

AP[®] Edition

The background of the cover is a close-up photograph of the American flag. The top portion shows the blue field with a single white star, and the bottom portion shows the red and white stripes. The flag is draped and folded, creating a sense of movement and texture.

THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

DAVID M. KENNEDY ★ LIZABETH COHEN

SEVENTEENTH EDITION

TO THE STUDENT

Welcome to *The American Pageant AP® Edition*! This program provides you with many ongoing opportunities to prepare and practice for success in the AP® U.S. History course and examination. Following are some of the features to support you as you progress through your study of AP® U.S. History.

Get ready for the AP® exam from the first day of class.

PREPARING FOR THE AP® EXAM

General (Remember to be challenging to yourself as you work on AP® material. The goal is to be a great learner, not just a student. Do the best you can, and you will be successful. Do the best you can, and you will be successful. Do the best you can, and you will be successful.)

Before the Exam
By taking the exam, you will be able to see how you are doing. You will also be able to see how you are doing. You will also be able to see how you are doing. You will also be able to see how you are doing.

TAKING THE AP® U.S. HISTORY EXAM

General (Remember to be challenging to yourself as you work on AP® material. The goal is to be a great learner, not just a student. Do the best you can, and you will be successful. Do the best you can, and you will be successful. Do the best you can, and you will be successful.)

Before the Exam
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Preparing for the AP® U.S. History Exam and Taking the AP® U.S. History Exam

These two components, available on the teacher companion website under Student Resources, offer:

- Tips on getting ready for the exam, from registration through test day
- An overview of the AP® U.S. History exam and the types of questions it features
- Strategies for responding to the different types of questions, with examples
- A stepped-out process for answering free-response questions
- Sample long essays

Preparing for the AP® U.S. History Exam

Taking the AP® U.S. History Exam

Master the AP® question formats.

By answering practice questions in AP® format, you will familiarize yourself with their structure, enabling you to make the most of the time you'll have to answer them while taking the AP® exam.

End-of-Part AP® Review Questions

At the end of each part of your book, there are multiple-choice and short-answer practice questions in AP® format.

AP® Review Questions for Part Six

Multiple-Choice Questions

Questions 1-3 refer to the following quotation:

"[The Soviets] are increasing their military power and their sphere of influence in preparation for the 'inevitable' conflict. . . This government should be prepared to resist vigorously and successfully any efforts of the U.S.S.R. to expand into areas vital to American security. The main deterrent to Soviet attack on the United States, or to attack on areas of the world which are vital to our security, will be the military power of this country. In addition to maintaining our own strength, the United States should support and assist all democratic countries which are in any way menaced or endangered by the U.S.S.R. Providing military support in case of attack is a last resort; a more effective barrier . . . is strong economic support."

—Memorandum from Clark Clifford to President Truman, "American Relations with the Soviet Union," 1946

1. Which of the following best explains why the United States was so keen to limit the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence?
(A) Soviet control of oil resources
(B) Soviet economic isolationism
(C) Soviet communist ideology
(D) Soviet emphasis on decolonization

Multiple-Choice Question

1. Use the cartoon to answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - a) Briefly describe ONE perspective expressed in the image about America's role in the world in the late 1940s.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE specific event or development that caused the perspective expressed in the image.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE way the events depicted in the image affected American foreign policy in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Short-Answer Questions

Short-Answer Questions



Zoom in on the most important AP® content in every chapter.

Focus on AP® Success Chapter Preview

Every chapter in your book begins with two or more pages of information and questions to help focus your study on the most important AP® content in that chapter.

Must Know: Events and People presents key historical facts and players you will need to know.

Must Understand: Essential Knowledge identifies and explains AP® essential knowledge points by tying them directly to the content of the chapter, including page numbers.

Must Connect: Essential Knowledge and Historical Thinking Skills and Reasoning Processes build your ability to use all the historical thinking skills and reasoning processes to explain the essential knowledge tested on the AP® exam.

Focus on AP® Historical Thinking Skills allows you to organize the content of this textbook thematically, hone your analytical writing skills, and enhance your development and application of AP® Historical Thinking Skills.

