

The Rise of Surveillance in America's Twentieth Century Nation-State Building

Canaday, Margot. (2009). *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton University Press. Princeton and Oxford.

Charles, Douglas M. (2007). *J. Edgar Hoover and the Anti-interventionists: FBI Political Surveillance and the Rise of the Domestic Security State, 1939-1945*. The Ohio State University Press. Columbus.

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Johnson, David K. (2006). *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London.

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During the first decade of the twentieth century, to minimize opposition to his Progressive agenda, Theodore Roosevelt initiated a national security surveillance system. The surveillance system focused on investigating individuals and organizations who posed threats to his nation-state building. The initial surveillance system Roosevelt created was the Bureau of Investigation. Over time, that federal surveillance system expanded to include the Bureau of Immigration; the military; federal agencies administering welfare benefits; Bureau of Investigation (Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) after 1935); the State Department, Civil Service; and the Washington, D.C. police force (D.C. police). Margot Canaday's *The Straight State*; Douglas M. Charles' *J. Edgar Hoover and the Anti-interventionists* and *Hoover's War on Gays*; and David K. Johnson's *The Lavender Scare* chronicle the seventy-five year history of the federal government's surveillance on individuals and organizations deemed national loyalty and security risks.

I will begin with Margot Canaday's *The Straight State*, by giving a broad overview of three federal bureaucracies that helped build American's nation-state from 1909 to 1945. I will then turn to Douglas M. Charles' *J. Edgar Hoover and the Anti-interventionists*, to chronicle the emergence and rise of the federal security system that was used to monitor and regulate all aspects of American lives. Next, I will use David K. Johnson's *The Lavender Scare* to provide an in-depth analysis of the federal governments' twenty-five year abuse of the First Amendment rights and civil liberties of American's deemed security and loyalty risks. And finally, I will finish with Douglas M. Charles *Hoover's War on Gays* to discuss the Stonewall riots, the change in FBI surveillance practices after J. Edgar Hoover's death, and the effect of the Carter administration on federal surveillance programs.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bureau of Immigration (BI) was focused on creating a homogenous American citizenry. To accomplish that task, the BI restricted immigration of individuals who deviated from "normal" American citizenry. That "normalcy" was comprised of white, heterosexual, females and males with similar socioeconomic backgrounds, who embrace the moral and political values of the federal bureaucracy. During this period of nation-state building, the word homosexual was not even in its purview. In the Introduction of *The Straight State*, Margot Canaday affirms her study examines three engines used in America's twentieth-century nation-state building that came to develop an interest in homosexuality in tandem with their bureaucratic growth. The consequence of that interests was the federal governments construction of restrictive policies towards individuals with gender inversion because it became seen as degrading American citizenship (Canaday, 13).

Canaday offers corroboration of the state's increased interest in homosexuality in chapter 1—"Immigration," by presenting a 1909 memo Marcus Braun, an immigrant inspector, sent to Oscar Straus, the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, reporting an awareness of degeneracy being "imported and exported to the United States via male prostitutes" (Canaday, 20). The Braun report is the earliest piece of evidence of a federal-level awareness of homosexuality (Canaday, 20-21). Canaday goes on to highlight the BI's elevation of surveillance of homosexuality in America with the documentation of thirty-one deportation cases against individuals suspected of homosexuality (Canaday, 33-39). After these cases were brought to the attention of the federal bureaucracy, in 1924 Congress enacted the Johnson-Read Act—to restrict the immigration of foreign nationals deemed unsuitable for American citizenry (Canaday, 20-30).

