

Smith is fastidious in tracing ideas and practices across space and time using sources produced by the cemeteries such as dedication speeches, meeting minutes, rule books, and tour guides. He shows how, for example, a policy prohibiting fences around lots that originated in Green Mount Cemetery in Vermont in 1855 was adopted at other sites, such as Woodlawn Cemetery in New York and Bellefontaine in St. Louis, until it had become the norm by the end of the nineteenth century. By the time cemetery superintendents formed their own professional association in 1887 they could already draw on decades of informal networking, discussion, and practice.

While Smith engages several paradoxes—the relationship between nature and landscape, the tension between sacred and secular, and the intertwining of death and collective memory—it is the assertion that rural cemeteries were entirely urban that is ultimately the most compelling. Smith interprets rural cemeteries as laboratories in which Americans could work out what cities might mean and how they might function. Rural cemeteries became sites to grapple with questions about public health. Cemetery administrators developed prototypes for green space, regulatory regimes, and zoning. That these rural institutions that buried the dead helped give life to the modern city is the greatest paradox of all.

Abraham Lincoln: A Western Legacy, by Richard Etulain. South Dakota Biography Series, Faces of Mount Rushmore. Pierre, SD: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2020. ix, 198 pp. Illustrations, essay on sources, notes, index. \$14.95 paperback.

Reviewer David J. Gerleman is a lecturer at George Mason University and emeritus assistant editor of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. He is an authority on the American Civil War, the Lincoln Presidency, and horse cavalry.

In August 1859 Abraham Lincoln visited Iowa to select bounty lands awarded retroactively for his Black Hawk War service and stood on a Council Bluffs hillside gazing westwards as engineer Grenville M. Dodge explained the glories of a transcontinental railroad. He hardly could have imagined that it would be his signature that sent iron horses charging across the Great Plains, permitted the distribution of millions of acres of land, and aided the foundation of numerous western colleges and universities. Yet, within a year of his Hawkeye State trip, the prosperous Illinois attorney had been remolded into an honest frontiersman whose “rail-splitter” image enabled him to hew a path to the White House.

Western questions permeated Lincoln’s political career, raised him to national prominence, and even shadowed his last official acts before

his fatal trip to Ford's Theater. Lincoln physically saw more of the West than most other politicians at the time and symbolically came to represent the region's rising importance and potential for growth as well as its backwardness and limitations. The West shaped Lincoln, but did he notably shape the West? Richard Etulain, a University of New Mexico emeritus professor, seeks to answer that question in *Abraham Lincoln: A Western Legacy*, which is the first installment in the South Dakota Biography series featuring the presidents honored on Mount Rushmore.

Etulain contends few writers have specifically focused on Lincoln and the West and his easy writing style and firm grasp of recently published secondary sources make the book highly readable. Etulain argues that Lincoln significantly altered the West's landscape, influenced its political leanings, and laid the foundations for its social identity. The premise behind Etulain's book is intriguing, drawn heavily from his previous writings on the West as well as from prominent Lincoln biographers Michael Burlingame, Ronald C. White, David Donald, Allen Guelzo, and Sidney Blumenthal.

The book's six thematic chapters divide equally between Lincoln's pre-presidential years and his administration's western-focused legislative agenda (such as the Homestead, Pacific Railroad, and the Morrill Land-Grant Acts) followed by his apotheosis into secular sainthood and subsequent exaltation in Black Hills granite by Gutzon Borglum. Readers may grapple with whether the book's main purpose is meant to be weighted towards a fully comprehensive study of Lincoln's relationship with the West or a complete chronicling of the efforts to have him enshrined on Mount Rushmore. The fewer than 150 pages of text, however, leave little room for a full exploration of either theme.

Etulain contends that Lincoln's well-intentioned Indian policies were poorly managed and that his patronage appointments tilted the region's political landscape towards the Republican Party. His most controversial assertion, however, is to fault Lincoln for the failures of western railroad overbuilding, the horrors of Indian removal, and the farming collapse which occurred thirty years after his death. The seeds of those problems were planted by Congress, not Lincoln, and the West likely would have developed along the same existing lines under any other elected Republican candidate. This argument about how much censure Lincoln should justly receive for what transpired decades beyond his reach is therefore highly problematic.

The book will interest general or western audiences, but Civil War and Lincoln scholars will not find any innovative arguments or notably new archival or digital resources. Etulain's declaration in his essay on sources that the greatest difficulty for Lincoln authors is choosing "which

books they will rely on most" (151) highlights a reoccurring problem within Lincoln studies of over reliance on existing scholarship. Less than ten percent of Lincoln's extant correspondence has been published and a vast amount of Lincoln Administration materials still lie untapped at the National Archives. Therefore, like the frontier, these new research horizons must be explored and cultivated before the complete story of Lincoln and the West can truly be told.

How the South Won the Civil War: Oligarchy, Democracy, and the Continuing Fight for the Soul of America, by Heather Cox Richardson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020. xxix, 240 pp. Notes, index. \$27.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Catherine McNicol Stock is the Barbara Zaccheo Kohn '72 professor of History at Connecticut College. Most recently, she is the author of *Nuclear Country: The Origins of the Rural New Right* (University of Pennsylvania, 2020).

In a webinar sponsored by the Wilson Center in July 2020, historian Heather Cox Richardson suggested that her most recent book, *How the South Won the Civil War*, was her "smartest." There is no doubt that it is, at the very least, her most ambitious. Richardson seeks to upend our conventional understanding of the influence of nineteenth century Southern political culture on the twentieth and twenty-first century United States. Like Nikole Hannah-Jones and other contributors to the *New York Times'* "1619 Project," Richardson rejects the notion that the political ideology of the South differed significantly from the rest of the United States, even at the time of the nation's founding. She contends instead that the South's ideals about racial hierarchy and its embrace of oligarchic economic systems did then and, despite strong efforts to create a more equal society, does still now define American culture as a whole.

How did this happen? How did the South ultimately "win the Civil War"—when in fact in 1865, they had lost it definitively? A handful of historians have started to provide a concrete answer; James N. Gregory's book, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (2005) and the accompanying website, for example, quantify and map the movements of black and white Southerners, particularly in the years since the Great Depression. Gregory and others, particularly Darren Dochuk, have likewise explained the significant influence that these migrants have had on the religious, social, and political cultures of their new home regions. At the same time, we are reminded that inequality existed in all regions, separate from this migration.