1876—AMERICA CELEBRATES ITS CENTENNIAL.

100 YEARS AS A REPUBLIC...

100 YEARS IN PURSUIT OF THE PROMISE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

"THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL."

YOU KNOW, I ALWAYS THINK OF JOHN ADAMS'S COMMENT

THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL SO LONG AS YOU LEAVE WOMEN AND CHILDREN OUT OF THE PICTURE.

YOU KNOW, WHEN THEY SAID, "MEN."

IT WAS GENDER-SPECIFIC-- I'M QUITE CONVINCED OF THAT.

WHAT I LIKE IS THE SENSE THAT WE UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN A STRUGGLE.

(laughing)

I MEAN, FREDERICK DOUGLASS THE CONSTITUTION, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE...

ALL THE WAYS IN WHICH CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE IS BASICALLY ABOUT FULFILLING THE PROMISE THAT IS THERE.

LIVING UP TO THE LAWS AND THE CONSTITUTION AND ALL OF THAT.

I THINK THAT THAT'S REALLY WHAT IS PIVOTAL.

WALDO KEEPS TALKING ABOUT COMPLICATING THINGS.

I LIKE THAT BECAUSE HE'S ALSO TALKING ABOUT SIMPLIFYING, EXPLAINING THEM CLEARLY.

EXPLAINING THAT THEY ARE COMPLICATED.

YEAH, THAT'S BASICALLY THE POINT.

YOU KNOW, THE PROMISE IS OUT THERE.

IT'S LIKE THIS REALLY GREAT SHINING THING THAT EVERYBODY, YOU KNOW, WANTS TO BELIEVE IN BUT FOR A REALLY LONG TIME THERE ARE LOTS OF PEOPLE
WHO ARE NOT EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT.

IN 1876, IS AMERICA FULFILLING ITS MOST FUNDAMENTAL PROMISE?

OUR TEAM OF HISTORIANS PROBE THIS QUESTION.

TODAY ON A BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.

ON MAY 10, 1876 PRESIDENT ULYSSES GRANT TRAVELED TO PHILADELPHIA FOR AN UNUSUAL BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.

THE UNITED STATES WAS 100 YEARS OLD.

NEARLY TEN MILLION PEOPLE, ONE-FIFTH OF THE COUNTRY'S POPULATION, CAME TO PHILADELPHIA TO CELEBRATE THE PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY OF AMERICA.

EVEN THOUGH THE COUNTRY WAS IN THE MIDST OF ITS WORST ECONOMIC DEPRESSION EVER.

NEW, LIFE-TRANSFORMING INVENTIONS WERE ON DISPLAY: THE TELEPHONE...

THE TYPEWRITER...

ELECTRIC LIGHTS...

THE INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINE.

BUT THE CENTERPIECE WAS A 700-TON CORLISS STEAM ENGINE THAT SYMBOLIZED THE EXPOSITION'S THEME-- THAT MACHINES WERE REMAKING AMERICA AND PROMISED TO INAUGURATE AN AGE OF WIDESPREAD ABUNDANCE.

IN EARLY JULY, THE REALITIES OF AMERICAN LIFE INTRUDED INTO THE CENTENNIAL'S CELEBRATION.

THAT MACHINES WERE REMAKING AMERICA.

AND PROMISED TO INAUGURATE AN AGE OF WIDESPREAD ABUNDANCE.

IN EARLY JULY, THE REALITIES OF AMERICAN LIFE INTRUDED INTO THE CENTENNIAL'S CELEBRATION.

OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

A GROUP OF FEMINISTS LED BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

BROKE INTO THE EXPOSITION'S JULY 4th PROCEEDING.

TO READ A DOCUMENT THEY CALLED "THE WOMAN'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE."

THESE WOMEN HAD SUPPORTED BLACK LIBERATION.
SUPPORTED THE 13th, 14th AND 15th AMENDMENTS.

BUT THEY FELT OUTRAGED AND BETRAYED WHEN THE 15th AMENDMENT WHICH EXTENDED VOTING RIGHTS TO BLACK PEOPLE DID NOT DO THE SAME FOR WOMEN.

THE SAME DAY OF THEIR PROTEST, WORD REACHED THE EXPOSITION THAT GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER AND HIS SEVENTH CAVALRY HAD BEEN WIPED OUT AT A PLACE CALLED LITTLE BIG HORN BY A BAND OF SIOUX WARRIORS LED BY SITTING BULL AND CRAZY HORSE.

THERE WERE IMMEDIATE CALLS FOR VENGEANCE.

THE INDIANS WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH VIOLENTLY.

GRANT'S HOPES FOR RACIAL HARMONY DIDN'T FARE MUCH BETTER.