Canaday centers on the military in chapter 2—"Military," to emphasize the increase of surveillance on homosexuality after America enters World War I. She points to the collaboration between the Immigration Bureau (BI) and the military in screening recruits. These two federal agencies worked in tandem because the BI had personnel who had been screening immigrants for homosexual traits since the first decade of the twentieth century (Canaday 56). Unfortunately, keeping homosexuals from serving in the military was not always successful. Canaday underscores that fact by pointing to a homosexual scandal that occurred at the Newport, Rhode Island Training facility. That scandal involved the discovery of sexual perversion between naval recruits and civilians at the local YMCA near the Training facility. What upset Congress more than the discovery of the naval recruits' and civilian homosexual encounters, was the heterosexual military personnel posing as homosexuals to discover the deviance in recruits. The result was a Congressional investigation that held the Secretary of Navy, Josephus Daniels,

and Assistant Secretary, Franklin Delano Roosevelt responsible for exposing heterosexual recruits to perversion (Canaday, 72).

In chapter 3, “Welfare,” Canaday focuses on the Great Depression to highlight the increased focus of the federal government on homosexual degeneracy during the 1930s. Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s 1933 New Deal Federal Emergency Relief Act was designed to provide work for unemployed men to help keep the family unit together. The Relief Act created the Works Progress Program (WPA), that provided jobs for men with families; the Federal Transient Program (FTP), that targeted transient men without families; and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), that provided jobs training for young, heterosexual males to help them gain skills for future employment. The FTP was closed down after two years because of homosexual degeneracy. And as Canaday point out, there was no evidence that the CCC’s housing of young heterosexual males restricted homosexual activity in the Corps. While these programs provided relief for millions of men during the Great Depression, they did not fully provide jobs for all men out of work during the 1930s. Some men, both married and single, became ‘hobos’ and indigents went on the road. To keep from starving, the hobos and indigents often turned to homosexuality and selling their bodies for food and shelter (Canaday, 117-125).

In chapter 4, “Welfare,” Canaday highlights the federal agencies administering welfare benefits to ex-GIs after World War II. In the mid-1940s, the Veteran’s Administration (VA), Social Security, and GI Bill comprised the largest portion of America’s welfare state expenditures (Canaday, 139). These organizations routinely excluded ex-GIs who received “Blue Discharges”—dishonorable discharges for homosexuality—from receiving benefits. “Blue Discharged” ex-GIs also had problems getting jobs because they were labeled deviants. The 1957 Critten Report warned that the “service was creating a group of unemployables by [issuing’

undesirable discharges,” (Canaday, 154). That same year Congressmen, Clyde Doyle tried to help “Blue Charges” recover GI benefits by submitting a bill to Congress. Rather than helping, it actually stigmatized them further by highlighting their homosexual deviance while serving in the military to VA staff (Canaday, 164).

In chapter 5—“Military,” Canady brings forward the military’s post-World War II increase in the surveillance of lesbians. During the war, the military increased hiring of WACs to do clerical work. After the war, when the military sought to retain WACS, there was resistance from men serving in military units. Some male officers resented the increased responsibilities female officers were given. The result of this growing hostility was an increase in surveillance of females to discover gender inversion—an automatic discharge. These increased post-war hostilities towards female military personnel caused a dilemma for the “Military Industrial Complex.” On the one hand, the military wanted to retain skilled women in its workforce, but on the other hand, it did not want to keep women with gender inversion as personnel (Canaday, 179-190).

In chapter 6—Immigration, Canaday returns to the immigration policies of the Bureau of Immigration, Naturalization Service (INS), and the federal courts. The passing of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was the first major revision of immigration laws since the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924—that excluded “homosexual” immigrants from citizenship. The McCarran Act abolished racial restrictions in immigration and naturalization, retained a quota system for certain nationalities and regions, and placed greater importance on labor qualifications (Canaday, 217). The 1967 Boutilier decision changing homosexuality to “a kind of person” from a “conduct,” resulted in the Supreme Court designating homosexuality as a legal-political identity category. That decision made “the word of the bureaucrat supreme” in making citizenship decisions

(Canaday, 245). This was a decisive validation of the bureaucratic state's increased interest in homosexuality.

