to be exhibiting an essentialist worldview. This determination was based on an assessment of market orientation characteristics as well as the resource value characteristics.

Due to the aforementioned assessment, the market orientation of *The Descendants* was determined to be market indifferent. This category was determined based on Matt King's decision against selling the land to private developers, as well as his feelings about the preservation of the family legacy, and the estate's functions for the enjoyment and heritage of the Hawaiian people.[100] This categorization of market indifference, based on Koziol's work, does not discount the fact that many moments of the film show King and the family trustees as market-oriented.[101] As detailed in Figure 4, *The Descendants* exhibits market-oriented categorical tendencies, including the categories of 'exclusionary' and 'private good.' These categorizations were identified due to Matt King's role as a private landowner, as well as his desire to preserve the estate in the interest of his family.[102] King's estate is owned by him alone, which gives him full power to exclude members of the public as he wishes. Given these factors, his final decision to deny the sale of the property is a large part of why the film was identified as market-indifferent.

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[98] Randall W. Roth, "Deconstructing 'The Descendants': How George Clooney Ennobled Old Hawaiian Trusts and Made the Rule Against Perpetuities Sexy," *Real Property, Trust and Estate Law Journal* 48, no. 2 (2013): 295.
[99] Ibid, 296.
[100] Ibid, 297-298.
[101] Julia Flynn Syler, "'The Descendants' Aims to Lay Down the Law in Hawaii," *Wall Street Journal* (New York, NY), Nov. 26, 2011, https://www.wsj.com/articles/BL-SEB-68005.
[102] Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, "The Invisible History of Hawaii in Alexander Payne's 'The Descendants,'" Not Even Past, *The University of Texas at Austin* online (Austin, TX), Department of History, June 14, 2012, https://notevenpast.org/invisible-history-hawaii-alexander-paynes-descendants/.

The film itself showcases four market-indifferent sub-categories, including 'cultural,' 'use,' 'intrinsic,' and 'non-monetized.'[103] The sub-category of 'cultural' was chosen due to King's final decision against selling the land.[104] King's decision was informed by his interaction with a Native Hawaiian mother at the beginning of the film, as well as a moment toward the end of the film, in which King reflectively stares at a wall of his ancestors.[105] In both cases, King is reminded of his connections to his Native-Hawaiian ancestry, as well as the importance of his untouched estate to the Native-Hawaiian community.[106] Outside of cultural importance, the film also demonstrates the sub-category of 'use,' since the resource in question was preserved for its use value, rather than its exchange value.[107] If King had decided to preserve the property to build equity, then it would have qualified for the sub-category of 'exchange.'[108]

Another sub-category present in the film, 'intrinsic,' describes the perspective regarding the preservation of a resource.[109] If a resource is considered intrinsic, then that resource is deemed to be valuable for its very presence. The intrinsic sub-category, according to Koziol's PDM, is the opposite of the 'instrumental' sub-category.[110] The instrumental perspective, in contrast, is a view of resource preservation that emphasizes utilitarian function. Matt King showcases clear examples of the intrinsic sub-category. Throughout the majority of the film, the film continuously emphasizes the inherent value of the land.[111] When King makes his final decision to reject the sale of the estate, he tells his cousin Hugh, "we've got Hawaiian blood, we're tied to this land, our children are tied to this land."[112] Similar patrician sentiments of responsibility led this study to determine an additional categorization of 'non-monetized.'[113] The Koziol sub-category of 'non-monetized,' unlike 'monetized,' emphasizes any perspective which implies that a resource is valuable for reasons other than monetary value.[114] In the case of *The*

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[103] Koziol, 42.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Peter Lawler, "The Descendants: Love, Family, and Paradise," *Big Think* online (New York, NY), Dec. 18, 2011, https://bigthink.com/articles/the-descendants-love-family-and-paradise/.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Koziol, 42.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ventura, "Palm Tree of Life."
[112] *The Descendants*, directed by Alexander Payne, (2011; Century City, CA: Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2012), DVD.
[113] Koziol, 42.
[114] Ibid.

Descendants, Matt King initially moves in the direction of selling the estate, but ultimately decides against the sale due to convictions that develop throughout the film.[115] King isn't particularly excited about selling the property at the beginning of the film.[116] In fact, he seems reluctant to take part in what he sees as an inevitable circumstance. King discusses the so-called 'Rule Against Perpetuities,' an obscure legal agreement commonly cited in estate trust disputes. In legal terms, the Rule Against Perpetuities states that no private trust can last longer than twenty-one years beyond the death of one life in being at the creation of an interest.[117] In short, an associative property can come under the ownership of trust members twenty-one years past the original property owner's death. During the narration at the beginning of the film, King laments, "now something called the rule against perpetuities is forcing us to dissolve the trust, and we're selling our last parcel of virgin Hawaiian land."[118] During the narration of this line, King, surrounded by mountains of legal documents, puts his hand over his face in anguish.[119] Though King already holds mixed feelings about the Rule Against Perpetuities, as well as the proposed sale of the land, he is reluctant to do so. Recognition of this fact led this study to determine *The Descendants* as showcasing 'non-monetized' categorical qualities.[120] Overall, the film's identified categories of 'non-monetized,' 'cultural,' 'use,' and 'intrinsic' each suggest the film has an overarching emphasis on market indifference.[121]

Beyond the film's market indifference, *The Descendants* also shows signs of intrinsic valuation. Intrinsic value, according to Koziol, is different from what he calls 'associational value.'[122] Intrinsic value pertains to any valuation that prioritizes intrinsic characteristics over personal connections to objects and resources.[123] Associational value describes the inverse when personal connections to objects and resources are considered more valuable than a resource or object's intrinsic characteristics. This study determined Alexander Payne's *The Descendants* to have the intrinsic sub-categories of 'physical,' 'resource-oriented,' 'tangible,' and 'finite.'[124]

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[115] Ventura, "Palm Tree of Life."
[116] Payne, *The Descendants*.
[117] Roth, 295.
[118] Payne, *The Descendants*.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Koziol, 42.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid, 43.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid, 42.

Additionally, this study found the film to have the associational categories of 'social/cultural,' 'interpretively flexible,' and 'affective.'[125] Since *The Descendants* exhibits more characteristics akin to intrinsic categorization, the film can be categorized as purporting intrinsic value.

One sub-category of intrinsic value, 'physical,' pertains to a perspective on valuation that favors physical characteristics over socio-cultural connections, characterized by the associational sub-category of 'social/cultural.'[126] In *The Descendants*, both sub-categories of 'physical' and 'social/cutural' are present, since the King estate is valued for its physical characteristics as well as its socio-cultural association with Native Hawaiians.[127] Another sub-category present in the film, 'resource-oriented,' describes when resources are valued more than the people who interact with resources.[128] In contrast, the sub-category of 'people-oriented' describes the inverse, when the people who interact with resources are valued more than the resources themselves.[129] In the case of *The Descendants*, the land connected to the King family trust is more highly valued than any group of people who might have interacted with the land.[130] While it might be tempting to categorize the film as people-oriented, the film's story tends to discuss the land itself, while making minimal mention of Native Hawaiians actively and historically using the trust land for a specific purpose.[131] Midway through the film, Matt King has a discussion with his cousin Ralph while overlooking the land with his daughters Alexandra and Scotty. At one point during the discussion, Ralph says, "it's just sitting there, no one's using it, soon the world will be able to enjoy it."[132] As a result of this attitude, the film paints the King's trust grounds in a far more detached light than you might find in the populist films identified for this study, such as *Barbershop* or *The Majestic*. In both of the aforementioned films, the drive to preserve an important local business is shared equally by community members and resource owners.[133] By contrast, *The Descendants* narrows the story down to one family patriarch and his benevolent attempt to save the land from real estate developers.[134] Since the film prioritizes the importance

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[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Siler, "The Descendants."
[128] Koziol, 42.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Lawler, "The Descendants."
[131] Payne, *The Descendants*.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Roger Ebert, "Barbershop," Reviews, RogerEbert.com (blog), Sept. 13, 2002, https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/barbershop-2002.
[134] Ventura, "Palm Tree of Life."

of the land over the people actively interacting with it, this study determined the film to be resource-oriented rather than people-oriented.

Outside of resource orientation, *The Descendants* was also found to exhibit the intrinsic sub-category of 'tangible.'[135] This sub-category pertains to the well-known distinction between tangible and intangible heritage found in preservation studies.[136] Tangible heritage pertains to physical places and objects we can touch, while intangible heritage pertains to stories, songs, and celebrations people experience in the moment.[137] *The Descendants* primarily focuses on the tangible heritage tied to the physical land disputed under the King family trust.[138] By comparison, minimal focus is given to the stories, songs, or celebrations that tie the King family, or Native Hawaiians in particular, to the land in dispute.[139] As a result, intangible heritage is limited beyond the initial history of the King family outlined at the beginning of the film. Therefore, this study determined that the film exhibits the sub-category of 'tangible,' rather than 'intangible.'[140]

The final intrinsic sub-category present in *The Descendants* is what Koziol calls 'finite.'[141] This sub-category pertains to how resources are valued for their rarity and materiality.[142] Valuing resources in this fashion, according to Koziol, is directly opposite to the associational sub-category of 'renewable.'[143] When resources are viewed as renewable, individuals and groups see opportunities to regenerate or reinvent the use of resources to fit their associational relationship with the said resource. In the case of the King family estate, efforts are initially made to sell the land to private developers.[144] By doing so, the King family made early steps to capitalize on the rarity and materiality of the land.[145] If the King family were to have

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[135] Koziol, 42.

[136] "Tangible and Intangible Cultural Hertiage," *National Park Service* online, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, last updated Feb. 29, 2016, accessed Feb. 12, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Payne, *The Descendants*.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Koziol, 42.

[141] Ibid.

[142] "Cultural Resource Management," Introduction, *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Managment Guideline*, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, last updated Aug. 16, 2002, accessed Mar. 3, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/nps28/28intro.htm.
    As it stands, the National Park Service considers cultural resources to be finite in nature, rather than renewable.

[143] Koziol, 42.

[144] Roth, 296.

[145] Ventura, "Palm Tree of Life."

sold the property for the sake of regenerating the land's Native-Hawaiian cultural character, then the family's actions would be more renewable in nature. In contrast, Matt's decision to reject the sale is motivated by a desire to preserve the untouched landscape for future generations, countering the regenerative stance of associative renewability. This means that Matt is not only rejecting the market capitalization approach of privatism, but he is also valuing the land as it is. By contrast, a populist or entrepreneurialist approach would utilize the land for its potential to actualize its associative cultural value, either through adaptive reuse or collective stewardship. Since the film accentuates the value of the land as it is, while making no insinuation that adaptive renewable be applied to the use of the land, this study determined that the film exhibits the subcategory of 'finite,' rather than 'renewable.'[146] Given the final results of this qualitative examination, *The Descendents* was determined to exemplify the ideology of essentialism, a curatorial worldview that prioritizes resources for their inherent value while objecting to the process of market valuation.

The Entrepreneurialism of Clint Eastwood's *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*

In Clint Eastwood's 1997 film adaptation of *Midnight in the Garden of Evil*, the primary cultural resource depicted is the historic Italianate Savannah mansion known as the Mercer-Williams House.[147] Outside of the Mercer-Williams estate, there are many resources depicted in the film, with each resource and locale depicting the historical and cultural eccentricities of Savannah, Georgia.[148] The Mercer-Williams House, and the character of Jim Williams in particular, play a significant role in depicting preservationism as secretive, duplicitous, mysterious, materialistic, and greedy.[149] The film itself has two protagonists. One protagonist played by John Cusack is Town and Country Magazine reporter named John Kelso, who visits Savannah to write about a Christmas Party being thrown by the second protagonist named Jim

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[146] Koziol, 42.

[147] "Architecture," More Than A House Tour, *Mercer Williams House Museum* online, SquareSpace, accessed Feb. 22, 2022, https://mercerhouse.com/about.

[148] Todd McCarty, "Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil," Reviews, *Variety*, Nov. 20, 1997, https://variety.com/1997/film/reviews/midnight-in-the-garden-of-good-and-evil-1200451803/.

[149] Janet Maslin, "Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil: Conjuring Up Eccentrics," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), Nov. 21, 1997, https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/film/112197mid-film-review.html.

Williams, played by Kevin Spacey.[150] Each protagonist is based on real-life authors and historical figures. The character of John Kelso is a stand-in for John Berendt, who is the original author of the original book that inspired the film. Comparatively, the character of Jim Williams is based on the real-life preservationist of the same name, who was arrested for the murder of Danny Hansford, William's 21-year-old handyman and lover.[151] While both characters are equally important for the development of the film's storyline, the primary analysis for this section will focus on Jim Williams and his relationship with the Mercer-Williams House, a home that the character Jim Williams and the real-life Jim Williams had been instrumental in preserving.[152] After close examination and determination of categorical factors, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* was found to exhibit characteristics akin to the ideology of entrepreneurialism.[153] It should be noted that the entrepreneurialism exhibited by the preservationist Jim Williams is generally portrayed in a sinister light, unlike the largely positivist depiction of Matt King in *The Descendants*.[154] This does not mean that the film itself is critical of entrepreneurialism. Instead, the film actively paints Jim Williams as a characteristic representation of entrepreneurialist preservationism.[155] While such a representation does not speak kindly of preservationism at large, it does speak to a particular type of approach that exists within the preservation field. To examine the film's entrepreneurialism, it must first be necessary to define entrepreneurialism, as well as spell out its defining characteristics.

Koziol described entrepreneurialism by writing, "entrepreneurialists seek to realize a gain not from the direct property ownership but from using peoples' associations to heritage for economic gain."[156] To put it a similar way, entrepreneurialists value resources for their socio-cultural associations while seeing no problems with capitalizing on those same associative resources. Entrepreneurialism, according to Koziol, prioritizes 'associational value' while being fundamentally 'market-oriented.'[157] In all, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* exhibits the

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[150] McCarty, "Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil."

[151] Laura Nwogu, "Savannah's Jim Williams' Legacy Lives on Through Film, A Murder Case and Historic Buildings," Entertainment, SavannahNow, *Savannah Morning News* (Savannah, Georgia), Sept. 22, 2021, https://www.savannahnow.com/story/entertainment/2021/07/21/jim-williams-savannah-ga-midnight-garden-good-evil-mercer-house-hbo-max-kevin-spacey-clint-eastwood/8029996002/.

[152] "Architecture," More Than A House Tour, *Mercer Williams House Museum* online.

[153] Koziol, 43.

[154] McCarty, "Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil."

[155] Koziol, 42, 43, 46.

[156] Ibid, 46.

[157] Ibid, 42.

associational subcategories of 'social/cultural,' 'people-oriented,' 'interpretively flexible,' and 'affective.'[158] Additionally, the film also demonstrates market-oriented sub-categories, such as 'monetized,' 'exchange,' 'private good,' 'exclusionary,' and 'economistic.'[159] The film also displays non-entrepreneurial sub-categories, such as the intrinsic categories of 'resource-oriented' and 'tangible.'[160] Accordingly, the film also showcases market-indifferent subcategories, such as 'use,' 'intrinsic,' 'public good,' and 'cultural.'[161] Since the number of associational and market-oriented sub-categories outweigh the number of intrinsic and market-indifferent sub-categories, the film was determined to exhibit an ideology of entrepreneurialism. To unpack the nature of the film's entrepreneurialist character, it will be necessary to examine the associational and market-oriented elements present in the film.

Altogether, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* exhibits a tendency toward associational value. As outlined in the previous section on *The Descendants*, associational value is the view that personal connections to resources are more important than the intrinsic characteristics of a resource. This phenomenon plays itself out in a variety of ways. One way that the film plays with associational valuation is through a continual emphasis on sociality and culture. The lead character, John Kelso, gets caught up in a variety of social settings meant to showcase the local culture. During the course of the film, he attends two clubs in town, including a show of local drag star Lady Chablis, as well as a Savannah lady's society named the Married Women's Card Club.[162] Outside of socio-cultural factors, associational valuation is showcased through the use of people-oriented reasonings for preservation. From the moment Kelso arrives in Savannah, he is met with a local tour bus driver, who then drives him into Savannah while discussing the history of the city with passengers.[163] During Kelso's ride in, the bus driver, played by Gary Anthony Williams, tells passengers a story about General Sherman's visit to Savannah during the American Civil War.[164] He tells of how Sherman initially planned to burn Savannah as he had in Atlanta. The bus driver then further explains how Sherman and his men

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[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, directed by Clint Eastwood, (2010; Burbank, CA: Warner Borthers, 1997), DVD, 1:01:20, 1:11:15.
[163] Ibid, 3:00-4:00.
[164] Ibid.

were treated to a warm reception of spiked punch and wild parties. According to the bus driver, Sherman decided to spare Savannah after this reception from Savannah locals. This early story not only shows how Savannahians take pride in their city, but it also shows how they use social functions to coerce others into preserving their town as a larger reflection of their sociable culture.[165]

Another important associational component of the film is Eastwood's emphasis on Savannah's interpretively-flexibility. Interpretive flexibility pertains to the view that resources are open to divergent interpretations by a variety of social groups, and are therefore subject to a multitude of interpretations depending on the social group interpreting said resource.[166] According to Koziol's PDM model, interpretive flexibility is contrasted with the asset-specific view, which prioritizes solidified characteristics of a resource and valuates those resources through the lens of those well-defined characteristics.[167] To a certain extent, Savannahians of the film are portrayed as people who desire an unchanged city, like someplace existing outside of the confines of time. However, Savannahians in the film are primarily focused on stories, gossip, local affairs, and legends that create a variety of interpretive mystique surrounding the intrigue of local public figures and socialites. One such example comes from Lady Chablis, who at one point refers to Jim Williams as "Miss Williams."[168] In this particular example, Chablis is referring to Williams' homosexuality while equating his sexuality with femaleness. Other characters of the film continually volunteer their stories about quirky locals with peculiar backstories and desires. CNN film critic Paul Tatara once wrote of the film's phenomenon of Southernness, saying that the film insisted on "portraying Southerners…as a bunch of bourbon swilling crackpots, smoking Tiparillos, and immediately volunteering the eccentric life-story of every person who waltzes through the door."[169] Through the acknowledgment of this quirkiness,

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[165] Clara Junker, "Simulacrum Savannah: Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil," *Literature Film Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (2005): 184.

[166] Deborah G. Johnson, "Social Construction of Technology," Encyclopedia of Science, Technology, and Ethics, Highbeam Research, Gale Publishing, *Encyclopdia* online, last updated 2019, accessed Feb. 23, 2021, https://www.encyclopedia.com/science/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/social-construction-technology.

[167] Koziol, 42.

[168] Junker, 184.

[169] Ibid, 188.

Eastwood paints Savannah as a place in which social intrigue, Old South sensibilities, and eccentric storytelling are continually shifting how locals process their identity.[170]

The final example of associational value present in the film relates to the degree of affective, rather than objective, orientation toward Savannah's resources. Affectiveness, in this case, describes the phenomena by which resources convey emotional connection and meaning.[171] In contrast, objective orientation can be described as a logical and rational way of deriving meaning from cultural resources, such as practices mandated under the National Park Service Standards for Cultural Resource Spatial Data.[172] *Midnight in the Garden of Evil* expresses multiple affective elements, one of the most prominent being the moment when Williams first introduces the Mercer House to Kelso.[173] When telling the history of the house, Williams mentions that the great-grandson of the original owner, General Hugh Mercer, was the songwriter Johnny Mercer.[174] Kelso gets excited when Williams mentions this, proceeding to ask Williams his favorite Johnny Mercer song. Williams then responds by mentioning how his mother was partial to the song "Fools Rush In."[175] The film also uses other, similarly affective moments, such as when Kelso makes a phone call back to his agent in New York.[176] During his call, Kelso describes Savannah as such, "this place is fantastic, it's like Gone With The Wind on mescaline."[177] Moments such as things lend themselves to an overall affective emphasis whenever anything is discussed regarding Savannah itself. Affectiveness lends to the film's overall associational focus, along with socio-cultural emphasis, people-oriented subject matter, and interpretive flexibility.

Outside of associational factors, the film showcases tendencies akin to a market-oriented view of preservation, particularly in the case of Jim Williams. Eastwood's film exhibits one important market-oriented factor, the propensity for monetization. One of the best examples of this happens early in the film, when Williams invites Kelso upstairs during the Williams House

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[170] Ibid, 183.

[171] Ahmad Hijazi and Shameek Sinha, "On Ethereal Grounds: Cultural Resources as Foundations Supporting Innovation Success," *Journal of International Consumer Marketing* 33, no. 4 (2021): 399-417.

[172] "Draft Set of Standards for Cultural Resource Spatial Data," The Cultural Resource Geogrpahic Information System Facility, Heritage Documentation Programs, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington DC: National Park Service, last updated Mar. 27, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/hdp/standards/crgisstandards.htm.

[173] *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, 9:00-10:30.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid, 10:00-10:30.

[176] Ibid, 36:00.

[177] Ibid.

Christmas Party.[178] While upstairs, Williams shows Kelso a prized item of his, the dagger supposedly used to kill Rasputin.[179] After showing off some of his prized artifacts, Kelso asks whether Williams' family has always collected, which Williams takes as an insinuation that he comes from old money. Williams then goes into a story of his climb from rags to riches, admitting, "yes I am nouveau riche, but its the riche that counts, there's only two things that interest me, work, and those trappings of aristocracy that I find worthwhile."[180] Williams then goes into detail about how he goes out of his way to find sales proceeding the deaths of wealthy individuals, and how he capitalizes on acquiring their valuables.[181] In this way, Williams uses his social connections and cultural connections to construct his version of the good life. This is ultimately what makes Williams an entrepreneurialist, which then paints preservationism as an inherently entrepreneurialist venture.

Outside of monetization, another aspect of the market-orientation present in the film is the emphasis on exchange. When resources are viewed favorably for their exchange value, a culture of market capitalization supersedes any potential focus on the use of cultural resources. Williams engages in this process openly when he is first imprisoned, during which he uses Kelso to help him contact a man named Geza Von Hapsburg.[182] During his call with Hapsburg, Williams offers to sell his Maximilian desk, for which he asks Hapsburg to pay "top dollar."[183] Though Williams is the most obvious character exhibiting a willingness for exchange, similar traits can also be found in the character of Lady Chablis, played by the real-life actress of the same name. During one particular discussion with John Kelso, Chablis shows a propensity for exchange. In one scene, Kelso and Chablis discuss their willingness to help each other regarding the proceedings of Jim William's murder trial. The majority of the aforementioned discussion occurs during the Alpha Phi ball, a dance put on by Savannah's black social elite.[184] Kelso, trying to convince Chablis to leave the ball, offers to buy Chablis a drink on the condition that they both leave the event.[185] When Chablis refuses Kelso's offer, she then demands, "buy me a

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[178] Ibid, 25:00.
[179] Ibid, 25:30.
[180] Ibid, 26:00.
[181] Ibid, 26:30.
[182] Ibid, 1:09:00.
[183] Ibid, 1:10:00
[184] Ibid, 1:38:00.
[185] Ibid, 1:45:00.

diamond…give me some."[186] Multiple other incidents throughout the film show an overarching willingness of multiple characters to exchange goods for money, or use money as a means of getting what they want. For this reason, exchange value showed itself to be more prominent than use-value.

Outside of exchange value, the film exhibits other market-oriented aspects, including the prevalent theme of private good over the public good. Williams probably best exemplifies this tendency, with one scene, in particular, showcasing his defensiveness toward the character Billy Hanson, played by Jude Law. While in prison, Williams recounts his story of Bill Hanson's murder to Kelso.[187] Williams' account of the event is then shown in the film by use of a flashback sequence.[188] During this flashback sequence, Hanson is getting increasingly frustrated with Williams, who tells Hanson to leave his house. When Hanson decides he has had enough of Williams, he decides to break Williams' prized grandfather clock, which then sends Williams into a rage.[189] After the clock breaks, Williams walks to his office while muttering to himself, "goddamnit, walk into my house and ruin my furniture, I've had it, you're going to jail young man, that's it."[190] This scene is one sequence among many examples when characters express their belief in the protection of private property and society over the concerns of the public.