THAT SAME CENTENNIAL JULY 4-- GRANT'S VICTORY AT VICKSBURG--

WHITES IN HAMBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA TRIED TO PREVENT A GROUP OF BLACK MILITIA FROM MARCHING IN AN INDEPENDENCE DAY PARADE.

WHEN THE CASE WENT TO COURT FOUR DAYS LATER FIGHTING BROKE OUT BETWEEN BLACK PEOPLE AND A GROUP OF WHITES WHO WERE ARMED WITH A CANNON.

AFTER THE BLACKS SURRENDERED SEVERAL OF THEIR LEADERS WERE MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD.

ALL OF THE WHITES WERE ACQUITTED IN THE TRAVESTY THAT WAS CALLED A TRIAL.

GRANT SENT TROOPS, AND CONDEMNED THE MASSACRE AS "BLOODTHIRSTY" AND "UNPROVOKED."

BUT THE FUTURE SOLUTION TO SUCH OUTRAGES, HE MADE CLEAR ON A HIGHER POWER--

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, WHO HAD BEEN A SUPPORTER OF THE PRESIDENT
Now questioned The nation's commitment to Lincoln's pledge of a "new birth of freedom."

Years later, W.E.B. Du Bois offered a "splendid failure."

For a promising moment, black people took a gigantic step out of slavery with white help, and they were then pushed back into the dark night of racial suppression abandoned by almost all their former allies.

For all that was gained by courageous black people with reconstruction demonstrated that racism was a national, not a regional, scourge.

As a nation, we continued to struggle with reconstruction's unresolved legacy with the inheritance of the painful question of race in America.

If you opened the door, the trapdoor to the unconscious what would fly out in 1876? What are these unresolved problems that are going to just haunt the conscience of the nation?

Man:

Well, I think one is very clear-- the problem of race.

I mean, 1876-- we're at the end of reconstruction.

Technically, slaves have been freed but what you begin to see with the decline of any kind of commitment to reconstruction and the demise of reconstruction is a turning back of
ANY KIND OF MODEST CLOCK

IN TERMS OF ANY KIND OF PROGRESS.

I THINK WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT CIVIL WAR

EMANCIPATION IS A TRANSFORMATION.

IT IS A REVOLUTION.

EMANCIPATION IS AN IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENT.

BUT WHAT YOU DISCOVER IS THAT RECONSTRUCTION

DOES NOT PROVIDE THE ECONOMIC WHEREWITHAL

THE POLITICAL WHEREWITHAL

TO ENSURE THE FREEDOM OF THE EX-SLAVES.

AND SO, IN 1876, IT'S NOT SURPRISING TO ME

THAT THE STRUGGLES AND THE "PROGRESS"

OF AFRICAN AMERICANS OR THE EX-SLAVES IN PARTICULAR

IS PUSHED OFF INTO THE SIDE BECAUSE IT'S NOT SEEN AS SIMPLE.

BUT, WALDO, ISN'T IT EVEN WORSE THAN THAT?

WHAT'S HAPPENING HERE?

I MEAN, WHAT'S HAPPENING HERE?

THAT'S PAID FOR THAT KIND OF AMNESIA,

FOR THAT KIND OF ERASURE.

BUT YOU DID HAVE--
THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY DID TAKE PLACE AND YOU DO HAVE A NEW SENSE OF UNIONISM IN 1876.

SO WHEN YOU'RE AT THAT CENTENNIAL YOU CAN SAY: "HEY, WE MADE IT FOR 100 YEARS."

BELIEVE ME, THERE'S A LOT OF PATRIOTIC GORE IN 1876 CELEBRATING THAT 100th ANNIVERSARY.

AND I THINK EVEN TRAVESTIES LIKE THE CIVIL WAR WHICH TURNED OUT TO BE GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY IN THE SENSE OF UNIFYING THE NATION GETTING AWAY WITH THE SLAVERY ISSUE FINALLY WHETHER IT'S TECHNOLOGIES WITH MACHINE GUNNERY FOR WAR OR MEDICINE IN WAR OR SUBMARINES OR PHOTOGRAPHY OR MORE IMPROVED COMMUNICATION CABLES WITH THE TELEGRAPH.

PRETTY SOON, INSTEAD OF JUST TELEGRAPHING AROUND THE COUNTRY WE'LL BE TELEGRAPHING TO EUROPE.

THE BUILDING OF THE TRAINS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CIVIL WAR WHILE NORTH IS FIGHTING SOUTH-- ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS SIGNING THE BILL FOR THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD CONNECTING THE EAST WITH THE WEST.

AND SO MUCH OF THE NEXT DECADES AFTER THE CIVIL WAR CONNECTING THE COUNTRY TOGETHER THROUGH THE RAILROADS.