In the "Conclusion," Canaday first returns to America's nation-state building at the end of the nineteenth century—when the concept of national citizenship was "inchoate." She then moves on to the federal bureaucratic focus on twentieth century nation-state building and the rise in awareness of homosexuality. As she points out, when homosexuality first appeared in American sexological writing, it referred to persons engaged in same-sex activities as having the "general mental state" of the opposite sex"—gender inversion (Canaday, 255). The federal bureaucracy saw gender inversion as a threat to the nation-state building of a homogeneous American citizenry. To keep individuals with gender inversion from becoming American citizens, the Bureau of Immigration; the military; and federal agencies administering welfare benefits worked in tandem during the twentieth century to restrict their First Amendment rights and civil liberties (Canaday, 255-264).

Douglas M. Charles' *J. Edgar Hoover and the Anti-interventionists* chronicles the emergence and rise of surveillance federal bureaucracies. Although the book's main focus is political surveillance between 1939 to 1945, it opens with a historical chronicling of the emergence of the Bureau of Investigation and its transition to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935 (Charles, Introduction).

Charles opens chapter 1—"Background, with Theodore Roosevelt's decision to regulate the "burgeoning corporate economy." To accomplish that task, in 1901, Roosevelt reinvigorated the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 and directed the Justice Department to prosecute corporations he regarded as "bad trusts." Those corporations included J.P. Morgan and James J. Hill's Northern

Securities Company, Standard Oil, and sugar refiners (Charles, 17). The Justice Department could not accomplish the prosecutions in a timely manner because it did not have its own investigators for the tasks. Dissatisfied with the progress of the investigations, Roosevelt sent a mandate to Congress to create the Bureau of Investigation (BI) within the Justice Department. Congress, unwilling to give the Justice Department its own investigative agents stalled for several years in allocating the funds. Finally, to circumvent Congress's resistance, in the summer of 1908—when it was adjourned—Attorney Charles Bonaparte used Roosevelt's executive mandate to establish the BI (Charles, 18). By 1920, the BI's oversight of federal policies had rapidly expanded. To help the BI with oversight, in 1921, Congress passed the White Slave Traffic Act (Mann Act), outlawing the transportation of women across state lines for immoral purposes (Charles, 19). In 1914, after World War I broke out, Congress pressed the BI to increase domestic surveillance of foreign agents living in the United States. After several attempts at sabotage by Germany over a three year period, Congress passed the Espionage Act of 1917—making it a crime to interfere with the draft, to foment disruption of the military, or steal government secrets with the intent to aid the enemy. In 1918, Congress followed up with the Sabotage and Sedition Acts, and the Alien Deportation Act of noncitizens who advocated the violent overthrow of the United States government. In 1918, Congress also formed the Alien Enemy Bureau to focus on all foreign nationals, radicals, anarchists, African Americans, and all manner of subversives living in the United States. In 1919, Congress followed-up with the Motor Vehicle Theft Act—that increased the BI's authority to investigate stolen vehicles crossing state lines. The passing of the above Acts increased the power of the Justice Department and BI over domestic security (Charles, 20).

In 1918, J. Edgar Hoover was a young, ambitious agent working in the Alien Enemy Bureau. His goal was to move up the ranks, and eventually become the head of the BI. To accomplish that task, Hoover used creative investigative methods, not always legal, to gather information on security risks for the federal bureaucracy (Charles, 24). When Attorney General A. Mitchel Palmer created the General Intelligence Division (GID) in the BI, Hoover was his first choice as head. By 1924, Hoover had established himself as the “go to guy” to gather classified information that supported the goals of the federal bureaucratic system. When the Director of BI position opened, he was offered the position (Charles, 20-22). The 1933 presidency of Franklin Roosevelt should have eliminated Hoover as Director of the BI because it was a Republican nomination. Hoover was an adept politician as well as investigator who had learned to cater to agenda of whoever controlled the federal bureaucracy. During the first year of the Roosevelt’s New Deal administration, he provided the president with classified information Roosevelt could use against opponents of his political agenda. In 1935 the BI changed its name to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Charles, 28-38).