Another prominent example of market-oriented focus is the exclusionary nature of the Married Women's Card Club. During Kelso's first visit to the card club, he proceeds to walk toward the building while passing by club members, who each wait outside the front steps.[191] When Kelso finally asks for confirmation that he's in the right place, each club member looks at him with a suspicious scowl, and one member confirms with an inquisitive tone.[192] Immediately there is a sense of protectiveness and privacy associated with the Married Women's Card Club, which tells Kelso they are not allowed to ring the doorbell because of their strict rules, including the practice of waiting until 4 o'clock to enter. Upon entry into the building, Kelso talks with the head of the card club, who stresses to Kelso to remain silent around other members regarding the

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[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid, 2:02:20.
[188] Ibid, 2:02:45.
[189] Ibid, 2:03:00.
[190] Ibid, 2:03:20.
[191] Ibid, 1:11:00.
[192] Ibid, 1:11:10.

fact that Williams referred Kelso to the card club president.[193] Throughout Kelso's visit, the
secretiveness and exclusivist gossip culture of the card club is made more evident when he
overhears several Savannah society ladies rail against Jim Williams. This private society culture
is made even more evident by the fact that Kelso is not allowed into the room where the society
ladies gossip about local issues.[194]

Continuing with the privatist culture evident in the film, Eastwood displays an
economistic tendency in several characters, hereby showcasing another trait of the market-
oriented view. According to Koziol, economistic tendencies are the opposite of cultural
tendencies, in that they prioritize economic vitality over cultural vitality of a resource or
community.[195] In the case of this particular film, the economic and cultural vitality of Savannah
is viewed as one and the same.[196] That being said, the film's economistic characteristics
contribute to an overall market-oriented emphasis. One of the most blatant examples of this
tendency occurs during the beginning of the film when Billy Hanson makes an unexpected visit
to the Williams house after the conclusion of the Christmas Party. Looking for a quick buck,
Hanson enters Williams' house, demanding he give Hanson twenty dollars to buy drugs.[197]
During this altercation, Hanson commands Williams, "give me twenty dollars…give me twenty
dollars…give me the money, I ain't even close to getting f—ed up the way I want to."[198] Besides
this obvious ploy for money from Hanson, other characters showcase economistic tendencies,
including Kelso himself. When Kelso first meets Lady Chablis, he picks her up in a big red
1970s car.[199] Chablis initially shows her surprise that Kelso drives such a car, which, according
to her, will help deter thieves since nobody would want to drive such a thing.[200] Kelso then
remarks, "well, I'm just practicing up till I can save enough money to get my Rolls."[201] While
this is inherently economistic, it also acts as a kind of joke, insinuating Kelso may desire an

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[193] Ibid, 1:11:30.
[194] Ibid, 1:12:00.
[195] Koziol, 42-43.
[196] Carl Solana Weeks, "Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil," Arts & Culture, Works of Nonfiction, *New Georgia Encyclopedia* online, Jul. 10, 2002, last edited Jan. 16, 2019,
https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/midnight-in-the-garden-of-good-and-evil/.
[197] *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, 26:30.
[198] Ibid, 26:45.
[199] Ibid, 42:00.
[200] Ibid, 43:00.
[201] Ibid, 43:10.

expensive car like a Rolls Royce, but he sees zero likelihood that he will ever own one in real life.

In conclusion, Clint Eastwood's film *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* exhibits a distinctively entrepreneurialist view of preservationism through a propensity for associational value in connection with a market-oriented worldview. That being said, the film also demonstrates intrinsic and market-indifferent tendencies. However, the propensity of market-oriented and associational factors are more prevalent than the intrinsic and market-indifferent factors identified in this study. The movie's overall lean toward entrepreneurialism makes it equally as unique as *The Descendants*, in that it represents an ideological representation of preservation wholly different from the common trend identified for this study. Additionally, Eastwood's *Midnight* is different from the privatist paradigm currently dominant in the preservation field at large.[202]

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[202] Koziol, 45-46.

Commonalities Present in Qualitative Data

Among the twelve films studied for this study, the vast majority were found to demonstrate tendencies akin to the ideology of populism. Ten out of the twelve films examined showcased a majority of trends associated with both associational value and market indifference. While each of these twelve films exhibits tendencies tied to populism, each film has its own propensity to exhibit minor aspects of intrinsic valuation and market-oriented viewpoints. For example, Edward Norton's *Motherless Brooklyn* holds a large majority of characteristics akin to populism, but the film also has moments when cultural resources are valued for their physical characteristics. When Norton's character Lionel Essrog is being given a tour of the Fort Greene neighborhood by Gugu Mbatha-Raw's character, Laura Rose, Essrog is shown a set of Brooklyn brownstones slated for demolition under urban renewal.[203] These Brooklyn brownstones were equally important for conveying the architectural significance of Brooklyn's brownstones as well as the prominence of the African-American community in Brooklyn during the 1950s.[204] In this way, the physical nature of the brownstones is equally as important to convey the film's meaning as the story of community resistance to urban renewal.

Outside of *Motherless Brooklyn*, other films that show this populist trend include Tim Story's seminal 2002 film *Barbershop*, as well as Matthew Robbins' daring 1987 film *Batteries Not Included*, and John Landis' iconic 1980 classic *The Blues Brothers*. Additionally, the populist trend was present in John Lassater's 2006 Pixar film *Cars*, Frank Darabont's 2001 cult film *The Majestic*, Paul Mariano's 2011 documentary film *These Amazing Shadows*, Marc Lawrence's 2002 romantic comedy *Two Weeks Notice*, and Robert Zemeckis' 1988 animated masterpiece *Who Framed Roger Rabbit*. For this particular section, rather than examine the ten films identified as exhibiting populist tendencies, this study will look at Joe Talbot and Jimmie Fails' 2019 film *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* as a case study in preservation populism.

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[203] Michelle Young, "NYC Filming Locations For Motherless Brooklyn," Arts & Culture, *Untapped New York* online (New York, NY), last updated 2021, accessed Feb. 1, 2022, https://untappedcities.com/2019/10/31/nyc-filming-locations-for-motherless-brooklyn/?displayall=true.

[204] Cathy Whitlock, "Explore Edward Norton's Motherless Brooklyn, Where NYC is a Star," Set Design, *Architectural Digest*, Oct. 29, 2019, https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/motherless-brooklyn-set-design.

The Populism of Joe Talbot and Jimmie Fails' *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*

In 2019, director Joe Talbot and his longtime friend Jimmie Fails released the film *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*. The film follows the story of a young Black San Franciscan named Jimmie Fails, who played the real-life actor of the same name.[205] The story itself is based on the real-life circumstances of Fails, who makes attempts at reclaiming a Queen Anne home owned by his grandfather before gentrification in the San Francisco area.[206] The film tackles issues of displacement and gentrification that have been affecting people of color with longtime cultural connections to previously affordable historic neighborhoods. After close examination, this study found that *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* exhibits tendencies akin to the ideology of populism. Populism, according to Koziol, constitutes an associational valuation of resources in tandem with overall market indifference.[207] In short, populism emphasizes the socio-cultural and person-oriented, while de-emphasizing the profit motive.

The film itself exhibits all of the categories tied to associational value, including socio-cultural valuation, a people-oriented approach, a focus on intangible heritage, renewability of meaning, interpretive flexibility, and affective connection.[208] A socio-cultural valuation can be seen throughout the film. One of the most particularly during one scene in the film when Jimmie verbally counters a tour guide giving a neighborhood history lesson to tourists via segway.[209] While detailing the history of the area, the tour guide pontificates, "you distinguished truth seekers want to know about the real hep cats who hung out here, the Harlem of the West, where a few of these homes did survive, like this beauty here, which was built clear back in the 1800s."[210] The tour guide goes on to describe how the neighborhood was Japanese, and that the area was cleared out during World War II, following FDR's internment decree under Executive

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[205] Tyronne Callender, "Jimmie Fails and Joe Talbot on The Last Black Man in San Francisco, Displacement, and Gentrification," *CBC Radio* online, Jul. 4, 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/radio/q/thursday-july-4-2019-black-pumas-tantoo-cardinal-and-more-1.5198497/jimmie-fails-and-joe-talbot-on-the-last-black-man-in-san-francisco-displacement-and-gentrification-1.5198524.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Koziol, 42.

[208] Ibid.

[209] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, directed by Joe Talbot, (Santa Monica, CA: Lionsgate Entertainment, 2019), DVD, 28:30.

[210] Ibid, 28:30-29:00.

Order 9066. Fails counters the claims of the tour guide by saying, "this house was built in the 1940s."[211] At first, the tour guide disagrees with Fails, telling his band of segway-bound tourists that the architectural features of the house are from the 1850s.[212] Fails counters the tour guide once more, telling the story of his grandfather and how his grandfather built the house after World War II.[213] Here we should point out that this scene is factually incorrect since the majority of American Queen Anne homes were constructed between 1880 and 1910.[214] However, the point made by Fails here is important, because his concept of the home's history is fundamentally counter to the narrative advanced by the tour guide. As a result, Fails is acting on behalf of his family's socio-cultural history, firmly counting the film toward a socio-cultural emphasis.

Besides socio-cultural factors, the film also accentuates associational value through the application of a people-oriented approach. This approach is exemplified by Fails, along with his best friend Mont, when they make attempts to reclaim the house of Fails' grandfather. Fails and Mont attempt to do this in a variety of unconventional ways. After initially discussing the state of the home's owner with Clayton, a local white realtor, they become disheartened when Clayton indicates he cannot sell the house.[215] In response, Fails and Mont decide to break into the empty house to experience the space for the first time since Fails' grandfather passed away.[216] As evidenced by Fails and Mont's willingness to break through a literal structural barrier, the house is not valued for its structural integrity, it is valued because it holds a special place in their memory and experience with the space itself. This is one example of how the preservationism of *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* is not resource-oriented, it is fundamentally people-oriented. One of the best encapsulations of this person-oriented piece can be found early in the film, when the character of the preacher, played by the Bay Area rapper Willie Hen, gives a sermon detailing the cultural connection of the Black community with the built environment. As the film shows images of architectural features, the non-diegetic voice of the preacher utters, "we

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[211] Ibid, 28:58.
[212] Ibid, 29:10.
[213] Ibid.
[214] "Queen Anne Style 1880s-1910: History of the Style," Article, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, *National Park Service* online, National Park Service, Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, last updated Aug. 2, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/articles/queen-anne-architecture.htm.
[215] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 26:00.
[216] Ibid, 30:00.

built them, we are these homes, their eyes, their pointed brims, we move as they move, our sweat-soaked in the wood, gilded in our image, this is our home, our home, our home."[217]

Another key aspect of associational meaning within the film concerns the phenomena of intangible heritage.[218] As outlined in the previous section on *The Descendants*, intangible heritage pertains to stories, songs, and celebrations people experience in the moment.[219] In this regard, we can see multiple moments when the film stresses Fails' family story, as well as the connection of the family story to the house itself. The most obvious example of intangible heritage is tied to the lie at the center of the film's story, that Jimmie Fails' grandfather built the house in 1946 with his own two hands.[220] At first, this narrative is given tangible precedence for Fails' connection between the home's physical materiality and his family's personal history and connection to the home. However, this narrative is upended when Mont decides to confront Clayton at his realty office.[221] In a previous scene, Mont and Fails are incensed that their belongings had been gutted from the home and placed on the street.[222] On the front gate of the home is an advertisement displaying that Clayton is the realtor now in charge of selling the property. When Mont decides to confront Clayton, he claims that the information provided in the ad for the house is false.[223] When Clayton asks Mont what he is talking about, Mont claims that Clayton is lying about the history of the house by listing it as one hundred years older than it is.[224] Mont then continues to assert that James Fails I built the house in 1946. In response, Clayton reveals the big secret of the film, that the house was built in the 1850s by an architect.[225] This realization of the truth means that Mont, and eventually Fails, have to see the lie for it was, a way of establishing agency over the narrative when the predominant economic structures of America continually erase the history of the Black community.[226] This moment also dramatically shifts the heritage categorization of the house from tangible to intangible, because now the only

[217] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 5:30-6:00.
[218] "Tangible and Intangible Cultural Hertiage," *National Park Service* online.
[219] Ibid.
[220] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 29:00.
[221] Ibid, 1:18:45.
[222] Ibid, 1:15:00.
[223] Ibid, 1:18:45.
[224] Ibid, 1:20:15.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Amy Alexander, "The Last Black Man in San Francisco Shows How My Hometown Lost Its Soul," *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), Jun. 14, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/06/14/last-black-man-san-francisco-captures-heartbreak-anger-people-displaced-by-gentrification/.

people who imbibe the grandfather Fails 1946 narrative with deeper significance are Fails, Mont, and their respective friends and family. This is not to say that the material architectural integrity of the house negates any experiential, historical association with the Fails family, it just means that the tangible material heritage of the house has now become associated with the original nineteenth-century architect.

Outside of intangible heritage, the film also exhibits associational valuation through an emphasis on renewability. Renewability, according to Koziol's model, is the opposite of finiteness and therefore constitutes multiple interpretations of meaning beyond the existing materiality of the house, which is a finite resource.[227] This is illustrated during Mont's attic performance toward the end of the film, in which he emotionally reveals the lie to Fails, after which spectators leave the performance.[228] When Fails meets with his father after the performance, Fails' father tells him not to fret about spectators leaving Mont's performance.[229] His father continues by insinuating, "they don't deserve to be in here anyway."[230] Fails responds by saying that they don't deserve to be in there either, insinuating that they are undeserving due to the lie itself. He then continues to press his father by requesting him to admit to the lie. Instead of admitting to the lie, Fails' father takes a minute to collect himself before saying, "can't tell you sh-t, I'm outta here man, you sit in that bullsh-t if you want."[231]

This particular scene is incredibly important because it further illustrates the power of historical narrative and Black agency within the larger historical narrative. At first, Fails seems distraught enough to give up on the house after hearing the truth about his grandfather's story. His father, however, counters him by opposing his attitude of undeservedness, implying that Jimmie needs to find some way of being proud in the face of his struggle. Fails' father, as a result, stresses the importance of maintaining their family story as a way of continually renewing the meaning of the home. Even if Fails' grandfather didn't build the house, the point is that Fails' grandfather still helped build a family in that house, as well as his family legacy. Using such an approach, the word "build" takes on an alternate meaning to its common definition, implying that building is an act of uplifting people rather than the act of building forms by ordering and uniting

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[227] Koziol, 42.
[228] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 1:38:30.
[229] Ibid, 1:39:55.
[230] Ibid, 1:40:00.
[231] Ibid, 1:41:00.

materials.[232] At the beginning of the film, the preacher similarly uses this wording, pontificating, "we built these ships, dredged these canals, in the San Francisco they never knew existed."[233]

The final associational aspect of this film is a continual application of affective connection. Affective connection, as previously mentioned, is the opposite of objective connection.[234] It describes the phenomena by which resources convey emotional connection and meaning.[235] One of the best examples of affectiveness pops up toward the end of the film when Jimmie finally meets up with Mont following his attic performance.[236] In this scene, Jimmie approaches mont with a broken skateboard in hand, walking down a pier where Mont sits at the very end. Both of them proceed to apologize for lashing out at each other during the performance. Jimmie proceeds to tell Mont, "I'm sorry I didn't tell you the truth, I just wanted it to be true, it felt so good you know."[237] In this instance, Jimmie shows his vulnerability by admitting how much he wanted his grandfather's story to be true, even when faced with the looming likelihood it might be false. For the real-life Jimmie Fails, the home, and the possibility of actually owning it, represented a real sense of hope.[238] However, even though hope encapsulates one emotion conveyed in the film, there is also an undercurrent of anger.[239] When Jimmie meets up with his Aunt Wanda toward the end of the film, Jimmie expresses how he's thinking of leaving the city behind.[240] Wanda gives Jimmie consolation by telling him, "if you leave, its not your loss, it's San Francisco's…f-ck San Francisco."[241] Here we can see one of many associational qualities that contribute to the populism of *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*. However, to understand the full scope of this film's populist orientation, this study must examine aspects of market indifference inherent in the film.

The film's market indifference is present through five categories, including a de-emphasis on monetization, the prioritization of use, the view of the resource as intrinsic, an emphasis on inclusivity, and an overarching focus on culture. Since only one category present in

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[232] "Build," *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* online, accessed April 2, 2022, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/build.
[233] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 3:40.
[234] Koziol, 42.
[235] Hijazi and Sinha, 399-417.
[236] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 1:47:40.
[237] Ibid, 1:48:25.
[238] Alexander, "The Last Black Man in San Francisco."
[239] Ibid.
[240] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 1:44:40.
[241] Alexander, "The Last Black Man in San Francisco."

the film was identified as market-oriented, the film exhibits a strong theme of market indifference.[242] The film's propensity to de-emphasize monetization is one of the starkest examples of this phenomenon. One good example of this happens when Jimmie goes to meet his father about halfway through the film.[243] While at his father's Single Resident Occupancy (SRO) in the city, Jimmie helps cut out covers for pirated DVDs. While reminiscing about old times, Jimmie brings up the fact that he has been eyeing a property. His father then proceeds to bring up how he's been working on the property for three years while following up by asking the location of the house. Jimmie responds by saying, "its *the* house, in Fillmore…our old house."[244] This moment encapsulates Jimmie's feelings toward the house, which he sees as a chance to re-experience a place he dearly loves. For this reason, the film heavily de-emphasizes the role of monetization.

Outside of monetization, another market-indifferent aspect of Talbot's film is the prioritization of use-value, as opposed to exchange value. In this case, use-value pertains to how a resource is valued for its usefulness to individuals or the community. In contrast, exchange value describes the view that resources are more important than the use of a property by individuals and groups. Use value is present in a variety of scenes throughout the film. One of the most prominent examples of this happens at the beginning of the film, during one of the first scenes when we see Fails to live at the house of Mont's grandfather, Allen.[245] One night, Mont and Jimmie and hanging out in Mont's tiny room after watching an old television crime drama with Grandpa Allen. During this scene, Jimmie asks Mont a question about the house's current owners, saying, "how do I get them out of the house…you think they'd let me live there as like a caretaker for the house?"[246] Mont quickly counters Jimmie by saying "no" with a smile, which makes them both chuckle.[247] Jimmie then doubles down on his question by stating, "I mean I'd

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[242] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 1:16:30.

The only market-oriented factor present is the film's emphasis on private good over public good, particularly during a scene when Jimmie goes to the bank to buy the house. While there may be an argument made that Jimmie is buying the house to carry on the legacy of his family or community, a lot of the reasoning for him regaining the house is to relive a sense of personal meaning he felt when experiencing the house as a child. In this way, Jimmie is acting selfishly, and seeking his own private stake in owning his grandfather's old home. He often exhibits this selfishness while actively ignoring the hardships faced by Mont's grandfather, whom he lives with in the film.

[243] Ibid, 45:30.

[244] Ibid, 48:00.

[245] Ibid, 13:00.

[246] Ibid, 13:30.

[247] Ibid.

take pretty good care of the house, I think so at least."[248] Here Jimmie is firmly stating his willingness to live in, as well as take care of the place he loves. Throughout the film, Jimmie carries on a purist, almost naive hope of owning and maintaining the home he loves.

Besides use-value, another market indifferent component of the film is Talbot's focus on the intrinsic, rather than instrumental, value of preserving the home. As stated in the previous section on *The Descendants*, a resource is considered intrinsic when it is deemed to be valuable for its very presence. In other words, the house is not valued by Jimmie Fails for its capability to be used as an event space or as a resource of bargaining leverage for land speculators. Instead, Fails values the house as it stands, seeing no reason to alter or bargain away the property for monetary gain. This intrinsic view of the home is exemplified by a moment shortly before Mont's attic performance, when Jimmie's father, Fails Senior, greets visitors on their way up the stairs.[249] When one White couple gets halfway up the stairs, Fails Senior says while pointing toward Jimmie, "come on in, don't be shy, his grandpa built this, not bad for a Black man, huh?"[250] Here, Fails Senior is both reaffirming Black pride into the narrative of the home, while subtly insinuating that the house itself is a material testament to Black excellence.

Talbot and Fails' film further extrapolates market indifference through an emphasis on inclusivity, rather than exclusivity. While Jimmie may exhibit some exclusivist tendencies toward the house, the film's collective character base carries a more inclusive approach. One key moment of inclusivity is when Mont invites the character of Kofi over to the house in Fillmore.[251] Even though Jimmie seems reluctant at first, he eventually opens back up to him when Mont offers to have them all enjoy the home sauna.[252] Inclusivity also emerges when the character of Bobby, played by Mike Epps, picks up Mont and Jimmie while they're waiting at the bus stop.[253] While in the car, Jimmie makes a limited effort to thank Bobby for the ride, while listening to Bobby explain the loneliness he saw in Jimmie's father when he visited him last. Though Jimmie initially counter reacts Bobby for living alone out of his car, Bobby reacts by saying, "yeah but I'm not alone, people like me, I'm liked."[254] Here, Bobby acts as a

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[248] Ibid, 13:50.
[249] Ibid, 1:30:15.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid, 53:30.
[252] Ibid, 55:30.
[253] Ibid, 20:30.
[254] Ibid, 21:15.

counterweight to Jimmie's sense of self-importance, by encouraging Jimmie through actions, dialogue, and a monologue explaining the value of sticking together. Bobby stresses this point by asking Jimmie when he visited his father recently. After Jimmie says that is been a couple of weeks, he also says that he doesn't remember the last time he saw him. Bobby then responds by saying that his father needs him immediately and that parents mainly have kids because they need companionship and someone to hang out with later in life.[255] Another great example of inclusivity happens during a scene when Jimmie and Mont head to Aunt Wanda's house to grab the Fails family furniture in hopes of decorating the now vacant home.[256] Wanda reacts with surprise when Jimmie tells her that he got a house in the city. At first, Wanda is suspicious, believing Jimmie got caught up in one of his father's old money-making schemes. Just then, Jimmie reassures his aunt, saying, "this is for us."[257]

Alongside inclusivity, the film's focus on culture defines its market indifference. In response to the growing economic, socio-cultural, and historical pain of gentrification, Talbot and Fails chose to highlight the cultural impact of gentrification on the Black community, as well as San Francisco residents more broadly.[258] One of the best instances showcasing this perspective is the preacher scene at the beginning of the film.[259] During this scene, the preacher makes a variety of statements poetically reiterating the Black Bay Area experience to a perceived tech-oriented audience. In the backdrop of this scene, a Black school girl skips by some white men in hazmat suits, implying that the men in hazmat suits see their environment as a hazard. The preacher utters a series of statements meant to rouse tech professionals, saying, "why do they have these suits and we don't, something going on right in our face, you're all stuck on those iPhones, j-phone 12s or whatever, blow up your hand, you can't google what's going on right now, are y'all paying attention?"[260] The preacher then carries on with his sermon, warning his audience that the men in hazmat suits are there to clean up the area to make way for tech professionals, yelling, "they got plans for us, man...we was put through h-ll to be purified,

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[255] Ibid, 22:00.

[256] Ibid, 35:00.

[257] Ibid, 35:30.

[258] Yohana Desta, "The Last Black Man in San Francisco: The True Story Behind the Surreal Gentrification Tale," *Vanity Fair*, Jun. 5, 2019, https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2019/06/the-last-black-man-in-san-francisco-interviews.

[259] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 2:15.

[260] Ibid, 1:00.

y'know what I'm sayin' brothers and sisters…protect the Black seed and leave us the h-ll alone."[261] Here, the preacher acts as a spokesman for Black sentiments on gentrification, as well as a warning to incoming tech professionals and members of the Black community more broadly.

Besides the preacher scene, a variety of other moments stand out for their emphasis on Black culture and the Black experience. One of the more prescient examples of this comes from Talbot and Fails' Greek chorus, comprised of the characters Nitty, Stunna, Gunna, Fresh, and Kofi.[262] Each of these characters are collectively supposed to represent the hustle, comradery, and toxic masculinity that comes along with forming gangs for survival.[263] The chorus of characters are continually portrayed hanging out on the sidewalk outside Grandpa Allen's house in Hunter's Point. When Fails and Mont are first shown alongside the chorus, each character of the chorus proceeds to berate them after misinterpreting a statement Mont made about the shower water, accusing them of being "fruity."[264] The trope of toxic masculinity has a long history of interplay within the Black community, and has thus come under recent scrutiny in gender and family studies.[265] Between the Greek chorus, the preacher, Fails' father, and others, the film makes an explicitly cultural approach, rather than a strictly economistic one. Overall, the film constitutes a multitude of factors that led this study to determine its market indifference, in addition to its associationism. Being dominated by associational and market indifferent qualities, *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* is a decidedly populist example of recent American preservation-themed cinema.

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[261] Ibid, 2:15.
[262] Ibid, 10:45.
[263] Desta, "The Last Black Man in San Francisco."
[264] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 11:00.
[265] Erik M. Hines, Edward C. Fletcher Jr., Donna Y. Ford, and James L. Moore III, "Preserving Innocence: Ending Perceived Adultification and Toxic Masculinity Toward Black Bloys," *Journal of Family Strengths* 21, no. 1 (2021): 1-11.

Thematic Rejection of Privatism

As stated at the beginning of this study, privatism remains the predominant ideological paradigm of the American preservation system.[266] Christopher Koziol describes privatism as a preservation approach that combines a market-oriented worldview with an emphasis on intrinsic valuation.[267] It is a worldview that prioritizes the material and economic value of cultural resources, while openly capitalizing on the market value of cultural resources.[268] Additionally, under privatism, incentives to private developers are heralded as advancing public purposes. As a result, privatist approaches remain promising to business owners and private real-estate developers. However, an overemphasis on privatism can also sideline the tremendous demand for the preservation system to assist historic communities with limited economic resources and socio-cultural representation. Koziol has even warned of this danger by writing, "as increased demands are being made upon preservation policy actors interested in tourism and 'urban livability,'... the language of preservation economics will need to expand."[269]Considering that economic policy is not the primary focus of this study, I will only direct minor elements of future analysis to neoliberalism's effect on contemporary postmodern culture and economic inequality.[270] Given the overall findings of this study, it is curious that privatism has a relatively limited presence.

After examining the twelve films selected for this study, it was determined that none of the films exhibited a dominant preference for privatism. Furthermore, while films such as *The Descendants*, *Two Weeks Notice*, and *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* reveal market-oriented or intrinsic tendencies, neither fully embrace the ideology of privatism. Some of the twelve films selected exhibited minor examples of either intrinsic valuation or market orientation. However, populism remained the dominant ideological paradigm present among the twelve films examined. Given that populism and privatism are diametrically-opposed ideological approaches and worldviews, it is notably strange that the preservation conveyed in these twelve films are ideologically incongruent with the way that historic preservation operates as an overall

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[266] Koziol, 47.

[267] Ibid, 42.

[268] Ibid, 46.

[269] Ibid, 47.