Focus on AP® Success

Chapter 8 The Confederation and the Constitution 1776–1790

MUST KNOW: Events and People

- State constitutions
- Articles of Confederation
- Northwest Territory
- Northwest Ordinance
- The Constitutional Convention
- The Constitution
- Federalism
- Separation of powers
- The Federalists
- The Anti-Federalists
- The Federalist Papers
- James Madison
- Alexander Hamilton
- “Republican Motherhood”

MUST UNDERSTAND: Essential Knowledge from Period 3 (1754–1800)

- How did the continued presence of European powers in North America challenge the United States to find ways to safeguard its borders, maintain neutral trading rights, and promote its economic interests? (pp. 162–163; 168–169)
- Why did many of the new state constitutions place power in the hands of the legislative branch and maintain property qualifications for voting and citizenship? (pp. 161–162)
- How did the Articles of Confederation unify the newly independent states and create a central government with limited power? (pp. 161–168)
- How did difficulties over international trade, finances, interstate commerce, foreign relations, and internal unrest lead to calls for a stronger central government after the Revolution? (pp. 168–171)
- How did the delegates from the states at the Constitutional Convention use negotiation, collaboration, and compromise to propose a constitution? (pp. 171–175)
- How did delegates from the states participate in the Constitutional Convention that created a limited but dynamic central government embodying federalism and providing for a separation of powers between its three branches? (pp. 171–175)
- How did the delegates at the Constitutional Convention compromise over the representation of slave states in Congress and the role of the federal government in regulating both slavery and the slave trade? (pp. 171–173)
- Why, in the debate over ratifying the Constitution, did Anti-Federalists opposing ratification battle with the Federalists, whose principles were articulated in *The Federalist Papers*? (pp. 174–178)
- How did an increased awareness of the inequalities in society during and after the American Revolution motivate some individuals and groups to call for the abolition of slavery and greater political democracy in the new state and national governments? (pp. 178–180)
- How did an ideal of “republican motherhood” gain popularity in response to women’s participation in the American Revolution, Enlightenment ideas, and women’s appeals for expanded roles in society? (p. 180)
- How, as increasing numbers of migrants from within North America and other parts of the world continued to move westward, did frontier cultures that had emerged in the colonial period continue to grow and fuel social, political, and ethnic tensions? (pp. 169–170)
- Why, as settlers moved westward during the 1780s, did Congress enact the Northwest Ordinance for admitting new states? (pp. 166–168)
- Why did the Northwest Ordinance promote public education, the protection of private property, and a ban on slavery in the Northwest Territory? (pp. 166–168)

MUST CONNECT: Essential Knowledge and Historical Thinking Skills and Reasoning Processes

- **Essential Knowledge:** In response to women’s participation in the American Revolution, Enlightenment ideas, and women’s appeals for expanded roles, an ideal of “republican motherhood” gained popularity.
- **Contextualization** Explain specific examples of how women’s participation in the American Revolution, Enlightenment ideas, and women’s appeals for expanded roles influenced the emergence of “republican motherhood.”
- **Essential Knowledge:** In the debate over ratifying the Constitution, Anti-Federalists opposing ratification battled with Federalists, whose principles were articulated in *The Federalist Papers*.
- **Comparison** As you read this chapter, create a T-chart that contrasts the views of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists during the ratification debate.

• **Essential Knowledge:** The Constitutional Convention compromised over the representation of slave states in Congress and the role of the federal government in regulating both slavery and the slave trade, allowing the prohibition of the international slave trade after 1808.

• **Essential Knowledge:** After the Revolution, difficulties over international trade, finances, interstate commerce, foreign relations, and internal unrest led to calls for a stronger central government.

• **Causation** After you read Section 8-11 “Hammering Out a Bundle of Compromises” (pp. 171–175) and analyze Table 8-2 “Slavery and the Constitution” (p. 174), can you explain why slavery caused division among delegates at the Constitutional Convention and how compromises regarding slavery impacted the drafting of the Constitution?

• **Continuity and Change over Time** How did the national government change in the United States from 1776 to 1790? As you read this chapter, how many specific changes in the structure of the national government can you identify? Can you also identify some continuities in the structure of the national government from 1776 to 1790?

MUST DEVELOP: AP® Historical Thinking Skills (Source Claims and Evidence)

Identify the evidence used in a source to support an argument.

Identifying the evidence used in a source to support an argument is a fundamental component of the historical thinking skill of source claims and evidence. Although this skill is essential for success on the Document-Based Question on the AP® Exam, it may also be assessed on some of the multiple-choice and short-answer questions. In order to develop this aspect of source claims and evidence, you need to develop the ability to read primary and secondary sources carefully and critically. In other words, you have to be able to distinguish the difference between significant and superfluous information in a document. Then, you need to be able to summarize the significant evidence that supports the overarching argument in your own words.

Throughout this and every other chapter in *The American Pageant*, there are excerpts of primary sources highlighted in light blue boxes. As you read this chapter, use these primary source excerpts to practice your ability to identify evidence used to support an argument. That is, can you summarize the main argument(s) of the primary source excerpt? Can you identify the relevant evidence in your own words? For example, in “Contending Voices: Debating the New Constitution” (p. 179), the authors claim that Jonathan Smith “wrote approvingly of the new federal constitution” and Patrick Henry thought “the proposed constitution endangered everything the Revolution had sought to protect.” As you read the words of Smith and Henry, can you identify the evidence they used to support their arguments? Can you summarize Smith’s evidence for the argument for the Constitution and Henry’s evidence for the argument against it?