SO, IT'S A KIND OF TIME, I THINK OF A NEW ENERGY AND OPTIMISM FOR A LOT OF AMERICANS.

YET AT THE SAME TIME, IT'S STILL
A PERIOD, AS WALDO’S SAYING
WHERE WE ARE FREE FROM SLAVERY, THANK GOODNESS.

BUT WE STILL DON’T HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS.

BUT EVERYBODY STILL SEEMS TO THINK

THAT THERE IS A CHANCE OF A BETTER LIFE SOMEHOW.

WELL, I THINK IT’S HARD TO TALK ABOUT EVERYBODY AT THAT POINT

BECAUSE THE NEWS ARRIVES AT THE 1876 CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

THAT THE CUSTER DEBACLE HAS JUST OCCURRED

AT THE LITTLE BIG HORN--

THAT THE ALLIED TROOPS OF VARIOUS PLAINS INDIAN PEOPLES

HAVE MASSACRED AND SLAUGHTERED ALL OF THE SEVENTH CAVALRY.

AND THIS IS A DEVASTATING MILITARY LOSS

FOR THE UNITED STATES AND IT’S A GREAT VICTORY

FOR THE PEOPLE ON THE PLAINS.

THEY DON’T WANT TO BE A PART OF THE UNITED STATES.

THEY DON’T WANT TO BE A PART OF THIS INCORPORATED REPUBLIC

THAT BUILDS AN IRON RAILROAD ACROSS THEIR LAND...

THAT Splits UP THE BUFFALO HERD.

AND THIS IS A MOMENT FOR THEM WHEN THEY SUDDENLY THINK

THEM, MAYBE WE CAN FIGHT IT BACK.

THE WAR IS STILL GOING ON.

IT’S NOT A WAR FOR THE SOUTH.

IT’S NOT A WAR TO BRING THE SOUTH BACK TO THE UNION.

BUT IT’S A WAR IN THE WEST TO INCORPORATE THOSE WESTERN TERRITORIES INTO THE UNITED STATES

AND EVEN AS LATE AS 1876, THAT’S NOT A DONE DEAL.

THAT’S NOT A GUARANTEED THING.

BUT HERE, AFTER THE CIVIL WAR YOU’VE GOT THIS GIANT ENGINE THAT YOU DESCRIBE

THIS INDUSTRIAL ENGINE.

A COUNTRY THAT HAD ALREADY MOBILIZED FOR WAR--
YOU HAD TO FIGHT A VAST WAR--
A CONTINENTAL-SCALE WAR.
BOOM, THEY GO OUT WEST.
AND IT'S ALL OVER.
IT'S ALL OVER BY THE 1890s--
IT'S THAT FAST.
I THINK THERE'S A DIFFERENT WAY
BECAUSE, I THINK, THERE IS
A LONGER-TERM HISTORICAL PROBLEM HERE
AND THAT IS THAT THE PEOPLES THAT VIRGINIA IS REFERRING TO
HAVE BEEN THERE FOR A WHILE.
AND THEY HAVE SEEN STRUGGLE OVER A LONG TERM.
AND IT STRIKES ME THAT THE SHORT-TERM VICTORY
OF "MANIFEST DESTINY" IS JUST SORT OF ONE PART OF A LONGER STREAM OF STRUGGLE
 THAT A LOT OF THESE PEOPLE HAVE SEEN.
THEM DID NOT DISAPPEAR-- THEY DID NOT VANISH.
THEM ARE STILL THERE, THEY HAVE CHAINS
THEM RAN BEEN ALTERED.
THE INDIANS WERE CAUGHT IN A JUGGERNAUT.
BUT WHY DOES VICTORY COME TO BE
THE STANDARD OF JUDGMENT?
WHY DOES VICTORY COME TO BE THE WAY?
IT'S NOT THE STANDARD OF JUDGMENT, IT'S WHAT HAPPENED.
BUT, SEE, VICTORY IS SORT OF--
HISTORY IS WRITTEN BY THE VICTORS.
HISTORY IS WRITTEN BY "THE PEOPLE WITH HISTORY."
THE PEOPLE WITHOUT HISTORY, THE NATIVE PEOPLES
DON'T WRITE THE KIND OF HISTORY THAT WE COME FROM.
BUT, WALDO, YOU KEEP SAYING "THE NATIVE PEOPLES"
AS IF THEY'RE ONE GROUP OF PEOPLE THAT ARE NATIVE.

BUT IF WE TELL THE STORY AS A STORY OF CONFLICT
AS A STORY OF CONTESTED VALUES
AS A STORY WHERE THERE ARE NATIVE TRIBES
WHO ARE BEING, PERHAPS, INVADED.

THERE ARE WORKERS ON THE RAILROAD
WHO ARE BEING EXPLOITED.