[270] K.M. Seethi, "Postmodernism, Neoliberalism, and Civil Society: A Critique of the Development Strategies in the Era of Globalization," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 62, no. 3 (2001): 307-320.

career field. This is not to say that heritage conservation factors such as museum curation, main street redevelopment projects, and preservation activism are not part of the historical development of the preservation field. The point here is that the way we currently practice preservation is based on a privatist model that does not openly embrace the values espoused in the twelve films selected for this study. Acknowledging this fact, this study must reiterate why American preservation practice is largely privatist, why Baudrillard's theory of hyperreality and simulacra applies to this ideological disconnect, and how these findings reflect the history of the preservation field, and what this means for the preservation field going forward.

One of the best ways the preservation system could expand this economic language is by engaging in a holistic critique of neoliberal policies that have guided the preservation field since the 1970s.[271] Anthropology professor David Harvey describes neoliberalism as an economic and political ideology that emphasizes deregulation, privatization, individual property rights, individual freedoms, freely functioning markets, free trade, and the withdrawal of the state from areas of social welfare provisions.[272] Similar to neoliberalism, privatism maintains an embrace of market-oriented solutions as an inherently public good.[273]

The American preservation field began to make its dramatic turn toward privatism in the 1970s.[274] Two key pieces of legislation pushed the preservation field in this direction, namely the Tax Reform Act of 1976 and the Economic Recovery Act of 1981.[275] Both acts allowed preservation projects to use investment tax credits for economic development purposes. By the late 1970s, the Tax Reform Act allowed for a greater expansion of preservation activities throughout the United States. Between 1976 and 2006, 40 billion dollars in economic activity proliferated through leveraged tax credits on 33,900 approved projects nationwide. In 2006 alone, the federal government gave out 817 million dollars to 1,253 approved projects, with over four billion dollars invested in preservation projects by the private sector. Interlaid within this privatist system is a complex network of direct and indirect monetary incentives. Direct

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[271] Robert Fletcher, "Neoliberal Environmentality: Towards a Poststructuralist Political Ecology of the Conservation Debate," *Conservation & Society* 8, no. 3 (2010): 176.
[272] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1, 3, 64, 65-66, 76.
[273] Stephen Metcalf, "Neoliberalism: The Idea that Swallowed the World," News, The Long Read, *The Guardian*, Aug. 18, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/aug/18/neoliberalism-the-idea-that-changed-the-world.
[274] Koziol, 45.
[275] Ibid, 45-46.

incentives include active monetary interventions in project funding, such as government grants or federal grant-in-aid programs.

Comparatively, indirect incentives are more hands-off, comprising largely of tax incentives, deductions, rebates, and credits that encourage private companies to independently finance projects. Private development project managers, as a result, prefer indirect incentives since they provide greater flexibility and limited government oversight. However, this means that indirect incentives often become the main vehicle for preservation project development throughout the country. Koziol even openly admits this fact, stating, "while often trained in a tradition of essentialism…many preservationists working in government find themselves functionaries within a policy system oriented toward economic objectives."[276]

While this private investment system seems collectively beneficial on paper, the majority of indirect preservation investment occurs where there is ample market viability.[277] This means that development is determined largely by an investor class that decides which projects are considered worthwhile, leaving many areas with ample historic building fabric to become neglected despite tax incentive programs.[278] In 2017, urban studies associate professor Stephanie Ryberg-Webster pointed out that, "declining, legacy cities have severely depressed real estate markets alongside large collects of historic buildings."[279] She then further elaborates that policymakers can encourage reinvestment in economically depressed areas by providing higher-level incentives in those same communities.[280] However, the dominant narrative amongst development professionals continually stresses that a lack of market viability justifies demolition.[281] As a result, preservationists often get caught in the middle, desperately trying to preserve historic buildings while pandering to private investors for rehabilitation projects.[282] Considering the pitfalls of the privatist system, alternatives have been suggested by scholars such as the late Scottish geographer Neil Smith. Smith argued in 1998 that the historic rehabilitation

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[276] Ibid, 46.

[277] Stephanie Ryberg-Webster and Kelly L. Kinahan, "Historic Preservation in Declining City Neighbourhoods: Analyzing Rehabilitation Tax Credit Investments in Six U.S. Cities," *Urban Studies* 54, no. 7 (2017): 1685-1686.

[278] Neil Smith, "Comment on David Listokin, Barbara Listokin, and Michael Lahr's 'The Contributions of Historic Preservation to Housing and Economic Development': Historic Preservation in a Neoliberal Age," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 3 (1998): 481.

[279] Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan, 1686.

[280] Ibid.

[281] Ibid, 1674.

[282] Smith, 483.

tax credit was a circuitous approach to financing efforts such as affordable housing and that such efforts would be more effectively provided through direct subsidies from the federal government.[283] Koziol, similarly to Smith, argued that direct incentives, through public sector supports, could help financially support administrative and non-governmental preservation initiatives.[284] In short, the question here is not whether the historic tax credits provide help, it is about whether or not preservationists should rely on indirect incentives and private investors alone to solve issues of affordable housing and neglect of the historic built environment.

Given the aforementioned presence of a troubled system of privatist development incentives, we should be careful not to equate the inner workings of the preservation system with the representations of preservation found on the screen. Rarely do directors and cinematic professionals have detailed, direct knowledge of the inner workings of niche professional disciplines such as historic preservation. Furthermore, the representation of themes present in each film is determined by the vision of its director, as well as the budget, time, and place of its production. The term *historic preservation* is barely mentioned, if at all, across the twelve films examined. This does not negate, however, the fact that strong preservation themes are present in each film.

Since the populism present in the majority of the twelve films studied cannot be attributed to a directorial knowledge of historic preservation practices, another explanation for this populist rejection of privatism should be extolled as the underlying cause. One possible explanation can be analyzed from the writings of reporter Thomas Frank. While writing for *The Nation Magazine* in 2000, during a surge of retrospective interest in twentieth-century history, Frank argued that the 1990s saw a dramatic rise in what he called "market populism."[285] Frank described market populism as such, "that in addition to being mediums of exchange, markets are mediums of consent."[286] In short, market populism describes the phenomenon by which advertisers, producers, and content managers can exploit populist sentiments to make private profits, venerate capitalists, and memorialize entrepreneurs. Frank describes this further, asserting that Hollywood and Madison Avenue have always argued that they conform to public

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[283] Smith, 479.
[284] Koziol, 46.
[285] Thomas Frank, "The Rise of Market Populism," *The Nation*, Oct. 12, 2000, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/rise-market-populism/.
[286] Ibid.

wishes and that films, as well as ad campaigns, succeed based on their ability to conform to public taste. He goes on to argue that in the 1990s, a culture emerged that memorialized entrepreneurs as capitalists for the everyman. During this time, market populism ushered in a new sentiment that markets expressed the will of the people, and that any criticism of business was akin to a form of elitism. Additionally, market populism compounded the notion that any supporter of labor unions or Keynesianism was elitist since they advocated for the formation of a society without unregulated, market-oriented approaches. In *Barbershop*, *Two Weeks Notice*, and *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, key protagonists are either business owners or entrepreneurs. During at least one scene in each film, these same entrepreneurial protagonists openly flaunt their ability to capitalize on a resource for personal gain. In all three cases, those same protagonists are portrayed as charming and relatable, hence developing a cultural connection to the idea of market populism. Market populism as an economic phenomenon, however, pertains to the aforementioned method by which content creators manufacture populist messages to sell products and entertainment to a mass audience. Using Frank's economic understanding of market populism in the backdrop, the following section will expand on Baudrillard's concept of simulacra to better understand the mixed reality of representing preservation as a populist endeavor under a privatist system.

Given the dichotomy between the largely privatist mode of American preservation practice and the overarching populist oeuvre of twelve American preservation-themed films, Baudrillard's theories of simulacra are considerably constructive for understanding this phenomenon. Under Baudrillard's concept of simulacra, visual representations constitute a creation of reality organized around simulations, under which identities can be constructed through the use of images, codes, and models to orient how individuals perceive themselves in relation to economics, politics, sociality, and culture.[287] Furthermore, simulacra often constitute a false image, by which observers become so immersed in a constructed reality that they believe that false image to represent the real material structures and conditions of life. This phenomenon is often called hyperreality, or the moment when entertainment, information, and communication technologies provide experiences more intense than the scenes of everyday reality. With the twelve films examined, each rejection of privatism is a simulacrum perpetuating an anti-privatist hyperreality that bears little resemblance with the reality and real circumstances of the American

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[287] Kellner, "Jean Beaudrillard."

preservation system at large. This is not to say that privatism holds no presence in each film, but rather that preservation is represented as a noble anti-privatist cause beholden to the association, market-indifferent message of each film. Since historic preservation is not accurately represented for its real process, there is no basis for any of the twelve films to wholistically critique the preservation process writ large.

Since none of the twelve films examined exhibit preferences for the largely privatist mode of preservation practice, every film studied gives a relatively false and overwhelmingly populist impression of how historic preservation functions within American society. This is not to say that populist, essentialist, and entrepreneurialist modes of preservation have no presence within the American preservation system at large. Koziol has extensively cited methods by which activists, curators, and entrepreneurs have utilized the American preservation system for their own ends using the legal methods available. Rather, maintaining a largely populist image of preservationism helps engender a certain idea of preservationism that may act as a form of mass distraction from how preservation policy is typically utilized by private developers and real estate companies. Using the concept of market populism as an economic understanding, an overarching emphasis on populism and rejection of privatism may have more to do with the market potential of populism. In fact, the majority of the films in this study might be exhibiting populist themes because populist themes are good for business.

Populism has a history of being marketing and utilized as a thematic entertainment tool for business. In the 1920s, notable propagandist and public relations guru Edward Bernays used the theories of his uncle Sigmund Freud to find new methods for selling business products and manage public opinion through the careful manipulation of populist sentiments.[288] One of the most famous examples of Bernay's approaches came in 1928, with an American Tobacco Company press stunt calling for women to smoke Lucky Strike cigarettes, which were dubbed "torches of freedom" in nationally syndicated publications.[289] In this instance, Bernays used the popular desire of 1920s women to express themselves and reconfigured that desire as self-expression through the use of a commodifiable product. Similarly, populism could be used as a marketing tool to popularize stories with preservation themes. One of the most popular films of

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[288] Liz Franczak, "The Century of Spin," *The Baffler* March-April 2019, no. 44 (2019): 92-104.
[289] Amna Baghli, "Torches of Freedom and Gender Inequality," *Undergraduate Research Symposium* 59, University of Missouri St. Louis, Feminist, Gender and Sexuality Studies, 2021, 2-3.

the twelve films in this study, the 2002 romantic comedy *Two Weeks Notice*, uses such a ploy in its description of the film on the back of its DVD cover. The description reads, "Attorney Lucy Kelson wants to save the world, instead she's choosing ties and interviewing prospective girlfriends for her handsome and hapless billionaire boss George Wade."[290] Here, the active spin of market populism merges two characters representing populism as the character of Kelson and privatism as the character of Wade, both of which develop a literal romantic relationship with each other. Overall, the film had a clever romantic comedy marketing ploy, attracting not only high-income privateers but would-be populists as well. As a result, the film was incredibly popular. Out of all the films examined, *Two Weeks Notice* had the third-highest box office return out of the twelve films, at roughly 200 million dollars worldwide.[291]

Outside of the business marketability of populism, the filmic material culture we produce also can reflect larger economic, social, and ideological aspects of our popular culture.[292] Considering the prevalence of populist tendencies within this study, we can conclude that populism is more than a simple marketing ploy to sway the masses.[293] Instead, the overwhelming acceptance of populism and subsequent rejection of privatism can be read as a reflection of national desires to have systems that benefit regular working people over the interests of a distant elite.[294] This would be unsurprising considering that the American preservation system was given legal and institutional precedence in 1966, under the progressive, Keynesian guise of then-president Lyndon B. Johnson.[295] To understand the progressive, populist precedence of the preservation system, this study will next provide a brief overview of the American preservation system, its history, as well as its legal, regulatory, and administrative reach across multiple facets of American conservation and political economy.

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[290] *Two Weeks Notice*, directed by Marc Lawrence, (2009; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2002), DVD.
[291] "Two Weeks Notice," BoxOfficeMojo, IMDbPro, accessed April 2, 2022, https://www.boxofficemojo.com/release/rl1568048641/.
[292] Ian Hunter, "Cultural Studies: Art in Antiquity 2008 (Public)," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly, Visual Culture, JIAAW Workplace, Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and The Ancient World, Brown University, *Oxford Art Online*, 2008, accessed April 3, 2022, https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Joukowsky_Institute/courses/artinantiquity/7158.html.
[293] Aaron Lake Smith, "We Must Learn to Embrace Populism," *Jacobin Magazine*, Sept. 1, 2020, https://jacobinmag.com/2020/09/populism-thomas-frank-the-people-no-review.
[294] Thomas Frank, "The Pessimistic Style in American Politics," *Harper's Magazine*, May 2020, https://harpers.org/archive/2020/05/how-the-anti-populists-stopped-bernie-sanders/.
[295] Nancy K. Berlage and Dan K. Utley, "Creative Conservation: The Environmental Legacy of Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson," Center for Texas Public History, Department of History, San Marcos, TX: Texas State University, 2020, 47.

Overview of the American Preservation System

The American preservation movement began largely during the early nineteenth century when a variety of private citizens pushed for the preservation of seventeenth and eighteenth-century structures that carried national-patriotic significance.[296] Figures such as writer Washington Irving, botanist Peter Kalm, writer John Fanning Watson, and painter Charles Wilson Peale played a part in romanticizing the colonial history of the United States.[297] Already by 1789, organizations such as the Massachusetts Historical Society had formed to help preserve Philadelphia's Old State House. By 1816, the Old State House was rescued from demolition and purchased by the City of Pennsylvania from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Seventy-eight historical societies similar to Massachusetts were formed between 1789 and 1876. Restoration activities grew in popularity as well, starting in 1828 with Newport, Rhode Island's effort to save a historic 18th-century synagogue built by architect Peter Harrison. That same year, architect William Strickland built the current State House Tower in the Georgian style, known to be one of the first examples of an American architect building in a revivalist style.

By the mid-nineteenth century, preservation efforts increasingly focused on the national importance of architectural symbols emblematizing American patriotism. In 1850, lawmakers in the New York statehouse bought multiple buildings originally used by George Washington, including the Habsbrouck House in Newburgh, New York. In 1855, after a fire burned Princeton University's Nassau Hall, the site of the 1783 Continental Congress, the university trustees decided to restore the property due to its national importance. During that same decade, Washington's residence at Mount Vernon began to fall into decay, becoming a site pilgrimage by painters, engravers, and travelers alike.[298] After developers began to speculate on demolishing Mount Vernon to build a hotel, a group of preservation-minded women called the Mount Vernon Ladies Association organized to purchase the property to prevent further speculation.[299]

The efforts of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, headed by South Carolina socialite Ann Pamela Cunningham, became the template for future preservation efforts and laid the

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[296] William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*, Third Edition, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2006, 11-15.
[297] Ibid, 11-12.
[298] Ibid, 13.
[299] Ibid, 14-15.

foundations of the American preservation movement.[300] Later preservation efforts, such as the creation of Colonial Williamsburg, used the template of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association to guide their preservation efforts. Similar work was performed by Mrs. William Holstein in preserving Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, as well as her efforts to save the military headquarters of Andrew Jackson. Despite such efforts by private organizations, no national organization had grown to address growing preservation concerns across the country. Ann Pemala Cunningham typified the perspectives of private nineteenth-century preservationists, who believed that private citizens were better suited for preservation than that of the government.[301] Throughout the nineteenth century, this provincial view of preservationism was common. The provincial preservation efforts of these private individuals varied in nature, leading to the creation of historic shrines for international communities, ancestral homesteads as places of genealogical veneration, and house museums dedicated to the remembrance of "great men" considered important to local communities.[302] During the late nineteenth century, a variety of middle and upper-class Americans were beginning to build local preservation efforts to differentiate themselves from America's burgeoning immigrant communities. Such proto-nativist efforts engendered negative downsides to preservation practice, such as the tendency for house museums and historical societies to paint historic figures in a positive and uncontroversial light. This approach overwhelmingly legitimated the history of America's earliest European-American settler groups, such as the English and the Dutch.[303] Organizations such as Historic New England, the Essex Institute, and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities were formed to champion the early history of the English settlers. Such efforts were further heralded by figures such as William Sumner Appleton, a New England architectural historian from Boston who championed the campaign to preserve the Paul Revere House.[304] Toward the end of the nineteenth century, preservationists began to see the value in shifting away from the subjective approach of earlier societies, and more toward the intrinsic approach of appreciating architectural and material character.[305]

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[300] Ibid, 15.
[301] Ibid, 16.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid, 16-18.
[304] Ibid, 17.
[305] Ibid, 18.

Moving beyond patriotic or nationalistic preservation efforts, late nineteenth century preservationists began to advocate for architectural preservation for the sake of material qualities.[306] Much of the push for architectural preservation was driven by the writings of John Ruskin and William Morris, who both influenced a generation of American romanticists and preservationists to preserve buildings for their quaint architectural character. Interest in architectural character was spurred on by new architecture publications, such the *American Architecture and Building News* and *Century Magazine*, which curated intrigue around antiquated design forms, such as the Colonial. Notable designers, such as J. Cleveland Cady popularized interest in Dutch Colonial farmhouses after addressing the New York Society of Architects. Further revivalist attitudes were spurred on by figures such as John Calvin Stevens and Albert Winslow Cobb.[307] Gothic architecture was also popularized, mainly through the influence of the Cambridge Camden Society and the English Ecclesiologists of the Oxford Movement.

At the height of architectural interest in preservation during the 1890s, preservation activists began to advocate for conservation efforts, siting the national importance of open space.[308] Organizations such as the Trustees of Public Reservations and the English National Trust influenced a new generation of Americans to take up the cause of conservation in the interest of the public good.[309] Such efforts were championed by figures such as C.R. Ashbee, an English preservationist who envisioned the formation of an American equivalent to the English Trust. This public interest in the creation of a similar trust eventually led to the creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949.

Between 1890 and 1930, growing interest in preservation caught the eye of public officials as well as prominent business leaders, each of whom developed considerable interest in developing large sections of cities for the improvement of public health, architectural beautification, and civic pride.[310] One of the most important developments in the history of the preservation movement came in the 1920s, with the construction of Colonial Williamsburg.[311] Colonial Williamsburg was unlike any previous preservation endeavor because it attempted to

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[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid, 18-19.
[308] Ibid, 19.
[309] Ibid, 19-20.
[310] Ibid, 19-23.
[311] Ibid, 20.

restore an entire eighteenth-century town to its original condition from an associative period of significance. Efforts to create Colonial Williamsburg were spurred by local rector W.A.R. Goodwin, and financially supported by John D. Rockefeller Jr.[312] Other similarly large-scale private efforts were attempted at Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Michigan, where Henry Ford envisioned a living museum of American industry and innovation.[313] By 1931, the city of Charleston, South Carolina was eyeing the efforts at Williamsburg and Greenfield and became inspired to designate the first set of historic districts in the United States. From 1931 onward, Charleston set the tone for national efforts to designate local historic districts with legal preservation protections.[314] Further preservation protections were aided through the passing of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which gave the National Park Service the power to administer and organize parks, monuments, and historic sites across the United States.[315]

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the preservation movement expanded dramatically, bolstered by the confidence of a newly formed preservation non-profit organization.[316] By 1947, national efforts for preservation had pushed the National Council for Historic Sites (NCHS) into existence. The NCHS would become enormously influential in the creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The National Trust became the only national organization dedicated solely to the cause of preservation, with other major national organizations having dedicated minor efforts to the cause. Organizations with minor preservation outreach efforts included the American Institute of Architects, the American Society of Civil Engineers, the Society of Architectural Historians, and the Victorian Society in America.[317] During the 1950s, the National Trust expanded its reach, involving itself in preservation efforts from Virginia to Massachusetts, New Jersey, Alabama, New York, Pennsylvania, and California.[318]

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[312] Ibid, 20-21.
[313] Ibid, 22-23.
[314] Ibid.
[315] "Introduction," Historic Preservation, *National Park Service* online, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed Apr. 14, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservation/introduction.htm?fullweb=1; "Laws, Regulations, and Executive Orders Authorizing Historic Preservation," in *FS Historic Preservation Activities Authorized by the Forest Service Manual 2300*, Chapter 2360, Heritage Program Managment, Northern Region, Region 1, U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Deaprtment of Agriculture, 2008.
[316] Murtagh, 25.
[317] Ibid, 26.
[318] Ibid, 27-30.

By the 1960s, the preservation movement had grown into a formidable national force for protecting historic resources facing demolition as a result of urban renewal projects and interstate highway programs.[319] From 1965 to 1966, Lady Bird Johnson helped popularize the idea of beautifying and improving cities, as well as the public virtues of preservation, through the publication of her book *With Heritage So Rich*.[320] Using the template of *With Heritage So Rich*, Johnson's government drafted up a plan for comprehensive preservation based on the precedent outlined in Lady Bird's book.[321] One of the chief concerns cited was the destruction of America's towns and cities, and what the future of America would look like if no historic architecture helped orient society to the past.

In response to a growing outcry over the continued destruction of historic architecture nationwide, the federal government passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, the first comprehensive preservation law in the history of the United States. The act helped establish permanent institutions with a clearly defined process for carrying out preservation efforts on a federal level, intending to protect the historical and cultural foundations of the United States.[322] The NHPA officially gave the Secretary of the Interior the power to authorize the designation of historic sites.[323] To carry out the duties of the job, the interior department was given a new set of federal guidelines, known as the Secretary of the Interiors' Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.[324] Additionally, the NHPA placed the National Park Service in charge of administering national historic sites through the Cultural Resource Center.[325] The NHPA was also responsible for making the National Trust an official organization tasked with administering federal funds for national preservation efforts.[326] In a short time, the nationwide membership of the National Trust rose from 20,000 to over 100,000 members.[327] In the aftermath of the NHPA passing, multiple major national preservation programs sprung up to take

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[319] Ibid, 48.
[320] Ibid, 49.
[321] Ibid, 51.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Berlage, 47.
[324] Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards For The Treatment Of Historic Properties With Guidlines For Preserving, Rehabilitating, Resotring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, Technical Preservation Services, National Park Service, Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995, 2017, vii.
[325] Berlage, 47.
[326] Murtagh, 31.
[327] Ibid.

advantage of federal funds and historic designation efforts, including the Main Street, Rural Conservation, Neighborhood, and Maritime Preservation programs.[328] The NHPA also set a new legal precedent for national preservation efforts, creating the extensive litigical process for Sections 2, 106, 108, and 110 of the United States Law Code, as well as the regulatory provisions of 36 CFR Part 800.[329] These provisions became the legal process for the vast majority of national efforts concerning historic preservation, each of which contributes to the field of cultural resource management. The regulatory process for Section 106 of the NHPA is considered to be the bread and butter of the preservation field since much of the preservation field revolves around regulatory considerations under the Section 106 review process. The NHPA also officially created the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, as well as the National Register of Historic Places, which is the official list of nationally significant historic places considered worthy of preservation.[330]

The regulatory framework of preservation expanded even further with the passage of the 1966 Department of Transportation Act (DOTA), also signed into law by Lyndon Johnson as part of the Great Society initiative.[331] The Great Society encompassed a wide range of social programs inspired by the idealistic vision of the Kennedy administration.[332] As part of DOTA, under a legal provision known as Section 4(f), the federal government helped create legal protection for natural and historic resources potentially harmed in the process of highway construction.[333] Similar to Section 106, Section 4(f) is considered the bread and butter of the transportation branch of the preservation field, since an extensive amount of regulatory consideration revolves around the environmental review process for Section 4(f).

Between DOTA and the NHPA, historic survey work could now be conducted within the framework of a federally standardized regulatory process. Historic survey work had already been conducted extensively using the methods standardized by the Historic American Buildings

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[328] Ibid, 32.

[329] "National Historic Preservation Act of 1966," National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Resources, *National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers* online, accessed Apr. 14, 2022, https://ncshpo.org/resources/national-historic-preservation-act-of-1966/#:~:text=The%20Historic%20Preservation%20Act%20(abridged)&text=Requires%20federal%20agencies%20to%20take,and%20resolving%20those%20adverse%20effects.

[330] Murtagh, 51, 57-58.

[331] Ibid, 49.

[332] Ibid.

[333] Ibid, 53.

Survey (HABS) program in 1933.[334] Following the passage of the NHPA, the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) was established in 1969 to further survey documentation efforts outside of the architecture field. Additionally, the Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS) would also be established in 2000 to document America's historic landscapes. Each of these standardized survey programs helped further document historic resources using the existing regulatory framework set forth by NHPA and DOTA, along with earlier conservation legislation, such as the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the Antiquities Act of 1906.[335] Later regulatory preservation framework would be established under the environmental reforms of Richard Nixon, beginning with the creation of crucially important environmental provisions under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, followed by the National Environmental Act (NEA) of 1970.[336] More regulatory preservation considerations were provided in the coming years for Native Americans, particularly with the creation of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGRPA) of 1990.[337]

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[334] Ibid, 41.
[335] Ibid, 43-44, 49.
[336] Ibid, 58, 166.
[337] Ibid, 143.