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Focus on AP® Success Chapter Preview

Document-Based Questions (DBQs) and Long Essay Questions

At the end of your book, there are document-based questions (DBQs) and long essay questions that mirror the structure and format of the AP® exam. The practice DBQs will help you build your skills in analyzing and writing about historical documents such as letters, memoirs, photographs, and political cartoons using evidence to support your writing.

Also included at the end of the book are long essay questions that measure students' ability to apply AP® historical thinking skills and reasoning processes to explain and analyze significant events and movements. They require students to develop an argument supported by an analysis of specific, relevant historical evidence.

DBQ 13

Directions: Question 13 is based on the accompanying seven documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 45 minutes writing your answer.

Evaluate whether or not the progressive movement (1900–1920) can be considered an extension of the populist movement of the late nineteenth century.

Document 1

Source: Preamble and Declaration of Principles of the Great and Growing Order of Workingmen, the Knights of Labor, 1886.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling classes. It is imperative . . . that a check be placed on unjust accumulation, and the power for evil of aggregated wealth. . . .

We declare to the world that our aims are: . . .

1. To secure to the worker the full enjoyment of the wealth they create [and] sufficient leisure to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties. . . .
In order to secure these results we demand of the State: . . .
4. The public lands, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers, not another acre for railroads or speculators. . . .
6. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and the building industries, and indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries suffered through lack of necessary safeguards. . . .
11. The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines and factories. . . .
13. That a graduated income tax be levied. . . .
14. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited. . . .
And while making the foregoing demands upon the State and national government, we will endeavor to associate our own labors to:
20. To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.
21. To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work more than eight hours.

Document 2

Source: "Shooting craps in the hall of the Newboys' Lodging House," Jacob Rils (1849–1914). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



Source: "Shooting craps in the hall of the Newboys' Lodging House," Jacob Rils (1849–1914). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Document-Based Question

Long Essay Questions

Directions on answering Long Essay Questions. The following questions require you to use historical evidence to develop a cohesive historical argument. Each prompt will ask you to analyze an aspect of one of the themes and apply one of the following reasoning processes: causation, comparison, or continuity and change over time.

In your response, you should do the following:

- State a defensible claim or thesis that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Use specific and relevant examples of evidence to support an argument in response to the prompt.
- Frame or structure an argument that utilizes reasoning processes (i.e., causation, comparison, or continuity and change over time) to address the prompt.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.

PERIODS 1–3 (1491–1800):

American and National Identity (NAT-1 Comparison)

1. Evaluate the extent to which differing ideas of national identity shaped the debate over ratifying the U.S. Constitution in the late 1780s.

Politics and Power (PCE-1 Causation)

2. Evaluate the extent to which disagreements among political leaders in the 1790s about economic policy and the relationship between the national government and the states caused the formation of political parties.

Work, Exchange, and Technology (WXT-1 Continuity and Change over Time)

3. Evaluate the extent to which the transatlantic trade changed both Europe and the Americas from 1492 to 1607.

American and Regional Culture (ARC-1 Comparison)

4. Contrast the extent to which the presence of different European religious groups contributed to cultural pluralism in New England and the middle colonies in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Migration and Settlement (MIG-1 Continuity and Change over Time)

5. Evaluate the extent to which westward migration changed the relationship between Great Britain and its North American colonies from 1763 to 1783.

Geography and the Environment (GEO-1 Comparison)

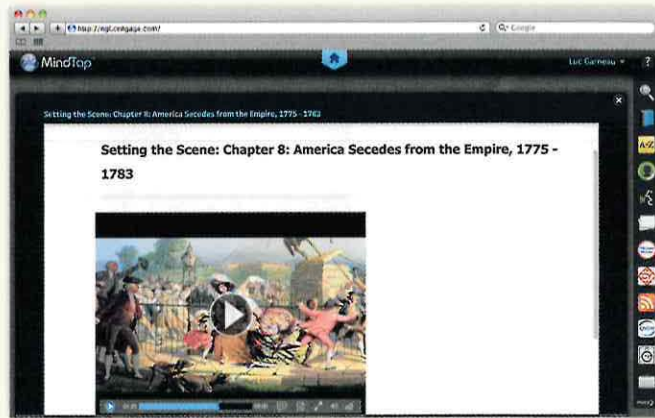
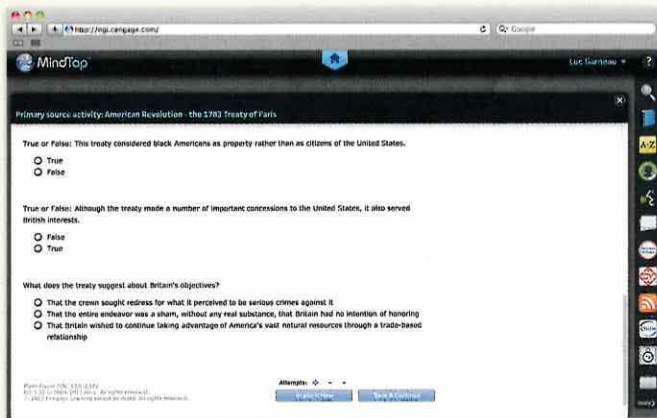
6. Evaluate the most significant difference between the physical environment of New England and the Chesapeake and explain how this difference shaped the development of the British colonies in these two regions prior to 1700.

