

plidity might be evidenced, but flowed from local norms. Ideally this assertion might lead to a rethinking of what those terms meant in cities such as Philadelphia.

Well-organized chapters examine various types of status: buildings, situation, interior arrangements, furnishings, and enacting. He overlays his analysis with the relationship of enslaved people to these houses as builders, makers of furnishings, and the source of income that often made them possible. A wide cross-section of houses from around Great Britain and along the east coast of America provides concrete examples. The extensive illustrations effectively facilitate the comparison between Britain and America. A more general map of Britain would have been helpful, but the photos and charts are well integrated into the work and referenced throughout the text. Two lengthier studies focus on James Logan's Stenton in Germantown, where Hague was executive director for a number of years, and John Elbridge's Cote near Bristol. He reveals notable similarities in function, layout, and how they present their owners to the world.

In chapter 5, on the arranging of status, Hague focuses on interiors. Like Reinberger and McLean, he characterizes the typical American house as to room layout, the dominance of symmetry, and the essentially compact nature of the plan. He expands on that, noting that furnishings were not simply driven by fashion, but a clear sense of the "best" objects. They tended to be blended. "Genteel households injected stylish elements by mixing newly-acquired goods with old-fashioned furnishings" (96).

Enacting status, an intriguing concept, is explored in chapter 7, especially the ideas of politeness and gentility. "Building a gentleman's house most often conferred status, but the performance of status was a recurring process" (117). Entertaining, hospitality, and sporting opportunities were ritualized with appropriate objects and markers of taste, often featuring a coat of arms. This particular theme warrants additional exploration.

In his discussion of gentlemanly networks, Hague further illuminates the changing patterns of Quaker consumption after 1720 in towns such as Philadelphia and Bristol. As wealth increased and they built and often elegantly furnished classical houses, their display contrasted with many generally held perceptions of Quaker life and their material world. In addition, contrary to some earlier ideas of Quaker anti-intellectualism, Hague demonstrates that Quakers in both countries had a strong interest in science and the dissemination of knowledge. A noteworthy combination that would persist well into the early

twentieth century balanced mercantile and industrial innovation with attention to gardening, botany, and agriculture, more gentlemanly pursuits.

The accomplishment of Reinberger, McLean, and Hague in their two books is to move this field of study to a higher level, opening additional avenues of inquiry and, in combination, becoming key additions to the canon. Earlier works on colonial architecture and furnishings for cities like Philadelphia, Boston, or Charleston built a foundation with detailed research, archaeological investigation, and photographs and measured drawings. They uncovered histories of owners and occupants, attempting to place them in a regional context. But unlike these two books, they seldom looked beyond a limited geographic boundary and rarely made the leap across the Atlantic to seek not only precedents, but meaning.

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**Dell Upton.** *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. ix+255 pp.; 59 black-and-white images, notes, index. \$45.00.

In the preface to *What Can and Can't Be Said*, Dell Upton places himself within the context of the civil rights era, articulating poignantly the impact that the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. had on him as a university student. As a southerner and a young person coming of age in the 1960s, his project reads as deeply personal. In this book Upton considers the role of monuments and memorials in creating what he terms the "New New South." Foregrounding memorial and monument building in honor of the civil rights movement, he argues, "the monuments are less about remembering the movement than they are about asserting the presence of black Americans in contemporary Southern society and politics" (vii). He avers that the various communities engaged in monument building in the South still struggle with continued systemic racism and white supremacy in interpreting African American history.

Comprising an introduction and six chapters, *What Can and Can't Be Said* lays out the problems of memorialization in the South for both black and white communities. Upton explores what can and can't be said in Western monument building through the visual form of war memorials. Civic groups, local leaders, and communities have embraced three types of monuments in the South. Those commemorating movement leaders include grave markers and

statues such as the numerous sculptures of Martin Luther King Jr., of which Lei Yixin's colossal example (2011) in Washington, DC, is the most widely known. Populist memorials to "rank-and-file participants," such as Maya Lin's Civil Rights Memorial (1989) in Montgomery, Alabama, represent a second type. The third depicts the civil rights era more broadly through African American history, exemplified by Ed Dwight's African American History Monument (2001) on the South Carolina State House grounds in Columbia. Upton identifies a key problem for memorial builders in the South: the issue of "representations of representations." These images are grounded in news media photography and television broadcasts of the 1960s that have become the stock images of the civil rights movement. Yet, for Upton, these "representations of representations" are not about the civil rights movement "as a social movement carried out through mundane, repetitive, distinctively nonphotogenic activities such as voter registration, school teaching, and the refusal to observe the everyday protocols of segregation" (10) nor are they about the "long-term struggles by diffuse masses of people" for political and social equality (13). He proposes that they are abstracted representations rooted in a war memorial lexicon.