Van Ness Avenue Historic Context

Joe Talbot and Jimmie Fails' 2019 film *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* is filmed primarily at the site of San Francisco's historic John Coop House on Van Ness Avenue in the Mission District.[338] The house itself is located at 959 South Van Ness, in the center of the Mission District.[339] As of 2008, the property was included in a reconnaissance-level survey provided by the Bay Area architectural firm Page and Turnbull.[340] According to Page and Turnbull, the John Coop House was built in 1889 and is currently situated between 20th and 21st Streets along South Van Ness Avenue.[341] The house is a two and a half story, wood-frame building designed in a distinctively ornate Queen Anne style.[342] The Coop House was originally constructed as a single-family residence but served a multi-family function as of 2008. The building holds a rectangular plan and is clad in channeled wood-drop siding on the ground floor, in addition to staggered wood shingles on the second floor, and fishscale wood shingles on the gable end as well as the turret. The building is also capped by a cross-gable roof, and the roof of the turret is layered with coursed and fishscale wood shingles. While the foundation is not visible, the building retains its original grade and setback. The front of the house has two added garages with paneled wood rollup doors, in addition to a metal security gate, a denticulated pediment, and roof decks with ornamental fences in the front yard setback. Other structural features include a west-facing primary facade with two structural bays, a main entry along the north structural bay, a pair of paneled wood doors with glazed transom and pilaster surrounds, an entry porch with an arched portico and turn posts, a wood balustrade, paneling, applied wood ornamentation, a sculpted frieze with nailhead moldings, a denticulated cornice, a bracket with a

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[338] Julian Mark, "Living in the Past: 'The Last Black Man in San Francisco' Mansion is My Home," *Mission Local* (San Francisco, CA), July 12, 2019, https://missionlocal.org/2019/07/residing-in-the-past-a-trip-into-the-last-black-man-in-san-francisco-mansion/.

[339] Ibid.

[340] "959 South Van Ness," Primary Record, Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, CA: State of California Resources Agency, DPR 523 A-L (1/95), Page and Turnbull, 2008, 1-3, https://sfplanninggis.s3.amazonaws.com/smission/Docs/3611%20022.pdf.

[341] Ibid, 1.

[342] Ibid.

drop pendant, and a triangular pediment.[343] Additionally, the building boasts an art glass window with molded portico surrounds, ground-floor fenestration of double-hung wood sash windows, a molded bay with a molded circular spandrel pattern, dentils, nailhead moldings, extended brackets, and denticulated, pedimented cornice.

The Coop House was built by prominent San Francisco master architect Henry Geilfuss for local businessman John Coop, who was the owner of a planing mill located south of Market Street.[344] According to the late architectural historian Susan Dinkelspiel Cerny, Coop had the house designed to show off his products, including studs, buttons, sunbursts, overlapping rings, curvilinear brackets, turned posts, molded dentils, decorative shingles, and plaster ornament jostles.[345] Geilfuss was notable for designing a variety of notable buildings in San Francisco, including the Cudahy Meat Packing Plant at 55 Union Street, a set of Victorian storefronts and flats at 1413-1419 Valencia Street, an ornate Italianate home at 102 Guerrero Street, and St. Mark's Lutheran Church at 1111 O'Farrell Street.[346] According to a recent National Register nomination for the home of Geilfuss, the architect built between 200 and 500 buildings from the late 1870s to the mid-1910s.[347] This sweep of building activity made Geilfuss one of the most prolific architects of San Francisco during the height of the Gilded Age.[348] Geilfuss was born in Thurin, Germany in 1850 and developed his architectural skills from a variety of schools in Berlin, Weimar, and Erfurt.[349] While in Berlin and Schlessing, Geilfuss worked for the railroad industry constructing bridges and heavy masonry buildings.[350] By 1876, Geilfuss left Germany for San Francisco, where he worked as a draughtsman for two years before beginning his work as an architect. By 1879, Geilfuss opened up his architectural practice, centered out of his offices on Kearney Street. By the year 1889, Geilfuss was designing the John Coop House out of his offices at 33 Kearney Street. During his long career, Geilfuss constructed other notable Italianates and Stick-style homes in the 1880s and 1890s, including the William Westerfield

[343] Ibid, 2.

[344] Susan Dinkelspiel Cerny, *An Architectural Guidebook to San Francisco and the Bay Area*, Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2007, 85.

[345] Ibid.

[346] Ibid, 38, 47, 80, 83.

[347] Johanna Street, "Geilfus, Henry, House," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, NPS Form 10-900, OMB no. 1024-0018, 2015, 2016, Section 8, 14, https://commissions.sfplanning.org/hpcpackets/2017003077OTH_811%20Treat_HPC%2004.19.2017.pdf.

[348] Ibid.

[349] Ibid, Section 8, 13.

[350] Ibid.

House at 1198 Fulton Street, the South San Francisco Opera House at 4701-4705 Third Street, and the Brune-Reutlinger House at 824 Grove Street.[351]

To understand the historic development of the area's built environment, it will be necessary to understand the history of the John Coop House within the framework of a recent South Mission Historic Resources Survey produced by the City of San Francisco.[352] This recent study chronicles the history of Shotwell Street between 20th and 25th Street, which sits one street to the east of Van Ness Avenue where the Coop House is located. The study even declared the Coop House as "one of San Francisco's most dramatic Queen Anne-style mansions."[353] Since this five-block section of Shotwell Street is so close to the Coop House, this history is particularly useful.

The current north-south area of the central Mission District, between 20th and 25th Street, resembled an ideal late-nineteenth-century suburban neighborhood.[354] The neighborhood was built with predominantly high-style architecture and detached, single-family properties for the nineteenth-century middle-class. This corridor was home to a streetcar line that ran along Howard Street, renamed Van Ness Avenue some years later. As a result of this streetcar line, as well as another that ran along Folsom Street, the area along Van Ness developed as one of the earliest residential neighborhoods in the Mission District. The area is comprised of largely Italianate and Greek Revival homes dating from 1865 to 1905. Additionally, the area is comprised of extravagant townhomes, flats, and residences dating from the 1870s to 1905.[355] At the time, South Van Ness Avenue, then Howard Street, was referred to as "mansion row," while portions of Folsom Street were also revered as prestigious.

Between the 1850s and the early 1860s, this area of South Van Ness Avenue was occupied primarily by racetracks, with the northern portion dedicated to the Union Race Course. The racetrack itself was renovated in 1862 and renamed William Trotters Park. While the racetrack thrived for a short time, land speculation in the area drove the park to close in 1863. A

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[351] Ibid, Section 8, 15.

[352] "Central Mission Shotwell Street," Historic District Description, South Mission Historic Resources Survey, City and County of San Francisco Planning Department, Eastern Neighborhoods Mission Area Plan, Central Mission Shotwell Street Historic District, San Francisco, CA: City of San Francisco, 2010, 1. https://sfplanninggis.s3.amazonaws.com/smission/historicd_form/Central_Mission_Shotwell_Street_comp.pdf.

[353] Ibid, 3.

[354] Ibid, 1.

[355] Ibid, 2.

similar fate came upon the Pioneer Race Track to the south, where owner George Treat, an abolitionist and Civil War veteran, was forced to sell the racetrack in 1864. Between 1863 and 1864, the area was bisected by the construction of the San Francisco-San Jose Railroad, later to become the Southern Pacific Railroad.[356] This bisection of the street structure between 23rd and 24th Streets would stay in place until the 1940s when the right-of-way access to the railroad was abandoned.

Shortly afterward the construction of the railroad in 1864, two horse-drawn streetcar lines were set up along Folsom and Howard Streets. These streetcar lines enabled the initial development of residential suburbs in the area. The land once associated with both racetracks was then subdivided, beginning the first wave of residential construction in the Mission District.[357] During the 1880s and 1890s, improvements in transit service, including the introduction of electric streetcars, enabled further residential development throughout the Mission District. As the neighborhood grew, Italianate and Greek Revival residences became the dominant style of architecture present between 20th and 25th Streets. Other late nineteenth century styles of architecture are also present in the area, such as Stick style, Mediterranean Revival, Mission Revival, Edwardian, Exotic Revival, Eastlake, and Classical Revival.[358]

According to the City of San Francisco Planning Department, the history of the Mission District is generally associated with nine distinct historic eras.[359] Thus far the majority of the history discussed has been from the Gilded Age period, from roughly 1864 to 1906.[360] Eight other major historic eras describe the overall history of the area. The earliest period is known as the Native American period, which dates from before the year 1776.[361] This period was characterized by widespread migration of the ancestors of modern-day native nations peoples

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[356] Ibid, 4.

[357] Ibid, 3.

[358] Ibid, 6-10.
This includes a list of properties compiled by the San Francisco Planning Department. The page numbers do not directly correspond with what is written on the document, because the list compiled has its own page numbering from one to five that is separate from the written report. However, the list does comprise of pages six through ten found within the document as a whole.

[359] Matt Weintraub, Dean Macris, Neil Hart, and Mark Luellen, *City Within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District*, City and County of San Francsico Planning Department, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC: National Parks Service, 2007, 10, http://www.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/Mission_District_context_111607%20(2).pdf.

[360] Ibid, 24-41.

[361] Ibid, 11.

from Northeast Asia along the Bering Strait roughly 20,000 years ago.[362] Approximately 5,000 years ago, a tribe named the Yeluma arrived in the San Francisco peninsula. Though little is known of the Yeluma people, they were coastal people who constructed boats for travel and sustained themselves through the use of riparian resources. The area now known as the Mission District was initially a wide valley floor with seasonal creeks, freshwater lagoons, and saltwater marshes. Each of these natural features allowed the Yeluma people to fish, hunt waterfowl, and capture shellfish. Of all the tribes and native nations in the bay area, the Yeluma had the scarcest resources available of any surrounding group. The Yeluma presence would be severely diminished upon the arrival of Europeans, who resettled the Yeluma to mission settlements elsewhere in the Bay Area. Their lands were eventually compartmentalized and converted into farms, ranches, and settlements for the incoming Spaniards. Today, a small number of Yeluma continue to reside in San Francisco, while the vast majority moved or were relocated to other parts of the Western United States.

From 1776 onward, a variety of other eras helped formulate the character of San Francisco, as well as the Mission District itself. This includes the formative era of the Spanish Mission, which lasted from 1776 to 1834.[363] During this period, Spanish explorers led by Juan Batista de Anza landed in the San Francisco peninsula, on a grassy site of what would one day become the Mission District. After exploring what is now known as the Bernal Gap, explorers encouraged a party of settlers, including Franciscan priests to make the journey up to the area. By June 29th, 1776, the chapel of the Mission San Francisco de Asis was established by fathers Francisco Palou and Pedro Cambon, who each sought to expand efforts at converting the nearby natives. The soldiers, meanwhile, proceeded to move northward, where they formed the presidio as a military outpost. By the 1780s, the Franciscan priests were successful in converting over one thousand natives, who acted as "neophytes" living and working at the mission.[364] Today the chapel of Mission San Francisco de Asis stands as the oldest building in San Francisco, often referred to as Mission Dolores for its proximity to Sixteenth and Dolores Streets. While many of the missions thrived in the late eighteenth century, due to the accessible trade networks set up under the El Camino Real, or King's Road, European diseases amongst the natives and limited

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362 Ibid.
363 Ibid, 12.
364 Ibid.

support from the crumbling Spanish empire left the mission in dire straits by the early nineteenth century.[365]

Upon the inception of the Mexican Revolution in 1814, the next era brought considerable changes to the area. During the era of the Mexcian Ranchos, from 1834 to 1848, the newly-formed Mexican government ordered the secularization of the missions.[366] By secularizing the missions, the Mexican government had effectively reduced the mission churches to parishes, which freed the neophytes and opened up the possibility for land speculation. Additionally, the Mexican government decided to lift the previous Spanish ban on foreign trade which opened up extensive commercial development in the area. During the duration of the 1840s and 1850s, the Mexican government conferred a vast amount of land in the Bay Area for ranching, or "rancho" tracts, spurring the development of agriculture throughout the area.[367] Further expansion of agriculture, land speculation, and commercial sectors allowed for the heavy circulation of goods along the El Camino Real.[368] Since the El Camino Real ran right through the Mission District, this meant that the current area of Van Ness Avenue was bustling with commercial activity during the height of the Mexican Rancho period.

Following the Mexican Rancho period, the Mission District saw enormous growth due to the prominence of the Gold Rush, which spurred thousands to flock to Califonia in search of fortunes.[369] This, of course, would not have been possible without the defeat of Mexico toward the end of the Mexican-American War, and the subsequent annexation of California by the United States.[370] The growth that coincided with the Settlement Period, from 1848 to 1864, was marked by haphazard development, while the waterfront commercial areas expanded rapidly to accommodate shipping networks. By 1850, the first San Francisco charter established the city's initial boundaries, which separated the Mission Dolores area from incorporation.[371] Over the coming decade, the Mission Street was expanded beyond Sixteenth Street, allowing for the eventual residential growth during the previously aforementioned Gilded Age development

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[365] Ibid, 13.
[366] Ibid, 15.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Ibid, 16.
[369] Ibid, 18.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Ibid, 18-19.

phase, which lasted from roughly 1864 to 1904.[372] During the Gilded Age period, San Francisco experienced one of the biggest booms of any city in the country, growing from 149,000 residents in 1870 to 343,000 residents by the turn of the century.[373] This population boom put San Francisco in the ranking of America's top ten biggest cities. Between 1880 and 1900, the Mission District grew by roughly 150 percent, with roughly 30 percent of the population comprising working-class immigrants that contributed their hands-on labor to survive.[374] Immigrants to the Mission District included a sizable number of Irish, German, Russian, English, Scottish, and Scandinavians, in addition to a small group of Chinese and Peruvian residents.[375] Chinese immigration began to fade in the aftermath of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which established a ten-year ban on Chinese laborers immigrating to the United States.[376]

1906 would prove to be a defining year for the City of San Francisco.[377] On April 18th of 1906, two massive geologic along the San Andreas Fault slipped and lurched by thirteen feet. The shock that ensued caused a 7.8 Richter scale earthquake that lasted close to one minute. This earthquake, along with a subsequent fire, devastated the City of San Francisco and caused untold damage across the entirety of the Bay Area. In the ensuing ten years, the city made dramatic efforts to rebuild by providing adequate housing for roughly 200,000 residents who had lost their homes as a result of the quake.[378] By 1915, after extensive reconstruction efforts, the city celebrated its renewed prosperity with the Panama Pacific Exposition.[379] The exposition marked the end of the Reconstruction Era, which lasted from 1906 to 1915 and had seen a renewed growth in development throughout the Mission District. By 1915, the Mission District had all of its land developed, renewing the same level of development that existed before the earthquake. Accordingly, the Reconstruction Era saw a large surge of activity in organized labor groups, many of whom spurred on the emergence of America's bloodiest transportation conflict, known as the Streetcar Strike of 1907.[380] Fraternal and religious groups in the Mission District provided

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[372] Ibid, 24-41.
[373] Ibid, 24.
[374] Ibid, 29.
[375] Ibid, 29.
[376] "Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)," Home, Milestone Documents, National Archives, U.S. National Archives online, last updated Feb. 17, 2022, accessed Apr. 2, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/chinese-exclusion-act.
[377] Weintraub, Macris, Hart, and Luellen, 42.
[378] Ibid, 45-50.
[379] Ibid, 49.
[380] Ibid, 50.

support for workers during their collective unionization and strike efforts.[381] Such organizations included the Freemasons, the Odd Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias, also known as the Woodsmen of the World.[382]

The next formative era for the Mission District, as well as San Francisco, was the Modern City Building Era which lasted from roughly 1915 to 1943.[383] During this period, San Francisco saw another enormous boom in population, growing from 417,000 residents in 1910 to 634,000 residents by 1930. During this population boom, the Mission District saw relatively little change to its residential built environment, while the growth of its transportation networks and industrial capabilities saw a dramatic upsurge.[384] Automobile facilities, movie theaters, early highways, recreation areas, and industrial parks all contributed to a large-sclae, mixed-use neighborhood that incorporated Gilded Age residential architecture with twentieth-century features.[385] By the 1940s, railroad service through the Mission District had come to a screeching halt, leaving much of the city dependant on the remaining streetcar network, as well as automobile transport.[386]

Once the United States became involved in World War II, the industrial, spatial, and cultural landscape of San Francisco underwent pivotal changes. This brought about a new era for the city, known as the Repopulation and Renewal Era, which lasted roughly from 1943 to 1972.[387] It was during this time that the vast majority of San Francisco's African-American population came to the city looking for work in a variety of sectors, including the city's growing shipyards.[388] In 1940, San Francisco's African-American population was a little under 5,000.[389] Between 1941 and 1945, San Francisco saw an influx of 27,000 African-Americans, largely from Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma.[390] Along with the African-American influx, San

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[381] Ibid, 50-51.

[382] Ibid, 51.

[383] Ibid, 58.

[384] Ibid, 59.

[385] Ibid, 58.

[386] Ibid, 59.

[387] Ibid, 64.

[388] Tim Kelly and Alfred Williams, *African-American Citywide Historic Context Statement*, City and County of San Francisco, Tim Kelly Consulting, The Alfred Williams Consultancy, VerPlanck Historic Preservation Consulting, San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Planning Department, 2016, 1, https://default.sfplanning.org/Preservation/african_american_HCS/AfricanAmericanHistoricContextStatement_Draft_Jan2016.pdf.

[389] Ibid, 79.

[390] Ibid, 80.

Francisco's overall population grew from 634,536 in 1941 to 827,400 by 1945.[391] In other words, although African-Americans came in large numbers, their presence was dwarfed by other groups coming to San Francisco. As a result of this rapid influx, housing shortages were common throughout the city.[392] Even in areas of the city that were building large-scale wartime housing, such as Hunter's Point, recruitment for wartime shipyard workers was temporarily halted in 1943 due to the city running out of housing.[393] Before the war, African-Americans were only able to settle in neighborhoods without racial covenants and deed restrictions limiting their access to housing.[394] The rapid influx of African-Americans to the city inflamed racist attitudes within the city, making it even harder for African-Americans to find adequate housing in areas they had previously resided with minimal difficulty.[395] Restrictive covenants that had previously been used to restrict Asian immigrants on the west side of the city were now being used by many neighborhoods to explicitly prohibit African-Americans from renting or buying real estate.[396] Despite these structural barriers, African-Americans created vibrant communities out of places they could cultivate in Hunter's Point as well as the Mission District.[397]

After World War II, like the rest of the United States, San Francisco experienced an enormous economic boom driven by returning veterans, government stimulus, and a growing automobile infrastructure that pushed economic growth out into housing development on the edges of American urban metropolitan areas.[398] As a result of this dramatic growth, the city's older urban core neighborhoods, including the Mission District, saw an economic decline. After reaching a high point in 1950, at 775,000 residents, by 1970 the city has declined to 716,000 residents. The 1950s and 1960s were marked by a dramatic exodus of the growing middle-class to the outlying urban fringe, aided by the eventual construction of the interstate highway system between the 1950s and the 1970s. Many of the middle-class families that benefited from the postwar boom and subsequent suburbanization were European-Americans who had access to the benefits of the G.I. Bill and were unaffected by the discriminatory loan practices of the Federal

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[391] Ibid.
[392] Ibid, 81-82.
[393] Ibid.
[394] Ibid, 82.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid, 83.
[397] Ibid, 94-95, 122.
[398] Weintraub, Macris, Hart, and Luellen, 64.

Housing Administration.[399] Unfortunately for Black residents of San Francisco, this meant that housing could only be obtained where there were limited or no restrictive covenants, along with neighborhoods that had been redlined by the Homeowners Loan Corporation (HOLC) beginning in the 1930s.[400]

The large-scale factors associated with economic conditions of this era led to a large influx of African-Americans to the Mission District between 1943 and 1972.[401] As previously mentioned, African-American residents came to San Francisco from the southeastern United States.[402] This influx of African-Americans was followed by a wave of Latin-American immigrants in the 1950s, as well as Asian immigrants in the 1960s. During the rise of the counterculture in the 1960s and 1970s, the area also saw a sizable influx of artists, bohemians, and students. In tandem with the socio-cultural shifts in demographics and the economic decline of the area, the city of San Francisco participated in a localized version of urban renewal, a forceful response to the perceived blight that encouraged the demolition and redevelopment of historic urban core neighborhoods for high-rise housing complexes. In 1938 the city created the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) to encourage high-density, low-income housing projects. By 1948 the city established the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA), which was tasked with demolishing and redeveloping entire neighborhoods to build high-density, low-income housing projects. Such efforts were attempted in the Mission District but were ultimately stopped by considerable community opposition. Despite victories against destructive urban renewal efforts, automobile transit had become the main mode of transportation for the vast majority of residents living in the Mission District. Several major freeways were constructed on the edges of the Mission District during this period, including the construction of the Bayshore Freeway in 1955, as well as subsequent construction of the Central Freeway in 1959.

The Mission District underwent another major period of development following the end of the postwar period. This era, called the Metropolitan Crossroads Era, encompasses the period from 1972 to the present day.[403] The year 1972 brought the introduction of the Bay Area Rapid

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[399] Ibid, 64; Kelly and Williams, 91.

[400] Susana Guerrero, "How Bay Area Maps Drawn 80 Years Ago Still Impact Residents' Health," News, *SFGate* online (San Francisco, CA), June 3, 2019, last updated June 4, 2019, https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/bay-area-redlining-maps-asthma-health-oakland-sf-13923112.php.

[401] Weintraub, Macris, Hart, and Luellen, 64.

[402] Ibid.

[403] Ibid, 69.

Transit System (BART) to the Mission District, which allowed residents of the area to travel to and from the Mission District to other parts of the Bay Area transit network without reliance on automobile transport. The introduction of BART allowed for further reinvestment in previously neglected urban core neighborhoods throughout the city, including the Mission District. With growing disinterest in suburban development, the public and private sectors sought to reinvigorate interest in urban core neighborhoods as an effort of economic revitalization. This included new historic preservation protections, as well as the construction of contextual housing complexes by the SFHA. Contextual housing complexes began to replace already-faltering high-rise complexes constructed during the 1950s and 1960s. Such efforts led to fragile economic stability within the area, compounded with a dramatic influx of artists and young affluent gay men. As the Mission District grew in popularity, cafes, arthouses, independent theaters, and bookstores sprung up around the area. These new locations of creative integration allowed for the outgrowth of a vibrant lesbian and women's culture to sprout within the Mission alongside longtime African-American, Latin-American, and Asian-American communities. The area soon became well-known for its art murals, in which local artists decorated the Mission's alleyways and public buildings with graffiti and paint to accentuate the neighborhood's vibrant cultural character.

As a result of growing cultural and economic investment in the Mission District, a sizable number of African-Americans, Latin-Americans, and Asian-Americans have been priced out of their longtime neighborhoods and residences. During the 1970s, roughly 10,000 African-Americans decided to leave San Francisco.[404] This early exodus was marked by redevelopment that reduced the number of low-rent and reduced-price housing in the area. Additionally, the growth of the Black middle classes following the Civil Rights Act allowed for more African-American residents to seek housing in suburbs only previously available to the majority of white residents. This, however, did not mean that prosperity was shared equally in the community. As a result of neoliberal labor-gutting practices, the Port of San Francisco began laying off thousands of unionized workers, including many longshoremen that worked on the docks. This had a devastating effect on the Black community since many Black longshoremen who worked on the waterfront were left with limited opportunities to sustain themselves.[405] Since the 1980s,

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[404] Kelly and Williams, 162.
[405] Ibid, 163.

the African-American population of the city has continued to decline. Between 1980 and 2010, as the result of revitalization efforts spurred by private development, San Francisco's African-American population has declined by 24.8 percent.[406] The largest exodus of African-Americans occurred during the 1980s, when 10.9 percent of the population left due to rising housing prices, as well as the crime and turmoil of the crack-cocaine epidemic ravaged San Francisco and the United States at large.[407] In short, the decline of unions, the influx of crack cocaine, the rising prices due to affluent homebuyers in the Mission District, and the growth of the Black middle class, as well as the subsequent housing access granted after the Civil Rights Act had created conditions that effectively changed the socio-cultural makeup of the Black community in San Francisco. This effect was particularly evident in areas such as the Mission District and Hunter's Point, where African-American San Franciscans had lived for decades following World War II. While much of the African-American community in the Mission District has seen a dramatic decline in its African-American population, a sizable African-American community has continued to remain steadfast in Hunter's Point.[408] As of 2010, Hunter's Point sometimes referred to as "Bayview," had the highest concentration of African-Americans of any neighborhood in San Francisco, at roughly 32 percent of the neighborhood population.[409] The neighborhood of Bayview-Hunter's Point has become a flashpoint for environmental advocacy. Local advocates have argued that more considerable effort should be put toward preserving the African-American community in Hunter's Point while mitigating the longtime environmental hazards of chemical manufacturing and waste.[410]

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[406] Ibid, 162.
The 24.8 percent was calculated based on population decline totals detailed in the Kelly and Williams historic context.
[407] Ibid, 162-163.
[408] Ibid, 163-167.
[409] Ibid, 165.
[410] Adam Brinklow, "The Case For (and Against) Housing at Hunter's Point," Real Estate, *SFGate* online (San Francisco, CA), Mar. 29, 2021, last updated June 2, 2021, https://www.sfgate.com/realestate/article/housing-Hunters-point-shipyard-candlestick-sf-16061718.php.

Formal Analysis

        As mentioned in prior chapters, *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* was determined to exhibit preservation through the lens of populism. According to Koziol, populism "holds that value resides in a relationship between artifact and beholder and cannot or should not be subjected to market forces."[411] To establish that this film showcases a populist simulacrum, this study must additionally define simulacra as previously mentioned. According to Baudrillard, a simulacrum is present when signifiers become detached from the objects they signify.[412] Simulacra, as stated before, constitutes a copy or representation of something.[413] Baudrillard then expands on this definition to state that when society began to organize around simulations, identities could be constructed through the use of images, codes, and models to orient how individuals perceive themselves in relation to others.[414] Since *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* does not reflect the dominant privatist mode of the American preservation system, the film effectively acts as a populist simulacrum informed by the previously stated history of San Francisco's Mission District. One of the best ways to understand a film's meaning is through an examination of formal elements that constitute the composition of a film in its totality. Formal elements can include aspects such as framing, lighting, angles, movement, and editing.[415] In addition to these formal elements, dialogue can be used to carry meaning through the language presented by characters. In short, meaning can be understood through dialogue and editing techniques.

