

for the claim that the last half century is really a distinctive and coherent political era relative to the impeachment power. It remains unclear that there are meaningful connections to be drawn between the impeachment and acquittal of Bill Clinton on the one hand and the impeachment and removal of Judge Harry Claiborne on the other. Likewise, there is not enough examination of the pre-1960 period given to evaluate whether the modern era is importantly different from, say, the early twentieth century when five judges were impeached,

or the mid-nineteenth century when a variety of officials were impeached, including a president and a cabinet official. This book may not answer the question that Kyvig sets out for it, but it does provide a fine history of modern impeachment threats.

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Roots Too

White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America

By Matthew Frye Jacobson

(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006. Pp. 483. Notes, index. Paperbound, \$19.95.)

In 1970, a multi-ethnic legion of steelworkers and students, housewives and welfare workers, priests and politicians gathered in Hammond, Indiana, to organize the Calumet Community Congress (CCC). Endorsed by national Democratic leaders, the CCC sought to marshal local ethnic pride and cooperation behind an agenda of social, economic, and political reform. Two years later, in the 1972 presidential election, Republican incumbent Richard Nixon won northwest Indiana's vote by promulgating a similar message of ethnic pride and cooperation, only for conservative, not social democratic, causes.

What northwest Indiana wrestled with in this brief moment—the fluc-

tuating politics of ethnic identity—the nation grappled with for an entire era. Matthew Jacobson explores this period of ferment in his masterful study, *Roots Too*. With stunning breadth and scintillating prose, he traces the “ethnic revival” that started in the 1960s and continued unabated through the century's last decades. The pivot—and much of the focus—of his story is the 1970s, when momentous occasions like the nation's bicentennial and television broadcast of Alex Haley's *Roots* “denoted Americans' heightened self-consciousness about their own roots and about the new, pluralized idioms of national membership” (p. 17). Prior to this point, ethnicity had been

something to hide and overcome for the sake of belonging. But by 1976, Jacobson emphasizes, "after decades of trying to conform . . . descendants of earlier European immigrants quit the melting pot" (p. 2).

What precipitated this change in thinking? Jacobson offers many reasons, all stemming from exhaustive study of myriad intellectuals, politicians, organizations, and "culture industries" (especially television and Hollywood). Part of the shift, he acknowledges, had to do with a third generation of immigrant Americans yearning for the stability of heritage in a time of chaotic change. But Jacobson also moves past this rendering of ethnic revival, fleshed out elsewhere by historians, to dissect its racial and political composition. Here his insights sparkle with fresh significance. Jacobson argues that the ethnic awakening occurred "precisely when the American color line was sharpening in new ways" (p. 35). As a deliberate response to the political empowerment civil rights bestowed on racial minorities, white Americans rallied behind a revised sense of superiority. A myth of "Ellis Island whiteness" was forged in this context, and a different notion of "America" created, one that attributed authentic citizenship to those whose forbearers had once been part of a diaspora that suffered, sacrificed, and strove. Italian, Irish, Jewish, Polish, and other once-marginalized "hyphenated Americans" now joined White Anglo Saxon Protestants in collectively evoking the

fable of individual initiative and in redrawing the boundaries of true Americanness by making "Caucasian" normative (p. 179). This act of exclusion, however, also allowed white ethnic Americans to brush off responsibility for the systemic mistreatment of racial minorities; they too, after all, had once felt the pain of prejudice in an unjust social order, but through perseverance and hard work (not special privilege and government assistance, this trope emphasized) had risen above their circumstances.

Herein lies the crux of *Roots Too*. Although Jacobson spends most of his time recounting with rich detail the cultural manifestations of the new ethnicity, politics remains his bottom line. He rightly emphasizes that the new ethnicity flourished because of progressive Democratic as well as conservative Republican politics. Post-civil-rights-era liberalism came to celebrate diversity, rather than assume consensus, and to make multiculturalism a central plank in its platform. Liberal feminists, he adds, tapped romanticized notions of their grandmothers for inspiration in the fight for equal rights. Jacobson also insists that the new ethnicity allowed the Republican right to tilt the culture wars in its favor by appealing to "traditional" values of individual initiative and community, and by tapping extant frustrations with the civil rights movement. Indiana's flip-flop politics in the early 1970s were, in this way, indicative of much larger,

violent swings across the nation, swings that continue to the present day. Indeed, in his final chapter, Jacobson makes it clear that the bipartisan quest to define diversity's proper place in "an increasingly uneasy 'nation of immigrants'" remains as hotly contested as ever, with the stakes higher than ever before. Though willing to raise more doubts than certainties about the nation's

future course in this matter, he predicts that any proposed solutions will legitimate "idioms of white primacy" as readily as they open up avenues for inclusion and assimilation (p. 388).

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Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten

How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War

By Gary W. Gallagher

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Pp. 274. Illustrations, notes, index. \$28.00.)

Gary W. Gallagher is a noted author and editor of books about the Civil War. In *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War*, Gallagher turns his attention to movies and illustrations about the war. More specifically, he focuses on some fourteen films released in the past twenty years: *Glory*, *Dances with Wolves*, *Gettysburg*, *Sommersby*, *Little Women*, *Pharaoh's Army*, *Andersonville*, *Ride with the Devil*, *The Gangs of New York*, *Gods and Generals*, *Cold Mountain*, *The Last Samurai*, *C.S.A. The Confederate States of America*, and *Seraphim Falls*.

Gallagher looks at four basic concepts about the war: the Confederacy as a glorious "Lost Cause" pitted against the industrial might of the North, the "Union Cause" to main-

tain the republic, the "Emancipation Cause" of a war to free the slaves, and the "Reconciliation Cause," which Gallagher calls "an attempt by white people North and South to extol the American virtues both sides manifested during the war, to exalt the restored nation that emerged from the conflict, and to mute the role of African Americans" (p. 2). He is concerned with the influence of these ideas on the motion picture industry, and with Hollywood's transmission of these images to the general public. He also is interested in the paintings, illustrations, and sculptures that he considers "popular art" about the Civil War.

In the past twenty years, general interest in the war has increased, due perhaps to the popular success of Ken Burns's 1990 eleven-hour documen-