

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.

But Richardson takes us further back, arguing that the impact of Southern political and economic culture accelerated during the settlement of the American West during Reconstruction. Unless you are a fan of old westerns like *Stagecoach* (1939), which Richardson discusses in detail, the idea that former Confederate soldiers populated California and territories of the Southwest might seem counterintuitive. Hadn't these largely been free states and territories before the war? But, borrowing from Edmund Morgan's classic *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975), Richardson contends that "the idea of the American paradox moved west, where its adherents over time reasserted control over American culture (204)."

Of course, any transformation of this significance required more than the implementation of laws designed to disempower non-whites and those without wealth. The triumph of the South in the West—and later the GOP's "movement conservatism"—flourished in the company of a new myth (the cowboy); new racial others (Native Americans, Chinese immigrants, and Mexicans); a new medium (the film); and finally, new heroes, not the least of whom was Ronald Reagan. In fact, Reagan literally embodied how the myth of the West masked the resurgence of Southern ideas. According to Richardson, "wearing a jaunty white cowboy hat, he launched his presidential campaign in Philadelphia, Mississippi, just miles from where three civil rights workers had been murdered in 1964, and promised that he would not take tax exemptions away from segregated private schools" (178).

Unfortunately, Richardson incorporates little about the history of the Great Plains in the twentieth century and leaves out the northern plains states entirely. Some might argue that she purposefully avoided engaging with these states because their rather unique histories do not fit her argument. The Bank of North Dakota is, after all, hardly a haven for oligarchs. Likewise, a recent list of Confederate monuments across the country found only one in South Dakota and another in Iowa. But we should be careful before deciding that Richardson's thesis has no bearing. How else do we explain the deepening conservatism of the region which, beginning with the election of 1980, linked the political culture of the northern plains with the former Confederacy just as Richardson describes? If not the migration of former Confederates themselves, what other factors might explain this remarkable shift to the Reagan right, including the embrace of corporate and military interests? Might a different but no less influential wave of southern migration provide an answer? Since 1945, thousands of newcomers who were either from the South or who had significant ties to the Sunbelt as a whole, have

arrived on the northern plains in the form of military personnel, veterans, energy workers, financial workers, and agribusiness middle managers. They have, demographically, replaced the small farmers and rural small business owners who had been the bulwark of the region and its left-leaning populist tradition. Reconstruction indeed.

Commonwealth of Compromise: Civil War Commemoration in Missouri, by Amy Laurel Fluker. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2020. xiii, 267 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Dwain Coleman is a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of Iowa and the Co-Director of the Iowa Colored Conventions Digital Project. His research examines the postwar lives and community building practices of black Civil War veterans and their families in the Midwest.

Commonwealth of Compromise: Civil War Commemoration in Missouri by Amy Laurel Fluker examines the political and social nuances that gave birth to a unique Civil War commemoration in Missouri. Fluker's work builds upon and pushes back against earlier works on Civil War memory and commemoration by showing the critical role of place in Civil War memory building. Instead of a comprehensive examination of Civil War commemoration throughout the country, Fluker argues for a regional and state approach to understand how people navigated the complicated issues of reconciliation.

Fluker contends that previous historical narratives that examine reconciliation and Civil War memory building fail to demonstrate the differences that existed in how states reconstructed social and political relations after the war. Instead, she maintains that a regional examination provides a more accurate perspective. Fluker further argues that Missouri's path to reconciliation was different from that of other states because of its unique western frontier location, diversity of settlers, politics, and economics. Fluker maintains that Missouri is neither a Southern nor a Northern state but is, in fact, part of the West. As a diverse border state, the war divided Missourians along political, sectional, and racial lines that necessitated the implementation of a complex strategy of compromise and memorialization. By arguing for Missouri's western place, Fluker joins a small but growing chorus of like-minded historians who have made similar arguments concerning Missouri's unique location.

Situating Missouri in a western context also places *Commonwealth of Compromise* in the growing Greater Reconstruction historiography. This historiography argues for the examination of Reconstruction as a national phenomenon rather than as a primarily Southern one. Fluker