Ghadar Party,” Sohi argues, “articulated a radical vision of time, history, and political sub-
jectivity” (p. 67). Sohi situates the voyage of the Komagata Maru alongside ships departing
from British crown colonies and U.S. outposts in Manila and Honolulu from 1910 to 1914.
Indians on these voyages experienced racial boundaries in the U.S. and British Empires,
with some areas reserved for white settlers and others for racial subjects. After the start
of World War I, Ghadar party members organized voyages to India and planned to foment
uprisings; new repressive measures forestalled their plans, however.

Sohi’s analysis of U.S. state and racial formation exceeds a nation-bound perspective,
challenging the premise of Asian exclusion as a betrayal of the ideals of U.S. liberal nationalism.
Rather, Sohi argues that political repression and racial exclusion emerged as founda-
tional elements of national security discourse in the years following World War I. Sohi’s
work might remind us of earlier visions of freedom in South Asia and dividends paid for
those ideals. Among the martyrs of the Lahore conspiracy trial, Kartar Singh Sarabha assured
his weeping grandfather that he was “being hanged for the crime of working for the libera-
tion of thirty crore [300 million] suppressed and enslaved people” (p. 181). The struggle continues.

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Policing Sexuality: The Mann Act and the Making of the FBI. By Jessica R. Pliley. (Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 2014. 293 pp. $29.95.)

There have been several histories of the Mann Act—the vaguely worded 1910 White Slave
Traffic Act targeting prostitution rings—and histories of the Federal Bureau of Investiga-
tion (FBI) that have taken minimal notice of the Mann Act. Only now, however, with this
important book, do readers have an in-depth, nuanced, and richly documented understanding
of the central role the Mann Act played in the development of the early FBI (founded
in 1908). The bureau was established to inves-
tigate interstate commerce and antimonopoly law, but the appearance of the Mann Act sig-
nificantly altered the focus of the FBI. Not
only did the act lead to a physical expansion of
the FBI with field offices and agents stationed
across the country—a necessary bureaucratic
development to enforce this law—but, as Jes-
sica R. Pliley points out, it also led the bureau
directly into policing women’s sexuality and
protecting the dominant, conservative culture
that defined the proper role of women in
American society. This is the first book to doc-
cument the bureau and the act in rich detail.

The book, a dissertation conversion, begins
with a discussion of the development of Amer-
ican views on white slavery, especially its fo-
cus on immigrants and race. It then discusses
the early and primary role of the Immigration
Bureau, its focus initially on the foreign threat
seen in prostitution and then on the wide-
ly perceived danger to American girls. After
this necessary and detailed background, Pliley
gets to the FBI about one-third of the way into
chapter three. There readers find, after passage
of the Mann Act, the bureau becoming the pri-
mary player in enforcing the act. Even more,
the first FBI director, Stanley Finch, was deep-
ly invested in white slavery, going so far as to
resign as director in 1912 to head, ironically
within the bureau, the White Slave Division.
Given limited bureau resources, Finch enlisted
local white slavery officers in 360 cities across
twenty-six states to assist FBI agents in moni-
toring and documenting tens of thousands of
prostitutes.

After the closure of the White Slave Divi-
sion in 1914, the bureau’s enforcement of the Mann Act continued to evolve. By the 1920s
its began to move away from a focus on com-
mercial prostitution to enforcing respectable
domesticity, even including men’s appropriate relationships to a woman’s person by the 1930s
and the bureau’s war on crime.

Policing Sexuality is full of fascinating de-
tails about the bureau’s evolving interest in
white slavery, more than can be described in
this short review. It is an impressive work of
scholarship and contributes significantly to
our understanding not only of a neglected as-
pect of early FBI history but to our broader
knowledge of early twentieth-century concepts of morality, gender roles, women’s history, and the policing of all of this.

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Loyalty and Liberty: American Countersubversion from World War I to the McCarthy Era. By Alex Goodall. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. x, 322 pp. $55.00.)

Chronicling the conflicting impulses of American citizens, activists, and politicians toward loyalty and liberty in the interwar period, Alex Goodall sets out to address several deficiencies in the history of American countersubversion. A lecturer in modern history at the University of York, Goodall distances himself from American historians who simplify the contradictory and nonlinear politics of American countersubversion by focusing on the authoritarian tendencies of American society and other psychosocial variables. Instead, he embraces those historians who take the interests and arguments of dissenters and countersubversives seriously and traces the development of a distinctly American politics of countersubversion.

Goodall is largely tilting at ghosts. As his own sources illustrate, a compelling literature exists challenging and amending the psychosocial perspective, which, after all, had its heyday fifty years ago. Given that his contribution is rooted more in synthesis and reframing than archival discoveries, Goodall would have been unable to write Loyalty and Liberty if this was not true. Thus, when Goodall argues that various “ideas crossed political boundaries and were used to promote both continuity and change,” I am both convinced and on familiar ground (p. 3). Although the book offers discussion of events with which many are already familiar, readers will likely gain from the juxtaposition of these chapters with those on less familiar events. (This framing will make Loyalty and Liberty an effective book for twentieth-century American history courses, and one graduate students should read as well.)

The period between the wars, as Goodall documents and details, was characterized by waves of opposition to political repression of one kind or another, followed by periods of retrenchment and, generally, regret. In addition, he defines countersubversion in a non-denominational way that captures extreme efforts against fascism as well as radicalism and communism. As a result, Emma Goldman, Earl Browder, Henry Ford, and Father Charles Coughlin each embodies the role of real or imagined subversive and both liberals and conservatives are depicted as both repressed and repressive.

Goodall has other ambitions as well. The structure of the book suggests an important and unrecognized historical role for the interwar periods. Moreover, he presents Loyalty and Liberty as a prehistory of the building of the American security state, as well as of McCarthyism. I would have liked to have seen more on this point. His chronicling of legislators’ ambivalence to countering antisubversion with new laws, for example, provides an interesting counterpoint to arguments about the co-dependency of liberal and conservative efforts to demonize their opponents for political gain.

But in the end the menacing bookends of the first and second American red scares challenge Goodall’s eagerness to find historical parallels and equivalencies in the trajectory of the political Right and Left during this era. If you can look beyond the bows too neatly tied around certain events, however, there are lessons to be learned in Loyalty and Liberty.

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Although the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), founded in 1905, is consigned by some historians to a marginal role in the de-