Long Essay Question



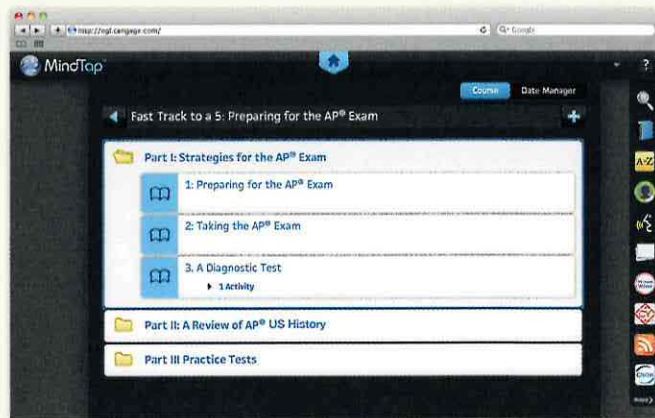
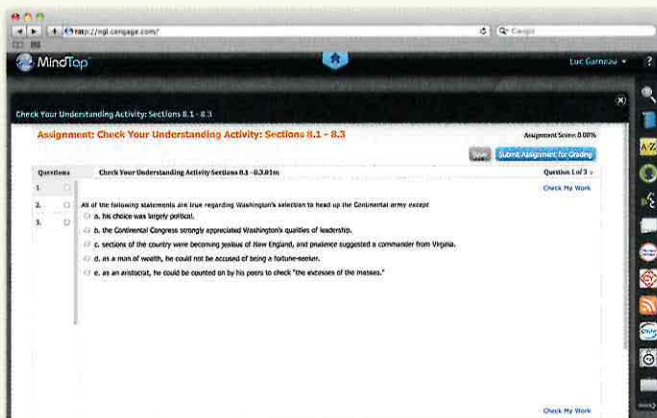
Interact with AP® U.S. History.

The American Pageant AP® Edition gives you the opportunity to use digital tools in your study of U.S. history. With access to MindTap™ History, you'll have a new personalized online learning environment.



Build critical AP® historical thinking skills and reasoning processes and strengthen comprehension.

Interact with multimedia, primary, and secondary sources.



Test your content knowledge.

Review and master AP® skills and content using Online Fast Track to a 5 AP® Exam Prep.

Think like a historian.

Building AP® Historical Thinking Skills and Reasoning Processes

One goal of the AP® U.S. History course is to develop your ability to think about history like historians do. The AP® course description lists six historical thinking skills and three reasoning processes.

Skill 1: Developments and Processes

Skill 6: Argumentation

Skill 2: Sourcing and Situation

Reasoning Process 1: Comparison

Skill 3: Source Claims and Evidence

Reasoning Process 2: Causation

Skill 4: Contextualization

Reasoning Process 3: Continuity and Change

Skill 5: Making Connections

On the AP® exam, you'll be asked to demonstrate your mastery of historical thinking skills and reasoning processes. Your textbook has a number of features specifically designed to support you in developing these skills and processes. For example:

Examining the Evidence
A Revolution for Women? Abigail Adams Chides Her Husband, 1776

In the midst of the revolutionary year of 1776, Abigail Adams, wife of patriot leader John Adams, wrote a letter to her husband in which she urged him to "Remember the Ladies." Her words were not only a plea for women's rights but also a critique of the revolutionary process and the role of women in it. Adams's letter is a powerful example of a woman's voice in the early stages of the American Revolution.

Varying Viewpoints
Whose Revolution?

The American Revolution was a complex event with many different perspectives. While some saw it as a fight for independence, others saw it as a struggle for power. The revolution was not a single event but a series of events that unfolded over time. The different viewpoints of the revolutionaries and the British provide a rich and nuanced understanding of the event.