        One of the principal formal elements that can help accentuate meaning are close-ups.[416] When taking up the majority of the frame, they typically highlight emotions accentuated by facial expressions, body parts, or objects. Film viewers are encouraged to recognize character emotions or hone their attention on thematic elements. One such example presents itself early in *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*. Toward the beginning of the film, as Jimmie Fails skates

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[411] Koziol, 43.

[412] Waller, 14:00.

[413] Ibid, 13:50.

[414] Kellner, "Jean Beaudrillard."

[415] "Formal Elements of Film," The Writing Center, Anschutz Medical Campus, University of Colorado Denver, Denver, CO: University of Colorado Denver, 2014, accessed Apr. 14, 2022, https://clas.ucdenver.edu/writing-center/sites/default/files/attached-files/formal_elements_of_film_chart.pdf.

[416] Ibid.

his way through the streets of San Francisco, the preacher continues on his thematic sermon. During the sermon, the preacher utters, "we built them, we are these homes, their eyes, their pointed brims, we move as they move, our sweat-soaked in the wood, gilded in our image, this is our home, our home, our home."[417] The preacher says "their eyes," a close-up of Jimmie Fails' eyes, then cuts to a zoom close-up of the two attic windows at the top of the Coop House. Here, director Joe Talbot makes a dramatic statement that Jimmie's eyes are the two windows at the top of the house. The preacher further accentuates the meaning by stating, quite literally, "we are these homes."[418] In effect, this sequence of close-ups with the preacher's sermon carries a deep message that the intrinsic materiality of the homes are intimately connected with the identity of Jimmie himself, as well as the Black community at large. This speaks to a larger disconnect that often happens within the preservation field, the materiality of the built environment is valued over the cultural communities that inhabit the built environment. While there are methods to advance preservation protections for cultural communities using local ordinances, state protections, or the National Register nomination system, the majority of preservation practice has stayed largely focused on intrinsic, architectural, and material significance since the American preservation field emerged in the 1960s. Close-up accentuations continue beyond the eyes. When the preacher says "their pointed brims," we see a close-up of Jimmie's black beanie which then cuts to a zoom close up of the Coop House turret tip.[419] As the preacher says "our sweat soaked in the wood," we see a close-up of sweat on Jimmie's face, cut to a close-up of the wood shingles on the exterior of the Coop House, which are dripping with rainwater.[420] Finally, when the preacher says "gilded in our image," we see a close-up of Jimmie's gold chain dangling from his neck, cut to a close up of the Coop House's gold-painted, exterior ornamental woodwork.[421] By emphasizing sweat and materiality, this audiovisual combination communicates that cultural communities define such neighborhoods, and have worked incredibly hard to build and sustain those communities through difficult circumstances. Furthermore, by emphasizing the phrase "gilded in our image" alongside the necklace and wood trim, the film is making a gesture that Black cultural identity and experience are equally, if not more important than the Gilded Age

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[417] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 5:30-6:00.
[418] Ibid.
[419] Ibid, 5:50.
[420] Ibid, 5:55.
[421] Ibid, 6:00.

architectural significance of the Coop House. In other words, this sequence marks how cultural experience and architectural materiality can become equally significant parts of one wholistic entity. A sequence like this also lends further prevalence to the theme of populism, because it actively elevates a cultural group in relation to a resource with total disregard for any monetary value.

Early on in the film, another close-up accentuates similar populist themes. Roughly twenty minutes into the film, Bobby picks up Jimmie and Mont from the bus stop.[422] As Bobby drives through San Francisco with Mont and Jimmie looking at Bobby's lights and clothes dangling from the interior of the car, Bobby stops the car while stuck in traffic and lecturing Jimmie about seeing his father more.[423] When Bobby first pulls up to the site, a close-up highlights Jimmie's face. While trying to tune out Bobby's blabbering, Jimmie, with a dejected expression, looks off to the right toward a construction site. Next, a long shot establishes what Jimmie sees, a large tarp-covered chain-link fence with smoke rising and silhouettes of workers hammering away. The shot is also framed with a cigar-smoking, helmet-wearing White construction worker standing guard by the fence. Just as the fence comes into frame, Jimmie says, "hey, wasn't that the Savoy House?"[424] Here we are encouraged to not only look at the construction site from Jimmie's perspective, we are encouraged to empathize with Jimmie by hearing the story of the Savoy House. Right after Jimmie's question, Bobby says, "sure was."[425] Just then, the frame cuts to a medium three-shot of Jimmie, Mont, and Bobby inside the car. Here the three characters are framed in equal size, giving each of them equal importance. Bobby then continues by saying, "there was a hundred motherf–ers in there rent-controlled, they thought they owned that sh–t."[426] Right after Bobby's ownership comment, the scene cuts to a slow zoom medium shot of the white construction worker, who looks in Jimmie's direction with an angry look on his face. While the angry-looking construction worker is in the frame, Bobby says, "the landlord burned all them people outta there."[427] Here we see a symbiosis between the man ashing his cigar while Bobby uses the phrase *burn them outta there*, implying that the man standing in front of the site is the de-facto owner of the construction space. Additionally, the symbiosis

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[422] Ibid, 20:00.
[423] Ibid, 22:00.
[424] Ibid, 22:10.
[425] Ibid.
[426] Ibid, 22:20.
[427] Ibid.

carries an additional meaning, that the construction man views the previous tenants of the building as expendable in the same way as the cigar he ashes. As the scene cuts back to Jimmie, a close-up shot of his face reveals anger toward the construction man's angry gaze, to which Jimmie's eyes twitch out of resentment that the space had not continued its previous ownership by the rent-controlled tenants. With Jimmie's expression in full view, Bobby continues by saying, "see Jimmie, you never really own sh–t, this car ain't mine, but it never was yours."[428] Bobby then proceeds to laugh uproariously, adding to Jimmie's torment of watching the active construction site. Just as Bobby mentions ownership, the scene then cuts to a smooth medium Steadicam shot of the man opening the gate to the construction site, where another white construction worker is battering rebar into the ground. Just as the battering construction worker is framed in a long shot with the rest of the smoke-filled, worker-populated construction site, the scene concludes with non-diegetic sound of Bobby saying, "you never own sh–t."[429]

Throughout the scene, Mont, Bobby, and Jimmie are framed as the residents of a de-facto temporary space, exemplified by Bobby's automobile. In contrast, the construction site is framed as an artificial, hellish, permanent space meant for an unknown future resident. The scene also racializes space by contrasting three Black characters in a temporary space with the white characters working in a space of permanence. This speaks to a larger problem with gentrification in general, which perpetuates the influx of predominantly white, middle-class professionals into historically working-class cultural communities.[430] While gentrification has left the most dramatic mark on historic cultural communities, it should be noted that working-class citizens of all cultural and ethnic groups have been priced out of cities like San Francisco since the 1980s.[431] The scene itself speaks to a very widely-felt disparity in San Francisco between those with access to permanent ownership rights and those limited to temporary ownership by way of structural inequality under neoliberal capitalism.[432] The scene in its totality exhibits multiple

[428] Ibid, 22:30.

[429] Ibid, 22:45.

[430] Peter Frase, "Gentrification's Racial Arbitrage," *Jacobin Magazine*, Jun. 20, 2014, https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/06/gentrification-and-racial-arbitrage/.

[431] Gavin Mueller, "Liberalism and Gentrification," *Jacobin Magazine*, Sept. 26, 2014, https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/09/liberalism-and-gentrification.

[432] Matthew Palm and Carolyn Whitzman, "Housing Need Assessments in San Francisco, Vancouver, and Melbourne: Normative Science or Neoliberal Alchemy," *Housing Studies* 35, no. 5 (2020): 771-794.

populist elements, including the accentuation of a marginalized class experience, as well as a firm stance that preservation should work in the interest of all groups regardless of income.[433]

Another such scene that speaks to this populist ethic occurs roughly twenty-three minutes into the film, during which Jimmie and Mont arrive at the Coop House to clean up the place.[434] When Jimmie and Mont arrive at the house, Jimmie is framed in a medium shot with a shovel in one hand and a skateboard in another. Already, the objects Jimmie carries evoke different meanings. While the shovel shows his willingness to put in the work to preserve the house, the skateboard represents his youthfulness and naivety. In the background, Mont is blurred but looking up at the house, meant to accentuate a part of his character's artistic sensibility of staring off into space. When Jimmie walks toward the front gate of the house, he arrives with a light level of confusion on his face. Jimmie proceeds to ask a mover carrying a box out of the house, saying, "hey what's going on man?"[435] Already, given the framing of the camera, Jimmie and the mover are situated as equals. The man replies to Jimmie, saying, "nuff said bro," as if to imply that the circumstance is obvious.[436] Just then, the scene cuts to a long shot of Jimmie situated on the right, the mover moving about, a truck to the left, a huge myriad of boxes and chairs throughout, and a man with long grey hair writing on a clipboard while sitting on the back edge of a moving van. Before this scene, Jimmie assumed that the middle-class white couple owned the property permanently. Now, with Jimmie framed small in comparison with the moving apparatus in front of him, he is beginning to confront a new reality, that the house will fall into new hands still outside of his control. After gesturing at the mover and getting no backup answer, Jimmie walks toward the grey-haired clipboard man, saying, "hello sir, what's going on?"[437] Here, though it may seem obvious, Jimmie doesn't want to believe that the current owners are moving, because that means he may have even less chance in the future of owning the home. This echoes a larger theme that Fails incorporated from his own life growing up in a Victorian home in the Fillmore District when it was a Black middle-class neighborhood.[438] Similarly based

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[433] Koziol, 43-44.
[434] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 23:00.
[435] Ibid, 23:10.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid, 23:20.
[438] Tambay Obenson, "The Pain of Jimmie Fails' Eviction Fueled His Need to Make 'The Last Black Man in San Francisco,'" *IndieWire* (New York, NY) online, Jun. 6, 2019, https://www.indiewire.com/2019/06/jimmie-fails-last-black-man-in-san-francisco-a24-1202147640/.

on Fails' life story, the character of Jimmie Fails comes to grips with rapidly changing circumstances due to displacement. Echoing this, the character Jimmie Fails looks on toward the man with the clipboard, who says, "oh god," while chuckling and pointing at the house, finishing his statement with, "she's moving."[439] The scene then cuts to a medium shot of Jimmie, who looks looking afraid and curious, turning to look at the middle-class white couple that owns the house. Just as Jimmie looks up at the couple, the man says the woman is "fighting like crazy with her sister."[440] The scene then cuts to a medium shot of the couple, with the husband consoling his wife as she cries. The shot also frames blurred gate bars in the foreground of the shot, placing the frame within Jimmie's point of view on the other side of the bars. Here, there are multiple elements of emotional meaning, including Jimmie having to face the reality of the house being impermanent even for the couple, on top of the fact that he has no access to ownership rights over the house, which is signified by the gate bars in the foreground. Additionally, Jimmie is forced to empathize with the crying woman, because even though she is in a much more privileged position than Jimmie, even she can't hold onto the house permanently. As the woman continues to cry, the non-diegetic sound of the man's voice continues, saying, "if someone dies in the family, that's what white people do."[441] While this statement engages in slight race essentialism to explain the habits of the white characters, it also signifies a larger trend in the gentrification of large urban areas that disproportionately affect African-Americans and general working-class communities.[442] Shortly following this statement, the scene cuts to a medium shot of the man with the clipboard, who continues by saying, "this is for her, this for him, this is mine."[443] This is a dramatic realization for Jimmie because it means that, beyond his ability to eventually own the house, the current owners cannot keep the home because of infighting over the home's market capitalization.

The scene continues with a medium shot of Jimmie looking toward the man with a disappointed expression. The man then continues by saying, "who's gonna have the house?"[444]

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[439] *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, 23:25.
[440] Ibid.
[441] Ibid, 23:30.
[442] Kay S. Hymowitz, "The Mistaken Racial Theory of Gentrification," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), Nov. 15, 2015; Sandra Feder, "Stanford Professor's Study Finds Gentrification Disproportionately Affects Minorities," *Stanford News* online, Dec. 1, 2020; Jason Miles and Pascal Robert, "When Identity Becomes a Prison, There Can Be No Liberational Politics," *The Real News Network* online, Dec. 27, 2021.
[443] Ibid, 23:35.
[444] Ibid, 23:40.

Jimmie then responds, as if not wanting to hear the answer, by asking "so they lost the house?" The scene then cuts to a high-angled medium shot of Jimmie as he gazes sadly back toward the crying couple, during which time the man's voice says, "they just keep fighting and fighting."[445] As Jimmie is framed in this high-angle shot, bars are present again in the foreground, as well as the foliage he planned on clearing that day. By framing Jimmie in a high angled shot behind bars and foliage, Jimmie is framed as a powerless prisoner of circumstance, foregrounded by the foliage to carry a symbiosis of nature and the emotion of sadness associated with continued displacement. Interestingly, the scene then cuts to a low angled shot medium shot of the crying couple with the bars and foliage also framed in the foreground. This implies that although the couple is in a position of power, they are still stuck in the same prison of circumstance and emotional distress as Jimmie is. All-in-all, this scene does a brilliant job of showing how out-of-reach home ownership is for all San Franciscans regardless of income, and that the effect is particularly out of reach for working-class cultural residents like Jimmie Fails. Additionally, the scene humanizes the associational impact of gentrification by making audiences empathize with the emotional fallout of being denied permanent space in a place of significant associational connection for its characters. Furthermore, the associational quality of the film and its non-monetized approach to preservation lends to a particularly striking example of the populist ethic.

Populists engage in preservation because they believe in the deeper associational meaning of places. Furthermore, they believe the preservation of those associational qualities would be corrupted by monetization. To preserve the house, Jimmie tries every strategy he can to access the house, even if it means bending the social and legal conventions set forth by the unjust society around him. Essentialists, entrepreneurialists, and privatists do not typically apply this strategy toward preservation, because they usually have legal backing, private capital to complete a project or donations to fund an organization. On the other hand, populists have a much more compelling story. Populist preservationists have to adapt to the odds set against them by doing whatever necessary to save the places they love despite barriers to their objectives. These stories are intriguing to audiences because they can identify with an underdog protagonist who has to face adversity to reach their goals. Talbot and Fails' *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* is especially intriguing to consider in this respect. Though Jimmie faces a tragic reality, he has to face up to that reality and make a meaningful existence out of his life regardless

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[445] Ibid, 23:50.

of the San Francisco housing market. So while the film doesn't carry the same populist message as other films with a happy ending and a saved property, it does denote a particular populist ethic that preservation is when you prioritize culture, community, and collective memory over the intrinsic value of materiality and the monetary valuation of space.

Kipu Kai Historic Context

Kipu Kai is a 3,000-acre cattle ranch situated in a rare coastal valley on the southeastern coast of Kauai.[446] The beach itself is situated just to the south of the small Kauai town of Puhi, as well as the Huleia National Wildlife Refuge. Kauai's geographic formation occurred roughly five million years ago when magma began spewing up from the ocean floor from a hotspot associated with the Pacific Tectonic Plate.[447] Over millions of years, every 10,000 to 100,000 years, 270 new species of plants emerged on the island. By the time of the arrival of the Polynesians around 200 C.E., roughly 1,300 flowering plants became native staples of Hawaiian and Kauaiian horticulture. In sailing out 2,000 miles from the Marquesas Islands via handmade canoes, the first Polynesians to arrive in Kaua'i landed at Na Pali, on the northwestern coast. Between roughly 200 C.E. and 600 C.E., the Polynesians built their first settlements on the island. During their time on the island, Polynesians began growing kalo, also known as taro, in addition to sweet potatoes, and breadfruit from the Marquesas. Several hundred years following the first wave of Polynesians, additional groups venturing to Kaua'i included the Tahitians, who came to overwhelm the first wave of Polynesians and helped establish Hawaiian culture and religion within the guise of Tahitian traditions.

After Tahitian domination of the Hawaiian islands, Hawaiians began building temples known as heiaus, which they used for religious worship. One of the most famous heiaus was built on the island of Kaua'i, with an arc that stretched from the Wailua River on the east side, across the steep Wai'ele'ele region, and over to the west end of the island. Native Hawaiians considered the Wailua area sacred, with royals from other islands giving birth to their progenitors at the site of Holoholoku, known as the birthplace of the chiefs. On the south shore of Kaua'i, fishermen were known to have established temporary fishing camps, where they also built heiaus. Fishermen in the area were known to have fished for octopus using devices made

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[446] Roth, 300.

[447] "Ka Moolelo O Kaua'i: The Story of Kaua'i," About, Kauai, The History of Kauai, *Kaua'i Historical Society* online (Lihue, HI), accessed Apr. 4, 2022, https://kauaihistoricalsociety.org/historyofkauai/.

with cowry shells for lures.[448] Additionally, these fishermen were skilled at fastening fish hooks from bone, while also being adept at crafting cutting tools from basalt.

Up until the late 18th century, Native Hawaiians lived on and cultivated the land of the islands with limited interference from outside groups. This all changed in 1778 with the arrival of English Captain James Cook, who landed his ships at Waimea Bay on the west coast of Kaua'i. In the aftermath of Cook's arrival, an influx of Europeans and European-American businessmen, as well as missionaries and laborers, all of whom gradually diminished the presence of Native Hawaiians among the population. With the arrival of these foreigners, there was a wave of new ideas, materials, and foods that were introduced to the population. As a result, new diseases spread amongst the Native Hawaiian community, causing a massive population decline. During this time of uncertainty, the Native Hawaiians saw a gradual decline in kapu, a socio-legal system based on deities, strength, and power that protected the cultural customs of the Native Hawaiians and their Polynesian ancestors.[449] In response to the growing unrest surrounding the changes on the island, the ruler of Kaua'i, King Kaumaulii, ceded his kingdom to King Kamehameha I.[450] During the late 18th and early 19th century, Kamehameha I reigned as King of all Hawaii. After committing his allegiance through the ceding of his lands to Kamehameha, King Kaumaulii was able to keep his rank and title. In tandem with the changes occurring at the royal seats of the Hawaiian kings, European-American missionaries began expanding their operations throughout the Hawaiian islands.

Beginning around 1820, the first major group of New England-based Christian missionaries started arriving on the Hawaiian islands. Many of the sailors who journeyed with the missionaries experienced a 188-day journey around the tip of South America to reach Hawaii. Early missionary families to the islands included Mercy Partridge Whitney and Nancy Wells Ruggles, who set up their mission at Waimea in 1820. While Waimea remained the capital of Kaua'i, other missionaries set up their conversion efforts in 1834 at Koloa on the south shore and Waioli on the north shore. With the arrival of the missionaries in the early 18th century, new kapu rules were set up including a ban on nudity, a ban on hula dancing, and the enforcement of women wearing long gowns known as Mother Hubbards, also called Mu'umu'u. During this

[448] Ibid.

[449] Sophia Badua, "Ancient Hawaiian Legal System: Kapu System," ArcGIS online, StoryMaps, May 26, 2020, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/c67f4842607a40d9b40c063478e6a19a.

[450] "Ka Moolelo O Kaua'i: The Story of Kaua'i," *Kaua'i Historical Society*.

period of socio-cultural enforcement, the missionaries began recording their daily practices, as well as that of the Native Hawaiians. The missionaries then used their written records of the Hawaiian language to translate works of the Bible into Hawaiian. The children of these missionaries came to be known as *kama'aina*, or "children of the land," and gradually started to establish their families into differing professions throughout the Hawaiian islands.[451] Many of the offspring of the initial missionary families became large-scale land and sugar plantation owners.

Sugar cane, called "ko," was first transported to the Hawaiian islands by the Polynesians to thatch and wrap fish bait.[452] In addition to these primary uses, the Polynesians used the crop as a sweetener in herbal, medicinal remedies. As the missionary presence on the islands began to grow, the large sugar cane field of Koloa began to be converted into profitable plantations, for which the European-American plantation owners brought over immigrant laborers to work the cane fields. Immigrant groups hired for sugar cane production included Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, German, Puerto-Rican, Portuguese, Norwegian, and Filipinos, all of whom contributed to the cross-cultural growth of Hawaii's growing population. Immigrant communities gradually purchased land and became entrepreneurs in the region, spurring further cultural integration into the arts, customs, cuisines, and languages of the islands. Over time, the European-American descendants of the missionary families build a sizable fortune from sugar cane plantations and ventured into industrial production of sugar cane for increased profits. This use of sugar cane was fundamentally at odds with the Native Hawaiian uses of sugar cane, which focused on sustainable, subsistence forestry and cultivation of the crop. Commercial milling of sugar began in 1835 at Koloa Town, on the south shore of Kaua'i, beginning a century-long trend of industrial sugar cane monocrop production.

Under the traditional structure of the Hawaiian islands, the land was divided up according to a native hierarchical structure of reciprocity, in which chiefs divided up the land among lower-ranking chiefs.[453] Under this system, lesser chiefs administered lands to stewards who then administered the land to commoners, with those same commoners tilling the land and paying tribute to the King. By 1848, with the creation of the Hawaiian constitutional monarchy, King

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[451] Ibid.

[452] Ibid.

[453] Steinbock-Pratt, "The Invisible History of Hawaii in Alexander Payne's 'The Descendants.'"

Kamehameha III had enacted a policy known as the "Mahele," which divided up the lands of the islands unowned by the Hawaiian royal family.[454] Those lands were then converted into individual plots, which could then be purchased by Hawaiian commoners. Similar to the Dawes Act of 1887, the Mahele was heralded as a triumphant first step in the creation of a society based on the ideal of yeoman farmers who could own and till the land. Despite the initial presumptions of the Mahele, the policy enabled a large portion of the white Hawaiian population to buy up individual plots that had once been communally owned by Native Hawaiians. By 1890, the effects of disease and decreased land rights, as well as failure to educate natives about new land rights and legal difficulties in filing land claims left the Hawaiian islands with a little over 30,000 Native Hawaiians, roughly 10 percent of the initial population before European-American settlement.[455] By 1890, the white land-owning elites, known colloquially as "hoale," owned 90 percent of the Hawaiian islands.

The balance of power on the Hawaiian islands drastically changed in 1893, when European-American businessmen encouraged the United States military to illegally overthrow Queen Liliuokalani, Hawaii's last monarch.[456] By 1900, Hawaii became a Territory of the United States and was allowed one delegate in the United States Congress. To this day, Hawaii is the only state in the history of the United States that had a previous monarchy as well as a monarch representing the United States in a congressional seat. Hawaii's representative in Congress was Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, a native of the island of Kaua'i. Prince Kuhio's roots on the island ran deep, since he was the grandson of King Kaumaulii, in addition to having been born in a grass hut on the Kauaiian south shore.[457] In the aftermath of Queen Liliuokalani's forced removal from power, Prince Kuhio was found guilty of treason and became a political prisoner of the United States. In later years, Kuhio served a 19-year term as the congressional representative of the Hawaiian Territory.

During the majority of the 19th and 20th centuries, Kaua'i became increasingly valuable for its sugar production operations, about which Prince Kuhio was deeply concerned. Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the pineapple became another industrially farmed crop on the island of Kaua'i. Between 1906 and 1955, a large fruit canning business known as Kaua'i

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[454] Ibid.
[455] Ibid.
[456] "Ka Moolelo O Kaua'i: The Story of Kaua'i," *Kaua'i Historical Society*.
[457] Ibid.

Fruit and Land Company operated out of the town of Lawai, on Kauaiian south shore. Other fruit canning companies also set up shop on the islands, including the Hawaiian Canneries Company, which ran their business out of the town of Kapaa, on the eastern shore of the island. By 1962, the Hawaiian Canneries Company closed down. The growth of the fruit canning industries also prompted a large-scale growth in the tourism industry on the Hawaiian islands, including on the island of Kaua'i. The growth of tourism had a sizable impact on the Kauaiian economy, with 667 tourists arriving on the island in the year 1927. As tourism grew, Hawaiians came to believe that statehood might help locals protect their interests at the federal level. By March of 1959, Hawaii became the 50th state, prompting a celebratory bonfire of 10,000 people in Burns Field on the west end of Kaua'i. In that same year, Kaua'i was devastated by Hurricane Dot, which wiped out countless crops and buildings throughout the island. Two more extreme weather events struck the island over the years following statehood, including Hurricane Iwa in 1982 and Hurricane Iniki in 1992. As a result of each successive hurricane, solid roofs of buildings were notably replaced with blue tarps after rooftops were blown away in each successive storm.

Kipu Kai Beach, as previously mentioned, sits along the south shore of Kaua'i. The location has become famous throughout the years for its use in a variety of Hollywood films, including *The Descendants*, *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, *Jurassic Park: The Lost World*, *Outbreak*, and *Mighty Joe Young*.[458] The area is, and has been, historically owned by the Waterhouse Estate, which has been around since the 19th century and has roots dating back to Hawaiian royalty as well as the white land-owning elite of Hawaii.[459] One of the most prominent resources associated with the Waterhouse Estate is the Mary S. Rice Beach House, a building from the 1880s that was in the process of nomination to the National Register of Historic Places in 2016.[460] According to the nomination form, Kipu Kai is the *makai*, or ocean-most part, of the land, or *ahupua'a*, of Kipu.[461] The land associated with the Mary S. Rice House sits on a 1,096-acre section of land separated from the rest of the island by the Haupu Mountain Range. The house itself served as a retreat, as well as a cattle ranch, for the Rice family. As it currently stands, the building retains its original southern-style cabin form, with several additions made to

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[458] Roth, 300.
[459] Roth, 300-302.
[460] Don Hibbard, "Mrs. Mary S. Rice Beach House," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, NPS Form 10-900, OMB no. 1024-0018, Kaneohe, HI: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2016, 1.
[461] Hibbard, Section 8, 4.

the property over the years. Features of the house include a large gable-roofed lanai, as well as a shed-roofed lanai in the rear of the building. All of the additions to the building are considered historic, including three ancillary dwellings, three outbuildings, and twelve support structures.