THERE ARE BATTLES AMONG THE CAPITALISTS THEMSELVES.

YOU KNOW, THIS ISN'T JUST THE STORY OF CAPITAL AGAINST SOMEBODY ELSE.

SOMEBODY WINS AND SOMEBODY LOSES.

AND THE TRIUMPHALISM THAT WALDO IS OBJECTING TO OBVIOUSLY COMES OUT OF THE POSITION OF THOSE WHO ARE TRIUMPHING, IN EFFECT.

IT'S THE SENSE THAT THEY ARE BRINGING CIVILIZATION AND PROGRESS.

OF THE COUNTRY?

BECAUSE, I MEAN, WHAT HAS THE NATION JUST GONE THROUGH THIS CIVIL WAR
THAT THREATENED TO TEAR THIS NATION APART.

AND YOU WOULD ASSUME THAT THERE WOULD BE LOTS OF REFERENCES TO WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN THROUGH FROM ITS FOUNDING.

BUT THE CORE OF THE CENTENNIAL IS REALLY AN INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

SHOWING OFF INDUSTRY, TECHNOLOGY, CONSUMERISM.

AND IN ALL KINDS OF WAYS THROUGH THAT EXHIBITION
AND LOOK AT WHAT WAS DISPLAYED THE KINDS OF GOODS, THE KINDS OF PRODUCTS--
IT REALLY IS A CELEBRATION OF TECHNOLOGY AND IT HEARKENS TOWARD A FUTURE WORLD SEPARATED FROM A PAST WORLD.

Maier: WELL, DON, GO BACK TO THIS QUESTION OF WHAT'S GOING ON IN 1876.

I WONDER IF, TO SOME EXTENT, WHAT WE AREN'T ALL SAYING IS THAT THE ISSUES HAVE CHANGED IN SOME FUNDAMENTAL WAY.

AND I'D LIKE TO TAKE EXCEPTION WITH THE NOTION THAT WE HAVE A HISTORICAL AMNESIA. 1876, I WONDER IF SO MANY OF THOSE BASIC ISSUES THAT HAD SHAPED POLITICS AND DISPUTES BEFORE THE WAR HADN'T BEEN SETTLED.

COULD THE UNION HOLD TOGETHER? I THINK APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE SETTLED THAT.

YOU CAN'T JUST LEAVE THE UNION.

THERE IS NO RIGHT TO LEAVE THE UNION.

THE COST WOULD BE TREMENDOUS.

WALDO, I WANT TO ASK YOU SOMETHING-- IT SEEMS TO ME... WHAT'S SO INTERESTING ABOUT THE PRE-CIVIL WAR PERIOD IS THAT AFRICAN AMERICANS WERE ACTIVE PLAYERS.

I MEAN, THAT THEY WERE IN SOME WAYS THE MOST ARDENT ADVOCATES
OF TRUE UNIVERSAL RIGHTS AND EQUALITY.

AND THEY WERE TERRIBLY IMPORTANT IN PART BECAUSE THEY HAD ALLIES--

ABOLITIONISTS, FOR EXAMPLE.

WHAT'S HAPPENED TO THEM?

WHY ARE THEY LESS FORCEFUL?

I CAN'T THINK THAT THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY HAS ABANDONED ITS CHAMPIONING OF GENUINE EQUALITY AND EQUAL RIGHTS.

WHY ARE THEY LESS EFFECTIVE AFTER THE CIVIL WAR?

THIS IS A VERY COMPELLING QUESTION.

AT LEAST AS I THINK ABOUT IT IT'S NOT THAT THE VOICES ARE NOT THERE.

THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE ISSUES THEMSELVES, AS YOU SUGGEST HAVE BECOME MORE COMPLICATED.

YOU GET THE 13th AMENDMENT WHICH ABOLISHES SLAVERY.

YOU GET THE 14th AMENDMENT WHICH CLARIFIES THE FACT THAT AFRICAN AMERICANS ARE NOW CITIZENS.

AND YOU GET ULTIMATELY A 15th AMENDMENT AROUND ISSUES OF THE VOTE, GIVING BLACK MEN THE VOTE.

BUT THESE ARE CONTESTED ISSUES AND ALL ALONG THE WAY THE SORT OF DEFINING CITIZENSHIP DECIDING WHO GETS THE VOTE AND WHO DOESN'T GET THE VOTE.

SOME OF THE FORMER ALLIES ARE LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT SOME OF THE WAYS IN WHICH THOSE ISSUES WORK THEMSELVES OUT ESPECIALLY THE VOTE.