Contending Voices
Two Revolutions: French and American

The French Revolution and the American Revolution were two of the most significant events in world history. While both revolutions were fought for the same principles of liberty and justice, they were also fought for very different goals. The French Revolution was a struggle for social equality, while the American Revolution was a struggle for political independence. The two revolutions were also fought at the same time, which led to a complex relationship between the two nations.

Examining the Evidence

Studying many different kinds of primary sources will help you build several historical thinking skills and reasoning processes, but most especially analyzing primary and secondary sources of evidence. You'll learn to probe a wide range of historical documents and artifacts explicitly with the task of crafting sound arguments from historical evidence.

Varying Viewpoints

These historiographical debates provide differing views of historical events and illustrate the skill of making connections.

Contending Voices

"Contending Voices" offers paired quotes from original historical sources, accompanied by questions that ask students to assess conflicting perspectives on often hotly contested subjects. This feature will develop your skills and practices in making connections, argumentation, and contextualization.

Use themes to connect and understand U.S. history.

The Eight AP® Themes

The AP® U.S. History learning objectives are organized under eight themes to help you recognize important trends and historical events.

- Theme 1: American and National Identity
- Theme 2: Work, Exchange, and Technology
- Theme 3: Geography and the Environment
- Theme 4: Migration and Settlement

- Theme 5: Politics and Power
- Theme 6: America in the World
- Theme 7: American and Regional Culture
- Theme 8: Social Structures

Your textbook also contains features that will give you practice in examining history within the context of the eight themes. Following are just two examples:

Thinking Globally

Two Revolutions

On July 14, 1789, a rising mob stormed the Bastille—a dark fortress where the king's troops were housed. The Bastille was a symbol of royal authority and provided the arsenal needed for the revolutionary forces of the people. The storming of the Bastille was a key event in the French Revolution. The French Revolution was a period of radical political and social change in France. It began in 1789 and lasted until 1799. The revolution was led by a coalition of bourgeois, peasants, workers, and soldiers. The revolution was a period of radical political and social change in France. It began in 1789 and lasted until 1799. The revolution was led by a coalition of bourgeois, peasants, workers, and soldiers. The revolution was a period of radical political and social change in France. It began in 1789 and lasted until 1799. The revolution was led by a coalition of bourgeois, peasants, workers, and soldiers.



188

Makers of America

Mexican or Texian?

Mexican or Texian? In 1835, the Texas Revolution broke out. The revolution was a period of radical political and social change in Texas. It began in 1835 and lasted until 1836. The revolution was led by a coalition of bourgeois, peasants, workers, and soldiers. The revolution was a period of radical political and social change in Texas. It began in 1835 and lasted until 1836. The revolution was led by a coalition of bourgeois, peasants, workers, and soldiers.



278

Thinking Globally

These essays present different aspects of the American experience in the context of world history (addresses the themes of politics and power and America in the world).

Thomas Bailey, the original author of the book you're reading, was a professor who loved history and loved teaching it. The current authors, David Kennedy and Lizabeth Cohen, have continued this tradition, both in teaching and in co-authoring The American Pageant.

One of their goals in writing The American Pageant was to make the stories and events in our nation's history as fascinating, poignant, memorable, and serious to the reader as they are to them. The authors achieved this by writing in a clear and understandable style, including many interesting and often humorous historical anecdotes.

So when you encounter something funny or witty as you read The American Pageant, we hope you'll see that studying American history can be entertaining. Don't forget to take pleasure and inspiration from reading the story of the people and events that have shaped America.

Enjoy your study of American history!

A faint, light-colored map of the United States is visible in the background, centered on the page. The map shows the outlines of the states and is rendered in a pale, almost invisible tone.

THE AMERICAN PAGEANT





AP[®] EDITION

THE
AMERICAN PAGEANT

A History of the American People

SEVENTEENTH EDITION

David M. Kennedy

Stanford University

Lizabeth Cohen

Harvard University



Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

***The American Pageant: A History of the
American People, AP® Edition,
Seventeenth Edition***

David M. Kennedy/Lizabeth Cohen

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Yale in American Studies, combining the fields of history, economics, and literature. His first book, *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger* (1970), was honored with both the Bancroft Prize and the John Gilmary Shea Prize. His study of the World War I era, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (1980; rev. ed., 2005), was a Pulitzer Prize finalist. In 1999 he published *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for History, as well as the Francis Parkman Prize, the English-Speaking Union's Ambassador's Prize, and the Commonwealth Club of California's Gold Medal for Literature. At Stanford he has taught both undergraduate and graduate courses in American political, diplomatic, intellectual, and social history, as well as in American literature. He has received several teaching awards, including the Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching and the Hoagland Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching. He has been a visiting professor at the University of Florence, Italy, and in 1995–1996 served as the Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University. He has also served on the Advisory Board for the PBS television series, *The American Experience*, and as a consultant to several documentary films, including *The Great War*, *Cadillac Desert*, and *Woodrow Wilson*. From 1990 to 1995 he chaired the Test Development Committee for the Advanced Placement U.S. History examination. He is an elected Fellow of the American Academy of Arts

and Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society and served from 2002 to 2011 on the board of the Pulitzer Prizes. Married and the father of two sons and a daughter, in his leisure time he enjoys hiking, bicycling, river-rafting, flying, sea-kayaking, and fly-fishing. His most recent book is *The Modern American Military* (2013).