In 1848, the land currently encompassing Kipu Kai was awarded to Hawaiian Princess Victoria Kamamalu, a descendant of Kamehameha I, as part of the Great Mahele.[462] Sometime between 1848 and 1881, the lands of Kipu Kai transferred from the ownership of Princess Kamamalu to Princess Ruth Keelikalani, another descendant of Kamehameha I. Princess Keelikalani wrote a will during this time, indicating that Kipu Kai should pass to her sister, Princess Pauahi, another descendant of Kamehameha I.[463] Instead, on April 1, 1881, Princess Keelikalani sold the *ahupua'a*, or land, to Kaua'i Governor William Hyde Rice and a local white Hawaiian businessman George N. Wilcox.[464] Three days after the sale, the property was split between Rice and Wilcox. By April 21, 1886, Rice sold the Kipu Kai property to his mother, Mary Sophia Rice. Mary Sophia Hyde was a native of the Seneca Indian Reservation in Buffalo, New York, where her parents worked as missionaries. By 1840, she changed her maiden name after marrying William Harrison Rice, who worked as a teacher in the town of Oswego, New York. The young couple had been previously active in the American Board of Foreign Missions, which put them in a position to join missionary efforts. As a result of their missionary activity, the couple arrived in Hawaii on May 21, 1841, during which they were assigned to Hana, followed by Maui, and eventually gained a position at the newly-formed, Honolulu-based Punahou School in 1844. By 1854, financial support from the Punahou School enabled the family to move to Kaua'i, where William Rice was to receive treatment for a throat ailment. While on Kaua'i, Rice administered the Lihue Plantation, situated just the north of Kipu Kai. By 1862, William Rice had passed away, leaving Mary Rice with their five children to care of. Mary Rice's only son, William Hyde Rice grew up along with his four sisters, Hanna Maria, Emily, Mary Sophia, and Anna. William Hyde Rice, the heir, and owner of the Kipu Kai property, eventually married Mary Waterhouse, now named Mary Waterhouse Rice. Upon obtaining the property from her son William, Mary Sophia Rice had a modest, rustic beach house built on Kipu Kai from 1886 to 1887. Construction of the beach house was reflective of a larger

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[462] Hibbard, Section 8, 15.
[463] Roth, 300.
[464] Hibbard, Section 8, 15.

nineteenth-century trend among European and Hawaiian elites to build beach houses for restorative sea bathing.[465] To this day, the Kipu Kai Beach House is one of only three nineteenth-century beach houses remaining on the Hawaiian islands.[466] Additionally, the location of the beach house is significant for its isolation from the rest of the island of Kaua'i, situated in a location that was historically only accessible via an ancient footpath through the Haupu Mountains. Since the trail through the mountains was too difficult to construct a road accommodating carriages and donkeys, Mary S. Rice was regularly carried over the mountain range by four men using a chair on poles. As a result of these conditions, the property gained a reputation for its inaccessible isolation. The property remained a private, hidden enclave of peace and relaxation that remains to this day, and has continued to attract visitors since the late nineteenth century.[467]

Mary S. Rice passed away on May 25, 1911, leaving the property to William Hyde Rice's five sons, Arthur, William, Harold, Phillip, and Charles. By 1911, William Hyde Rice had been the owner of nearby Lihue Ranch for roughly thirty years. Following the death of Mary S. Rice, cattle began to be raised on the Kipu Kai property as part of a 3,000-acre ranch. In 1929, the Rice Ranch at Kipu Kai was one of seven ranches on the island of Kaua'i.[468] Many of the ranches on the island were operated by sugar plantations who had used the cattle ranches on lands deemed unuseful for sugar cane production.[469] The William Hyde Rice Ranch, on the other hand, was the only cattle ranch unaffiliated with sugar cane production. By 1929, William Hyde Rice's son Charles took over as manager of the ranch, which utilized 80 Anshire cattle that William Hyde Rice had brought over from England to Hawaii in the 1880s. The ranch remained a profitable cattle operation for the remainder of the early twentieth century.

Beginning in the 1930s, John "Jack" Waterhouse started eyeing the Hyde Ranch pasturelands.[470] John T. "Jack" Waterhouse was born and raised in Honolulu. Waterhouse himself was the descendant of four white missionaries who arrived in Hawaii in the 1830s, including William Alexander, who came to found the company known as Alexander and

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[465] Ibid, Section 8, 16.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibid, Section 8, 16-17.
[468] Ibid, Section 8, 17-18.
[469] Ibid, Section 8, 18.
[470] Ibid.

Baldwin in 1870.[471] Waterhouse came to be educated at Princeton University, and by 1930 had come to work for his family's Hawaiian real estate and construction company, Alexander and Baldwin.[472] In 1936, he became secretary of the company. Between 1947 and 1951, through a series of acquisitions, Jack Waterhouse acquired the property through deals made with distant cousins. As a result of the sale, Waterhouse acquired fifty cows and four bulls, as well as the beach house and several outbuildings. By 1951, Waterhouse expanded the operations of the ranch and had a road constructed through the mountains to provide access to the property. The road dramatically improved the transportation options, which previously relied on hired cowboys to herd cattle across the Haupu mountain pass. By 1952, shortly following the construction of the road, Jack Waterhouse became the vice president and treasurer of Alexander and Baldwin company. Upon considering future options for the property, Waterhouse decided to deed Kipu Kai to the State of Hawaii in 1977. By 1978, the Waterhouse ranch had expanded to over 350 cattle and breeding stock. Following the deed agreement with the State of Hawaii, a trust was set up to ensure the property would be used as a perpetual nature preserve. Today, that trust is known as the Waterhouse Estate.[473] By 2005, cattle production on the property came to an end.[474] While Waterhouse's nieces and nephews continue to have use rights over the land, the property itself has come under the ownership of the State of Hawaii. Under the terms of the Waterhouse Estate, the land will become completely transferred to the State of Hawaii when all of the beneficiaries alive during the trust's formation have passed away.

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[471] Roth, 300.
[472] Hibbard, Section 8, 18.
[473] Roth, 300-301.
[474] Hibbard, Section 8, 18.

Formal Analysis

As mentioned in prior chapters, *The Descendants* was determined to exhibit preservation through the lens of essentialism. According to Koziol, essentialism "sees value as inherent in artifacts and not reducible to market valuation…hence they often see themselves as the specialists best able to identify value and ascribe appropriate policy action."[475] To establish that this film showcases an essentialist simulacrum, this study must additionally define simulacra as previously mentioned. According to Baudrillard, a simulacrum is present when signifiers become detached from the objects they signify.[476] Simulacra, as stated before, constitutes a copy or representation of something.[477] Baudrillard then expands on this definition to state that when society began to organize around simulations, identities could be constructed through the use of images, codes, and models to orient how individuals perceive themselves in relation to others.[478] Since *The Descendants* does not reflect the dominant privatist mode of the American preservation system, the film effectively acts as an essentialist simulacrum informed by the history of Kaua'i and Kipu Kai previously stated. One of the best ways to understand a film's meaning is through an examination of formal elements that constitute the composition of a film in its totality. Formal elements can include aspects such as framing, lighting, angles, movement, and editing.[479] In addition to these formal elements, dialogue can be used to carry meaning through the language presented by characters. In short, meaning can be understood through cinematic, scriptural dialogue, as well as imagery and editing techniques.

In *The Descendants*, several scenes directly speak to an essentialist preservation ethic through the use of framing and dialogue. During one scene that occurs roughly halfway through the film, Matt King and his family are being driven by his cousin Ralph through the island of Kaua'i.[480] On a whim, Matt throws out the idea of driving to see the family land, to which his cousin RRalphagrees and takes a left turn down a country road. As cousin Ralph turns the corner from the highway in his white Jeep, Matt's family is pictured in a craned long shot, panning rightward with the car as Ralph takes another turn to go down a dirt road headed toward the

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[475] Koziol, 43.

[476] Waller, 14:00.

[477] Ibid, 13:50.

[478] Kellner, "Jean Beaudrillard."

[479] "Formal Elements of Film," University of Colorado Denver.

[480] *The Descendants*, 57:00.

mountains. In the background, a pleasant non-diegetic Hawaiian tune plays as the camera framed the countryside in a wide, sweeping view. Already, director Alexander Payne is framing Kaua'i as a pleasant place of refuge in which expansive landscapes play an important role. The scene then cuts to a close-up of Matt's hands as he locks a gate, all as the pleasant Hawaiian music continues.[481] This combination of visuals and music carries an interesting message, both affirming the pleasant refuge of Kaua'i while making audiences identify with Matt's action of protecting land he sees as his family's private domain. In effect, the music now acts as a pleasant perspective for a select few amongst the King family who have access to the property. It should be noted that the chain is not padlocked when Matt closes the door. This means that although the lock is secure, anyone could hypothetically get in. This speaks to the nature of the film at this stage when Matt is three days away from deciding whether to sell the land to a local developer named Holitzer. At this moment the land is still technically his, but he could open up the land to whomever at any moment. Right after Matt locks the gate, the camera pans and moves upward to frame Matt and the Jeep of family members in a long shot as Matt closes the car door. As the long-shot comes into view with the pleasant music continuing, a sweeping landscape of grasses, foggy mountains, and immeasurable cattle come into frame.[482] This not only carries on the same pleasant private refuge motif but also enhances the scene by adding cattle to the visual schematic. As previously mentioned, the Waterhouse Estate was well known for its sweeping cattle ranches.

By Payne adding the cattle to the frame, the King family, like the Waterhouses, are accentuating a very specific part of the Hawaiian elite landowner history and experience. As cousin Ralph starts driving forward, he utters, "I think this is where the golf course is gonna go, we want the golf course to rival Pebble Beach, it'll bring in the big boys."[483] Here we see a privatist ethic applied through dialogue, wherein cousin Ralph compares the potential private golf course to Pebble Beach, California, one of the most highly praised and exclusive golf courses in the United States. The scene then cuts to a slow-zoom-out long shot of the Jeep driving down a swerving dirt road.[484] As the camera continues to zoom out, the Jeep continues driving as it becomes dwarfed by the Kaua'i scenery, all as the pleasant non-diegetic Hawaiian

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[481] Ibid, 57:20.
[482] Ibid, 57:30.
[483] Ibid.
[484] Ibid, 57:40.

music continues. The zoom-out has the effect of codifying the splendor and omniscience of the landscape, which becomes bigger as the Jeep rolls on. This signifies that although the King family is still part of the land, the land is the source of primary importance. After the expansive long shot, the family is framed in a medium shot as Ralph drives over potholes and Matt holds onto the frame of the Jeep for stability. Here, the family is framed as a body of equals while simultaneously experiencing a bumpy ride, which implies that the site is in a very remote location. Following the medium shot, a long shot frames the family arriving at the crest of a hill, stopping the Jeep as lowlands are framed in the distance. As everyone exits the Jeep, including Alex King's surfer bro boyfriend Sid, the camera follows every character through a smooth medium crane shot that pans left with the family as they walk slowly toward the edge of a cliff.[485] Here there is a level of equality framing the family while establishing a new omniscient perspective for the viewer. The crane shot continues as the Kings walk by another gate, implying additional privacy. The crane shot then moves upward as the family stands on the edge of the cliff overlooking Kipu Kai Beach, framing the scenery and the family in a high-angled long shot that prominently foregrounds the land as the Kings are dwarfed in the frame. This shot has the effect of communicating omniscient viewership while diminishing the importance of the family, who feel small and insignificant compared to the majesty of the landscape in front of them, to which they look on in silence and admiration.[486] After a short moment of silence, the scene cuts to a sideways medium shot that foregrounds Matta and Ralph, with Alex, Scotty, and Sid set in the background. Just then, Alex's boyfriend Sid blurts, "are you sh–tting me? You guys own all this land?"[487] Here, Sid acts out the perspective of an outsider character who is unfamiliar with the status of the King family. By blurting out this statement, Sid is acting on behalf of a regular everyday audience member, who would also be amazed by the fact that the King family owns so much land. In response to Sid's question, Matt replies, "not personally, it belongs to a trust, yeah its ours for a few more days."[488] Here, Matt acts as a kind of authority over the matter, rudimentary explaining the matter of ownership to someone he thinks may not fully understand the complexities. Just then, the scene cuts to a close-in medium shot that blurrily foregrounds the back of Matt and Ralph's heads with a long shot of the Kipu Kai scenery in the background. Just

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[485] Ibid, 58:20.
[486] Ibid, 58:30.
[487] Ibid, 58:40.
[488] Ibid.

then, Ralph points multiple times to various spots on the beach, saying to Matt, "big resort there on that point, commercial area there, and houses all through there."[489] Here, Matt and Ralph are framed as almost god-like characters, who are then dictating the landscape as their canvas for future development. While Matt and Ralph are implied as equals through this medium framing, their gaze and dictation are placed on the landscape in front of them, which they get the chance to dictate through their family trust. Just then, the scene cuts back to the sideways medium shot, foregrounding Matt and Ralph close to the camera with Matt's kinds in the background. Ralph, who is now framed closest to the camera, says, "part of me agrees with the cousins who don't wanna sell, they're gonna make a pretty big stink at the meeting."[490]

By putting Ralph as the primary character in the frame, his shpeal about having second thoughts has encouraged the audience to sympathize with Ralph's anti-development perspective. Additionally, this is the first time audiences are introduced to how Ralph, and other King family members, feel about selling the land to Holitzer. Matt, meanwhile, has had reservations about selling but feels he must sell the land. This is echoed by his response to Ralph, in which he says, "yeah, but we have to, trust dissolves in seven years if we don't sell its gonna be a trainwreck."[491] Matt then looks off in the distance with a regretful look on his face, followed by Ralph replying, "its a shame, yeah…on the other hand, its just sittin' there, no one's using it, soon the whole world will be able to enjoy it."[492] By uttering this phrase, Ralph is finding a way of gaining meaning through the perceived inevitability of the estate sale, which is a planned future privatist action. In effect, Ralph and Matt are psychologizing the estate sale through the lens of Pragmatist ontology. Pragmatism is a school of thought that emerged in the United States during the 1870s and has had a long-lasting impact on how Americans judge, value, and assess the world around them.[493] Pragmatists argue that truth and reality can only be understood by their relation to how things work in the *real world*.[494] To put this into perspective, Matt and Ralph temporarily agree on selling the land, but not because they think its the right decision. In fact, the

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[489] Ibid, 58:50.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid, 59:00.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Catherine Legg and Christopher Hookway, "Pragmatism," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* online, Aug. 16, 2008, last updated Apr. 6, 2021, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pragmatism/.
[494] Jonny Thomson, "Pragmatism: How Americans Define Truth," *Big Think* (New York, NY) online, Thinking, Jul. 26, 2021, https://bigthink.com/thinking/what-is-pragmatism/.

reason they convince themselves to sell is that they believe its the only practical solution. Here, Ralph and Matt are convinced that reality exists in a state of permanence and that their reality is one in which they must sell the land despite their reservations about doing so. Conversely, we the audience are encouraged to view this sequence through the perspective of Ralph and Matt, sympathizing with their inner essentialist desires to reject Pragmatist rationalizations to sell the estate to a private developer.

Following Ralph and Matt's exchange, the scene cuts to a panning medium shot of Matt as he walks over to his kids, Alex and Scotty.[495] While he's walking as the camera pans rightward toward the kids, Matt says, "take a good look girls, this is part of your great, great, great grandmother's inheritance, going all the way back to Kamehameha I."[496] Here, Matt is not only educating his daughters on the value of the land, he is educating them about their ties to the land, as well as the deep ties the land holds to Hawaiian history at large. Similar to the Rice and Waterhouse families, the land of the King estate has deep ties to the history of Native Hawaiian people, as well as the white missionaries that arrived in Hawaii during the nineteenth century. Just as Matt finishes his fatherly lecture statement, Alex points toward the beach, during which Scotty, Alex, and Matt are framed in a medium shot that foregrounds Matt's youngest daughter, Scotty. As she points, Alex says, "there's where Mom and I would camp."[497] In response, Matt smiles, after which the scene cuts to an wide long shot of Kipu Kai Beach, during which we hear the non-diegetic sound of Matt saying with a longing voice, "we all did, all our lives…lots of memories."[498] By framing the entirety of the unpeopled beach within the frame during Matt's sentimental statement, the viewer is encouraged to see the land as a place of family heritage and collective memory. The omniscient presence of the unpeopled landscape long shot also enables objective contemplation, into which it could be said that Matt's statement *we all did* could apply to anyone who has experienced the landscape during the entirety of its existence. Though Matt's *we all did* statement is connected to the King family, the deliberate choice to frame the land by itself implies that the *we* in Matt's statement could apply to anyone. Following the land shot, the scene cuts to a slightly low angled medium shot of Matt and Alex, with Alex in the foreground. Matt then continues his speech by saying "everything has its time," followed by a moment of

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[495] Ibid, 59:15.
[496] Ibid, 59:20.
[497] Ibid.
[498] Ibid, 59:30.

reflective silence.[499] Here we see that Matt and Alex have a sliver of power given the slight low angle and that he and his daughter are equals, with Alex's prominence in the foreground acting as a marker that Alex's emotions hold prime importance. In looking longingly at the land, both Matt and Alex look noticeably glum. Just then, the scene cuts to a close-up of Scotty, during which Scotty says, "what about me? I wanna camp."[500] Here, the close-up and comment from Scotty plays an interesting role in the story, because Matt's past-tense sentimental attitudes are being directly challenged. Additionally, viewers are encouraged to sympathize with Scotty's perspective, as this is the only close-up used during the entirety of this scene. The scene then cuts back to the medium shot of Matt and Alex, during which Matt looks at Scotty, followed by a look at the ground with a thoughtful smirk, and subsequently followed by a sorrowful sigh. In engaging with Scotty through sorrowful, reflective, thoughtful, and emotive non-verbals, George Clooney accentuates Matt's inner torment of wanting to preserve the land while pressure mounts for him to sell it. In a way, Scotty here tries to expose Matt's inner torment and give him the chance to engage in an honest discussion about what he wants for Scotty, as well as the extended family, going into the future. Instead, Matt deals with his emotions internally, continuing on his cycle of inner torment. To end the scene a crane shot frames each family member in a slightly high-angled long shot framed from the side, in which the family stands silent on the cliff edge as if they were statuettes.[501] The camera then slowly pans rightward to reveal Kipu Kai Beach once more, cutting then to a medium shot of a neoclassical statue in the middle of a Kaua'i beach resort fountain.[502] In this sequence, Alexander Payne is cleverly playing with multiple elements in the story of the film as a whole. By framing the family as motionless observers, Payne is signaling the permanence and statuary essence of the Kings in relation to the land itself. Additionally, he is positioning the land as permanent by showing its untouched splendor. Finally, by intercutting a shot of the land with a neoclassical statue and fountain, the film is playing with the idea of Hawaiian land as a marker of permanence. Similar to *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, this film tackles the acknowledgment of temporary and permanent spaces as constructs for defining power relations. For the King family, they own permanent space, which is exemplified by their ancestral land. However, as Matt sees resorts along their ride further into

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[499] Ibid.
[500] Ibid, 59:38.
[501] Ibid, 59:50.
[502] Ibid, 1:00:00.

Kaua'i with Ralph, he begins to realize that the resorts are temporary spaces that serve as an empty facade for market domination.

Preservation as Entrepreneurialist Simulacrum:
Clint Eastwood's *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*

Monterrey Ward Historic Context

Savannah, Georgia is situated on the eastern coast of the United States and bares one of the country's longest-running, most heralded historic preservation plans in the history of urban America.[503] The history of Savannah dates as back as far back as 10,000 B.C.E. when Native American groups hunted and fished in the area.[504] As early as 3,500 B.C.E., Native Americans in the area began building settlements for agricultural purposes. By 1000 B.C.E., these agricultural settlements became key centers of trade that connected to other agricultural settlements of the Mississippian cultures along the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico, including the site of the Irene Mounds in Georgia's Chatham County.

European explorers and traders began landing in what is now America during the 16th century. During this first wave of European colonialism and trade, the Spanish came to Georgia to convert natives to Roman Catholicism. Around the same time, the French traders came to Georgia in search of gold and found a lucrative practice of trading furs throughout the Americas. The English came to Georgia with very different priorities than the Spanish and the French, focusing moreso on the expansion of Britain's economy and the settlement of the Americas to quell overpopulation problems back home. As a result, the English settlers prioritized permanent settlement, consumption, and trade. By the 1720s, the Yamacraw were the dominant Native Nation present in the Savannah area. During the late 1720s, the area was controlled by the Yamacraw Chief Tomochichi, along with other groups of the nearby Yamasee and Lower Creek peoples. By 1728, the Yamacraw built a settlement at the mouth of the Savannah River and subsequently bore witness to multiple encounters with European explorers. Around the same time, nearby tensions arose between Native Nations and Europeans that spurred on conflicts such

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[503] "Our Story," *Historic Savannah Foundation* online, accessed Apr. 14, 2022, https://www.myhsf.org/about-us/our-story/.

[504] Kayla Black, Charlie Brazil, James Caskey, Christy M. Crisp, Christopher M. Curtis, Vaughnette Goode-Walker, Patricia Meager, Mickey Minick, Erin Purdy, Jim Salandi, and Jonathan Stalcup, *Certified Tour Guides of Savannah: Tour Guide Manual 2016 Edition*, Tour Guide Certification Development Committe, Savannah, GA: Tourism Leadership Council, 2015, 2016, 6.

as the Yamasee War in the Carolinas.[505] By 1732, King George II officially granted the charter for the colony of Georgia, in which a group of trustees was tasked with governing the colony.[506]

Shortly after the charter, the City of Savannah was established on February 12, 1733, by British General James Edward Oglethorpe. At the time of Savannah's founding, Oglethorpe was a member of British Parliament tasked with creating an English colony of debtors. In eighteenth-century England, if a citizen was unable to pay their debts, they were often sent to debtors prisons. England, however, was running out of room in their debtors prisons to house all of their inmates. As a way of mitigating the overflow, instead of re-evaluating their debt prison system entirely, the English decided to offload their debtors to the newly-formed colony of Georgia to ease the strain on domestic prisons. Oglethorpe became instrumental in pushing for this reformist strategy, partially due to the personal experience of his friend Robert Caskell, who died of smallpox in a Fleet Street debtors prison. After securing funds for his efforts, Oglethorpe was approved by the English Parliament to set up the colony of Georgia for this very purpose. As a result, the first colonists of Savannah were made of debtors with limited opportunities to relive their debts in England. As a military professional, Oglethorpe also saw the strategic importance of the Georgia colony as a buffer between the Carolinas and the Spanish settlements of Florida to the south. To encompass the militarian and humanitarian aims of the Georgia colony, Oglethorpe chose to plan Savannah according to a family farming system he called "agrarian equality."[507] As a result, land ownership was restricted to fifty acres, with plots including a lot for residences, a farming garden lot, and a forty-five-acre farm lot. Outside of this system, no one was allowed to acquire land through purchases or inheritances.

Oglethorpe's first landing in the Americas occurred on January 13, 1733, when Oglethorpe arrived in Charles Town, South Carolina aboard the ship Anne, which carried 35 families, a doctor, an Anglican priest, and Oglethorpe's dog. Shortly following their landing in Charles Town, Oglethorpe and Colonel William Bull sailed for their ideal settlement site. After sailing eighteen-mile upriver from the Atlantic Ocean, they gave the town the name of Savannah, a derivative of the Spanish word *Sabana*, meaning "grassy plain."[508] Between 1733 and 1743, Oglethorpe enlisted the help of a woman named Mary Musgrove, who spoke Yamacraw, Creek,

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[505] Black, Brazil, Caskey, Crisp, Curtis, Goode-Walker, Meager, Minick, Purdy, Salandi, and Stalcup, 7.
[506] Ibid, 13.
[507] Ibid.
[508] Ibid, 8.

and English, to settle an agreement with the English and the local Native Nations of the area. Musgrove's background was helpful for negotiations since her mother was Creek, her father was English, and her husband was an English trader that had been based in the area for fifteen years before Oglethorpe's arrival. Oglethorpe set about building Savannah from Yamacraw Bluff, at the mouth of the Savannah River, as a strategic location for defensive purposes. In exchange for friendship with the Yamacraw and a defensive pact against the Spanish, Chief Tomochichi allowed Oglethorpe to build his settlement on Yamacraw Bluff. Between 1734 and 1739, Chief Tomochichi proved to be a valuable ally of the English crown, having brokered many talks in England with King George II to help curb Spanish military presence in the area.[509] A small number of colonists began to pay off their debts as members of the colony and were able to acquire tything lots, as well as indentured servants who worked for landowners for up to seven years to acquire their freedom and acquire land rights themselves. During these early years, some Georgia colonists were allowed 500 acres of land with indentured servants. However, slavery during this time was not permitted by the Georgia colony. This policy came under intense scrutiny from the growing landowning elite of the Georgia colony. Critics of the early colonial policies of Georgia wanted policies similar to South Carolina, where more extensive land rights and the legalization of slavery enabled existing landowners to acquire more wealth.