WHERE YOU CAN SEE THIS PROBLEM
326 01:14:24:26 01:14:27:03 IS IN THE DEBATE OVER THE 15th AMENDMENT
327 01:14:27:05 01:14:30:09 THE EFFORT TO GIVE BLACK MEN THE VOTE.
328 01:14:30:11 01:14:31:22 THERE IS A DEBATE THERE IS A STRONG, ACRIMONIOUS, DIFFICULT DEBATE.
330 01:14:34:15 01:14:36:12 AND ULTIMATELY THERE IS A SPLIT
331 01:14:36:14 01:14:39:13 BETWEEN THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE VOTE FOR BLACK MEN
332 01:14:39:15 01:14:42:11 WHICH EXCLUDES WOMEN, INCLUDING BLACK WOMEN
333 01:14:42:13 01:14:45:20 AND THERE ARE THOSE, LIKE ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
334 01:14:45:22 01:14:47:29 AND SUSAN B. ANTHONY, WHO SPLIT WAYS
335 01:14:48:01 01:14:50:11 WITH SOMEONE LIKE FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
336 01:14:50:13 01:14:52:12 FREDERICK DOUGLASS SUPPORTS THE AMENDMENT
337 01:14:52:14 01:14:55:08 WHICH GIVES BLACK MEN THE VOTE, WHEREAS SUSAN B. ANTHONY
338 01:14:55:10 01:14:58:18 OPPOSE IT.
339 01:14:58:20 01:15:01:10 THEN THEY WANT TO ARGUE THAT, YOU KNOW, WOMEN
340 01:15:01:12 01:15:03:23 ESPECIALLY WHITE WOMEN, DESERVE THE VOTE.
341 01:15:03:25 01:15:04:27 SO, ULTIMATELY... Miller:
342 01:15:04:29 01:15:06:07 WHY DID DOUGLASS OPPOSE THAT?
343 01:15:06:09 01:15:08:13 HE DIDN'T OPPOSE THAT-- IT WAS JUST THE NOTION
344 01:15:08:15 01:15:10:08 THAT IN ANY KIND OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
345 01:15:10:10 01:15:13:10 THERE ARE GOING TO BE WINNERS, THERE ARE GOING TO BE LOSERS.
346 01:15:13:12 01:15:14:18 YOU HAVE TO COMPROMISE.
347 01:15:14:20 01:15:17:13 AND HIS ARGUMENT WAS GIVE BLACK WOMEN THE VOTE.
348 01:15:17:15 01:15:20:17 ONCE WE HAVE THE VOTE, WE WILL CONTINUE THE FIGHT
349 01:15:20:19 01:15:23:11 AND JOIN THE FIGHT TO GIVE WOMEN THE VOTE.
351 01:15:26:00 01:15:28:23 NOW, A LOT OF WOMEN AND A LOT OF SUPPORTERS
353 01:15:30:16 01:15:33:05 FELT THAT THIS WAS TOO BIG A COMPROMISE.
THAT YOU DO NOT... THAT WAS WHERE YOU DREW THE LINE IN THE SAND, SO TO SPEAK.
AND YOU FUGHT IT OUT ON PRINCIPLE.
AND THAT KIND OF IDEALISM, THAT KIND OF BELIEF, DOUGLASS FELT HAD TO BE COMPROMISED AT THIS POINT IN TIME.
BUT I DO THINK THAT THERE IS SORT OF A DECLINING IDEALISM AROUND ISSUES OF RACE.
I GUESS IT'S A SENSE OF INERTIA THAT SETS IN OR JUST A FEELING THAT HOW LONG CAN THIS THING CONTINUE?
BUT I THINK... HOW LONG CAN THE STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS GO ON?
SOME OF IT IS ABOUT... WE'RE GETTING TIRED OF THIS.
WELL, SOME OF IT'S FATIGUE, BUT SOME OF IT IS A QUESTION OF HOW FAR IS THIS MOVEMENT GOING TO GO?
AND THERE IS SO MUCH CONCERN THAT THAT'S JUST GOING TOO FAR.
THAT IS JUST TOO MUCH.
SO THAT AFRICAN-AMERICAN RIGHTS AND WHITE WOMEN'S RIGHTS DURING THIS PERIOD WILL COME TO SEEM LIKE BOY, THAT'S JUST ASKING TOO MUCH.
ONE OR THE OTHER BUT NOT BOTH.
QUESTION FOR YOU ON THIS ISSUE THAT WE KEEP TALKING ABOUT.
WE JUST FOUGHT A CIVIL WAR.
ALMOST 500,000 AMERICANS ARE DEAD.
YOU KNOW, A MILLION SOUTHERNERS
KILLED, WOUNDED

01:16:40:03 01:16:41:12 OR MISSING IN ACTION.
01:16:41:14 01:16:44:17 THE WHOLE SOUTH HAS BEEN
DEVASTATED BY THE CIVIL WAR--

01:16:44:19 01:16:48:20 LITERALLY RECONSTRUCTION AND
PHYSICAL RECONSTRUCTION AS WELL.
01:16:48:22 01:16:50:06 A NEW GENERATION
IS ON THE SCENE.

