

1	01:00:16:04	01:00:20:26	1876-- AMERICA CELEBRATES ITS CENTENNIAL.
2	01:00:20:28	01:00:23:16	100 YEARS AS A REPUBLIC...
3	01:00:23:18	01:00:25:18	100 YEARS IN PURSUIT OF THE PROMISE
4	01:00:25:20	01:00:27:21	OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
5	01:00:27:23	01:00:29:22	"THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL."
6	01:00:29:24	01:00:32:20	Woman: YOU KNOW, I ALWAYS THINK OF JOHN ADAMS'S COMMENT
7	01:00:32:22	01:00:34:10	THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL SO LONG
8	01:00:34:12	01:00:36:18	AS YOU LEAVE WOMEN AND CHILDREN OUT OF THE PICTURE.
9	01:00:38:05	01:00:39:17	YOU KNOW, WHEN THEY SAID, "MEN."
10	01:00:39:19	01:00:40:19	IT WAS GENDER-SPECIFIC--
11	01:00:40:21	01:00:41:29	I'M QUITE CONVINCED OF THAT.
12	01:00:42:01	01:00:44:22	WHAT I LIKE IS THE SENSE THAT WE UNDERSTAND
13	01:00:44:24	01:00:46:28	THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN A STRUGGLE.
14	01:00:47:00	01:00:48:01	(<i>laughing</i>)
15	01:00:48:03	01:00:49:16	I MEAN, FREDERICK DOUGLASS
16	01:00:49:18	01:00:51:29	THE CONSTITUTION, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE...
17	01:00:52:01	01:00:55:04	ALL THE WAYS IN WHICH CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE
18	01:00:55:06	01:00:59:10	IS BASICALLY ABOUT FULFILLING THE PROMISE THAT IS THERE.
19	01:00:59:12	01:01:02:25	LIVING UP TO THE LAWS AND THE CONSTITUTION AND ALL OF THAT.
20	01:01:02:27	01:01:05:12	I THINK THAT THAT'S REALLY WHAT IS PIVOTAL.
21	01:01:05:14	01:01:07:23	WALDO KEEPS TALKING ABOUT COMPLICATING THINGS.
22	01:01:07:25	01:01:09:20	I LIKE THAT BECAUSE HE'S ALSO TALKING
23	01:01:09:22	01:01:11:27	ABOUT SIMPLIFYING, EXPLAINING THEM CLEARLY
24	01:01:11:29	01:01:13:19	EXPLAINING THAT THEY ARE COMPLICATED.
25	01:01:13:21	01:01:15:12	YEAH, THAT'S BASICALLY THE POINT.
26	01:01:15:14	01:01:17:09	YOU KNOW, THE PROMISE IS OUT THERE.
27	01:01:17:11	01:01:19:15	IT'S LIKE THIS REALLY GREAT SHINING THING
28	01:01:19:17	01:01:21:29	THAT EVERYBODY, YOU KNOW, WANTS TO BELIEVE IN
29	01:01:22:01	01:01:23:14	BUT FOR A REALLY LONG TIME
30	01:01:23:16	01:01:24:21	THERE ARE LOTS OF PEOPLE

31 01:01:24:23 01:01:27:05 WHO ARE NOT EXPECTED
TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT.

32 01:01:27:07 01:01:32:27 *IN 1876, IS AMERICA FULFILLING
ITS MOST FUNDAMENTAL PROMISE?*

33 01:01:32:29 01:01:35:15 *OUR TEAM OF HISTORIANS
PROBE THIS QUESTION.*

34 01:01:35:17 01:01:40:19 *TODAY ON
A BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.*

35 01:01:46:27 01:01:49:25 [Captioning sponsored
by ANNENBERG/CPB]

36 01:02:14:01 01:02:16:20 ON MAY 10, 1876

37 01:02:16:22 01:02:19:06 PRESIDENT ULYSSES GRANT
TRAVELED TO PHILADELPHIA

38 01:02:19:08 01:02:21:04 FOR AN UNUSUAL
BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.

39 01:02:21:06 01:02:23:03 THE UNITED STATES
WAS 100 YEARS OLD.

40 01:02:23:05 01:02:25:15 NEARLY TEN MILLION PEOPLE

41 01:02:25:17 01:02:28:18 ONE-FIFTH OF THE COUNTRY'S
POPULATION, CAME TO PHILADELPHIA

42 01:02:28:20 01:02:31:13 TO CELEBRATE THE PROGRESS
AND PROSPERITY OF AMERICA

43 01:02:31:15 01:02:33:23 EVEN THOUGH THE COUNTRY
WAS IN THE MIDST

44 01:02:33:25 01:02:36:03 OF ITS WORST ECONOMIC
DEPRESSION EVER.

45 01:02:36:05 01:02:39:16 NEW, LIFE-TRANSFORMING
INVENTIONS WERE ON DISPLAY:

46 01:02:39:18 01:02:41:00 THE TELEPHONE...

47 01:02:41:02 01:02:42:18 THE TYPEWRITER...

48 01:02:42:20 01:02:44:08 ELECTRIC LIGHTS...

49 01:02:44:10 01:02:46:29 THE INTERNAL
COMBUSTION ENGINE.

50 01:02:47:01 01:02:50:27 BUT THE CENTERPIECE WAS A
700-TON CORLISS STEAM ENGINE

51 01:02:50:29 01:02:53:02 THAT SYMBOLIZED
THE EXPOSITION'S THEME--

52 01:02:53:04 01:02:55:14 THAT MACHINES WERE
REMAKING AMERICA

53 01:02:55:16 01:02:59:00 AND PROMISED TO INAUGURATE
AN AGE OF WIDESPREAD ABUNDANCE.

54 01:02:59:02 01:03:01:23 IN EARLY JULY, THE REALITIES
OF AMERICAN LIFE

55 01:03:01:25 01:03:04:08 INTRUDED INTO THE
CENTENNIAL'S CELEBRATION

56 01:03:04:10 01:03:05:08 OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

57 01:03:05:10 01:03:06:22 A GROUP OF FEMINISTS

58 01:03:06:24 01:03:10:05 LED BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
AND SUSAN B. ANTHONY

59 01:03:10:07 01:03:13:13 BROKE INTO THE EXPOSITION'S
JULY 4th PROCEEDING

60 01:03:13:15 01:03:16:02 TO READ A DOCUMENT THEY CALLED

61 01:03:16:04 01:03:19:22 "THE WOMAN'S DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE."

62 01:03:19:24 01:03:23:05 THESE WOMEN HAD SUPPORTED
BLACK LIBERATION

63 01:03:23:07 01:03:27:05 SUPPORTED THE 13th, 14th
AND 15th AMENDMENTS.

64 01:03:27:07 01:03:29:17 BUT THEY FELT OUTRAGED
AND BETRAYED

65 01:03:29:19 01:03:30:28 WHEN THE 15th AMENDMENT

66 01:03:31:00 01:03:32:25 WHICH EXTENDED VOTING RIGHTS
TO BLACK PEOPLE

67 01:03:32:27 01:03:36:03 DID NOT DO THE SAME FOR WOMEN.

68 01:03:36:05 01:03:39:14 THE SAME DAY OF THEIR PROTEST,
WORD REACHED THE EXPOSITION

69 01:03:39:16 01:03:42:27 THAT GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER
AND HIS SEVENTH CAVALRY

70 01:03:42:29 01:03:45:17 HAD BEEN WIPED OUT AT A PLACE
CALLED LITTLE BIG HORN

71 01:03:45:19 01:03:50:08 BY A BAND OF SIOUX WARRIORS LED
BY SITTING BULL AND CRAZY HORSE.

72 01:03:50:10 01:03:52:01 THERE WERE IMMEDIATE CALLS
FOR VENGEANCE.

73 01:03:52:03 01:03:54:08 THE INDIANS WOULD HAVE TO BE
DEALT WITH VIOLENTLY.

74 01:03:54:10 01:03:58:19 GRANT'S HOPES FOR RACIAL HARMONY
DIDN'T FARE MUCH BETTER.