In chapter 2, “Beginnings,” Charles focuses on the debates between anti-interventionists and interventionist from 1939-1941. He opens the chapter by highlighting Fascist Italy’s victory over Ethiopia, the Sino-Japanese War, Hitler’s reoccupation of the Rhineland and the Spanish Civil War (Charles, 39-40). He then proceeds to focus on the contentious debates between anti-interventionists and interventionists members of Congress on whether or not to help the allies in Europe. On the one hand, Roosevelt wanted to show support for the allies in Europe, but on the other hand, he was not sure America should participate in the wars raging in Europe. The president was also restricted by the three separate neutrality laws Congress passed between 1935 to 1937. Those laws placed an embargo on arms sales to belligerents, forbade the arming of

American ships and prohibited them from entering war zones, it also barred Americans from traveling on belligerent ships (Charles, 41-42). In 1938, after Indiana Representative Louis Ludlow, an anti-interventionist, proposed a constitutional amendment placing the country's war-making power directly with the people, Roosevelt asked Attorney General Cummings' to increase surveillance on anti-interventionists activities. Hoover took Roosevelt's requests as an opportunity to expand the FBI's role in monitoring domestic national security risks. He not only saw anti-interventionists like Charles Lindberg and the America First Committee as national security threats, but also gay and lesbian federal employees, and soldiers serving in the military (Charles, 36-38). After Hitler invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, Congress pressed Roosevelt to make a decision on enforcing the 1935 Neutrality Act. To give allies time to buy badly needed military equipment, Roosevelt waited two days to call Congress into session. Roosevelt's delay resulted in the escalation of the Great Debate between interventionists and anti-interventionists in Congress. Hoover, using the Great Debate to further expand the FBI's investigative powers assigned agents to increase surveillance on Charles Lindbergh; the America First Committee; Senators Burton Wheeler, Gerald Nye, and David Walsh; Congressman Hamilton Fish; the Brigham family; Harry Elmer Barnes; and Laura Ingalls, as well as gays and lesbians considered security risks (Charles, 42-58).

In chapter 3, "Intensification" and chapter 4, "Focus," Charles continues to highlight the Great Debate, and also introduces Roosevelt's lend-lease policy. He begins the chapter with Congressional anti-interventionists pressing Roosevelt to enforce the 1934 Johnson Act—that prevented America from extending loans to foreign countries to purchase war materials. Roosevelt was aware that the allies badly needed those war materials to stop German aggression, but did not have the funds to pay for them. Anti-interventionists believed that cutting off those

military supplies would end to the war. To avoid violating ‘the letter of the law,’ in the 1934 Johnson Act, on December 17, 1940 Roosevelt eliminated the dollar sign from further orders of war materials. This gave the British badly needed military equipment without having to pay up front for the goods. The president called this new policy ‘lend-lease’ (Charles, 59-61).

In chapters 4, “Focus,” and 5, “Retribution,” Charles continues to highlight the Great Debate between anti-interventionists and interventionists. Those debates ended when America entered World War II December 7, 1941. In chapter 4 he highlights the FBI’s wartime increase of surveillance of national security threats, and the discovery in December of 1940 of anti-interventionist members of Congress using ‘franking’ to undermine Roosevelt’s lend-lease. These senators were distributing anti-lend-lease brochures to the general public through Congressional envelopes. The FBI continued to surveil members of Congress after the ‘franking’ discovery to keep them from using the Congressional mail system to oppose Roosevelt’s political agendas (Charles, 87-139).

Charles uses chapter 6, “Blossoming,” to highlight the FBI’s and British intelligence agents’ sharing of surveillance data on domestic and international federal employees working for the State Department employees. He highlights the training FBI agents received from British intelligence on covert surveillance methods for discovering security risks.