Shortly following the establishment of Savannah, Oglethorpe initiated an experimental project known as the Trustees Garden. Under the Trustees Garden system, acres of property were set aside for peach and cotton cultivation. While the experimental plan ultimately failed to bring extensive material wealth to the colony, the plan left an indelible mark on the identity of Georgia by introducing peach trees as a major crop in the area. During the early development of the city, Savannah recruited a variety of groups to settle in the area, including the English poor, more debtors, Sephardic Jews, and Austrian Protestants escaping persecution in Europe. Such encouragement was only part of Savannah's development strategy. Life in the Georgia colony, despite this, remained rather grim during the eighteenth century.[510] Oglethorpe initially had to go out of his way to advertise Savannah as a healthy place with a pleasant climate. The climate proved to be harsh on the city's first residents, with nearly half of the original 1733 settlers dying by 1734 of various illnesses. Illnesses plagued other prominent early settlers, such as the

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[509] Ibid, 9.
[510] Ibid, 12.

Anglican Reverend Henry Herbert, as well as Oglethorpe's friends John and Charles Wesley. Over time, the city found a growing need for burial grounds, prompting the construction of the initial cemetery at Bull, Whitaker, York, and Oglethorpe streets. In tandem with the need for burial grounds, one of the earliest policies enacted by the trustees of Georgia was in 1735, when a special provision was signed that banned rum, brandies, spirits, and "strong waters."[511] By 1742, shortly before Oglethorpe left for England, prohibition was lifted throughout the colony. Another major provision banned lawyers from entering the Georgia colony. The lawyer ban was eventually lifted by 1755. Initially, there was also a ban on Jewish people entering the colony. This provision was lifted promptly after the city received a large group of Sephardic Jews, several of whom set up valuable medical practices in the city. Additional restrictions targeted Roman Catholics from entering the colony. This provision was not removed until the passage of the United States Constitution in 1789. From 1733 to 1750, the Georgia colony also had a ban on slavery. This provision was overturned in 1750 after pressure from Georgia landowners forced the trustees of the colony to capitulate.

One of the most critical aspects to understand Savannah's development can be examined through a study of its historic, innovative city plan.[512] Designers of the city proposed a plan that included a grid street pattern overlaid with open parks and squares to increase health and efficiency. This system of squares, parks, and gridded streets laid the foundation for Savannah's infamous ward system, which called for the intersection of these planning elements with additional tything lots. Green spaces allowed the city to gain a unique sense of community, as well as an appreciation of public markets, public commons, places for public assembly, and sites of strategic military defense purposes.[513] Oglethorpe was likely to have developed the ward system as a result of his military background, which incorporated a similar system of troop organization for military camps. Over the following century, the city would develop 24 squares that would serve as the nexus points for development, including Monterrey Square. Small blocks to the east and west of each square, called trust lots, would be appropriated for churches and public buildings. Meanwhile, tything lots to the north and south of each square would function as ten overall residential development lots. Owners of each residential tyhting lot would be

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[511] Ibid, 13.
[512] Ibid, 10.
[513] Ibid, 10.

apportioned five acres at the edge of town as well as 45 acres outside of town for farming purposes. As a result of the ward system, 40 building lots faced north or south, while 20 building lots would be arranged along the streets bordering the squares. In conjunction with this plan, north-south streets would stretch out from the northern and southern axial points of each square.

Early considerations of the colony revolved around defensive concerns involving the Spanish in nearby Florida.[514] Between 1733 and 1748, a variety of military incursions between the English and the Spanish, including the Battle of Fort Federica and Battle of Bloody Marsh, eventually led to a peace agreement between Oglethorpe and Spanish forces. By 1748, the Saint Johns River was agreed upon as the definitive border between Spanish Florida and the Georgia colony. In tandem with early military concerns, the English colonists became increasingly interested in land deals outside of Savannah, including lucrative deals of 500 acres per person in Georgia's countryside. Early beneficiaries of this opportunity included figures such as Noble Jones, who established the historic Wormsloe Plantation. Additional beneficiaries included George Whitefield and James Habersham, who established the Bethesda Orphanage for boys, later to become the Bethesda Academy.[515]

By 1750, the Georgia colony was showing signs of decline, most starkly represented by the fact that the average Georgia colonist earned less than the average British citizen.[516] To curb this trend, Georgia colonists of the Trustee system looked to the economic successes of South Carolina's plantation system, which centered around West African-inspired rice cultivation methods. By 1752, much of the South Carolina rice cultivation system was implemented along the floodplains and estuaries of coastal Georgia, resulting in increased economic growth largely supported by the new institutionalization of slave labor. Oglethorpe became disheartened by the treatment of the trustees by Georgia landowners and remained a trustee of the colony despite leaving for England in 1743. By 1752, Oglethorpe officially decided to hand administration of the colony from the trustees over the English Crown. Oglethorpe, still embittered, never again returned to Georgia. Under Georgia's new system, the land restrictions of 500 acres per person were lifted. Riverfront trade expanded during this time, with Savannahians such as John Habersham making a fortune off of trading imports coming from London.[517] Most of the fortunes

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[514] Ibid, 11.
[515] Ibid, 12.
[516] Ibid, 13.
[517] Ibid, 13-14.

made by Habersham were reliant on the slave labor exploited for rice shipping and English import operations at the Savannah Wharf.[518]

By 1754, a void of leadership in the colony prompted the English Crown to appoint Captain John Reynolds as Royal Governor of Georgia. Controversy arose as Reynolds tried to implement a system of law and order under the guise of his friends and cronies in the colonial administration. Reynolds' actions agitated the Royal Council in London, who removed Reynolds from office in 1757 and replaced him with the Irish explorer and slave trader Henry Ellis. The Ellis administration proved much less controversial, mostly because Ellis remained less heavy-headed with the messy tendencies of Savannah locals. During the Ellis administration, Savannah built extensive strategic defense systems while making diplomatic concessions to the nearby Native Nations. Ellis left Georgia soon after taking office due to ill health. With the incoming reign of King George III in 1760, colonial lawyer James Wright was appointed the new Royal Governor of Georgia. Wright proved a stable aptitude for his position, helping Georgia attract new settlers as well as the expansion of its territory. In time, Wright became the largest landowner in Georgia, with eleven plantations and 523 enslaved persons under his control. Throughout the 1770s, Wright tried to quell colonial discontent with the British administration of the colonies. These efforts, of course, came to no avail by 1775.

Throughout much of the eighteenth century, Georgia remained closely tied to England.[519] Tensions arose across Georgia upon the passage of the English Stamp Act of 1765, which required all official documents to be subject to taxation. Under the Stamp Act, the British American colonies were the only portion of Britain's colonial empire forced to pay the cost, ensuing growing tensions between loyalists and separatists within the American colonies. While Georgia was opposed to the tax, the large majority of the colony remained loyal to the British. Many of Georgia's conservative landowning elite did not want to disrupt the system that helped made them rich in the first place. While many Georgia landowners remained loyal to the British, a small delegation was sent from Savannah in 1776 to sign the Declaration of Independence at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Delegates present at the signing included George Walton, Button Gwinnett, and Lyman Hall.

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[518] Ibid, 14.
[519] Ibid, 15.

By 1776, the Revolutionary War had gained a wide range of prominence across Georgia. On August 10th, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was read throughout Savannah, resulting in the subsequent creation of a new state government. The short-lived first governor of the State of Georgia was Archibald Bulloch, who passed shortly after his appointment. The next Governor of the State of Georgia was Button Gwinnett. Under the Gwinnett administration, Lachlan McIntosh was appointed in charge of the Continental Army in Georgia. During the duration of 1777, Gwinnett and McIntosh's orders often contradicted each other, leading to widespread confusion over military objectives. One such debacle occurred during the attempted invasion of British Florida, during which the conflicting order of the Governor and Army Commander resulted in a botched assault. Tensions between the two men eventually led Gwinnett to challenge McIntosh to a duel, during which both men were initially wounded. Gwinnett died three days later. While McIntosh was initially tried for the murder of the Governor, he was soon acquitted and tasked with helping lead efforts at Valley Forge.

By 1778, the war had reached Savannah in full force, with the British eyeing an invasion of southern cities such as Charleston and Savannah to control their lucrative cash crops.[520] In response to the growing threat of British invasion, the Continental Army tasked General Robert Howe to command 700 troops in Savannah's defense.[521] To the south, Howe was faced with British Colonel Archibald Campbell, who commanded 3,000 soldiers ready to march on Savannah. To gain the upper hand in the conflict, Colonel Campbell attempted to pay Quamino Dolly, an enslaved person, to find a new way through the swamp passage leading to Savannah. The American army soon found themselves cornered by British forces, and surrendered Savannah in the process. By October 17, 1779, French forces aiding the Continental Army laid siege to Savannah. Soldiers comprised of French forces, Haitian militiamen, and Continental forces fought to take the City of Savannah back from the British. While the Siege of Savannah turned out to be initially unsuccessful, the British surrendered the city in 1782 as a result of the British defeat at the Battle of Yorktown. Several notable military commanders participated in the Battle of Savannah, including Sargeant William Jasper and Count Casimir Pulaski.[522] By 1783, the war had shifted to talks at the Treaty of Paris accords. British loyalists held out at nearby

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[520] Ibid, 15-16.
[521] Ibid, 16.
[522] Ibid, 16-17.

Tybee Island to await transportation back to England, during which none of the loyalists were harmed.[523]

Throughout the decades following the Revolutionary War, Savannah experienced steady economic growth. Many of the former plantations of British high officials were now divided up amongst the Georgian members of the resistance to British rule. One such recipient of lands was General Nathaniel Greene, a close friend of George Washington and military commander in the south during the duration of the war. Greene did not own his properties for long, having fallen ill in 1786 of sunstroke, leaving him in a coma before his early death. His widow Catherine Greene came to own the plantation as a result.

Savannah, along with the rest of the American South, experienced a great economic shift in the early nineteenth century with the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin. Whitney's cotton gin made cotton a highly profitable commodity that could now be quickly mass-produced. Ramped up mass exploitation of labor, forced upon enslaved African-Americans, became the subsequent effect of this technological shift in cotton production. Increased land prices surrounding Savannah following the invention of the cotton gin led to an increase in Savannah's overall economic power in the region. Savannah's port in particular became a focal point of trade in goods such as timber, cotton, and naval stores. In May 1791, George Washington came to visit Savannah. Though Washington was initially unfond of the climate, he grew to enjoy his stay in Telfair Square, then known as Saint James Square.[524] Upon Washington's arrival, the Chatham Artillery was toasted in his honor. Washington accordingly awarded the military outfit with the Washington Guns, a pair of cannons still utilized in Savannah park decorations.

Post-revolution Savannah also experienced a boom in the prominence of African-American ecclesiasticism.[525] One such prominent example of this was Reverend Andrew Bryan. Bryan's life in Savannah started as an enslaved bondsman on the nearby Brampton Plantation. During his time as a bondsman, Bryan organized a Baptish church out of a barn on the Brampton Plantation, which is largely credited as the first African-American congregation in the United States. Bryan was baptized at the plantation by George Leile, another enslaved person on the plantation who would soon become the first African-American missionary in the United

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[523] Ibid, 17.
[524] Ibid, 18.
[525] Ibid, 17.

States.[526] Bryan became a fervent preacher in the Savannah area during the coming years, eventually buying his freedom in 1789. By 1793, Bryan bought the current site for the Bryan African Baptist Church, with the congregational building becoming completed one year later. By 1800, Bryan's congregation had split into two congregations, the First Bryan Baptist Church and the First African Baptist Church.

Growing pains began to arise during the early nineteenth century in Savannah. One such incident that rocked the city was a fire in 1796 that burned over 200 buildings, which left many homeless and jobless.[527] Another fire gripped the city in 1820, leaving 463 buildings burned to the ground. To curb such crises, the city urged citizens to form what they called "bucket brigades," or bands of people tasked with fighting fires using backup buckets of preparatory water.[528] Immigration and economic growth were also dramatically changing the character of the city. By 1812, the Hibernian Society was formed by thirteen Irish immigrants hoping to assist the needs of the growing Irish immigrant community in Savannah. Between 1806 and 1860, the City of Savannah doubled in size, thanks in large part to a large influx of Irish immigrant laborers. Additional laborers also came to Savannah from cities in the North, further adding to the growth of the city. Economic disruptions had also impaired the commerce of the port during the War of 1812, during which time transatlantic trade was hampered and Savannahians feared another attack from the British. By 1820, a yellow fever outbreak had also hit the city. Victims of the yellow fever epidemic of the 1820s can still be found most prominently in Savannah's Colonial Park Cemetary.

Despite economic growth, yellow fever, and frequent city-wide fires, the city managed to find a way to find its spatial character through the help of influential English architect William Jay. Jay was already acquainted with Savannah high society through his sister Ann, whom had married a prominent Savannahian named Robert Bolton. Jay was also known in England for his prominence in the cotton trade, which brought him social standing among Savannah's antebellum elite in the early nineteenth century.[529] He was eventually responsible for the design of some of the Savannah's earliest prominent residences, including the Telfair, Scarborough, and Richardson houses. The designs of the residences were crafted in a fashion similar to the

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[526] Ibid, 18.
[527] Ibid, 18.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Ibid, 19.

architectural movements coming out of Regency-era England. The Richardson House transferred ownership multiple times, having gone from the bankrupt account of Richardson to the Bank of the United States and eventually coming under the ownership of the French dignitary Marquis de Lafayette. By 1819, Savannah hosted James Monroe, another U.S. President, who came to stay with William Scarborough at his Jay-designed residence on West Broad Street.

Throughout the antebellum period of the early nineteenth century, Savannah became addicted to the growth of the cotton trade, similarly to the rest of the American South.[530] The cotton trade was bringing the City of Savannah untold amounts of wealth, largely due to the exploitation of labor forced upon enslaved African-Americans. Magnificent homes and lavish plantations were built throughout the city during this time, providing Savannah with a distinctively regal appearance. Places such as River Street grew to prominence for their relationship with the cotton exporting business that traded extensively with ports in England. As a result of antebellum cotton plantations, Savannah became America's top cotton exporting city, while also expanding its economic reach through the rice trade. By December of 1833, the Central Railroad and the Canal Company of Georgia were chartered to bring additional crops and goods from the interior of the state. During this time, Savannah was the largest shareholder of the Central Georgia Railway. Savannah's economic growth during the 1830s and 1840s relied heavily on the exploitation of labor forced upon enslaved African-Americans. As wealthy landowning families paid for the construction of opulent mansions and commercial networks, African-Americans cleared lands, felled trees, harvested produce sold in the city markets, and harvested cotton. African-Americans also made bricks, forged iron, and constructed buildings, contributing the essential hands-on skills to make Savannah's regal architecture a reality. Other aspects of the antebellum period left their mark on the built environment, such as the slave quarters included in a variety of mansions throughout Savannah. The city was also the largest slave-trading port in the State of Georgia, with slave trading centers such as the Montmollin Building serving as one of the principal centers of the exploitative international slave trade. One of the prominent purveyors of the slave trade was Joseph Bryan, a slave dealer in the Savannah area who was responsible for the largest single sale of enslaved persons in the history of the United States, known as the "Weeping Time," when 436 enslaved persons were sold off to a

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[530] Ibid, 20.

Darien-based, Philadelphian plantation owner named Pierce Butler.[531] The incident was widely reported throughout U.S. newspapers, including coverage from the journalist Mortimer Thomson.[532]

By 1848, African-Americans came to represent forty percent of Savannah's overall population. Enslaved African-Americans worked in a variety of settings, including local businesses and working as skilled artisans. Additionally, many African-Americans bought their freedom by working multiple jobs with contracted duties. As a result, many free persons of color resided in Savannah and operated their own businesses, providing services, and supplying produce. In 1848, there were only 650 free African-Americans in Savannah, with all of them having required a white guardian. While white guardians signaled an African-American man was not a full citizen, guardians were utilized for protection from persecution by slave traders and often signaled social status among peers.

In 1832, ecclesiastical efforts by local African-American pastors culminated in the creation of the First Colored Baptist Church in Franklin Square. This congregation became the first Black sunday school in the nation. Eventually, the organization changed its name to the First African Baptist Church. Many enslaved persons who met at the congregation helped fix up the structure after their daily work obligations. Local African-American craftsmen contributed by decorating the pews of the church with symbols of their African ancestry. This can be found in multiple historic African-American churches, where holes in the flooring are carved in the shape of African prayer symbols.[533] Underneath many of these churches were subfloors, where it is rumored that the holes in the flooring acted as air vents for runaway slaves in the event of raids and persecutions.

Many institutional barriers existed for African-Americans in Savannah during the antebellum period, including legal statutes stating that the education of the enslaved was strictly prohibited. Such statutes were first passed in Savannah in 1817. Despite legal pressure from the largely white establishment, many African-Americans taught themselves how to read, write, and cipher across clandestine schools throughout the City of Savannah. By 1829, an ordinance was passed by the State of Georgia that explicitly prohibited the education of Black children. While

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[531] Ibid, 20-21.
[532] Ibid, 21.
[533] Ibid, 22.

the ordinance had targetted the institutional education of Black children in an organized school, the ordinance did not target Black children who were being taught independently. However, white Georgians who were caught teaching Black children how to read and write were fined a $500 fee for doing so. African-Americans, likewise, who were caught teaching Black children how to read and write, were subjected to 39 lashes and a fine of $100. A similar fate came upon Reverend James M. Simms, who was caught teaching Black children clandestinely and was brutally subjected to 39 lashes, as well as a $100 fine for doing so. By 1860, according to Georgia state records, roughly seven illegal schools operated under the radar of the antebellum regime. One such clandestine institution was run for thirty years by Jane Deveaux, a free woman from Antigua who taught Black children to read the bible. Another similar figure, Mother Matilda Taylor Beasely, taught out a clandestine school in Savannah during the 1850s. Students of these schools often learned how to hide their books in brown paper, work pails, and other inconspicuous locations.

On the backdrop of Savannah's growth during the antebellum period, Monterrey Ward was constructed just north of where Forsyth Park is currently situated.[534] Montgomery Ward was originally laid out in 1847, named after the Battle of Monterrey that occurred during the Mexican-American War. The naming of the ward itself also represented a symbolic victory for the southern states, since Texas had recently become a pro-slavery state as part of the provisions of the American victory in the Mexican-American War. Shortly after the construction of the ward, the memorializations of Count Casimir Pulaski and Nathaniel Greene were constructed in the square to commemorate their service in the Revolutionary War. The sculptor R.E. Launitz deliberately chose Monterrey square for the Pulaski monument, which he designed out of marble imported from Carrera, Italy. Launitz chose Monterrey Square because he felt it was the only square in Savannah where the scale of the Pulaski monument was appropriate.[535] By the 1990s, weathered deterioration of the Pulaski monument gradually convinced the Savannah History Museum to remove the statue and repair it for reinstallation.[536]

Notable buildings surrounding Monterrey Square include the Mercer-Williams House, situated at 429 Bull Street, on the southwest trust lot. The Mercer-Williams House was originally

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[534] Ibid, 59.
[535] Ibid, 59-60.
[536] Ibid, 60.

designed by architect John Norris for General Hugh Mercer, a Confederate commander during The American Civil War. Though construction of the house started in 1860, the house was not completed until 1871 due to The Civil War. Though the property was originally built for Mercer, the home is best known for its twentieth-century occupant, the preservationist, and antique dealer Jim Williams. Jim Williams, a deep believer in historic preservation, purchased the house in 1969 and embarked on a two-year project to restore the property. Williams was additionally responsible for the restoration of the Habersham House in Raynolds Ward, as well as the Jane Deveaux residence in the historically African-American Warren Ward.[537] Williams was also responsible for the restoration of two prominent 1790s residences in the historically African-American Washington Ward, including the Hampton Lillibridge House and the Charles Oddingsells House.[538] Throughout Williams' ownership of the Mercer property, the carriage house served as his antique shop.[539] Williams eventually became the central character of John Berendt's 1994 novel *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*. The house has since been featured in a variety of films, including *Glory* and Clint Eastwood's adaption of *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*. Other notable buildings of Monterrey Ward include the Synagogue of the Synagogue Mickve Israel, one of the oldest synagogues in the United States.[540] Additionally, the ward boasts the historic Eliza M. Thompson residence, one of the oldest inns in the City of Savannah.

Savannah's history, for full context, is much more deeply rooted than the period of significance tied with Mongomery Ward's initial construction in the 1840s. From the start of The American Civil War onwards, Savannah experienced multiple radical shifts that dramatically changed the old world milieu that dominated early Savannah society. On January 16, 1861, Georgia officially seceded from the United States to join the Confederacy.[541] Shortly after, Georgia took over two Savannah-area fortifications, Fort Pulaski and Fort Jackson. Fort Pulaski proved to be the only site of military action in Savannah during The Civil War. In April of 1862, U.S. Union troops under the leadership of General Quincy A. Gilmore fired cannons from nearby Tybee Island.[542] The attack on Fort Pulaski led to the eventual surrender of Confederate troops to

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[537] Ibid, 44, 47.
[538] Ibid, 48.
[539] Ibid, 60.
[540] Ibid, 60-61.
[541] Ibid, 22.
[542] Ibid, 23.

Union forces on April 11th. For the remainder of The Civil War, U.S. Union troops occupied Fort Pulaski. Union blockades of nearby Port Royal, South Carolina further hampered commerce in Savannah while causing subsequent inflation that bankrupted the majority of the Savannah citizenry. United States Union Commander David Hunter issued an order in 1862 that all persons of color on Cockspur Island Fort Pulaski were now freed. Hunter further developed efforts to enlist Black soldiers from the occupied areas of South Carolina to form the First South Carolina Regiment.

In December of 1864, the U.S. Union General William Tecumseh Sherman burned Atlanta and began his march to Savannah, known as the March to the Sea.[543] During the march, refugees of freed African- Americans joined the Union XIV Corps of Brigadier General Jefferson C. Davis as they moved toward Savannah. On December 3, 1864, General Davis and his army marched through Ebeneezer Creek toward the city by way of a pontoon bridge. To isolate and massacre the refugees, Confederate General Joseph Wheeler dismantled the bridge before the refugees could cross and follow General Davis. As a result, 5,000 refugees were massacred by Wheeler's cavalry unit. Today the event is known as the Massacre at Ebeneezer Creek.

By December 21, 1864, Sherman's troops marched into Savannah after an inconsequential skirmish on the outskirts of the city. Savannah officials swiftly declared their surrender to Sherman to save Savannah from the same fate as Atlanta. After accepting the surrender from Savannah Mayor Richard Arnold, Sherman was given a "christmas gift" from the mayor that included heavy guns, ammunition, and a giant supply of cotton.[544] On January 12, 1865, Sherman met with U.S. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and twenty Africa-American representatives of Savannah's Baptist and Methodist congregational community to discuss emancipation efforts. Stanton had come down initially to investigate the recent Massacre at Ebeneezer Creek. Sherman expressed his concerns that Black refugees of the war become fully self-sufficient so that the Union army did not have to provide for them while maintaining military operations elsewhere. Fifteen of the twenty representatives at the meeting told Sherman that the best way to help the newly freed was to provide them with land to cultivate. By January 16th, Sherman issued Field Order Number Fifteen with President Abraham Lincoln's approval.

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[543] Ibid, 24.
[544] Ibid.

Field Order Number Fifteen officially confiscated coastal property from Charleston to the Saint Johns River and disbursed the land among freedmen in the form of mules and 40-acre allotments.[545]

After Lincoln's assassination, President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order, which prompted newly freed African-Americans to form the Freedman's Bureau.[546] By March of 1865, the U.S. Congress, headed by the Radical Republicans, officially created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands to aid in the transition efforts of formerly enslaved African-Americans. The Bureau was tasked with assisting the accrument of rations, the establishment of schools, and the establishment of a labor contract system. The Bureau itself would become instrumental in Reconstruction efforts until 1872. United States Union forces, meanwhile, continued to occupy Savannah until the surrender of the Confederacy in April of 1865.

The Reconstruction Era from 1865 to 1877 would prove to be a contentious time for the City of Savannah, as with the remainder of the American South.[547] After the Civil War, Savannahians sought to continue commercial enterprises that existed in the antebellum period. This drive to re-establish the market dominance of Savannah was gradually hampered by the growth of other markets throughout the country boosted by industrial growth and railroad expansion in the Northern United States, often just called "The North."[548] By 1873, the City of Savannah was in financial distress, which was further compounded by the calamitous national financial collapse following the Panic of 1873.[549] In 1876, the commercial viability of the city was further hampered by a large fire that destroyed much of the Savannah waterfront. Soon after the election of President Rutherford B. Hayes, the Compromise of 1877 effectively ended the Reconstruction Era through an agreement that the U.S. would withdraw their Union troops from the South in exchange for access to the Northern financial and industrial system.[550] The Compromise of 1877, as a result, effectively enshrined Jim Crow policies across the American

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[545] Ibid, 24-25.

[546] Ibid, 25.

[547] Ibid.

[548] Benjamin T. Arrington, "Industry and Economy During The Civil War," *National Park Service* online, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed Apr. 24, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/industry-and-economy-during-the-civil-war.htm.

[549] Black, Brazil, Caskey, Crisp, Curtis, Goode-Walker, Meager, Minick, Purdy, Salandi, and Stalcup, 25.

[550] Charles T. Thrift Jr., "Book Review: Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction," Article 8, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1951): 354-355.