75 01:03:58:21 01:04:00:22 THAT SAME CENTENNIAL JULY 4--

76 01:04:00:24 01:04:03:19 13 YEARS TO THE DAY SINCE
GRANT'S VICTORY AT VICKSBURG--

77 01:04:03:21 01:04:05:28 WHITES IN HAMBURG,
SOUTH CAROLINA

78 01:04:06:00 01:04:07:26 TRIED TO PREVENT A GROUP
OF BLACK MILITIA

79 01:04:07:28 01:04:10:16 FROM MARCHING IN
AN INDEPENDENCE DAY PARADE.

80 01:04:10:18 01:04:12:13 WHEN THE CASE WENT TO COURT
FOUR DAYS LATER

81 01:04:12:15 01:04:14:29 FIGHTING BROKE OUT
BETWEEN BLACK PEOPLE

82 01:04:15:01 01:04:18:08 AND A GROUP OF WHITES
WHO WERE ARMED WITH A CANNON.

83 01:04:18:10 01:04:19:22 AFTER THE BLACKS SURRENDERED

84 01:04:19:24 01:04:23:03 SEVERAL OF THEIR LEADERS
WERE MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD.

85 01:04:23:05 01:04:25:04 ALL OF THE WHITES WERE ACQUITTED

86 01:04:25:06 01:04:27:22 IN THE TRAVESTY
THAT WAS CALLED A TRIAL.

87 01:04:27:24 01:04:30:05 GRANT SENT TROOPS,
AND CONDEMNED THE MASSACRE

88 01:04:30:07 01:04:32:19 AS "BLOODTHIRSTY"
AND "UNPROVOKED."

89 01:04:32:21 01:04:35:20 BUT THE FUTURE SOLUTION
TO SUCH OUTRAGES, HE MADE CLEAR

90 01:04:35:22 01:04:38:00 WOULD HAVE TO DEPEND
ON A HIGHER POWER

91 01:04:38:02 01:04:40:01 THAN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT--

92 01:04:40:03 01:04:42:19 IN HIS WORDS, "THE GREAT RULER
IN THE UNIVERSE."

93 01:04:42:21 01:04:46:11 FREDERICK DOUGLASS, WHO HAD BEEN
A SUPPORTER OF THE PRESIDENT

94 01:04:46:13 01:04:48:14 NOW QUESTIONED
 THE NATION'S COMMITMENT
 95 01:04:48:16 01:04:51:06 TO LINCOLN'S PLEDGE
 OF A "NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM."
 96 01:05:08:22 01:05:11:16 YEARS LATER, W.E.B. DU BOIS
 OFFERED
 97 01:05:11:18 01:05:13:26 A MORE MEASURED JUDGMENT.
 98 01:05:13:28 01:05:17:27 RECONSTRUCTION WAS, HE SAID,
 A "SPLENDID FAILURE."
 99 01:05:17:29 01:05:19:10 FOR A PROMISING MOMENT
 100 01:05:19:12 01:05:21:15 BLACK PEOPLE TOOK A GIGANTIC
 STEP OUT OF SLAVERY
 101 01:05:21:17 01:05:24:01 WITH WHITE HELP, AND THEY
 WERE THEN PUSHED BACK
 102 01:05:24:03 01:05:25:29 INTO THE DARK NIGHT
 OF RACIAL SUPPRESSION
 103 01:05:26:01 01:05:29:07 ABANDONED BY ALMOST
 ALL THEIR FORMER ALLIES.
 104 01:05:29:09 01:05:31:22 FOR ALL THAT WAS GAINED
 BY COURAGEOUS BLACK PEOPLE
 105 01:05:31:24 01:05:33:17 WHAT RECONSTRUCTION DEMONSTRATED
 106 01:05:33:19 01:05:37:01 WAS THAT RACISM WAS A NATIONAL,
 NOT A REGIONAL, SCOURGE.
 107 01:05:37:03 01:05:38:18 AS A NATION,
 WE CONTINUED TO STRUGGLE
 108 01:05:38:20 01:05:40:08 WITH RECONSTRUCTION'S
 UNRESOLVED LEGACY
 109 01:05:40:10 01:05:42:05 WITH THE INHERITANCE
 OF THE PAINFUL QUESTION
 110 01:05:42:07 01:05:43:18 OF RACE IN AMERICA.
 111 01:05:53:25 01:05:56:14 IF YOU OPENED THE DOOR,
 THE TRAPDOOR TO THE
 UNCONSCIOUS
 112 01:05:56:16 01:05:58:05 THE TRAPDOOR DOWN
 INTO THE PAST
 113 01:05:58:07 01:05:59:16 WHAT WOULD FLY
 OUT IN 1876?
 114 01:05:59:18 01:06:01:13 WHAT ARE THESE
 UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS
 115 01:06:01:15 01:06:04:11 THAT ARE GOING TO JUST
 HAUNT THE CONSCIENCE
 OF THE NATION?
 116 01:06:04:13 01:06:06:27 Man:
 WELL, I THINK ONE
 IS VERY CLEAR-- THE
 PROBLEM OF RACE.
 117 01:06:06:29 01:06:10:02 I MEAN, 1876--
 118 01:06:10:04 01:06:14:00 WE'RE AT THE END OF
 RECONSTRUCTION.
 119 01:06:14:02 01:06:15:22 TECHNICALLY, SLAVES
 HAVE BEEN FREED
 120 01:06:15:24 01:06:17:09 BUT WHAT YOU BEGIN TO SEE
 121 01:06:17:11 01:06:20:25 WITH THE DECLINE OF ANY KIND OF
 COMMITMENT TO RECONSTRUCTION
 122 01:06:20:27 01:06:22:17 AND THE DEMISE OF RECONSTRUCTION
 123 01:06:22:19 01:06:25:10 IS A TURNING BACK OF

124 01:06:25:12 ANY KIND OF MODEST CLOCK
 01:06:27:12 IN TERMS OF ANY
 KIND OF PROGRESS.
 125 01:06:27:14 01:06:30:04 I THINK WHEN YOU TALK
 ABOUT CIVIL WAR
 126 01:06:30:06 01:06:32:29 EMANCIPATION IS
 A TRANSFORMATION.
 127 01:06:33:01 01:06:34:17 IT IS A REVOLUTION.
 128 01:06:34:19 01:06:39:02 FREEDOM FOR THE EX-SLAVES
 IS AN IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENT.
 129 01:06:39:04 01:06:41:04 BUT WHAT YOU DISCOVER
 IS THAT RECONSTRUCTION
 130 01:06:41:06 01:06:44:09 DOES NOT PROVIDE
 THE ECONOMIC WHEREWITHAL
 131 01:06:44:11 01:06:46:02 THE POLITICAL WHEREWITHAL
 132 01:06:46:04 01:06:48:13 TO ENSURE THE FREEDOM
 OF THE EX-SLAVES.
 133 01:06:48:15 01:06:52:03 AND SO, IN 1876, IT'S
 NOT SURPRISING TO ME
 134 01:06:52:05 01:06:56:23 THAT THE STRUGGLES
 AND THE "PROGRESS"
 135 01:06:56:25 01:07:00:03 OF AFRICAN AMERICANS
 OR THE EX-SLAVES
 IN PARTICULAR
 136 01:07:00:05 01:07:02:28 IS PUSHED OFF INTO
 THE SIDE BECAUSE IT'S
 NOT SEEN AS SIMPLE.
 137 01:07:03:00 01:07:05:00 Miller:
 BUT, WALDO, ISN'T IT
 EVEN WORSE THAN THAT?
 138 01:07:05:02 01:07:06:10 I MEAN, WHAT'S
 HAPPENING HERE?
 139 01:07:06:12 01:07:08:02 I THINK THERE'S
 THIS TENDENCY
 140 01:07:08:04 01:07:10:01 TOWARD HISTORICAL
 AMNESIA.
 141 01:07:10:03 01:07:12:12 AND LET BYGONES
 BE BYGONES.
 142 01:07:12:14 01:07:13:26 FORGET ABOUT THE PAST.
 143 01:07:13:28 01:07:15:25 "WHY GROPE AMONG THE DRY BONES
 OF THE PAST?"
 144 01:07:15:27 01:07:17:17 IS A FAMOUS LINE
 FROM AN EMERSON ESSAY.
 145 01:07:17:19 01:07:20:05 AND THERE'S THAT SENSE THAT
 AMERICA IS ABOUT THE FUTURE.
 146 01:07:20:07 01:07:22:18 AND THAT ONE LEAVES
 ONE'S PAST BEHIND
 AS YOU SUCCEED--
 147 01:07:22:20 01:07:24:08 YOU NEED NOT REVISIT
 THOSE THINGS.
 148 01:07:24:10 01:07:26:07 OF COURSE, THERE IS A PRICE
 THAT'S PAID
 149 01:07:26:09 01:07:29:08 FOR THAT KIND OF AMNESIA,
 FOR THAT KIND OF ERASURE.
 150 01:07:29:10 01:07:30:27 Man:
 BUT YOU DID HAVE--