In the “Conclusion,” Charles highlights how the increase of FBI agents and federal funding from 1934 to 1945 resulted in the FBI becoming one of the most powerful agencies in the federal bureaucracy. In 1934 there were 391 agents (with a support staff of 451) with a federal budget of \$2,589,500. In 1936, FBI agents expanded to 609 (with a support staff of 971), with a budget of \$5,000,000. In 1941, the FBI employed 1,596 agents (with a support staff of 2,677) with a

budget of \$14,743,300. By 1942, the FBI had expanded its agents to 4,370 (with a support staff of 7,422) and a budget of \$44,197,146 (Charles, 174-176).

David K. Johnson's *The Lavender Scare* focuses on post-World War II Washington, D.C., and the twenty-five year abuse of the First Amendment rights and civil liberties of federal employees deemed loyalty and security risks. Johnson opens the "Introduction," with Senator Eugene McCarthy's February 1950 denouncement before a Republican women's group, of Communists working for the State Department (Johnson, 1). Johnson proceeds to state that the *Lavender Scare* is the story of how Washington, D.C. and the federal bureaucracy, came to be thought of as havens for federal employees who were socialists, misfits, and perverts. He ends by affirming the book is the story of the effects the twenty-five year government purge of federal employees had on the gay and lesbian population (13).

In chapter 1, Charles shifts to John Peurifoy's defense of State Department employees before Congress. Peurifoy admits to firing 202 federal employees, and as an afterthought, adds that two were homosexuals (Johnson, 16). The revelation that the State Department had two homosexual federal employees appeared to upset Republican Congressmen more than the 200 Communists. Of great concern to them, was the perception by conservatives that homosexuals' embraced the concept of a classless society in which everyone was free and equal. That concept was not in line with the nation-state's vision of American citizenry (Johnson, 21, 34). What Peurifoy did not reveal to Congress at that time, was the purging of Communists and homosexuals from the State Department had been going on since 1947. As Johnson points out, McCarthy's revelation of Communists and Peurifoy's admitting there were homosexuals working in the State Department set the stage for the 1950s Red Scare and Lavender Scare (Johnson, 25).

In chapter 2, Charles revisits Washington, D.C. in the 1930s and 1940s to present a different attitudes towards gay and lesbian federal employees. He opens the chapter with the story of Ladd Forrester, a gay man who dropped out of a college in Mississippi because of the Great Depression. In 1933, Forrester made the decision to move to Washington, D.C. to work after gay friends told him there were a plethora of jobs available for white, educated men and women seeking low-level employment. Forrester's gay friends additionally told him that Washington, D.C. was a mecca for gay social life. After arriving, Forrester not only found a place to live—in a crowded apartment with other gay men—but also a low-level federal job as a clerk in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Forrester's story was not unique for gays and lesbians seeking employment in Washington, D.C. during the 1930s and 1940s. The Classification Act of 1923 had mandated equal pay in civil service work for both men and women, so federal jobs were available for qualified employees no matter their gender. Federal employment increased from 70,000 in 1930 to 270,000 by 1942. During the 1930's to the mid-1940s, the federal government's attitude towards gay and lesbian federal employees was one of tolerance. Gays and lesbians worked in low-level federal jobs—which were incredibly boring—in order to have an active outside social life. (Johnson, 42-45). As Johnson points out, the rapid increase of federal employees in Washington, D.C. between the 1930s and 1940s created a housing shortage. Consequently, there were few places that gays could meet in private for intimate relations. One of those places was Lafayette Park—which was across from the White House. The Park had several benches surrounded by woods that afforded privacy. Gays who participated in homosexual encounters in Lafayette Park were rarely harassed by police during that period (Johnson, 46-51).