01:16:50:08 01:16:52:12 THEIR FATHERS
HAD FOUGHT THE CIVIL WAR.

01:16:52:14 01:16:54:28 A YOUNGER GENERATION,
RISING BUSINESS PEOPLE

01:16:55:00 01:16:58:08 LIKE CARNEGIE AND MORGAN,
WHO MADE MONEY OUT OF THE WAR.

01:16:58:10 01:16:59:23 ISN'T IT THAT THE COUNTRY
WANTS TO MOVE ON
TO SOMETHING ELSE?

01:17:02:04 01:17:04:17 THAT IT'S TIRED,
IT'S EXHAUSTED
FROM THE WAR.

01:17:04:19 01:17:06:07 AND FROM RECONSTRUCTION.
01:17:06:09 01:17:09:10 I THINK THIS IS
ONE GOOD EXPLANATION.

01:17:09:12 01:17:13:01 I THINK THE WAR IDEALISM
OR THE WAR CONCERN

01:17:13:03 01:17:17:03 GENERATED ABOUT FREEDOM
FOR BLACK PEOPLE DOES DECLINE.

01:17:17:05 01:17:20:22 IN REGARD TO THIS
RETREAT FROM
RECONSTRUCTION;

01:17:20:24 01:17:22:23 IT WOULD BE ALMOST
IMPOSSIBLE FOR US
TO EXAGGERATE

THE RACISM THAT
EXISTED

01:17:24:16 01:17:25:14 IN THE 19th CENTURY.
01:17:25:16 01:17:27:08 AND FOR MANY OF THESE ACTIVISTS
01:17:27:10 01:17:29:07 AND FOR MANY OF THESE
PARTICIPANTS

01:17:29:09 01:17:30:24 LIBERTY WAS ONE THING;
01:17:30:26 01:17:32:10 EQUALITY WAS SOMETHING ELSE.
01:17:32:12 01:17:35:12 AND HAVING GOTTEN LIBERTY,
A LOT OF PEOPLE FELT, YOU KNOW
01:17:35:14 01:17:37:17 THAT THAT NEXT STEP
WAS TOO MUCH OF A...

01:17:37:19 01:17:39:04 YOU KNOW, LINCOLN HIMSELF
01:17:39:06 01:17:41:21 WHILE HE'S AN OPPONENT TO
SLAVERY, FAVORS COLONIZATION.

01:17:41:23 01:17:43:07 THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF ISSUES
01:17:43:09 01:17:46:19 THAT WERE GOING AROUND
IN THIS PERIOD IN
REGARDS TO THIS.

01:17:46:21 01:17:48:26 THEY WEREN'T TALKING ABOUT
A REFORMISM MOVEMENT HERE.

01:17:48:28 01:17:51:08 YOU HAD A CIVIL WAR THAT WAS
BASICALLY... IF YOU THINK
WHO IS FIGHTING THIS CIVIL WAR,
THESE SOLDIERS FROM THE NORTH
TO FIGHT FOR UNIONISM.
THAT'S WHAT
THEM ORIGINALLY WENT IN FOR.
YES, SLAVERY BECAME A BIG ISSUE
AFTER THE EMANCIPATION
PROCLAMATION, EVEN BEFORE.
BUT IT'S OVER NOW.
AND PEOPLE WANT TO GET BACK
TO A SENSE OF NORMALCY.
AND WHAT DID PEOPLE GO HOME FOR?
AND THEY'RE NOT GOING HOME
FOR CONTINUING REFORMISM.
LIKE, BOY,
LET'S GET MORE DEMOCRACY.
LET'S GET MORE PEOPLE THE VOTE.
THEM WANT TO MAKE MONEY.
UNFETTERED CAPITALISM
IS WHAT STARTS KICKING IN
AFTER RECONSTRUCTION.
PEOPLE WANT A WAY TO
GET MORE PERSONAL INCOME.
WAYS TO GET RICHER
WAYS TO GO INTO HOMESTEAD
SCHEMES INTO THE WEST
WAYS TO GO LOOK FOR GOLD RUSHES
AND MINING INTEREST
AND STARTING NEW RANCHES
AND IT'S THAT PERSONAL INTEREST
OF WEALTH
THAT PEOPLE ARE LOOKING FOR
OR AT LEAST FOR A DECENT LIFE.
BUT THE LARGER FORCES AT WORK
IN SOCIETY SEEM TO BE.
THAT THE GIANT TECHNOLOGICAL
AND INDUSTRIAL FORCES.
WELL, DON, DON'T
YOU THINK THAT
THE DIFFERENT
GENERATIONS
IN AMERICAN HISTORY HAVE
DIFFERENT ISSUES,
DIFFERENT AGENDAS?
AND I THINK OF
THE 18th CENTURY
THE CHALLENGE THAT
ATTRACTED THE
BEST MINDS
OF THE TIME HAD TO
BE WITH DESIGNING
AND ESTABLISHING OF
A REPUBLIC.
THE EARLY 19th CENTURY