151 01:07:30:29 01:07:32:19 THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY
DID TAKE PLACE
152 01:07:32:21 01:07:35:17 AND YOU DO HAVE
A NEW SENSE OF
UNIONISM IN 1876.
153 01:07:35:19 01:07:37:16 SO WHEN YOU'RE
AT THAT CENTENNIAL
154 01:07:37:18 01:07:40:24 YOU CAN SAY:
"HEY, WE MADE IT FOR 100 YEARS."
155 01:07:40:26 01:07:43:09 THIS, WHETHER WE--
AND WE'RE LOOKING TO THE FUTURE.
156 01:07:43:11 01:07:47:16 BELIEVE ME, THERE'S A LOT
OF PATRIOTIC GORE IN 1876
157 01:07:47:18 01:07:49:26 CELEBRATING THAT
100th ANNIVERSARY.
158 01:07:49:28 01:07:53:00 AND I THINK EVEN
TRAVESTIES LIKE
THE CIVIL WAR
159 01:07:53:02 01:07:55:11 WHICH TURNED OUT TO BE GOOD
FOR THE COUNTRY
160 01:07:55:13 01:07:57:22 IN THE SENSE OF
UNIFYING THE NATION
161 01:07:57:24 01:07:59:23 GETTING AWAY WITH
THE SLAVERY ISSUE FINALLY
162 01:07:59:25 01:08:01:14 AND THE NEW TECHNOLOGIES
163 01:08:01:16 01:08:03:15 THAT CAME OUT
OF THE CIVIL WAR
164 01:08:03:17 01:08:06:19 WHETHER IT'S TECHNOLOGIES
WITH MACHINE GUNNERY FOR WAR
165 01:08:06:21 01:08:09:12 OR MEDICINE IN WAR
OR SUBMARINES
166 01:08:09:14 01:08:11:01 OR PHOTOGRAPHY
167 01:08:11:03 01:08:13:25 OR MORE IMPROVED
COMMUNICATION CABLES
WITH THE TELEGRAPH.
168 01:08:13:27 01:08:16:29 PRETTY SOON, INSTEAD OF JUST
TELEGRAPHING AROUND THE COUNTRY
169 01:08:17:01 01:08:18:28 WE'LL BE TELEGRAPHING
TO EUROPE.
170 01:08:19:00 01:08:21:14 THE BUILDING OF THE TRAINS
IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CIVIL WAR
171 01:08:21:16 01:08:23:03 WHILE NORTH IS FIGHTING SOUTH--
172 01:08:23:05 01:08:24:26 ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS
SIGNING THE BILL
173 01:08:24:28 01:08:26:17 FOR THE TRANSCONTINENTAL
RAILROAD
174 01:08:26:19 01:08:28:14 CONNECTING THE EAST
WITH THE WEST.
175 01:08:28:16 01:08:31:00 AND SO MUCH OF THE NEXT DECADES
AFTER THE CIVIL WAR
176 01:08:31:02 01:08:33:17 CONNECTING THE COUNTRY TOGETHER
THROUGH THE RAILROADS.
177 01:08:33:19 01:08:35:20 SO, IT'S A KIND OF TIME, I THINK
178 01:08:35:22 01:08:38:25 OF A NEW ENERGY AND OPTIMISM
FOR A LOT OF AMERICANS.
179 01:08:38:27 01:08:41:20 YET AT THE SAME TIME, IT'S STILL

180 01:08:41:22 A PERIOD, AS WALDO'S SAYING
 01:08:45:03 WHERE WE ARE FREE FROM
 SLAVERY, THANK GOODNESS.
 181 01:08:45:05 01:08:47:01 BUT WE STILL DON'T
 HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS.
 182 01:08:47:03 01:08:49:02 BUT EVERYBODY STILL
 SEEMS TO THINK
 183 01:08:49:04 01:08:53:08 THAT THERE IS A
 CHANCE OF A BETTER
 LIFE SOMEHOW.
 184 01:08:53:10 01:08:55:29 WELL, I THINK IT'S HARD TO TALK
 ABOUT EVERYBODY AT THAT POINT
 185 01:08:56:01 01:08:59:20 BECAUSE THE NEWS ARRIVES AT
 THE 1876 CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION
 186 01:08:59:22 01:09:02:24 THAT THE CUSTER DEBACLE
 HAS JUST OCCURRED
 187 01:09:02:26 01:09:04:19 AT THE LITTLE BIG HORN--
 188 01:09:04:21 01:09:07:29 THAT THE ALLIED TROOPS OF
 VARIOUS PLAINS INDIAN PEOPLES
 189 01:09:08:01 01:09:12:11 HAVE MASSACRED AND SLAUGHTERED
 ALL OF THE SEVENTH CAVALRY.
 190 01:09:12:13 01:09:14:12 AND THIS IS A DEVASTATING
 MILITARY LOSS
 191 01:09:14:14 01:09:17:01 FOR THE UNITED STATES
 AND IT'S A GREAT VICTORY
 192 01:09:17:03 01:09:18:25 FOR THE PEOPLE ON THE PLAINS.
 193 01:09:18:27 01:09:21:12 THEY DON'T WANT TO BE A PART
 OF THE UNITED STATES.
 194 01:09:21:14 01:09:24:14 THEY DON'T WANT TO BE A PART
 OF THIS INCORPORATED REPUBLIC
 195 01:09:24:16 01:09:26:29 THAT BUILDS AN IRON RAILROAD
 ACROSS THEIR LAND...
 196 01:09:27:01 01:09:28:20 THAT SPLITS UP THE BUFFALO HERD.
 197 01:09:28:22 01:09:31:03 AND THIS IS A MOMENT FOR THEM
 WHEN THEY SUDDENLY THINK
 198 01:09:31:05 01:09:33:20 THEY THINK, MAYBE WE CAN
 FIGHT IT BACK.
 199 01:09:33:22 01:09:35:18 THERE'S STILL
 A WAR GOING ON.
 200 01:09:35:20 01:09:37:16 IT'S NOT A WAR
 FOR THE SOUTH.
 201 01:09:37:18 01:09:40:16 IT'S NOT A WAR TO BRING
 THE SOUTH BACK TO THE UNION.
 202 01:09:40:18 01:09:41:27 BUT IT'S A WAR IN THE WEST
 203 01:09:41:29 01:09:43:28 TO INCORPORATE THOSE
 WESTERN TERRITORIES
 204 01:09:44:00 01:09:45:18 INTO THE UNITED STATES
 205 01:09:45:20 01:09:49:13 AND EVEN AS LATE AS 1876,
 THAT'S NOT A DONE DEAL.
 206 01:09:49:15 01:09:50:28 THAT'S NOT A GUARANTEED THING.
 207 01:09:51:00 01:09:53:11 BUT HERE, AFTER THE CIVIL WAR
 208 01:09:53:13 01:09:56:15 YOU'VE GOT THIS GIANT ENGINE
 THAT YOU DESCRIBE
 209 01:09:56:17 01:09:57:27 THIS INDUSTRIAL ENGINE.
 210 01:09:57:29 01:10:00:20 A COUNTRY THAT HAD ALREADY
 MOBILIZED FOR WAR--

