

the Golden Circle, the Order of American Knights, the Sons of Liberty, and the patriotic, Lincoln-supporting Union League. He describes their origins, growth, and colorful personnel in rich detail. He convincingly demonstrates that the three Copperhead groups were little more than paper organizations based on "pretense rather than reality" (p. 108) and that they were never viable threats to the Union war effort. In fact, they were small, ineffectual bands which held no resemblance to the evil, conspiratorial, and gigantic monoliths depicted by Republican propagandists. The latter image, created by Governors Richard Yates and Oliver P. Morton and their appointed mythmakers, became the basis for exposes of supposed Copperhead plots to form a Northwest Confederacy and to release rebel prisoners from Chicago's Camp Douglas. By using fabricated tales and rigged court proceedings, government spokesmen thus made "dark lanterns" into something they were not, and generations of historians have gullibly swallowed the fantasy.

Such a stark departure from standard historical interpretation demands more than adequate documentation. Klement successfully meets that criterion through an ample use of primary sources, a highly informative bibliographical essay, and an exceptionally helpful survey of the literature. Likewise, his insights into Hoosier politics and the Indianapolis treason trial are a boon to students of Indiana history. Unfortunately, though, Klement mistakenly reports that Oliver P. Morton was elected to a four-year term as governor in 1860 (pp. 21, 94, 112), when in fact he was chosen as lieutenant-governor in the short-lived administration of Henry Smith Lane. The author also overuses clichés and trite expressions, thus giving his narrative an almost melodramatic effect that runs the risk of inadvertently creating a new pro-Copperhead myth. Still, *Dark Lanterns* is a welcome, albeit controversial, addition to Copperhead literature.

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Harvest of Grief: Grasshopper Plagues and Public Assistance in Minnesota, 1873-78. By Annette Atkins. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984. Pp. 147. Illustrations, maps, figures, note on sources, notes, index. \$12.95.)

"The streets full of hoppers, the gardens, the very lawns eaten bare by them. Gloom over everything." Minnesota politician and future Populist Ignatius Donnelly penned this melancholy note in his diary on June 6, 1877—the final year of the devastating "harvest of grief" described by Annette Atkins.

Rocky Mountain locusts ravaged the Upper Midwest between 1873 and 1878, destroying an estimated twenty-five million bushels of grain in Minnesota alone. While Atkins documents these rampages, her focus is on how farmers and government responded to the grasshoppers. For Atkins these responses are best understood in the context of threats to traditional American values. The two core values threatened were belief in the farmer's nobility and the work ethic. Both were already battered by modern industrial capitalism with its celebration of money and urban life, and the grasshopper plagues undercut these traditional values even further. Traditionally, it was thought that noble farmers would subvert their moral autonomy by begging for public charity and that hard-working farmers would be justly rewarded and not need public or private assistance. Unfortunately, the grasshoppers left farmers few alternatives but to seek assistance. As Atkins notes, this was a double bind: "a person who could bring himself to seek aid would lack the moral qualities that made him 'worthy' of assistance. Only those who refused to seek public aid were worthy of help, because they had the virtues, the pride, and the integrity to be independent" (p. 84).

After outlining these traditional values and describing the cycle of grasshopper infestation, Atkins analyzes varying responses to the plagues of the farmers and of counties, state, and federal government. While some individuals, notably former Governor Henry Hastings Sibley and Brigadier General E. O. C. Ord, viewed the farmers as victims of a natural disaster, virtually everyone else analyzed by Atkins imprisoned farmers in the double bind of the disintegrating traditional values described above. They focused on the moral worth of the farmers, categorizing them as unworthy paupers, not victims. Governor John Pillsbury and the 1876 "Grasshopper" legislature seem to have been particularly stern toward and suspicious of the farmers.

Atkins's *Harvest of Grief* is a well-written and clearly organized account of the grasshopper plagues in Minnesota and of the generally ineffective measures of public relief in response to them. As a history of this agricultural crisis, it has few shortcomings. The only significant one is Atkins's failure to discuss Minnesotans who placed the farmers' woes in the larger context of industrial capitalism. Ignatius Donnelly, for example, argued that farmers could expect no relief while they continued to vote for those devoted to "Wall Street . . . and the great work of founding a moneyed aristocracy in America" (*Anti-Monopolist*, August 24, 1876).

There are also two larger issues Atkins could have addressed. First, she neglects the possible effects of the Panic of

1873 on responses to the farmers' calls for relief. Perhaps Governor Pillsbury and the 1876 legislature were less charitable simply because the economy was continuing to collapse. Second, while the book seems to promise an examination of the American value system similar to Daniel Rodgers' *The Work Ethic in Industrial America*, Atkins simply describes how the system affected the actors in this situation without shedding any new light on the nature of American values. Perhaps the source material simply was not there, or perhaps this was beyond her intentions. Despite these omissions, Atkins's *Harvest of Grief* is an important contribution to the literature on rural life and on social welfare in America.

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Historical Atlas of the Outlaw West. By Richardson Patterson. (Boulder, Colo.: Johnson Books, 1985. Pp. vi, 232. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paperbound, \$14.95).

This book makes no pretensions of being anything but a popular work for western buffs. If the reader is an armchair traveler or one who follows the open road, this book will be of interest.

Briefly, the work treats the outlaw doings in eighteen western states (Alaska and North Dakota are excluded), and each is given its own section within which there are subheadings dealing with localities of that state that are linked to some noted nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century criminal activity. The material is detailed and interestingly written. Furthermore, sources are given for each state. Each section contains a full-page map of the state in the nineteenth century. Numerous smaller maps and contemporary photographs add to the interest of the book. The larger state maps, however, are difficult to read. A suggestion to help orient the reader is to compare the book's state maps with maps of present-day highway patterns. In general, the format is very attractive.

Richardson Patterson has achieved that which he has wished: a unique book with popular appeal for followers of the Wild West. Thanks to Patterson it will be easier to follow.

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