South until the 1960s.[551] On the backdrop of the U.S. troop removal, Savannah suffered from another outbreak of yellow fever, as well as a default on their municipal loans that virtually bankrupted the city.[552] By 1886, a large earthquake in the Southeastern U.S. damaged Charleston as well as Savannah.[553] Three years later, Savannah was burned through a succession of three major fires, destroying notable buildings, including the Independent Presbyterian Church. Other natural disasters also battered the city, including two destructive hurricanes in 1893 and 1896.

Despite the recurring destructive episodes and general confusion of the late nineteenth century, Savannah managed to grow at a steady pace. By the 1880s, Savannah experienced a general economic recovery and began to regrow its efforts in trade and commerce. Businesses such as the Savannah Cotton Exchange experienced steady growth during this period. Such businesses were helped in large part by the Jim Crow laws that instituted sharecropping across the South and restricted the civil rights of African-American citizens.[554] In tandem with the growth of sharecropping in the Jim Crow South, Savannah was adjusting to the wide-ranging destruction of its antebellum infrastructure as a result of The Civil War and growing industrial interests in the area following Reconstruction.[555]

During Reconstruction, African-Americans in Savannah found new opportunities for employment and education.[556] By 1867, the Beach Institute was founded in Savannah with the support of *Scientific American* editor Alfred Ely Beach. The Beach Institute became the only institution in Savannah to provide African-Americans with education up through the 12th grade. As a result of the Beach Institute, countless numbers of Black Savannahians received the education needed to go on to higher educational institutions. By the 1890s, Savannah had opened an African-American nursing school, as well as a Black-owned hospital. In 1890, other institutions such as the Georgia State Industrial College for Colored Youth were established by the Georgia General Assembly, later to become Savannah State University in 1947. Savannah

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[551] Robert McNamara, "The Comprimise of 1877 Set the Stage for the Jim Crow Era," History and Culture, Humanities, *ThoughtCo* (New York, NY) online, last updated Oct. 29, 2019, accessed Apr. 15, 2022, https://www.thoughtco.com/the-compromise-of-1877-after-the-civil-war-1773369.

[552] Lisa L. Denmark, "'At The Midnight Hour': Economic Dilemmas and Harsh Realities in Post-Civil War Savannah," Fall 2006, *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 90, no. 3 (2006): 350-351.

[553] Black, Brazil, Caskey, Crisp, Curtis, Goode-Walker, Meager, Minick, Purdy, Salandi, and Stalcup, 25.

[554] B.W. Kilburn, "Sharecropping," *History* (New York, NY) online, Jun. 24, 2010, last updated Jun. 7, 2019, https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/sharecropping.

[555] Black, Brazil, Caskey, Crisp, Curtis, Goode-Walker, Meager, Minick, Purdy, Salandi, and Stalcup, 25.

[556] Ibid, 26.

State University remains the oldest Black public university in Georgia. Multiple influential scholars emerged from the institution, including Ulysses Houston and James Simms, each of whom went on to the Georgia Legislature to fight against the Jim Crow laws that plagued Georgia after the end of Reconstruction. In response to increased opposition by white supremacists who enshrined Jim Crow policies, African-Americans developed schools and businesses throughout the country.

The move into the twentieth century would prove fruitful for the economy of Savannah.[557] As the Spanish-American began in 1898, Savannah played a major part in the shipment of troops to Cuba for the war effort. During the war, Fort Screven was constructed at Tybee Island and Forsyth Park became a key site for parade grounds and weapons staging for the war effort. Moving further into the twentieth century, Savannah became more entrenched in military associations through the growth of shipbuilding facilities, the construction of nearby Camp Stweart, and the establishment of Hunter Army Airfield. These facilities late played an important part in the war efforts of World War I. During World War I, Savannah's port became a major center of shipbuilding and maintenance. As a result of the growing military bases in the local economy, Savannahians grew attached to the military as an example of their newfound identity. One such example of this phenomenon occurred with the renaming of Old Estill Avenue to Victory Drive, named in the honor of fallen Chatham County soldiers. In addition to this new militaristic fervor, Savannah was increasingly interested in car culture, resulting in early automobile suburban development trends on the outskirts of Savannah's historic district. Savannah's suburban growth drew an increased interest in local non-profit organizations. One of the most prominent examples came from Juliette Gordon Low, who founded the Girl Scouts of America in Savannah in 1912.[558]

By the 1920s, Jazz businesses exploded in popularity throughout Savannah. The growth of Jazz in the area helped contribute to larger local interests in the arts, prompting Savannahians such as singer Johnny Mercer to jumpstart his career from the local Town Theater Group. Savannah's artistic community also contributed to a growth in literary interest in the city. One famous writer to have come out of Savannah was the native Flannery O'Connor, who wrote the novels *A Good Man is Hard to Find* and *Good Country People*. Jazz groups of the area, such as

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[557] Ibid, 27.
[558] Ibid, 28.

Joe "King" Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band came to Savannah in 1937, remaining in Savannah until Oliver's death one year later.[559]

With the beginning of The Great Depression, Savannah saw tremendous and trying changes. The port of Savannah, as a result of the economic decline, saw a major drop in shipments. Additionally, bank failures across Georgia left many Savannahians penniless. To help with the economic woes, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) employed many Savannahians through large-scale construction projects, such as the creation of Savannah High School on Washington Avenue. Additional Savannahians helped the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) restore Fort Pulaski during this time, providing many Savannahians with much-needed employment. By 1933, a series of celebrations took place throughout the city, including a bicentennial celebration and a visit from President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[560] The 1930s saw a wide range of economically beneficial efforts, including the establishment of the Savannah Pulp and Paper Laboratory by scientist Charles H. Herty in 1931.[561] Other important developments of this period include the establishment of Armstrong Junior College, which later produced figures such as Stacy Keach, Mayor Otis Johnson, and Stratton Leopold.

The Second World War proved to be another major boost for the economy of Savannah. The majority of Savannah's growth during this time came from the prominence of Savannah's shipbuilding center. During the duration of the war, Savannah helped construct 80 ships with the help of over 15,000 newly hired laborers. Additional airfields and institutions grew during the duration of the war, including Hunter Field, Chatham Field, Fort Stewart, the Women's Airforce Service Pilots, The United States Public Health Service, and the Savannah Coast Guard Air Station.[562]

In the aftermath of World War II, Savannah's African-American population began ramping up demands to gain their civil rights, as well as the end of Jim Crow oppression.[563] One of the instrumental figures present during these events was the Reverend Ralph Mark Gilbert of the First African Baptist Church. In the 1940s, Gilbert was responsible for reorganizing the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Gilbert

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[559] Ibid.
[560] Ibid, 28-29.
[561] Ibid, 29.
[562] Ibid, 29-30.
[563] Ibid, 30.

later became president of the organization. Gilbert himself was instrumental in voter registration and electoral reform efforts, as well as the establishment of the United Service Organization (USO) efforts in Savannah. By 1947, Savannah became one of the first cities in the South to hire African-American police officers. Though a step toward progress, the nine Black officers hired for the job were not allowed to arrest white citizens. Later efforts to curb racial injustices were accelerated by the new NAACP President Westley Wallace Law, a longtime activist for racial justice and a previously active member of the NAACP.[564] Law was active in a variety of areas throughout the years, having worked as a mail carrier for forty years, in addition to community activism, service at local churches, and work with the Boy Scouts of America.[565] During his time with the NAACP, law advocated for nonviolent protests, such as wade-ins at Kress and Woolworth lunch counters. Other prominent civil rights leaders of the time include Hosea Williams, who engaged in multiple acts of defiance against racial segregation, including a time when he drank from a "whites-only" fountain, after which he was hospitalized.[566] Civil rights activism in Savannah eventually led to all public facilities becoming desegregated by October of 1963. In that same year, both Savannah High School and Groves High School were desegregated, after efforts spearheaded by nineteen local students including youth leaders Earl T. Shinhoster, Robert Robinson, and Sage Brown.[567]

After the passage of the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act, efforts of the NAACP shifted gears toward the cultural preservation of African-American historic sites in Savannah.[568] Spearheading local preservation efforts, W.W. Law and several NAACP activists in the area helped organize the Yamacraw Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, as well as establish the Ralph Mark Gilbert Civil Rights Museum, the Negro Heritage Trail Tour, the King-Tisdell Cottage Museum, and the Beach Institute for African-American Culture. Law and others were also instrumental in helping preserve Laurel Grove South Cemetary, a historically African-American burial site.

Beyond cultural preservation, Savannah's preservation efforts had a long history dating back to the 1920s, when the Society for the Preservation of Parks was formed to preserve

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[564] Ibid, 30-31.
[565] Ibid, 31.
[566] Ibid.
[567] Ibid, 31-32.
[568] Ibid, 32.

Savannah's squares against encroaching demolition efforts.[569] By 1945, efforts by local businessman Hansell Hillyer led to the restoration of the Trustees Garden Complex. Additional properties saved during the 1940s and 1950s include the Owens-Thomas House and the Wayne Gordon House. Despite local efforts toward preservation, multiple historic landmarks were destroyed during the 1950s and 1960s, including the old City Market Building, the DeSoto Hotel, and Savannah's Union Station. One historic landmark that received active support from community activists was the Isaiah Davenport House. Efforts to save the Isaiah Davenport House became the impetus for the Historic Savannah Foundation, a non-profit organization that promotes the preservation of historic structures throughout Savannah. As a result of efforts made by the Historic Savannah Foundation, the Davenport House was restored and opened to the public in 1963. By 1966, soon after the passage of the NHPA, Savannah was able to designate one of the nation's first National Historic Districts. Savannah's initial National Historic District boundary encompassed roughly two square miles, featuring a myriad of Federal, Regency, Victorian, and Italianate architectural styles. Today, Savannah boasts fifteen historic districts.[570] By the 1970s, the city experienced a large spatial change as a result of the River Street Urban Renewal Project, which developed 80,000 square feet of unused cotton warehouse space into shops, restaurants, and art galleries. By 1994, Savannah reached an international audience through the publication of John Berendt's novel *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*. Berendt's novel focuses on the true story of a sensational Savannah murder that occurred at the Mercer-Williams House during Williams' time at the residence. Locals affectionately refer to Berendt's novel as "the book."[571]

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[569] Ibid, 33.
[570] Ibid, 34.
[571] Ibid.

Formal Analysis

As mentioned in prior chapters, *Midnight in the Garden of Evil* was determined to exhibit preservation through the lens of entrepreneurialism. According to Koziol, entrepreneurialism "agrees with the populist that value is in the eye of the beholder but has no qualms about commercializing the attachments people have for historical artifacts."[572] To establish that this film showcases an entrepreneurialist simulacrum, this study must additionally define simulacra as previously mentioned. According to Baudrillard, a simulacrum is present when signifiers become detached from the objects they signify.[573] Simulacra, as stated before, constitutes a copy or representation of something.[574] Baudrillard then expands on this definition to state that when society began to organize around simulations, identities could be constructed through the use of images, codes, and models to orient how individuals perceive themselves in relation to others.[575] Since *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* does not reflect the dominant privatist mode of the American preservation system, the film effectively acts as an entrepreneurialist simulacrum informed by the history of Savannah, Georgia, and Monterrey Ward previously stated. One of the best ways to understand a film's meaning is through an examination of formal elements that constitute the composition of a film in its totality. Formal elements can include aspects such as framing, lighting, angles, movement, and editing.[576] In addition to these formal elements, dialogue can be used to carry meaning through the language presented by characters. In short, meaning can be understood through cinematic, scriptural dialogue, as well as imagery and editing techniques.

One notable technique that is used from time to time in *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* is the strategic application of establishing long shots. When John Kelso first arrives at the offices of Jim Williams, he is shown in a rather wide long shot that foregrounds the front gardens and decorative iron gates that line the entrance to a massive, white, Greek Revival government building.[577] By framing Kelso as a tiny portion of the scenery, director Clint Eastwood establishes the immense sense of alienation Kelso feels on arrival in Savannah, as well

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[572] Koziol, 43.
[573] Waller, 14:00.
[574] Ibid, 13:50.
[575] Kellner, "Jean Beaudrillard."
[576] "Formal Elements of Film," University of Colorado Denver.
[577] *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, 5:20.

as the overwhelming presence of history itself. As the camera pans left to show Kelso entering the building, even Kelso can't help but look up at all the decorative features surrounding his entrance to the building. As Kelso enters the front lobby, another long-shot places Kelso as a tiny figure in the frame, in which a front desk receptionist and a portrait of James Oglethorpe are larger than Kelso himself.[578] Right as Kelso enters the front lobby, the receptionist speaks into her intercom, saying simply, "he's here."[579] Already, viewers of this scene gain an understanding of how small Kelso feels, how grandiose the history of Savannah looms large, the degree of familiarity Savannahians have with one another, and the omniscience with which the Savannah elites operate when newcomers of stature arrive. The receptionist could have should *John Kelso is here*, but instead, she simply said *he's here*, as if to imply that everyone in Savannah knows Kelso is coming to town. Suspiciously, quickly following the receptionist's intercom notification, Betty Harney enters from the right of the frame under the same continuous, stable long shot. As Betty enters, she greets Kelso by saying, "oh welcome Mr. Kelsi! I'm sorry, Mr. Kelso?"[580] By continuing to frame the shot in the same long shot, Eastwood communicates how large the presence of history looms in Savannah, even as a local quickly greets Kelso and mispronounces his last name. After greeting Kelso and clarifying his name, despite her eager and quick entrance implying she already knows who he is, Betty tells Kelso, "Sonny's been expecting you."[581] In response, continuing the historicist long shot and not knowing who *Sonny* is, Kelso replies, "I'm here to see Jim Williams?"[582] Betty, within the same shot, replies to Kelso by saying, "Sonny is Jim's attorney."[583] This part is a particularly interesting take on Savannah culture because it implies that Savannah's history looms large enough that when outsiders arrive they are expected to adjust to Savannah customs instead of the other way around. Kelso as a result is left puzzled because Betty simultaneously mispronounced his name while assuming Kelso already knew who *Sonny* was. Additionally, Kelso never agreed to meet with Jim's attorney, leaving him bewildered as to why he's not immediately meeting Jim face-to-face.

Another scene that foregrounds Kelso's status as an outsider occurs early in the film when he walks past the Mercer-Williams House for the first time. At first, Kelso is framed in a

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[578] Ibid, 5:27.
[579] Ibid.
[580] Ibid, 5:35.
[581] Ibid, 5:40.
[582] Ibid, 5:43.
[583] Ibid.

Steadicam American shot of himself happily walking by and gazing at the Mercer-Williams House with his luggage in hand.[584] The shot transitions slowly via Steadicam to a medium shot of Kelso looking forward, looking slightly afraid. The scene then cuts to a long shot of Billy Hanson, who sports a white t-shirt, blue jeans, and a confederate flag tattoo on his arm while he washes a 1960s Chevrolet Camaro. As Billy looks up at Kelso, the scene cuts back to a medium shot of Kelso, who stares at Billy. The scene then cuts to a medium shot of Billy Hanson looking back at Kelso with an unbothered, curious expression.[585] As Billy looks back at his Camaro, the scene cuts back to a medium shot of Kelso, who looks up toward the house again, stops, and turns to relook at Billy. The scene then cuts to an American shot of Billy, who looks at Kelso and says, "hey," but in a tone of suspicion.[586] The use of an American shot is prescient for this film, given Clint Eastwood's notable roles in classic American and Italian westerns that utilized American shots. American shots are profiled shots that typically frame from the knees upward, giving a character prevalence in their surroundings while showing other elements in the frame that signify a character's power and confidence. In the westerns, American shots were often used to profile cowboys with their rifles in the full frame to show power and confidence. In this case, Billy's power and confidence come from the car he washes.

The scene then cuts to a medium close-up of a scared Kelso, who continues to stare out of fear, at a loss for words. Here we can see that Kelso is exoticizing Billy by gazing at him, almost in disbelief that he's witnessing a person with such a brazen, stereotypical southern appearance. The scene then cuts to another American shot of Billy, who postures to Kelso, saying, "you lookin' for something?"[587] Kelso then replies, saying casually saying no. Shortly afterward, the scene cuts to another American shot of Billy, who stares with a creepy smile directed at the camera before looking upward. In Billy being framed here smiling at the camera, Billy is looking at the audience as well as Kelso directly, implying that the audience should feel just as much like an outsider as Kelso himself. The scene then cuts to a medium shot of Kelso walking and looking at the ground before gazing up at the second floor of the Mercer-Williams House, during which the camera tilts to a low-angled long shot of the second floor with Kelso blurred in the

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584 Ibid, 3:52.
585 Ibid, 4:00.
586 Ibid.
587 Ibid, 4:10.

foreground.[588] Here the camera guides audiences to look in the same direction as Kelso. For a second, Jim Williams' ghoulish figure is visible in the window. Next, the scene cuts to a low-angled loose close-up of Kelso, who gazes up in suspicion toward the window. This choice of a low-angled shot for Kelso is interesting because it shows that Kelso is powerful despite gazing at an unfamiliar site. Just then, the scene cuts to a low-angled shot of the ornate second-floor Italianate arch-framed window. Behind the window, Jim Williams is slightly visible through the window glass, smoking a cigar and gazing downward toward Kelso. The choice of visuals here carries multiple meanings. By setting the shot of the window at a low angle, Eastwood is showcasing Jim's elusive power of observation. In setting Jim as a faded, barely visible, cigar-smoking, suit-wearing figure in an old Savannah mansion window, Eastwood is establishing Williams as the secretive overseer of Savannah itself. By gazing at Kelso, Williams is getting all the necessary information he needs, while Kelso is left unsure and suspicious. Additionally, by framing Williams as a blurry, suited figure gazing from an ornate Italianate window, Williams is acting as the overseer of Savannah's antebellum history, emblemated by the antebellum house he resides in.

The Southern protectorate aspect of Williams' character adds further complexity to his entrepreneurialist preservation ethic.[589] This is because Williams himself does not come from any old money Southern family and has to maintain the secrecy of his closeted homosexuality throughout the film.[590] Williams is also portrayed as a self-made man from hard-scrabble beginnings who has preserved Savannah's historic built environment for Southern cultural association and private profit.[591] Additionally, Williams portrays Savannah through three central themes in the film, which include trust, status, and privacy.[592] Williams trusts no one, manufactures his status, and maintains the privacy of his personal life.[593] Conversely, Williams gains trust through decorum and material accumulation, manufactures status through the acquisition of materials from dead rich Southerners, and collects all the secrets of Savannah society to exploit for personal gain.[594] As a result, his wealth and status become a giant facade,

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[588] Ibid, 4:20.
[589] Ibid, 25:50.
[590] Ibid, 25:30, 2:11:00.
[591] Ibid, 5:00, 26:10.
[592] Ibid, 25:10, 29:36, 55:00.
[593] Ibid.
[594] Ibid, 22:20, 23:45, 26:00, 29:40, 1:34:20.

from which he can curate material wealth and profess himself as an equal among elites. This shows the foolhardy nature of entrepreneurialist preservation because the entrepreneurialist prioritizes personal wealth while attempting to relate with the associational values communities ascribe to cultural resources. Williams, like Jimmie Fails, sees inherent cultural value in the resources he desires to preserve. However, by pursuing the profit motive Williams is acting in his self-interest, which he professes as inherently virtuous. Williams subsequently feels that anything is game for the taking, as long as he can acquire the approval from community members to engage in the process of material acquisition. This approach is similar to the privatist mode of preservation in that it prioritizes profits, but is largely devoid of the intrinsic valuation that occurs when rationally assessing resources for capitalization purposes. As Williams duplicitously manufactures trust, invents status, and guards his private life, many in Savannah society became suspicious, because doing so made people view Jim as a preservationist guided by money-grabbing, individualistic, and questionable motives. Therefore, Williams acts as a kind of preservationist villain who uses his manufactured position of power to absolve himself of responsibility. As a result of the culturalist profiteering of entrepreneurialism, status-minded individuals such as Williams can find intriguing preservation pathways to personal wealth and status under neoliberal capitalism. What gets thrown under the rug in the process, however, is any populist or essentialist consideration that might be made for the sake of the public good. This might be the reason why *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* did not do as well at the box office as the rest of the films examined for this study.

CONCLUSION

       Over the course of this terminal project, I have examined the preservation ideology present in twelve American preservation-themed films. To define preservation ideological categories, I utilized Christopher Koziol's Preservation Discourse Matrix to determine the major factors and subfactors of populism, essentialism, entrepreneurialism, and privatism. During the examination of all twelve films, my qualitative data for this study determined that populism was the dominant ideology represented among the twelve films selected for this study. Due to the predominance of privatism within the current American preservation system, the qualitative results of this study proved that there was an ideological disconnect between the qualitative results of this study and the prevailing ideological paradigm present in the American preservation system. To understand this disconnect further, I utilized the theoretical approach of Jean Baudrillard to grasp the deeper meaning behind the ideological disconnect present in this study's qualitative results. Baudrillard's concepts of simulacra and hyperreality were subsequently used to understand how this disconnect distorts the largely privatist reality of the American preservation system. To further establish the legitimacy of this study within historic preservation studies, this study also gave a brief overview of the history of the preservation system to show how all four ideological categories have been present in the preservation movement at one point or another. However, despite the historical development of the preservation field as a whole, this study also showed how neoliberal, privatist preservation policies since the 1970s has changed the preservation field and moved it in the direction of privatist applications to various problems.

       To further understand the meaning behind the qualitative results of this study, I engaged in a discourse historical approach of critical discourse analysis to analyze three specific case studies from the twelve American preservation-themed films selected for this study. I also provided an epistemological, historical background of Jean Baudrillard, a concrete definition of critical discourse analysis, a definition of the discourse historical approach to critical discourse analysis, a chart of qualitative results, a chart of Koziol's Preservation Discourse Matrix, and a brief literature review looking at the applications of Baudrillard's theoretical concepts in film and historic preservation studies. To firmly establish this study within a nuanced understanding of the qualitative results, I also examined the intricacies of differences and commonalities

present in the qualitative data. This examination of differences and commonalities shows how despite the overlap of the four Koziol ideological and the twelve American preservation films selected, populism remained the dominant preservation ideology. To further bring nuance to this study, I examined three films for individual case studies of the three overall ideological categories found, including populism, essentialism, and entrepreneurialism. While *The Last Black Man in San Francisco* was selected as the representative populist preservation case study, *The Descendants* was picked for its adherence to essentialist preservationism, while *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* was selected for its embrace of entrepreneurialist preservationism. To foreground, each of these three ideological case studies within Baudrillardian theory and a discourse historical approach, historic context statements were provided for each preservation resource represented within each film. Additionally, each case study had a preservation ideology defined based on evidence of ideological subcategories present in the audio-visual content of each film. First, each case study had its preservation ideology defined using audio-visual elements. Second, each film was analyzed based on formal characteristics that contribute to the deeper historical and formalistic meaning guiding the preservation ethics and ideology of each case study.

Regardless of *The Descendants* and *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* diverging from the dominant populist ideological trend among the twelve American preservation-themed films examined, privatism was not fully embraced as a preservation ethic by any of the twelve films examined. As a result, this study concluded that all twelve preservation-themed films act as simulacra in their own right, because they did not fully embrace the privatist approach present in the American preservation field at large. In effect, all twelve films give false impressions of how preservation works on a structural level under neoliberal capitalism. While many of the films examined showcase how historic preservation is often informed by privatist market forces, they never fully embrace the ethic of privatism as an inherent good by which to base the preservation of cultural resources represented. As a result, audiences watching any of the twelve films selected will have a somewhat distorted impression of how historic preservation actually works, which will then give everyday Americans the wrong impression of how preservationists operate within the present neoliberal structural system of American political economy.

Conversely, this false representation could showcase a potential opportunity for the preservation field at large, as well as future filmmakers that want to explore preservation-themed

stories. Historic preservation in the United States has gone through a variety of different stages throughout its historical development. Initially, the field started on highly essentialist pretenses of preserving patriotic resources emblematic of the founding fathers. The essentialist ethic of preservation largely continued into the creation of the current preservation system under the progressive leadership of Lyndon Baynes Johnson.

Since the proliferation of the Historic Tax Credit System in the 1970s, the preservation field has largely enmeshed itself within the legalistic purview of cultural resource management. On the other hand, preservation-themed cinema since the 1970s has remained largely populist while maintaining a largely postmodern approach to storytelling. As a result, the preservation-themed films we watch give a much more populist tinge to preservationists than the applied work performed daily by preservation professionals. Given the popularity of populism as a preservation ethic in American preservation-themed films, we should think much more broadly about where this field continues in the near future. Additionally, preservationists should ponder whether they can live out the preservation ethic that dominates the collective cinematic imaginary. It may very well be that the next major phase of preservation challenges us to look in the mirror and examine whether our field lives up to the expectations regular Americans have garnered from films such as the examples presented in this study. As far as preservation-themed film is concerned, the next generation of preservation-themed films have enormous potential to break the postmodern mold of realism and hyperreality that Baudrillard so detested. Regardless, the field of preservation is continually evolving, and it could be that the populist sentiments of the last forty years of American preservation-themed cinema has yet to reflect future systems of power that may reprioritize preservation resources in a different direction. Beyond representing a non-reality that distracts from the real world, the films examined in this study are indicative of a larger desire within the American movie-going public to see preservation act in the way they want to see preservation play out. People want to see their longstanding communities preserved for future generations, and I think it is fair to say that this study speaks to a desire for all communities to have agency in the preservation process regardless of income, education level, professional connections, and social status. To change the American preservation system in meeting this goal, Americans will have to abandon their highly monetized view of preservation and begin once more to see the American preservation field as a public good in the progressive spirit of its institutional inception in the 1960s.

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