211 01:10:00:22 01:10:03:11 YOU HAD TO FIGHT A VAST WAR--
 212 01:10:03:13 01:10:05:10 A CONTINENTAL-SCALE WAR.
 213 01:10:05:12 01:10:07:03 BOOM, THEY GO OUT WEST.
 214 01:10:07:05 01:10:08:24 AND IT'S ALL OVER.
 215 01:10:08:26 01:10:10:28 IT'S ALL OVER BY THE 1890s--
 IT'S THAT FAST.
 216 01:10:11:00 01:10:12:09 I THINK THERE'S
 A DIFFERENT WAY
 217 01:10:12:11 01:10:13:22 TO THINK ABOUT THIS.
 218 01:10:13:24 01:10:14:28 BECAUSE, I THINK,
 THERE IS
 219 01:10:15:00 01:10:17:06 A LONGER-TERM
 HISTORICAL PROBLEM HERE
 220 01:10:17:08 01:10:22:11 AND THAT IS THAT THE
 PEOPLES THAT VIRGINIA
 IS REFERRING TO
 221 01:10:22:13 01:10:24:10 HAVE BEEN THERE FOR A WHILE.
 222 01:10:24:12 01:10:27:07 AND THEY HAVE SEEN STRUGGLE
 OVER A LONG TERM.
 223 01:10:27:09 01:10:29:25 AND IT STRIKES ME
 THAT THE SHORT-TERM VICTORY
 224 01:10:29:27 01:10:32:08 OF "MANIFEST DESTINY"
 225 01:10:32:10 01:10:35:13 IS JUST SORT OF ONE PART
 OF A LONGER STREAM OF STRUGGLE
 226 01:10:35:15 01:10:37:01 THAT A LOT OF THESE PEOPLE
 HAVE SEEN.
 227 01:10:37:03 01:10:39:15 THEY DID NOT DISAPPEAR--
 THEY DID NOT VANISH.
 228 01:10:39:17 01:10:41:04 THEY ARE STILL THERE,
 THEY HAVE CHAINS
 229 01:10:41:06 01:10:42:19 THEY HAVE BEEN ALTERED.
 230 01:10:42:21 01:10:44:29 THE INDIANS WERE CAUGHT
 IN A JUGGERNAUT.
 231 01:10:45:01 01:10:46:20 Martin:
 BUT WHY DOES VICTORY
 COME TO BE
 232 01:10:46:22 01:10:47:22 THE STANDARD
 OF JUDGMENT?
 233 01:10:47:24 01:10:49:19 WHY DOES VICTORY COME
 TO BE THE WAY?
 234 01:10:49:21 01:10:52:19 IT'S NOT THE STANDARD
 OF JUDGMENT, IT'S WHAT HAPPENED.
 235 01:10:52:21 01:10:54:28 BUT, SEE, VICTORY
 IS SORT OF--
 236 01:10:55:00 01:10:57:02 HISTORY IS WRITTEN
 BY THE VICTORS.
 237 01:10:57:04 01:10:59:02 HISTORY IS WRITTEN BY
 "THE PEOPLE WITH HISTORY."
 238 01:10:59:04 01:11:01:01 THE PEOPLE WITHOUT HISTORY,
 THE NATIVE PEOPLES
 239 01:11:01:03 01:11:03:03 DON'T WRITE THE
 KIND OF HISTORY
 THAT WE COME FROM.
 240 01:11:03:05 01:11:05:18 BUT, WALDO, YOU
 KEEP SAYING "THE
 NATIVE PEOPLES"

241 01:11:05:20 01:11:09:18 AS IF THEY'RE ONE GROUP OF
PEOPLE THAT ARE NATIVE.

242 01:11:09:20 01:11:11:21 BUT IF WE TELL THE STORY
AS A STORY OF CONFLICT

243 01:11:11:23 01:11:13:03 AS A STORY OF CONTESTED VALUES

244 01:11:13:05 01:11:16:07 AS A STORY WHERE
THERE ARE NATIVE TRIBES

245 01:11:16:09 01:11:17:19 WHO ARE BEING, PERHAPS, INVADED.

246 01:11:17:21 01:11:19:04 THERE ARE WORKERS
ON THE RAILROAD

247 01:11:19:06 01:11:20:21 WHO ARE BEING EXPLOITED.

248 01:11:20:23 01:11:23:06 THERE ARE BATTLES AMONG
THE CAPITALISTS THEMSELVES.

249 01:11:23:08 01:11:24:28 YOU KNOW, THIS ISN'T JUST
THE STORY

250 01:11:25:00 01:11:26:16 OF CAPITAL AGAINST
SOMEBODY ELSE.

251 01:11:26:18 01:11:28:04 SOMEBODY WINS
AND SOMEBODY LOSES.

252 01:11:28:06 01:11:30:25 AND THE TRIUMPHALISM THAT WALDO
IS OBJECTING TO

253 01:11:30:27 01:11:33:01 OBVIOUSLY COMES OUT
OF THE POSITION

254 01:11:33:03 01:11:35:08 OF THOSE WHO ARE
TRIUMPHING, IN EFFECT.

255 01:11:35:10 01:11:37:09 IT'S THE SENSE
THAT THEY ARE BRINGING

256 01:11:37:11 01:11:38:25 CIVILIZATION AND PROGRESS.

257 01:11:38:27 01:11:40:20 Miller:
BUT WHAT'S THE AGENDA

258 01:11:40:22 01:11:42:13 WHAT'S THE AGENDA
OF THE COUNTRY?

259 01:11:42:15 01:11:44:07 Masur:
YEAH, IT'S AN
INTERESTING QUESTION.

260 01:11:44:09 01:11:46:25 BECAUSE, I MEAN, WHAT HAS
THE NATION JUST GONE THROUGH

261 01:11:46:27 01:11:49:01 IS RECENTLY COMPLETED
THIS CIVIL WAR

262 01:11:49:03 01:11:51:17 THAT THREATENED TO TEAR
THIS NATION APART.

263 01:11:51:19 01:11:54:08 AND YOU WOULD ASSUME THAT THERE
WOULD BE LOTS OF REFERENCES

264 01:11:54:10 01:11:58:12 TO WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAD
BEEN THROUGH FROM ITS FOUNDING.

265 01:11:58:14 01:11:59:28 BUT THE CORE OF THE CENTENNIAL

266 01:12:00:02 01:12:01:28 IS REALLY AN INTERNATIONAL
EXPOSITION.

267 01:12:02:00 01:12:06:23 SHOWING OFF INDUSTRY,
TECHNOLOGY, CONSUMERISM.

268 01:12:06:25 01:12:08:01 AND IN ALL KINDS OF WAYS

269 01:12:08:03 01:12:10:05 IF YOU WERE TO GO
THROUGH THAT EXHIBITION

270 01:12:10:07 01:12:11:23 AND LOOK AT WHAT WAS DISPLAYED

271 01:12:11:25 01:12:14:01 THE KINDS OF GOODS,
THE KINDS OF PRODUCTS--

272 01:12:14:03 01:12:16:00 IT REALLY IS A CELEBRATION
OF TECHNOLOGY

273 01:12:16:02 01:12:18:12 AND IT HEARKENS TOWARD
A FUTURE WORLD

274 01:12:18:14 01:12:20:24 SEPARATED FROM
A PAST WORLD.

275 01:12:20:26 01:12:23:12 Maier:
WELL, DON, GO BACK
TO THIS QUESTION

276 01:12:23:14 01:12:25:15 OF WHAT'S GOING ON
IN 1876.

277 01:12:25:17 01:12:28:03 I WONDER IF, TO
SOME EXTENT, WHAT WE
AREN'T ALL SAYING

278 01:12:28:05 01:12:30:29 IS THAT THE ISSUES
HAVE CHANGED IN SOME
FUNDAMENTAL WAY.

279 01:12:31:01 01:12:33:09 AND I'D LIKE TO
TAKE EXCEPTION

280 01:12:33:11 01:12:36:21 WITH THE NOTION
THAT WE HAVE A
HISTORICAL AMNESIA.

281 01:12:36:23 01:12:40:12 1876, I WONDER
IF SO MANY OF THOSE
BASIC ISSUES

282 01:12:40:14 01:12:43:12 THAT HAD SHAPED
POLITICS AND DISPUTES
BEFORE THE WAR

283 01:12:43:14 01:12:45:00 HADN'T BEEN SETTLED.

284 01:12:45:02 01:12:47:25 I MEAN, CERTAINLY,
THERE WAS THE WHOLE
QUESTION OF UNION.

285 01:12:47:27 01:12:50:15 THIS WAS THERE FROM THE
TIME OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION.

286 01:12:50:17 01:12:52:07 COULD THE UNION
HOLD TOGETHER?

287 01:12:52:09 01:12:55:11 I THINK APPOMATTOX
COURT HOUSE SETTLED THAT.

288 01:12:55:13 01:12:57:04 YOU CAN'T JUST
LEAVE THE UNION.