Besides the problem of visual representation, Upton asks "what is permitted to be said" in contemporary American public discourse about the civil rights era and African American history. He lays out four preconditions that have shaped public understanding of monuments on these subjects in the South: the proliferation, democratization, and contentiousness of monument building as a whole; the problem of older monuments to white Southern history and white supremacy that often conflict with these new memorials; the day-to-day politics of local governments, including issues related to patronage and economic development, that shape particular presentations of black history; and African Americans' struggle to have a voice in interpreting the civil rights movement within the longer history of race, racism, and inequality in the United States. Upton argues that black and white communities in the South are engaged in a carefully balanced dance between white and black heritage. His project aims to explore the complicated relationship between various stakeholders and the types of histories that are told in public space.

Upton's book arrives at a pressing moment in American society in regard to race, monuments, the South, and the Confederacy. Cities wrestling with the painful legacy of Confederate monuments in public spaces include Baltimore, Durham, Louisville,

New Orleans, and Alexandria, Virginia. These cities are in discussion about or have finalized decisions to remove Confederate memorials from view.<sup>1</sup> Universities continue to struggle with appropriate responses to the legacy of slavery and enslavement at their institutions that include endowments with roots in the slave trade, buildings named after slave owners, and campus memorials to Confederate generals and soldiers. These universities range from Brown, Yale, and Princeton to the University of Virginia, University of Texas at Austin, and the University of Mississippi.<sup>2</sup> In 2016 the debate spilled over to the American Historical Association's annual meeting in Atlanta, where the problem of Confederate memorials and public space was discussed during a plenary meeting.<sup>3</sup> *What Can and Can't Be Said* is a book that should be read by all. It demands that we consider the complicated nature of race, history, and memorialization in the South as an ongoing conversation about the possibilities of what might be said in the future.

RENEE D. ATER  
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<sup>1</sup> Brent Staples, "Confederate Memorials as Instruments of Terror," *New York Times*, July 24, 2015; Natalie Pompilio, "Passions Run Hot in Fight over Confederate Monuments," *Washington Post*, April 18, 2016; Monica Hesse, "A Quandary Set in Stone," *Washington Post*, May 9, 2016; "Charleston Church Shooting Sparked Changes Nationwide," *New York Times*, June 12, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Katherine Mangan, "Removing Confederate Symbols Is a Step, but Changing a Campus Culture Can Take Years," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 25, 2015; Corinne Ruff, "In Explaining Confederate Symbols, Colleges Struggle to Summarize History," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 23, 2016; Sarah Brown, "Yale Keeps Name for College that Honors a Slavery Apologist," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 27, 2016. In February 2017 Yale reversed its decision and agreed to rename Calhoun College. The building honored US Vice President John C. Calhoun, an avowed champion of slavery. See Monica Wang and Susan Svrluga, "Yale Renames Calhoun College Because of Its Historical Ties to White Supremacy and Slavery," *Washington Post*, February 12, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Sarah Fenton, "AHA Plenary: 'The Confederacy, Its Symbols, and the Politics of Public Culture,' January 7, 2016," *AHA Today*, January 9, 2016, <http://blog.historians.org/2016/01/aha-plenary-the-confederacy-its-symbols-and-the-politics-of-public-culture-january-7-2016/>; Colleen Flaherty, "Confronting the Past: Historians Debate the Value and Place for Confederate Monuments, Memorials and Other Symbols," *Inside Higher Ed*, January 8, 2016, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/01/08/historians-debate-value-and-place-confederate-monuments-and-other-symbols>.