The homosexual freedom gays and lesbians experienced in Washington, D.C. changed after World War II. Johnson points to several reasons for the change. One of which was the 1948 Kinsey Report *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* highlighting the perversion of gender inversion. The report resulted in religious groups and conservatives calling for legal restrictions on homosexuality in America (Johnson, 41-52). The publications of Truman Capote, Tennessee Williams, John Horne Burns, Charles Jackson, and Gore Vidal focusing on homosexuality also increased awareness of gender inversion to Americans (Johnson, 54-55). Additional change in homosexuals being open about their gender inversion in public came October 1947, when the U.S. Park Service inaugurated the “Pervert Elimination Campaign.” The campaign increased surveillance of gay and lesbian social activities in Lafayette Park and throughout the Washington, D.C. area. D.C. police also became involved in surveilling homosexual activity and started arresting men who they caught in the Park at night. The names of gays arrested by D.C. police were placed in a ‘pervert file.’ This ‘pervert file’ was given to the FBI after they increased surveillance on federal employees (Johnson, 59). In 1948, President Truman signed the Miller Sexual Psychopath Law—a law that increased the penalty for sexual crimes in the District of Columbia (Johnson, 58). By 1950, the nation, and the District of Columbia saw an increase in effective and systematic laws put in place that gave law enforcement the power to arrest and imprison homosexuals for gender-inversion activities (Johnson, 63-64).

In chapter 6, Johnson highlights the 1953 security program Dwight D. Eisenhower initiated after his election. The program was a response to Congressional Republicans’ calling for the government to ‘clean house’ (Johnson, 120-123). A consequence of the ‘clean house’ initiative was an increase of surveillance of federal employees by administrators to discover gays and lesbians in the workforce. R.W. Scott McLeod, head of the State Department’s Bureau of

Security and Consular Affairs, set up a separate 'pervert' unit to rid the federal government of pervert employees. This unit was labeled the "M" squad. Its brutal tactics of harassing federal employees in their work and private lives spread an atmosphere of fear throughout the gay and lesbian community. As the surveillance of federal employees intensified, federal employees turned on one another out of fear of being targeted by the "M" squad (Johnson, 124-131). After the Democrats won control of Congress in 1954, they decided to revisit federal government surveillance programs. The Supreme Court also reined in the Eisenhower security program after congressional committees began highlighting its excessive abuses of the First Amendment rights and civil liberties of federal employees suspected of being security risks (Johnson, 143-146).

As Johnson points out in chapter 7, the FBI did not stop its surveillance of federal employees with the change of Congress. He underscores that fact with the story of Madeleine Tress, a twenty-four year old Department of Commerce employee. In April of 1958, Madeleine Tress was placed in a hot, un-airconditioned, windowless basement room, and interrogated by federal agents for several hours about her deviant sex life as a lesbian. The agents repeatedly made lude comments about Tress's lesbian lifestyle while asking her to reveal intimate information about encounters with other women. After the interview, Tress felt so defeated and powerless, that she immediately resigned from her job (Johnson, 147-148). Madelene Tress's experience was not an isolated event. Federal government agents continued to surveil and interrogate thousands of federal employees about gender inversion throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Johnson, 150-155). Job loss was not the only outcome of these federal interrogations. Johnson provides examples of several gay men committing suicide after being interrogated and losing their jobs. One example is the suicide of Andrew Kennerly, an administrative assistant at the American Embassy in Paris. When Kennerly receive a letter in August 1954, telling him to immediately return to the United

States, he had no warning it was related to his homosexuality. Upon his return, Kennerly was taken into a room and cross-examined off and on for two days by several agents about his deviant sex life. After being released, Kennerly went back to his apartment, put a plastic bag over his head, and asphyxiated himself. He was found later by his roommate, Andrew Ference. Kennerly's parents were not told by the State Department of the reason for his suicide until several years later (Johnson, 159).