289 01:12:57:06 01:12:58:25 THERE IS NO RIGHT
TO LEAVE THE UNION.

290 01:12:58:27 01:13:00:16 THE COST WOULD
BE TREMENDOUS.

291 01:13:00:18 01:13:02:29 WALDO, I WANT TO
ASK YOU SOMETHING--
IT SEEMS TO ME...

292 01:13:03:01 01:13:05:14 WHAT'S SO INTERESTING ABOUT
THE PRE-CIVIL WAR PERIOD

293 01:13:05:16 01:13:09:09 IS THAT AFRICAN AMERICANS
WERE ACTIVE PLAYERS.

294 01:13:09:11 01:13:11:06 I MEAN, THAT THEY
WERE IN SOME WAYS

295 01:13:11:08 01:13:12:19 THE MOST ARDENT
ADVOCATES

296 01:13:12:21 01:13:16:17 OF TRUE UNIVERSAL
 RIGHTS AND EQUALITY.
 297 01:13:16:19 01:13:18:05 AND THEY WERE
 TERRIBLY IMPORTANT
 298 01:13:18:07 01:13:19:23 IN PART BECAUSE
 THEY HAD ALLIES--
 299 01:13:19:25 01:13:22:14 ABOLITIONISTS,
 FOR EXAMPLE.
 300 01:13:22:16 01:13:23:27 WHAT'S HAPPENED
 TO THEM?
 301 01:13:23:29 01:13:25:14 WHY ARE THEY
 LESS FORCEFUL?
 302 01:13:25:16 01:13:28:11 I CAN'T THINK THAT
 THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN
 COMMUNITY
 303 01:13:28:13 01:13:30:03 HAS ABANDONED
 ITS CHAMPIONING
 304 01:13:30:05 01:13:32:24 OF GENUINE EQUALITY
 AND EQUAL RIGHTS.
 305 01:13:32:26 01:13:34:21 WHY ARE THEY LESS
 EFFECTIVE AFTER
 THE CIVIL WAR?
 306 01:13:34:23 01:13:38:14 THIS IS A VERY
 COMPELLING QUESTION.
 307 01:13:38:16 01:13:40:14 AT LEAST AS I THINK ABOUT IT
 308 01:13:40:16 01:13:43:08 IT'S NOT THAT THE VOICES
 ARE NOT THERE.
 309 01:13:43:10 01:13:46:14 THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE ISSUES
 THEMSELVES, AS YOU SUGGEST
 310 01:13:46:16 01:13:48:05 HAVE BECOME MORE COMPLICATED.
 311 01:13:48:07 01:13:50:20 FOR EXAMPLE,
 YOU GET THE 13th AMENDMENT
 312 01:13:50:22 01:13:52:08 WHICH ABOLISHES SLAVERY.
 313 01:13:52:10 01:13:55:18 YOU GET THE 14th AMENDMENT
 WHICH CLARIFIES THE FACT
 314 01:13:55:20 01:13:58:13 THAT AFRICAN AMERICANS
 ARE NOW CITIZENS.
 315 01:13:58:15 01:14:00:14 AND YOU GET ULTIMATELY
 A 15th AMENDMENT
 316 01:14:00:16 01:14:02:29 AROUND ISSUES OF THE VOTE,
 GIVING BLACK MEN THE VOTE.
 317 01:14:03:01 01:14:07:19 BUT THESE ARE CONTESTED ISSUES
 AND ALL ALONG THE WAY
 318 01:14:07:21 01:14:10:18 THE SORT OF DEFINING CITIZENSHIP
 319 01:14:10:20 01:14:13:21 DECIDING WHO GETS THE VOTE
 AND WHO DOESN'T GET THE VOTE.
 320 01:14:13:23 01:14:15:02 SOME OF THE FORMER ALLIES
 321 01:14:15:04 01:14:18:14 ARE LESS ENTHUSIASTIC
 ABOUT SOME OF THE WAYS
 322 01:14:18:16 01:14:20:08 IN WHICH THOSE ISSUES
 WORK THEMSELVES OUT
 323 01:14:20:10 01:14:21:11 ESPECIALLY THE VOTE.
 324 01:14:21:13 01:14:23:02 FOR EXAMPLE, ONE
 OF THE PLACES
 325 01:14:23:04 01:14:24:24 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
329 01:14:31:24 01:14:34:13 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 AND ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
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...
342 01:15:04:29 01:15:06:07 Miller:
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 MEN
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.
350 01:15:23:13 01:15:25:28 THAT'S THE NEXT STAGE
OF THE STRUGGLE.
351 01:15:26:00 01:15:28:23 NOW, A LOT OF WOMEN
AND A LOT OF SUPPORTERS
352 01:15:28:25 01:15:30:14 OF THE OTHER
POINT OF VIEW
353 01:15:30:16 01:15:33:05 FELT THAT THIS WAS
TOO BIG A COMPROMISE.

354 01:15:33:07 01:15:34:27 THAT YOU DO NOT...
 THAT WAS WHERE
 355 01:15:34:29 01:15:37:10 YOU DREW THE LINE
 IN THE SAND,
 SO TO SPEAK.
 356 01:15:37:12 01:15:39:13 AND YOU FOUGHT IT OUT
 ON PRINCIPLE.
 357 01:15:39:15 01:15:44:11 AND THAT KIND OF IDEALISM, THAT
 KIND OF BELIEF, DOUGLASS FELT
 358 01:15:44:13 01:15:46:04 HAD TO BE COMPROMISED
 359 01:15:46:06 01:15:48:03 AT THIS POINT
 IN TIME.
 360 01:15:48:05 01:15:53:07 BUT I DO THINK THAT THERE IS
 SORT OF A DECLINING IDEALISM
 361 01:15:53:09 01:15:55:00 AROUND ISSUES OF RACE.
 362 01:15:55:02 01:15:56:29 I GUESS IT'S A SENSE
 OF INERTIA THAT SETS IN
 363 01:15:57:01 01:15:59:16 OR JUST A FEELING THAT
 HOW LONG CAN THIS
 THING CONTINUE?
 364 01:15:59:18 01:16:00:27 BUT I THINK...
 365 01:16:00:29 01:16:02:13 HOW LONG CAN
 THE STRUGGLE FOR
 RIGHTS GO ON?
 366 01:16:02:15 01:16:03:13 SOME OF IT
 IS ABOUT...
 367 01:16:03:15 01:16:04:21 WE'RE GETTING
 TIRED OF THIS.
 368 01:16:04:23 01:16:06:20 WELL, SOME OF IT'S FATIGUE,
 BUT SOME OF IT IS
 369 01:16:06:22 01:16:08:17 A QUESTION OF HOW
 FAR IS THIS MOVEMENT
 370 01:16:08:19 01:16:10:16 FOR A DEMOCRACY
 GOING TO GO?
 371 01:16:10:18 01:16:12:16 AND THERE IS
 SO MUCH CONCERN
 372 01:16:12:18 01:16:15:24 THAT THAT'S JUST GOING TOO FAR.
 373 01:16:15:26 01:16:17:10 THAT IS JUST TOO MUCH.
 374 01:16:17:12 01:16:20:29 SO THAT AFRICAN-AMERICAN RIGHTS
 AND WHITE WOMEN'S RIGHTS
 375 01:16:21:01 01:16:22:26 AND BLACK MEN'S RIGHTS
 DURING THIS PERIOD
 376 01:16:22:28 01:16:23:26 WILL COME TO SEEM LIKE
 377 01:16:23:28 01:16:26:02 BOY, THAT'S JUST
 ASKING TOO MUCH.
 378 01:16:26:04 01:16:28:12 ONE OR THE OTHER
 BUT NOT BOTH.
 379 01:16:28:14 01:16:29:21 QUESTION FOR YOU
 ON THIS ISSUE
 380 01:16:29:23 01:16:30:24 THAT WE KEEP
 TALKING ABOUT.
 381 01:16:30:26 01:16:33:16 WE JUST FOUGHT
 A CIVIL WAR.
 382 01:16:33:18 01:16:37:06 ALMOST 500,000 AMERICANS
 ARE DEAD.
 383 01:16:37:08 01:16:40:01 YOU KNOW, A MILLION SOUTHERNERS