Saw itself as somehow working out that heritage.
Making sure the union lasted
Dealing with the question of equality.
The war itself changes the country.
There are entirely different issues at the top of the agenda afterwards.
And it came, I think, in part, out of the war itself.
This expanded federal government was encouraging a concentration of money
The growth of large corporations.
A whole new world came out.
And the challenge then had to be in the private sector.
It was economic far more than it was political.
When foreigners came over to observe the country in the 1870s and 80s, this is what struck them about the country.
I don't think it's just going after the big buck.
It's not just being rich.
It's building.
There's a real challenge here.
And how you organize national corporations
National businesses.
How you manage it.
It had an appeal independent of the...
It did.
There's a new cultural ethos
That's helping to shape a set of beliefs.
About competition, about individualism itself.
That I think comes out of the war.
And that affects this period.
The period before the war.
477 01:20:04:12 01:20:06:08 IS A PERIOD OF ROMANCE AND SENTIMENT.
478 01:20:06:10 01:20:07:20 THE PERIOD AFTER THE WAR IS
479 01:20:07:22 01:20:10:11 THIS PERIOD OF REALISM, OF HARD, COLD FACT.
480 01:20:10:13 01:20:12:13 AND THERE'S A SENSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL
481 01:20:12:15 01:20:15:13 RATHER THAN BEING IN SOLITARY PURSUIT OF UPWARD MOBILITY
482 01:20:15:15 01:20:17:14 THAT INDIVIDUAL IS NOW IN COMPETITION
483 01:20:17:16 01:20:19:25 DIRECT COMPETITION WITH OTHER INDIVIDUALS.
484 01:20:19:27 01:20:21:11 AND THIS BECOMES VALIDATED.
486 01:20:24:20 01:20:26:06 YOU TALK ABOUT THAT ENGINE
488 01:20:29:19 01:20:32:19 IT WAS DESCRIBED AS AN ATHLETE OF STEEL AND IRON.
489 01:20:32:21 01:20:34:00 AND THE SPORTS METAPHOR TAKES OVER THE SOCIETY IN ALL KINDS OF WAYS.
490 01:20:34:02 01:20:36:19 THIS IS A WORLD WHERE, IN THE LAST HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY
491 01:20:36:21 01:20:40:07 WHERE FOOTBALL WAS INVENTED.
492 01:20:40:09 01:20:41:17 YOU TALK ABOUT INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGICAL FORCES.
493 01:20:41:19 01:20:44:15 THINK ABOUT FOOTBALL AS THIS GAME ON A GRID
494 01:20:44:17 01:20:47:05 ABOUT ACQUIRING TERRITORY WITH ONE ANOTHER.
495 01:20:47:07 01:20:48:22 SOLDIERS' FIELDS.
496 01:20:48:24 01:20:50:14 THE POPULARITY OF BOXING.
498 01:20:51:23 01:20:52:24 AND IT STARTS AS BARE-KNUCKLE BOXING
499 01:20:52:26 01:20:54:11 ROUND AFTER ROUND OF BOXERS PUMMELING EACH OTHER.
500 01:20:54:13 01:21:01:27 AND EVEN BY THE TIME THEY MOVE AWAY FROM THAT
AND PUT ON GLOVES, YOU HAVE IMAGES OF THESE FIGHTS.

IT'S THE MOST POPULAR SPECTATOR SPORT IN AMERICA.

AND THE AUDIENCE SITS THERE AND HAS BLOOD LUST COMING AT YOU, INTO THE RING.

THAT SENSE OF MUSCULARITY, THAT SENSE OF STRENGTH.

YOU CAN SEE IT TIME AND AGAIN IN THE IMAGES OF THE PERIOD AS WORKERS EXPOSE THEIR BODIES TO SHOW THEIR MUSCLES AS OTHER FIGURES CONTINUE TO ENGAGE IN THIS BATTLE FOR NOTHING LESS THAN SURVIVAL.

SOME HISTORIANS ARGUE THAT IT WASN'T DEMOCRACY THAT WE WERE KNOWN FOR IN THE 19th CENTURY.

AND THE RAILROADS.