Although most gays chose to go underground to avoid detection, a few individuals decided to fight back against the government. One individual was the Communist and Labor activist Harry Hay, founder of the Mattachine Society. In 1950, Hay founded the Mattachine Society to give gays and lesbians a public voice (Johnson, 171-178). Another, was Frank Kameny, a Harvard educated Astronomist who was the first federal gay employee to challenge his firing in court. In 1957, while on assignment in the Army Map Service, in Mauna, Loa, Hawaii, Kameny received a letter instructing him to return to Washington, D.C. The letter stated that there "were certain administrative requirements" that needed discussing. After returning to Washington, D.C., Kameny was interrogated by civil service agents about his homosexual activities. When he refused to answer their questions, he was fired. After the firing, Kameny launched a sustained fight against the government for a return to his job. Although he lost several court appeals, as well as the Supreme Courts refusal to hear his case in 1961, Kameny continued to be a public voice for gay rights for years. On November 15, 1961, he opened a chapter of the Mattachine Society in Washington, D.C. Kameny continued to lobby federal officials to look into abuses of federal gay and lesbian federal employees during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations (Johnson, 181-192). In 1964, the Johnson administration changed the hiring practices of the Civil Service Commission to include women and racial minorities. And, in 1965, the Court of Appeals

provided the first gay-rights legal victory in *Scott vs Macy*. In the “Epilogue,” Johnson points out that the federal governments’ twenty-five year surveillance and abuse of gay and lesbian First Amendment rights and civil liberties resulted in the creation of an effective and influential political gay movement (Johnson, 179-214).

Douglas M. Charles’ *Hoover’s War on Gays* overlaps extensively with the first three books reviewed for this paper. Therefore I am only going to point to the Stonewall riots of 1969 in chapter 8, and the “Epilogues” focus on the changes in FBI surveillance practices after Hoover’s 1972 death and the Jimmy Carter administration.

The Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, New York City was a Mafia-connected bar that catered to the gay community. Because the Mafia paid corrupt police officers to leave the place alone, gays and lesbians found the place a safe haven to socialize. When John Lindsey was elected mayor of New York City in 1969, he vowed to crack down on crime (both organized and gay). On Friday, June 28, 1969, Lindsey ordered New York City police—who were not in the pocket of the Mafia—to raid the Stonewall Inn. The police, expecting little resistance, were few in number, and only brought a couple of vans to transport prisoners back to the station. So when a group of gays and lesbians blocked the path of an officer taking a, handcuffed, lesbian outside to a waiting van, he was caught off guard. He released the lesbian and went back inside the bar to get help. To keep the police inside of the bar, the group began throwing beer cans and bottles at the windows to keep police inside. They escalated to pulling up parking meters and throwing them at the doors and windows of the bar. During the confrontation, the bar caught on fire and the conflict moved into the streets. By that time, additional police had arrived, a riot ensued. The riot spread throughout New York City and lasted for three days. The Stonewall riots marked a

radical change in gay and lesbian acceptance of police brutality towards them. No longer willing to accept police brutality, some gays and lesbians joined radical leftist organizations, while others chose legal paths to fight through the courts to change laws of discrimination against gays and lesbians (Charles, 305-313).

After J. Edgar Hoover's death in 1972, the FBI began to lose interest in surveillance of gays and lesbians. Jimmy Carter's election in 1976 significantly changed the political climate towards gay and lesbian federal employment. Jimmy Carter's election in 1976 also affected the FBI's surveillance policies Carter was a humanist who did not believe in abusing the civil rights of Americans. In 1978, Carter extended the 1976 Levi guidelines—restricting FBI investigations of individuals or groups because they hold unpopular or controversial political views intolerable American society (Charles, 344)). Carter's administration policies significantly changed how gays and lesbians were treated as federal employees (Charles, 345-365).

Margot Canaday's *The Straight State*; Douglas M. Charles' *J. Edgar Hoover and the Anti-interventionists* and *Hoover's War on Gays*; and David K. Johnson's *The Lavender Scare* have provided thought-provoking chronicles of the federal government's twenty-first century nation-state building. While the federal government used surveillance to monitor groups they deemed national security threats, as the three authors point out, their main focus was on individuals with gender inversion because it appeared to threaten nation-state building. A nation-state building that resulted in the use of surveillance to abuse the First Amendment rights and civil liberties of Americans whose only crime was gender inversion. In a democratic society, that should not have existed. I applaud the authors for their scholarly contributions to this topic.