384 01:16:40:03 01:16:41:12 KILLED, WOUNDED OR MISSING IN ACTION.
 385 01:16:41:14 01:16:44:17 THE WHOLE SOUTH HAS BEEN
 DEVASTATED BY THE CIVIL WAR--
 386 01:16:44:19 01:16:48:20 LITERALLY RECONSTRUCTION AND
 PHYSICAL RECONSTRUCTION AS WELL.
 387 01:16:48:22 01:16:50:06 A NEW GENERATION
 IS ON THE SCENE.
 388 01:16:50:08 01:16:52:12 THEIR FATHERS
 HAD FOUGHT THE CIVIL WAR.
 389 01:16:52:14 01:16:54:28 A YOUNGER GENERATION,
 RISING BUSINESS PEOPLE
 390 01:16:55:00 01:16:58:08 LIKE CARNEGIE AND MORGAN,
 WHO MADE MONEY OUT OF THE WAR.
 391 01:16:58:10 01:16:59:23 ISN'T IT THAT THE COUNTRY
 392 01:16:59:25 01:17:02:02 WANTS TO MOVE ON
 TO SOMETHING ELSE?
 393 01:17:02:04 01:17:04:17 THAT IT'S TIRED,
 IT'S EXHAUSTED
 FROM THE WAR.
 394 01:17:04:19 01:17:06:07 AND FROM RECONSTRUCTION.
 395 01:17:06:09 01:17:09:10 I THINK THIS IS
 ONE GOOD EXPLANATION.
 396 01:17:09:12 01:17:13:01 I THINK THE WAR IDEALISM
 OR THE WAR CONCERN
 397 01:17:13:03 01:17:17:03 GENERATED ABOUT FREEDOM
 FOR BLACK PEOPLE DOES DECLINE.
 398 01:17:17:05 01:17:20:22 IN REGARD TO THIS
 RETREAT FROM
 RECONSTRUCTION;
 399 01:17:20:24 01:17:22:23 IT WOULD BE ALMOST
 IMPOSSIBLE FOR US
 TO EXAGGERATE
 400 01:17:22:25 01:17:24:14 THE VIRULENCE OF
 THE RACISM THAT
 EXISTED
 401 01:17:24:16 01:17:25:14 IN THE 19th CENTURY.
 402 01:17:25:16 01:17:27:08 AND FOR MANY OF THESE ACTIVISTS
 403 01:17:27:10 01:17:29:07 AND FOR MANY OF THESE
 PARTICIPANTS
 404 01:17:29:09 01:17:30:24 LIBERTY WAS ONE THING;
 405 01:17:30:26 01:17:32:10 EQUALITY WAS SOMETHING ELSE.
 406 01:17:32:12 01:17:35:12 AND HAVING GOTTEN LIBERTY,
 A LOT OF PEOPLE FELT, YOU KNOW
 407 01:17:35:14 01:17:37:17 THAT THAT NEXT STEP
 WAS TOO MUCH OF A...
 408 01:17:37:19 01:17:39:04 YOU KNOW, LINCOLN HIMSELF
 409 01:17:39:06 01:17:41:21 WHILE HE'S AN OPPONENT TO
 SLAVERY, FAVORS COLONIZATION.
 410 01:17:41:23 01:17:43:07 THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF ISSUES
 411 01:17:43:09 01:17:46:19 THAT WERE GOING AROUND
 IN THIS PERIOD IN
 REGARDS TO THIS.
 412 01:17:46:21 01:17:48:26 THEY WEREN'T TALKING ABOUT
 A REFORMISM MOVEMENT HERE.
 413 01:17:48:28 01:17:51:08 YOU HAD A CIVIL WAR THAT WAS

414 01:17:51:10 BASICALLY... IF YOU THINK
 01:17:53:26 WHO IS FIGHTING THIS CIVIL WAR,
 415 01:17:53:28 01:17:55:20 THESE SOLDIERS FROM THE NORTH
 THEY ARE COMING IN
 416 01:17:55:22 01:17:57:12 TO FIGHT FOR UNIONISM.
 THAT'S WHAT
 THEY ORIGINALLY WENT IN FOR.
 417 01:17:57:14 01:17:58:24 YES, SLAVERY BECAME A BIG ISSUE
 418 01:17:58:26 01:18:00:29 AFTER THE EMANCIPATION
 PROCLAMATION, EVEN BEFORE.
 419 01:18:01:01 01:18:01:29 BUT IT'S OVER NOW.
 420 01:18:02:01 01:18:03:05 AND PEOPLE WANT TO GET BACK
 421 01:18:03:07 01:18:04:07 TO A SENSE OF NORMALCY.
 422 01:18:04:09 01:18:05:25 AND WHAT DID PEOPLE GO HOME FOR?
 423 01:18:05:27 01:18:08:00 THEY'RE NOT GOING HOME
 FOR CONTINUING REFORMISM.
 424 01:18:08:02 01:18:09:19 LIKE, BOY,
 LET'S GET MORE DEMOCRACY.
 425 01:18:09:21 01:18:11:03 LET'S GET MORE PEOPLE THE VOTE.
 426 01:18:11:05 01:18:12:08 THEY WANT TO MAKE MONEY.
 427 01:18:12:10 01:18:13:25 UNFETTERED CAPITALISM
 428 01:18:13:27 01:18:16:07 IS WHAT STARTS KICKING IN
 AFTER RECONSTRUCTION.
 429 01:18:16:09 01:18:18:28 PEOPLE WANT A WAY TO
 GET MORE PERSONAL INCOME
 430 01:18:19:00 01:18:20:12 WAYS TO GET RICHER
 431 01:18:20:14 01:18:23:11 WAYS TO GO INTO HOMESTEAD
 SCHEMES INTO THE WEST
 432 01:18:23:13 01:18:25:14 WAYS TO GO LOOK FOR GOLD RUSHES
 433 01:18:25:16 01:18:28:12 AND MINING INTEREST
 AND STARTING NEW RANCHES
 434 01:18:28:14 01:18:31:00 AND IT'S THAT PERSONAL INTEREST
 OF WEALTH
 435 01:18:31:02 01:18:34:28 THAT PEOPLE ARE LOOKING FOR
 OR AT LEAST FOR A DECENT LIFE.
 436 01:18:35:00 01:18:38:08 BUT THE LARGER FORCES AT WORK
 IN SOCIETY SEEM TO BE
 437 01:18:38:10 01:18:42:03 THESE GIGANTIC TECHNOLOGICAL
 AND INDUSTRIAL FORCES.
 438 01:18:42:05 01:18:43:17 WELL, DON, DON'T
 YOU THINK THAT
 439 01:18:43:19 01:18:45:03 THE DIFFERENT
 GENERATIONS
 440 01:18:45:05 01:18:47:20 IN AMERICAN HISTORY HAVE
 DIFFERENT ISSUES,
 DIFFERENT AGENDAS?
 441 01:18:47:22 01:18:49:24 AND I THINK OF
 THE 18th CENTURY
 442 01:18:49:26 01:18:52:20 THE CHALLENGE THAT
 ATTRACTED THE
 BEST MINDS
 443 01:18:52:22 01:18:55:04 OF THE TIME HAD TO
 BE WITH DESIGNING
 444 01:18:55:06 01:18:57:07 AND ESTABLISHING OF
 A REPUBLIC.
 445 01:18:57:09 01:19:00:04 I THINK THE PERIOD OF