AND THE ARGUMENT THAT WE WERE KNOWN FOR A NATION OF BUILDERS BUILDERS OF SKYSCRAPERS AND THESE GREAT ARCHING BRIDGES LIKE THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE AND THESE STUPENDOUS, ROARING STEEL MILLS.

AND THAT'S WHAT PEOPLE WERE TAKEN TO, YOU KNOW.

THAT WAS THE GLAMOUR OF AMERICA.

THAT'S WHAT AMERICA HAD TO EXPORT TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

THAT'S WHAT THEY SAW AS THE MODERNIZATION.

BUT I THINK WE'VE UNDERPLAYED THE POINT THAT PAULINE MADE SO ELOQUENTLY EARLIER.

AND THAT IS, THIS IS A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC FOUNDED ON CONSTITUTIONAL PREMISES.

AND THAT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE CONSTITUTION ARE FUNDAMENTAL.

AND THAT, IN A LOT OF WAYS I THINK THROUGHOUT
THE 19th CENTURY

People who look at this nation see it differently.

As a result of that, I don't-- were they seeing that at the time of the Civil War?

What Europe would have seen is we're at each other's throats.

This experiment is about to disintegrate.

It shows the complexity, the difficulty.

How, you know, it's a nation with a very brief history.

And you create a structure and over time you see how that structure might work.

If we're going to look at a legacy from the period, the fact that the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments were passed.

They probably couldn't have been passed under any other circumstances.

They were passed as conditions for the Southern states to come back into the union.

Those will serve as an important legacy.

If not for a Civil Rights movement in the 1870s, certainly for one in the 1950s and 1960s.

And it meant that those who are arguing for a real equality could do it under law that the law was already on the books.

You just had to realize the promise that had already been made as a commitment.

Masur:

America at its centennial was envisioned in dramatically different ways by those living through the times.

Red Horse, a Sioux warrior painted at least 40 pictographs of Custer in the Little Big Horn.
IN HIS TELLING, THERE IS LITTLE THAT IS HEROIC.

WARRIORS GO ABOUT THE BUSINESS OF DESTROYING AN INVADING ARMY.

AND THE BRUTALITIES ARE RENDERED SIMPLY AS FACTS OF BATTLE.

IN 1881, JOHN MULVANEY OFFERED A TRIUMPHAL NARRATIVE OF THE SAME EVENT.

CUSTER IS DRESSED IN UNIFORM AND WITH SABER IN HAND.

THOUGH IN ACTUALITY, HE HAD NEITHER THAT DAY.

HE HOLDS OFF THE FATEFUL MOMENT OF HIS DEATH.

WALT WHITMAN VIEWED THE PAINTING AS THE EPITOME OF WHAT HE CALLED THE WESTERN PHASE OF AMERICA.

"NOTHING LIKE IT IN HOMER OR SHAKESPEARE," HE SAID.

NOT ONLY TROOPS WOUND WEST BUT TRAINS AS WELL.

ON MAY 10, 1869, THE UNION PACIFIC AND THE CENTRAL PACIFIC JOINED AT PROMONTORY, UTAH AND THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL LINE WAS COMPLETED.

ANDREW RUSSELL TOOK A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MOMENT AS MEN AND MACHINE UNITE IN TRIUMPH AND CELEBRATION.

BUT NOT EVERYONE APPLAUDED INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY.

AGAINST THE LEADING RAILROAD COMPANIES WHICH HAD SLASHED WAGES.

WHEN THE GOVERNMENT CALLED OUT TROOPS AT THE CENTER OF THEIR GRIEVANCE.

WHATEVER TENSIONS EXISTED, AMERICANS TRIED REPEATEDLY TO DEPICT THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT AS ONE OF PROGRESS.

JOHN GAST PORTRAYED LIBERTY AS THE STAR OF EMPIRE LEADING TECHNOLOGY AND COMMERCE INTO THE DARKNESS OF THE FRONTIER.

SOME IMAGES SOUGHT TO CONFIRM THE DIVINELY ORDAINED DESTINY.
OF THE NATION.

A POPULAR PRINT IN THE 1870s WAS WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON'S MOUNTAIN OF THE HOLY CROSS, A PEAK LOCATED NEAR THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE. BUT OTHER PHOTOGRAPHERS RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE LANDSCAPE.

TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN TOOK PICTURES OF ANCIENTS RUINS OF A HUMAN FORM SHROUDED IN STEAM RISING FROM A CHASM AND OF BLINDING SAND DUNES WITH A CARRIAGE AND HORSES PAUSED IN TIME. THE TRACKS AND FOOTPRINTS SOON TO BE ERASED.

AMERICA WAS OLD AS WELL AS NEW DESTRUCTIVE AS WELL AS REGENERATIVE AND THE LAND HAD A SECRET HISTORY THAT WAS ALL ITS OWN.