Lizabeth Cohen

is the Howard Mumford Jones Professor of American Studies in the history department at Harvard University. In 2007–2008 she was the Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University. Previously she taught at New York University (1992–1997) and Carnegie Mellon University (1986–1992).



Born and raised in the New York metropolitan area, she received her A.B. from Princeton University and her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. Her first book, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (1990), won the Bancroft Prize in American History and the Philip Taft Labor History Award and was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. In 2008 it was reissued in a second edition with a new introduction, and in 2014 it appeared in Cambridge University Press's Canto Classic Series. Her article "Encountering Mass Culture at the Grassroots: The Experience of Chicago Workers in the 1920s" (1989) was awarded the Constance Roarke Prize of the American Studies Association. Her next book, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2003), explored how an economy and culture built around mass consumption shaped social life and politics in post-World War II America. An article related to this book, "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar

America" (1996), was honored as the best article in urban history by the Urban History Association and received the ABC-CLIO, America: History and Life Award for the journal article that most advances previously unconsidered topics. Her latest book, *Saving America's Cities: Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age* (2019), probes the complexities of urban renewal in American cities after World War II. At Harvard, she has taught courses in twentieth-century American history, with particular attention to the intersection of social and cultural life and politics. From 2011 to 2018 she served as the Dean of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard, a major center for scholarly research, creative arts, and public programs. Before attending graduate school, she taught history at the secondary level and worked in history and art museums. She continues to help develop public history programs for general audiences through museums and documentary films. She is married to a

historian of modern France, with whom she has two daughters. For leisure, she enjoys swimming and hiking with her family, watching films, traveling, and reading fiction.

Thomas A. Bailey (1903–1983) was the original author of *The American Pageant* and saw it through its first seven editions. He taught history for nearly forty years at Stanford University, his alma mater. Long regarded as one of the nation's leading historians of American diplomacy, he was honored by his colleagues in 1968 with election to the presidencies of both the Organization of American Historians and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. He was the author, editor, or co-editor of some twenty books, but the work in which he took most pride was *The American Pageant*, through which, he liked to say, he had taught American history to several million students.

Brief Contents

Maps xxvii
Tables xxix
Figures xxx
Preface xxxi

Part One

Peopling a Continent

C. 33,000 B.C.E.–1700 C.E.

-
- 1 New World Beginnings
33,000 B.C.E.–1680 C.E. 4
 - 2 The Contest for North
America 1500–1664 26
 - 3 Settling the English
Colonies 1619–1700 44

Part Two

Building British North America

1607–1775

-
- 4 American Life in the Seventeenth
Century 1607–1692 68
 - 5 Colonial Society on the Eve of
Revolution 1700–1775 84
 - 6 The Road to Revolution 1754–1775 107

Part Three

Founding a New Nation

1775–1800

-
- 7 America Secedes from the
Empire 1775–1783 138
 - 8 The Confederation and the
Constitution 1776–1790 161
 - 9 Launching the New Ship
of State 1789–1800 184

Part Four

Building the New Nation

1800–1860

-
- 10 The Triumphs and Travails of the
Jeffersonian Republic 1800–1812 210
 - 11 The War of 1812 and the Upsurge
of Nationalism 1812–1824 232
 - 12 The Rise of a Mass
Democracy 1824–1840 253
 - 13 Forging the National
Economy 1790–1860 284
 - 14 The Ferment of Reform and
Culture 1790–1860 313
 - 15 The South and Slavery 1793–1860 342

Part Five

Testing the New Nation

1841–1877

-
- 16 Manifest Destiny and Its
Legacy 1841–1848 366
 - 17 Renewing the Sectional
Struggle 1848–1854 385
 - 18 Drifting Toward
Disunion 1854–1861 404
 - 19 Girding for War: The North and
the South 1861–1865 427
 - 20 The Furnace of Civil
War 1861–1865 445
 - 21 The Ordeal of Reconstruction
1865–1877 473