446 01:19:00:06 THE EARLY 19th CENTURY
 01:19:03:05 SAW ITSELF AS SOMEHOW
 WORKING OUT THAT HERITAGE
 447 01:19:03:07 01:19:04:18 MAKING SURE
 THE UNION LASTED
 448 01:19:04:20 01:19:06:15 DEALING WITH THE
 QUESTION OF EQUALITY.
 449 01:19:06:17 01:19:08:20 THE WAR ITSELF
 CHANGES THE COUNTRY.
 450 01:19:08:22 01:19:10:26 THERE ARE ENTIRELY
 DIFFERENT ISSUES
 451 01:19:10:28 01:19:13:01 AT THE TOP OF
 THE AGENDA
 AFTERWARDS.
 452 01:19:13:03 01:19:17:11 AND IT CAME, I THINK,
 IN PART, OUT OF THE WAR ITSELF.
 453 01:19:17:13 01:19:20:20 THE WAY
 THIS EXPANDED FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
 454 01:19:20:22 01:19:23:29 WAS ENCOURAGING
 A CONCENTRATION OF MONEY
 455 01:19:24:01 01:19:26:20 THE GROWTH
 OF LARGE CORPORATIONS.
 456 01:19:26:22 01:19:28:04 A WHOLE NEW WORLD CAME OUT.
 457 01:19:28:06 01:19:30:15 AND THE CHALLENGE THEN
 HAD TO BE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.
 458 01:19:30:17 01:19:32:22 IT WAS ECONOMIC FAR MORE
 THAN IT WAS POLITICAL.
 459 01:19:32:24 01:19:35:17 WHEN FOREIGNERS CAME OVER
 TO OBSERVE THE COUNTRY
 460 01:19:35:19 01:19:36:29 IN THE 1870s AND 80s
 461 01:19:37:01 01:19:39:18 THIS IS WHAT STRUCK THEM
 ABOUT THE COUNTRY.
 462 01:19:39:20 01:19:41:28 I DON'T THINK IT'S JUST
 GOING AFTER THE BIG BUCK.
 463 01:19:42:00 01:19:43:00 IT'S NOT JUST BEING RICH.
 464 01:19:43:02 01:19:44:00 IT'S BUILDING.
 465 01:19:44:02 01:19:45:22 THERE'S A REAL CHALLENGE HERE.
 466 01:19:45:24 01:19:48:04 AND HOW YOU ORGANIZE
 NATIONAL CORPORATIONS
 467 01:19:48:06 01:19:49:10 NATIONAL BUSINESSES.
 468 01:19:49:12 01:19:50:17 HOW YOU MANAGE IT.
 469 01:19:50:19 01:19:52:25 IT HAD AN APPEAL
 INDEPENDENT OF THE...
 470 01:19:52:27 01:19:53:24 IT DID.
 471 01:19:53:26 01:19:55:08 THERE'S A NEW
 CULTURAL ETHOS
 472 01:19:55:10 01:19:57:10 THAT'S HELPING TO
 SHAPE A SET OF BELIEFS
 473 01:19:57:12 01:19:59:21 ABOUT COMPETITION, ABOUT
 INDIVIDUALISM ITSELF
 474 01:19:59:23 01:20:01:14 THAT I THINK COMES OUT
 OF THE WAR.
 475 01:20:01:16 01:20:03:00 AND THAT AFFECTS
 THIS PERIOD.
 476 01:20:03:02 01:20:04:10 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.

485 01:20:21:13 01:20:24:18 THIS BECOMES PART OF
THE EVERYDAY DISCOURSE
OF SOCIETY.

486 01:20:24:20 01:20:26:06 YOU TALK ABOUT
THAT ENGINE

487 01:20:26:08 01:20:29:17 THAT CORLISS ENGINE THAT RAN
IN THE CENTENNIAL OF 1876.

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

490 01:20:34:02 01:20:36:19 TAKES OVER THE SOCIETY
IN ALL KINDS OF WAYS.

491 01:20:36:21 01:20:40:07 THIS IS A WORLD WHERE,
IN THE LAST HALF OF
THE 19th CENTURY

492 01:20:40:09 01:20:41:17 WHERE FOOTBALL
WAS INVENTED.

493 01:20:41:19 01:20:44:15 YOU TALK ABOUT INDUSTRIAL
TECHNOLOGICAL FORCES.

494 01:20:44:17 01:20:47:05 THINK ABOUT FOOTBALL
AS THIS GAME ON A GRID

495 01:20:47:07 01:20:48:22 ABOUT ACQUIRING
TERRITORY

496 01:20:48:24 01:20:50:14 IN COMBAT FORMATION
WITH ONE ANOTHER.

497 01:20:50:16 01:20:51:21 Maier:
SOLDIERS' FIELDS.

498 01:20:51:23 01:20:52:24 Masur:
SURE, EXACTLY.

499 01:20:52:26 01:20:54:11 Miller:
THE POPULARITY OF BOXING.

500 01:20:54:13 01:20:56:13 PRECISELY-- THE MOST
POPULAR SPORT
IN THE PERIOD.

501 01:20:56:15 01:20:58:22 AND IT STARTS
AS BARE-KNUCKLE BOXING

502 01:20:58:24 01:21:01:25 ROUND AFTER ROUND OF BOXERS
PUMMELING EACH OTHER.

503 01:21:01:27 01:21:04:09 AND EVEN BY THE TIME
THEY MOVE AWAY FROM THAT

504 01:21:04:11 01:21:07:05 AND PUT ON GLOVES,
YOU HAVE IMAGES
OF THESE FIGHTS.

505 01:21:07:07 01:21:09:21 IT'S THE MOST POPULAR
SPECTATOR SPORT
IN AMERICA.

506 01:21:09:23 01:21:12:03 AND THE AUDIENCE SITS THERE
AND HAS BLOOD LUST

507 01:21:12:05 01:21:13:19 THAT THESE FIGURES OF THESE

508 01:21:13:21 01:21:17:03 POWERFUL MEN GOING AT IT,
COMING AT YOU, INTO THE RING.

509 01:21:17:05 01:21:20:10 THAT SENSE OF MUSCULARITY,
THAT SENSE OF STRENGTH.

510 01:21:20:12 01:21:23:13 YOU CAN SEE IT TIME AND AGAIN
IN THE IMAGES OF THE PERIOD

511 01:21:23:15 01:21:27:05 AS WORKERS EXPOSE THEIR BODIES
TO SHOW THEIR MUSCLES

512 01:21:27:07 01:21:30:18 AS OTHER FIGURES CONTINUE
TO ENGAGE IN THIS BATTLE

513 01:21:30:20 01:21:32:17 THIS BATTLE
FOR NOTHING LESS THAN SURVIVAL.

514 01:21:32:19 01:21:34:23 SOME HISTORIANS ARGUE
THAT IT WASN'T DEMOCRACY

515 01:21:34:25 01:21:37:06 THAT WE WERE KNOWN FOR
IN THE 19th CENTURY.

516 01:21:37:08 01:21:38:07 Maier:
AND THE RAILROADS.

517 01:21:38:09 01:21:39:15 AND THE ARGUMENT THAT

518 01:21:39:17 01:21:41:04 WE WERE KNOWN FOR
A NATION OF BUILDERS

519 01:21:41:06 01:21:44:10 BUILDERS OF SKYSCRAPERS AND
THESE GREAT ARCHING BRIDGES

520 01:21:44:12 01:21:45:22 LIKE THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE

521 01:21:45:24 01:21:47:19 AND THESE STUPENDOUS,
ROARING STEEL MILLS.

522 01:21:47:21 01:21:49:20 AND THAT'S WHAT PEOPLE
WERE TAKEN TO, YOU KNOW.

523 01:21:49:22 01:21:51:23 THAT WAS THE GLAMOUR OF AMERICA.

524 01:21:51:25 01:21:54:14 THAT'S WHAT AMERICA HAD TO
EXPORT TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

525 01:21:54:16 01:21:56:19 THAT'S WHAT THEY SAW
AS THE MODERNIZATION.

526 01:21:56:21 01:22:00:02 Martin:
BUT I THINK WE'VE UNDERPLAYED
THE POINT THAT PAULINE MADE

527 01:22:00:04 01:22:01:13 SO ELOQUENTLY EARLIER.

528 01:22:01:15 01:22:03:29 AND THAT IS, THIS IS
A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

529 01:22:04:01 01:22:06:24 FOUNDED ON CONSTITUTIONAL
PREMISES

530 01:22:06:26 01:22:10:07 AND THAT THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE, THE CONSTITUTION

531 01:22:10:09 01:22:12:15 AND ALL THOSE VALUES
ARE FUNDAMENTAL.

