

colonialism. Tyrrell adeptly elucidates Ida Wells's activism along these lines in chapter 8. She mounted a radical protest to "puncture the sometimes self-congratulatory tone of 'humanitarianism'" and thereby aimed to "turn the task of social reform inward toward changing the budding American empire at its source" (166).

The fourth section turns to the First World War era, what Tyrrell dryly terms the "Wilsonian World Order," and the worldwide pursuit of temperance (189). These final chapters detail new directions in seeking morality in governance, such as anticorruption activities and peace activism. *Reforming the World* reveals an epochal shift in the era from roughly 1913 to 1921, which amounted to a kind "of merger of morality and American statecraft" presided over by Wilson and approved of by most missionaries, and a zealous effort in the post-WWII era of disillusionment to regenerate through "making a dry world" (201, 209).

All of this had religious significance. The period's high-profile split between liberals and fundamentalists created a theological chasm in moral reform movements. Institutionally a new challenge arose with the ascent of competing organizations such as Rotary International and the Rockefeller Foundation, which usurped power, prestige, and purpose at a critical moment for mission work in the postwar world. But it was "prohibition's demise" that "was a critical blow to the Christian moral reform enterprise that had flourished for more than thirty years because the dry crusade had become the flagship evangelical reform" (227).

The new internationalism of the post-World War I years was still dominated by nation-states and international agents and actors, rather than the sorts of transnational networks the moral reformers had built for decades. A process of statist cooptation that had been ongoing since the 1890s became ever more visible by the 1920s. As Tyrrell eloquently puts it, a "subtle dialectic took place between American power and the extension of the nation's moral influence" (244). The challenge of moving beyond national identification, that transnational mission of moral reform empire, now seemed impossible for many missionaries and reformers.

By the 1920s, American moral reformers had "stamped their own imprint upon conceptions of the nation's global role" (3). Ian Tyrrell's *Reforming the World* is a path-breaking exploration of transnational moral reform networks and their relationship to American empire and internationalism. By focusing on individuals and groups as they built up transnational networks, Tyrrell reveals the intricate balancing act they had to play between private "voluntary sector" initiatives and state power to achieve their objectives. These interconnections and this delicate balancing were what ultimately generated the networks that constituted American imperialism. We continue to live with that legacy. This book deserves a wide readership.

THE NATURE OF AMERICA'S EMPIRE

TYRELL, IAN. *Crisis of the Wasteful Nation: Empire and Conservation in Theodore Roosevelt's America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. xii + 351 pp. \$34.95 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-226-19776-0.

REVIEWED BY FRANK SCHUMACHER, University of Western Ontario
doi:10.1017/S1537781415000900

Theodore Roosevelt is one of the most popular presidents in U.S. history. His performance is frequently ranked high and he enjoys enduring bipartisan appeal. In addition to his attempts at trust busting, he is commonly remembered for his big-stick imperialism and his environmental policies. These latter two aspects of his presidency are mostly understood as initiatives in discrete areas of

foreign and domestic policies. In his most recent book, Australian historian Ian Tyrell challenges such neat compartmentalization and links Roosevelt's environmentalism to nation and empire building through the analytical concept of conservation. This historiographically marginalized concept, Tyrell argues, not only guided much of Roosevelt's political thought on nation, empire, civilization, and globalization, but also underwrote and focused the Progressive Era's reform agendas.

In twelve deeply researched, nuanced, and eloquent chapters, Tyrell charts the contours of the Progressive Era's environmental discourses and explores in great detail how concerns about waste, resource depletion, environmental degradation, public health, and landscape preservation informed conservation initiatives during the administration of America's twenty-sixth president. He situates Roosevelt at the center of a group of like-minded individuals—most important, Gifford Pinchot, with whom Theodore Roosevelt shared his expansive vision of conservation. Their efforts were complemented by a wide range of specialists such as geologists, engineers, zoologists, economists, and public health experts whose transnational activities and exchanges as part of a global epistemic community helped internationalize the American discourse on conservation.

Roosevelt emerges as a president with broad perspectives for the American nation-state, its imperial ambitions, and increasing global integration. His overall concept of interlocking conservation initiatives went beyond the mere creation of national parks and wildlife reserves and encompassed a highly political understanding of the natural environment. Through conservation, Roosevelt hoped to contain and reverse trends that could endanger a strong nation-state: from soil erosion to fossil fuel depletion to declining birth rates and the disappearance of a rural way of life. A powerful state was to serve as guardian of the "natural" foundations of the nation to ensure the long-term viability of the American polity.