Part Six

Forging an Industrial Society

1865–1900

-
- 22 The Industrial Era Dawns
1865–1900 496
 - 23 Political Paralysis in the Gilded
Age 1869–1896 524
 - 24 America Moves to the
City 1865–1900 544
 - 25 The Conquest of the
West 1865–1896 579
 - 26 Rumbles of Discontent
1865–1900 601

Part Seven

Struggling for Justice at Home
and Abroad

1890–1945

-
- 27 Empire and Expansion
1890–1909 620
 - 28 Progressivism and the Republican
Roosevelt 1901–1912 649
 - 29 Wilsonian Progressivism in Peace
and War 1913–1920 675
 - 30 American Life in the “Roaring
Twenties” 1920–1932 705
 - 31 The Great Depression and the New
Deal 1933–1939 743
 - 32 Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow
of War 1933–1941 770
 - 33 America in World War II
1941–1945 790

Part Eight

Making an American Superpower

1945–1980

-
- 34 The Cold War Begins
1945–1952 822
 - 35 American Zenith 1952–1963 853
 - 36 The Stormy Sixties 1963–1973 886
 - 37 A Sea of Troubles 1973–1980 914

Part Nine

Sustaining Democracy
in a Global Age

1980 TO THE PRESENT

-
- 38 The Resurgence of Conservatism
1980–1992 938
 - 39 America Confronts the Post–Cold
War Era 1992–2000 961
 - 40 The American People Face a
New Century 2001–2018 983

APPENDIX

Documents A1

Tables A21

Glossary of Key Terms A27

PRACTICE MATERIAL FOR THE AP® U.S.
HISTORY EXAMINATION

Document-Based Questions A64

Long Essay Questions A109

Index II

Contents

Maps xxvii
Tables xxix
Figures xxx
Preface xxxi

Part One Peopling a Continent

c. 33,000 B.C.E.–1700 C.E.

2

1 New World Beginnings 33,000 B.C.E.–1680 C.E. 4



Focus on AP® Success 4A

The geology of the Americas • Native Americans before Columbus • Europe's widening world • Columbus and the early explorers • The Columbian exchange • Spain's New World empire • The legacy of Spanish conquest

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 23–25

* EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Making Sense of the New World 7

* CONTENDING VOICES Europeans and Indians 16

* MAKERS OF AMERICA The Spanish *Conquistadores* 18

2 The Contest for North America 1500–1664 26



Focus on AP® Success 26A

New France • Fur-traders and Indians • Elizabethan England expands • England on the eve of empire • The founding of Jamestown, 1607 • English settlers and Native Americans • New Netherland becomes New York • Native Americans and Europeans: conflict and accommodation

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 42–43

* CONTENDING VOICES Old World Dreams and New World Realities 31

* MAKERS OF AMERICA The Iroquois 40

3 Settling the English Colonies 1619–1700 44



Focus on AP® Success 44A

The growth of Virginia and Maryland • Plantation slavery develops in the Caribbean and the Carolinas • The Puritan faith • Plymouth Colony, 1620 • The Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630 • Religious dissent and the expansion of New England • Pennsylvania, the Quaker colony

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 64–65

- * **CONTENDING VOICES** Anne Hutchinson Accused and Defended 55
- * **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** A Seventeenth-Century Valuables Cabinet 62
- * **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Boundaries or Borderlands in the Colonial Americas? 63

AP® Review Questions for Part One 65A

Part Two Building British North America 1607–1775

66

4 American Life in the Seventeenth Century 1607–1692 68



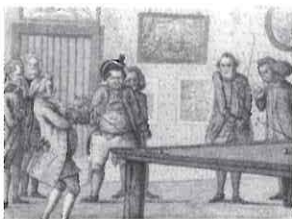
Focus on AP® Success 68A

Life and labor in the Chesapeake tobacco region • Indentured servants and Bacon's Rebellion • The spread of slavery • African American culture • Southern society • Families in New England • Declining Puritan piety • The Salem witchcraft trials, 1692 • Daily life in the colonies

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 82–83

- * **CONTENDING VOICES** Berkeley Versus Bacon 70
- * **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** An Indentured Servant's Contract, 1746 71
- * **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Atlantic Slave Trade, 1500–1860 72

5 Colonial Society on the Eve of Revolution 1700–1775 84



Focus on AP® Success 84A

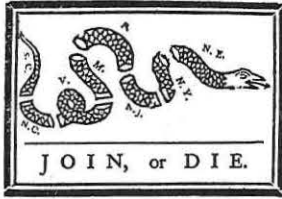
The borderlands of European and Native American settlements • Immigration and population growth • Slave society and revolts • The Atlantic economy • The role of religion • The Great Awakening of the 1730s • Education and culture • Politics and the press • The development of an American culture

