

ars of her generation who openly question the idea of southern exceptionalism. Whiteness theory, furthermore, is predicated on the idea of the universality of white American racism toward African Americans and Native Americans. Accordingly, Maxwell does not believe the Agrarians to be part of a larger global intellectual community who largely rejected the society wrought by the Industrial Revolution, as depicted by scholars like Louise Cowan. Rather, Maxwell portrays the Agrarians as articulate but hopelessly anachronistic expostulators of a white male hierarchy that was slowly but surely being consumed over the course of the twentieth century by such omnipresent forces as those represented by civil rights workers and second wave feminism. For Maxwell, the Scopes Trial was the crucible for the Agrarians to retreat into an almost paranoid defense of the southern way of life. While presenting the single best summary analysis of the New Critics that this reviewer has ever read, Maxwell might also consider the historical context in which the Agrarians' wrote, a milieu that included John Crowe Ransom and Donald Davidson's firsthand experience with the mass industrial murder of the Great War, as well as the successive Hoover and Roosevelt administrations' relentlessly massive expansion of the federal state into the South during the period. In turn, Maxwell discounts the contemporary theological debates that led Allen Tate and many of his Agrarian prodigy to ultimately embrace Roman Catholicism.

Maxwell's study of the Second Reconstruction in Virginia follows Michael Klarman's Backlash Thesis to assert that there was a moderate alternative to southern intransigence in the wake of the *Brown* decision. Maxwell places segregationist propagandist James J. Kilpatrick at the forefront in transforming a once moderate white South into outright defiance of the U.S. Supreme Court after the outside world fixed its critical gaze upon the Jim Crow caste system. For Maxwell, the white South's ultimate embrace of the Republican Party is a direct product of this inherent reactionary inferiority complex.

Like all quality scholarship, Maxwell provokes penetrating questions that will drive further research of these and related subject matters. This book should be considered essential reading for graduate studies of the American South and would also be a good addition to collegiate libraries.

JOHN KYLE DAY
University of Arkansas at Monticello

WILLIAM E. O'BRIEN. *Landscapes of Exclusion: State Parks and Jim Crow in the American South*. (Designing the American Park.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, in association with Library of American Landscape History, 2016. Pp. xv, 191. \$39.95.

With *Landscapes of Exclusion: State Parks and Jim Crow in the American South*, William E. O'Brien has filled a void in the literature involving New Deal parks and recreation planning and regarding Jim Crow laws, practices, and restrictions on public lands in the American South. In this first detailed account of such practices, O'Brien il-

lustrates how these restrictions denied southern African Americans entrance on federal and state properties that were intended to be shared park spaces, while also demonstrating how advocacy groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which filed federal lawsuits that demanded park integration, as well as religious leaders such as "W. J. Faulkner, president of Nashville's Inter-Denominational Ministerial Alliance, an organization of African American clergy" who pressured "Tennessee's Department of Conservation, wanting to know whether the new Montgomery Bell RDA would be accessible" to African Americans (76). State park officials and the National Park Service were able to identify a few racially segregated locations that could facilitate services for African American youth and adults on existing large reserves. The pressure forced park agencies and officials to designate other segregated spaces strategically in park areas to demonstrate that they were meeting separate but equal standards. O'Brien illustrates how the designated spaces grew each year after the mid-1930s. During "the life of the Civilian Conservation Corp" the Park Service "intensified its push for African American recreational access" (78) in order to prevent the discontinuation of the Resettlement Administration, and give the National Park Service greater control of the Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA).

Despite these efforts and another four years of park planning and construction, O'Brien explains how certain Park Service staff, including Fred T. Johnston, who worked under Conrad L. Wirth (a pioneering park administrator and lifetime member of the National Conference on State Parks), was becoming increasingly frustrated over delays in implementing plans for at least fifteen vacation areas intended for segregated African American access. Johnston "wrote in fall 1937 that even some RDAs originally designed to include African American facilities were ultimately reserved for white-only use" (77). His letter alluded to how "[p]rejudice makes it practically impossible to provide for Negroes on areas also intended for white use, and has so far prevented us from developing even the few portions of some of the Recreational Demonstration areas originally planned for Negro use" (77). O'Brien demonstrates how RDA planners had developed a proposal "without the Park Service's direct knowledge of local white opinion or of potential African American demand," which essentially meant "the futures of the ten RDA sites [Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Oklahoma] remained uncertain" (81).

As part of a *Designing the American Park* series, O'Brien's *Landscapes of Exclusion* centralizes intersections of the environment and race. Specifically, it illustrates how the state park movement and the National Park Service worked collectively to manage Jim Crow practices in the state parks of the reluctant South during the New Deal. O'Brien's chronicle of the rampant practices of Jim Crow segregation adds to Carolyn Finney's argument about nature and the environment as being racialized in America (*Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagin-*

ing the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors [2014]).