Tyrell's book underlines how Theodore Roosevelt utilized the alarmist discourse on the environmental limits of industrial modernity to advance the extension of a powerful federal government. He initiated seven conservation commissions and conferences, most important the Conference of Governors; the Inland Waterways Commission; and the National Conservation Commission, which prepared the nation's first inventory of natural resources. In addition, Roosevelt supported reformist interest groups such as the American Civic Association and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. In conjunction with congressional allies, he facilitated the development of a strong U.S. Forest Service and steadily enlarged the responsibilities of government bureaucracy for the management of natural resources, often by executive fiat. In all of those endeavors, he utilized his rapport with the press to shape public discussions and drew on his celebrity status to advance the cause of conservation.

Crisis of the Wasteful Nation makes three contributions to our understanding of the Roosevelt presidency and Progressive Era America. First, it coherently integrates conservation into the broader contexts of nation-building, empire, and globalization and convincingly demonstrates how this environmental concept served Roosevelt and his reform allies as the basis for their geopolitical agenda. Such notions of conservation resonate with contemporary understandings of national, energy, and environmental security.

Second, the book underlines how deeply embedded Progressive Era conservation discourses and policies were in global knowledge exchanges and transfers. Over the last twenty-five years or so, Ian Tyrell has consistently expanded our understanding of the transnational dimension of Progressive Era America. His work has immeasurably enriched an entire research field, in many respects defined it. This study on conservation further advances our knowledge about the importance of reference cultures in the early twentieth century and the mechanics of intercultural transfers. The book provides much texture to understanding the actual workings of transnational exchanges.

Finally, the study makes sophisticated contributions to the discussion of the American empire. It highlights multiple linkages between the U.S. settler empire and its overseas colonies, between nation-building and the U.S. colonial project, and between the American settler empire and the

global, civilizing role of settler empires more generally. It challenges the common view that the search for markets and open door access was a major impetus behind the acquisition of colonies after 1898 and suggests that economic nationalism and the neo-mercantilist resource potential of colonies were of greater importance.

Less clear is how Theodore Roosevelt's often hyperbolic nationalism and dislike for cosmopolitanism (somewhat ironic, considering his upbringing, international outlooks and travels, and his international networks of friends and associates) connects to or reconciles with his vision of conservation as an essential component of globalization. In other words, how does his premodern vulgar nationalism square with his modern, sophisticated, long-term perspective on global integration and interdependency? His understanding of the global arena could have, of course, been a mere extension of the national. In such a perspective, Roosevelt's efforts at global cooperation would be little more than tools to shrewdly advance the national interests and hegemonic ambitions of the United States.

This tension between national and global continues to haunt much of the political debates on conservation. The book is a sobering reminder of the longevity of some of the issues we are confronted with today, such as the impact of economic prosperity on conservation, debates over intergenerational responsibility, lack of binding international agreements, and the struggle over resource depletion and access to raw materials. While Tyrell rightfully suggests that Americans have not repudiated Roosevelt's conservationist legacy, they might have departed from a view that integrated environmental security with global leadership. As a consequence, they are no longer the driver but the driven, or, all too often, the roadblock in those conversations.

THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN: HOW THE FBI FOUGHT WHITE SLAVERY

PLILEY, JESSICA R. *Policing Sexuality: The Mann Act and the Making of the FBI*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014. x + 294 pp. \$29.95 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-674-36811-8.

REVIEWED BY KIMBERLEY A. REILLY, University of Wisconsin—Green Bay
doi:10.1017/S1537781415000912

In her 1910 essay "The Traffic in Women," Emma Goldman expressed her deep skepticism at the sudden discovery of "white slavery," or the phenomenon of involuntary prostitution that Progressive Era reformers believed was rampant in the early twentieth-century United States. For Goldman, stories of innocent girls held in sexual bondage merely recast in sensational terms the well-worn tale of women's historical economic and sexual exploitation. In Goldman's estimation, women were raised to be "sex commodities" who sold themselves either in marriage to one man, or in prostitution to many.¹ These questions of women's sexual and economic agency are at the heart of *Policing Sexuality: The Mann Act and the Making of the FBI*, Jessica Pliley's new study of the federal government's efforts to combat white slavery between 1910 and 1941.

When Congress passed the White Slave Traffic Act in 1910, criminalizing the transportation of women across state lines "for the purposes of prostitution, debauchery, or 'any other immoral purpose,'" it authorized the Bureau of Investigation (the precursor to the FBI) to enforce this law (1). Pliley's impressively researched study breaks new ground in detailing not only the moral panic that led to passage of the act (also known as the Mann Act), but how the fledgling Bureau implemented federal anti-white slavery policy. Drawing on nearly 1000 Bureau case files, as well as a wide range of congressional reports, newspapers, and other published and archival sources, Pliley argues that the Bureau's mandate to protect vulnerable young women from being