532 01:22:12:17 01:22:14:00 AND THAT, IN A LOT OF WAYS

533 01:22:14:02 01:22:16:06 I THINK THROUGHOUT

534 01:22:16:08 THE 19th CENTURY
 01:22:18:29 PEOPLE WHO LOOK AT THIS NATION
 SEE IT DIFFERENTLY
 535 01:22:19:01 01:22:20:06 AS A RESULT OF THAT.
 536 01:22:20:08 01:22:21:24 I DON'T-- WERE THEY
 SEEING THAT
 537 01:22:21:26 01:22:23:12 AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR?
 538 01:22:23:14 01:22:26:01 WHAT EUROPE WOULD HAVE SEEN IS
 WE'RE AT EACH OTHER'S THROATS.
 539 01:22:26:03 01:22:27:26 AND THIS EXPERIMENT
 IS ABOUT TO
 DISINTEGRATE.
 540 01:22:27:28 01:22:31:14 IT SHOWS THE COMPLEXITY,
 THE DIFFICULTY.
 541 01:22:31:16 01:22:36:05 HOW, YOU KNOW, IT'S A NATION
 WITH A VERY BRIEF HISTORY.
 542 01:22:36:07 01:22:38:21 AND YOU CREATE A STRUCTURE
 AND OVER TIME YOU SEE
 543 01:22:38:23 01:22:40:05 HOW THAT STRUCTURE MIGHT WORK.
 544 01:22:40:07 01:22:43:01 IF WE'RE GOING TO LOOK AT
 A LEGACY FROM THE PERIOD
 545 01:22:43:03 01:22:45:20 THE FACT THAT THE 13th, 14th,
 AND 15th AMENDMENTS WERE PASSED
 546 01:22:45:22 01:22:47:12 THEY PROBABLY COULDN'T
 HAVE BEEN PASSED
 547 01:22:47:14 01:22:48:26 UNDER ANY OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES.
 548 01:22:48:28 01:22:51:04 THEY WERE PASSED AS CONDITIONS
 FOR THE SOUTHERN STATES
 549 01:22:51:06 01:22:52:17 TO COME BACK INTO THE UNION.
 550 01:22:52:19 01:22:55:27 I MEAN, THOSE WILL SERVE
 AS AN IMPORTANT LEGACY.
 551 01:22:55:29 01:22:58:19 IF NOT FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS
 MOVEMENT IN THE 1870s
 552 01:22:58:21 01:23:01:07 CERTAINLY FOR ONE
 IN THE 1950s
 AND 1960s.
 553 01:23:01:09 01:23:04:04 AND IT MEANT THAT THOSE
 WHO ARE ARGUING
 554 01:23:04:06 01:23:06:18 FOR A REAL EQUALITY
 COULD DO IT UNDER LAW
 555 01:23:06:20 01:23:08:08 THAT THE LAW WAS
 ALREADY ON THE BOOKS.
 556 01:23:08:10 01:23:10:08 YOU JUST HAD TO
 REALIZE THE PROMISE
 557 01:23:10:10 01:23:12:25 THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN
 MADE AS A COMMITMENT.
 558 01:23:16:14 01:23:17:24 Masur:
 AMERICA AT ITS CENTENNIAL
 559 01:23:17:26 01:23:19:23 WAS ENVISIONED
 IN DRAMATICALLY DIFFERENT WAYS
 560 01:23:19:25 01:23:21:09 BY THOSE LIVING
 THROUGH THE TIMES.
 561 01:23:21:11 01:23:25:18 RED HORSE, A SIOUX WARRIOR
 PAINTED AT LEAST 40 PICTOGRAPHS
 562 01:23:25:20 01:23:27:19 OF CUSTER
 IN THE LITTLE BIG HORN.

563 01:23:27:21 01:23:30:14 IN HIS TELLING,
 THERE IS LITTLE THAT IS HEROIC.
 564 01:23:30:16 01:23:34:01 WARRIORS GO ABOUT THE BUSINESS
 OF DESTROYING AN INVADING ARMY.
 565 01:23:34:03 01:23:37:15 AND THE BRUTALITIES ARE RENDERED
 SIMPLY AS FACTS OF BATTLE.
 566 01:23:37:17 01:23:41:20 IN 1881, JOHN MULVANEY
 OFFERED A TRIUMPHAL NARRATIVE
 567 01:23:41:22 01:23:43:07 OF THE SAME EVENT.
 568 01:23:43:09 01:23:46:12 CUSTER IS DRESSED IN UNIFORM
 AND WITH SABER IN HAND
 569 01:23:46:14 01:23:49:15 THOUGH IN ACTUALITY,
 HE HAD NEITHER THAT DAY.
 570 01:23:49:17 01:23:52:18 HE HOLDS OFF THE FATEFUL MOMENT
 OF HIS DEATH.
 571 01:23:52:20 01:23:55:14 WALT WHITMAN VIEWED THE PAINTING
 AS THE EPITOME OF WHAT HE CALLED
 572 01:23:55:16 01:23:57:23 *THE WESTERN PHASE OF AMERICA.*
 573 01:23:57:25 01:24:01:14 "NOTHING LIKE IT IN HOMER
 OR SHAKESPEARE," HE SAID.
 574 01:24:01:16 01:24:05:04 NOT ONLY TROOPS WOUND WEST
 BUT TRAINS AS WELL.
 575 01:24:05:06 01:24:08:15 ON MAY 10, 1869,
 THE UNION PACIFIC
 576 01:24:08:17 01:24:11:17 AND THE CENTRAL PACIFIC JOINED
 AT PROMONTORY, UTAH
 577 01:24:11:19 01:24:14:20 AND THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL
 LINE WAS COMPLETED.
 578 01:24:14:22 01:24:16:21 ANDREW RUSSELL
 TOOK A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MOMENT
 579 01:24:16:23 01:24:21:27 AS MEN AND MACHINE UNITE
 IN TRIUMPH AND CELEBRATION.
 580 01:24:21:29 01:24:24:19 BUT NOT EVERYONE APPLAUDED
 INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY.
 581 01:24:24:21 01:24:27:07 IN THE SUMMER OF 1877,
 WORKERS WENT ON STRIKE
 582 01:24:27:09 01:24:29:13 AGAINST THE LEADING
 RAILROAD COMPANIES
 583 01:24:29:15 01:24:31:06 WHICH HAD SLASHED WAGES.
 584 01:24:31:08 01:24:33:13 WHEN THE GOVERNMENT
 CALLED OUT TROOPS
 585 01:24:33:15 01:24:35:27 STRIKERS ATTACKED
 THE ENGINES AND TRACKS
 586 01:24:35:29 01:24:37:29 AT THE CENTER
 OF THEIR GRIEVANCE.
 587 01:24:38:01 01:24:41:17 WHATEVER TENSIONS EXISTED,
 AMERICANS TRIED REPEATEDLY
 588 01:24:41:19 01:24:45:00 TO DEPICT THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT
 AS ONE OF PROGRESS.
 589 01:24:45:02 01:24:48:19 JOHN GAST PORTRAYED LIBERTY
 AS THE STAR OF EMPIRE
 590 01:24:48:21 01:24:50:27 LEADING TECHNOLOGY AND COMMERCE
 591 01:24:50:29 01:24:53:12 INTO THE DARKNESS
 OF THE FRONTIER.
 592 01:24:53:14 01:24:55:17 SOME IMAGES SOUGHT TO CONFIRM
 593 01:24:55:19 01:24:58:23 THE DIVINELY ORDAINED DESTINY

OF THE NATION.
594 01:24:58:25 01:25:02:09 A POPULAR PRINT IN THE 1870s
WAS WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON'S
595 01:25:02:11 01:25:04:16 *MOUNTAIN OF THE HOLY CROSS*
596 01:25:04:18 01:25:07:20 A PEAK LOCATED
NEAR THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE.
597 01:25:07:22 01:25:09:29 BUT OTHER PHOTOGRAPHERS
RAISED QUESTIONS
598 01:25:10:01 01:25:12:01 ABOUT THE MEANING
OF THE LANDSCAPE.
599 01:25:12:03 01:25:15:02 TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN TOOK PICTURES
OF ANCIENTS RUINS
600 01:25:15:04 01:25:19:16 OF A HUMAN FORM SHROUDED
IN STEAM RISING FROM A CHASM
601 01:25:19:18 01:25:20:27 AND OF BLINDING SAND DUNES
602 01:25:20:29 01:25:23:22 WITH A CARRIAGE AND HORSES
PAUSED IN TIME
603 01:25:23:24 01:25:27:05 THE TRACKS AND FOOTPRINTS
SOON TO BE ERASED.
604 01:25:27:07 01:25:29:20 AMERICA WAS OLD AS WELL AS NEW
605 01:25:29:22 01:25:32:14 DESTRUCTIVE
AS WELL AS REGENERATIVE
606 01:25:32:16 01:25:36:25 AND THE LAND HAD A SECRET
HISTORY THAT WAS ALL ITS OWN.