This interplay between nature, segregated leisure space, and race relations marked Chicago's 1919 Red Summer and the Tulsa race riot of 1921, and other Jim Crow practices as emblematic of the times. Susan Sessions Rugh's *Are We There Yet?: The Golden Age of American Family Vacation* (2008) reflects on another aspect of discrimination and humiliation that middle-class African Americans would encounter in Cold War America. Just as O'Brien brilliantly outlines these practices in the state parks in the South, Rugh's study links the family vacation traveling experiences of rural and urban African American migrants as another factor related to Jim Crow America, one where whites and blacks routinely used "different restrooms, [drank] at different fountains and stay[ed] at different hotels" to illustrate "a fundamentally different experience for them than it was for white families" (Rugh, 69). In *Landscapes of Exclusion*, O'Brien highlights the interconnections of racism, capitalism, consumerism, and leisure by analyzing the traveling experiences of middle-class African Americans in twentieth-century America, and the actions of vacationers and outdoor enthusiasts both prior to the New Deal and during the state park movement era. O'Brien's work also addresses a historical progression that led to a different set of strategic responses by African American leaders in the North and the South who resisted systematic practices of racial discrimination and segregation at white outdoor facilities by either pressuring for policy reforms or catering to, creating, developing, and promoting their own separate outdoor spaces in places like Idlewild, Michigan, Highland Beach in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Oak's Bluff on Martha's Vineyard in Massachusetts, or American Beach, which is located north of Jacksonville, Florida, on Amelia Island in Nassau County. O'Brien's analysis further speaks to Andrew W. Kahrl's *The Land Was Ours: African American Beaches from Jim Crow to the Sunbelt South* (2012), which involves beachfront properties along the coasts of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico and illustrates how continued mechanisms of segregation, exclusion, desegregation, and integration ultimately led to the dismantling of segregated leisure and recreation spaces in the South. Perhaps even more disturbing, O'Brien's work connects to contemporary restriction practices in some public parks in the South.

RONALD J. STEPHENS
Purdue University

DANIEL K. WILLIAMS. *Defenders of the Unborn: The Pro-Life Movement before Roe v. Wade*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 365. \$29.95.

Writing a history of just one side of the abortion debate in the U.S. is a difficult undertaking. To begin with, the number of existing studies of the issue could fill libraries many times over. And to make it more challenging, abortion has become one of the signature issues in the extreme partisan polarization of the last several decades. *Defenders of the Unborn: The Pro-Life Movement before*

Roe v. Wade is thus a foray into treacherous waters. Happily, Daniel K. Williams presents a well-researched and original account despite these twin dangers.

The central argument of the book is that the movement opposed to legalized abortion in the U.S. began prior to World War II, rather than the late 1960s or early 1970s as previous historiography suggests. For most of its history, Williams claims, the movement has been anchored by a central concern with human life. Abortion has been a chief focus, but one that was always accompanied by related concerns over other "life" issues such as contraception, euthanasia, the death penalty, and in vitro fertilization. The backlash against women's rights, by contrast, has been a more recent and epiphenomenal side of pro-life activism. Tracing the history of the movement from the 1930s through the present, Williams argues that the longevity of the movement in American public life owes to the grafting of its human life concerns onto the language of liberalism and civil rights in the years prior to the 1973 landmark *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* Supreme Court decisions, which legalized abortion nationwide.

Scholars have long understood the central role of the Catholic Church in the development of the pro-life movement, but Williams's research illuminates this role in much more detail than has previously been available. In particular, the book provides a nuanced account of how important inflection points in the movement's history are tied to the history of the Catholic Church. For example, he attributes much of the rapid acceptance of abortion liberalization in state laws after 1965 to the collapse of the Catholic Church's political influence in the wake of Vatican II and the *Griswold v. Connecticut* Supreme Court decision legalizing contraception. Later, Williams argues that the full embrace of the Republican Party by the movement was possible only after the Catholic Church gave primacy to the abortion issue over and above the many other "life" issues to which it had always been attached. By placing the Catholic Church at the center of the movement's history, Williams helps us understand its ideological, cultural, and political context in much finer detail.

His research also shows how the main ingredients in the long-term strategies of the movement were already fully in place by 1972, a year before the *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* decisions. These include conscious attempts at ecumenical coalitions for specific political campaigns, and the use of fetal images and graphic pictures of fetal remains for moral suasion. The major arguments or ideological frames of the movement had been settled by this time, too, including the portrayal of women who seek abortions as victims of predatory men, the notion that abortion is a civil rights issue for unborn children, and the moral equivalence of abortion to the Holocaust. These movement strategies and frames are well-known, but Williams demonstrates how early they came to dominate the movement's approach to the issue.

Though the subtitle of the volume suggests that this history ends with the 1973 Supreme Court decisions, two full chapters describe how the forces within the move-