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 105–106

- * **CONTENDING VOICES** Race and Slavery 89
- * **MAKERS OF AMERICA** From African to African American 90

6 The Road to Revolution 1754–1775

107



Focus on AP® Success 107A

Anglo-French colonial rivalries • The Seven Years' War • Pontiac's uprising and the Proclamation of 1763 • Roots of Revolution • Stamp Act Crisis, 1765 • The Boston Tea Party, 1773 • The Intolerable Acts and the Continental Congress, 1774 • Lexington, Concord, and the beginning of war • The rebel army

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 134–135

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Reconciliation or Independence? 121

✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Revolt 130

AP® Review Questions for Part Two 135A

Part Three Founding a New Nation 1775–1800

136

7 America Secedes from the Empire 1775–1783

138



Focus on AP® Success 138A

Early skirmishes, 1775 • American “republicanism” • The Declaration of Independence, 1776 • Patriots and Loyalists • Battles in the middle colonies • The French alliance, 1778 • Yorktown, 1781 • The Peace of Paris, 1783

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 159–160

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** A Revolution for Women? Abigail Adams Chides Her Husband, 1776 145

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Two Revolutions: French and American 156

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Whose Revolution? 158

8 The Confederation and the Constitution 1776–1790

161



Focus on AP® Success 161A

State constitutions and identities • The Articles of Confederation, 1781–1788 • The Northwest Ordinance, 1787 • Shays's Rebellion, 1786 • The Constitutional Convention, 1787 • Ratifying the Constitution, 1787–1790

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 182–183

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Quock Walker Case, 1783 163

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Debating the New Constitution 179

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** The Constitution: Revolutionary or Counterrevolutionary? 181

9 Launching the New Ship of State 1789–1800 184



Focus on AP® Success 184A

Problems of the young republic • The first presidency, 1789–1793 • The Bill of Rights, 1791 • Hamiltonian economic policies • Conflict in the West • The emergence of political parties • The shadow of the French Revolution • The Jay Treaty, 1794, and Washington's Farewell, 1797 • John Adams and the Alien and Sedition Acts • Federalists versus Republicans

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 206–207

★ **CONTENDING VOICES** Human Nature and the Nature of Government 191

★ **THINKING GLOBALLY** Two Revolutions 194

AP® Review Questions for Part Three 207A

Part Four Building the New Nation 1800–1860

208

10 The Triumphs and Travails of the Jeffersonian Republic 1800–1812 210



Focus on AP® Success 210A

The “Revolution of 1800” • The Jeffersonian Presidency • John Marshall and the Supreme Court • Barbary pirates • The Native American West and the Louisiana Purchase, 1803 • The Embargo, 1807–1809 • Tecumseh's dream of Native American solidarity • A Declaration of War with Britain

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 230–231

★ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** The Thomas Jefferson–Sally Hemings Controversy 213

★ **CONTENDING VOICES** War in 1812? 229

11 The War of 1812 and the Upsurge of Nationalism 1812–1824 232



Focus on AP® Success 232A

The invasion of Canada, 1812 • War on land and sea • The Treaty of Ghent, 1814 • The Hartford Convention, 1814–1815 and the death of the Federalist party • War and national identity • The Era of Good Feelings • The Missouri Compromise, 1820 • Marshall's Supreme Court • Oregon and Florida acquired • The Monroe Doctrine, 1823

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 251–252

★ **CONTENDING VOICES** Sizing Up the Monroe Doctrine 250

12 The Rise of a Mass Democracy 1824–1840

253



Focus on AP® Success 253A

The “corrupt bargain” and President John Quincy Adams • The “Five Civilized Tribes” of the Southeast • The triumph of Andrew Jackson, 1828 • The spoils system • The “Tariff of Abominations,” 1828 • The South Carolina nullification crisis, 1832–1833 • Indian removal • Jackson’s war on the Bank of the United States • The Whig party • Revolution in Texas • William Henry Harrison’s “log cabin” campaign, 1840 • Mass democracy and the two-party system

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 282–283

- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Taking the Measure of Andrew Jackson 258
- ✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** Alexis de Tocqueville on Democracy in America and Europe 260
- ✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Satiric Bank Note, 1837 271
- ✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** Mexican or Texican? 276
- ✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** What Was Jacksonian Democracy? 281

13 Forging the National Economy 1790–1860

284



Focus on AP® Success 284A

The westward movement • European immigration • The Irish and the Germans • Nativism and assimilation • The coming of the factory system • Industrial workers • Women and the economy • The ripening of commercial agriculture • The transportation revolution • A continental economy

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 311–312

- ✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Irish 290
- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Immigration, Pro and Con 293
- ✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** The Invention of the Sewing Machine 298

14 The Ferment of Reform and Culture 1790–1860

313



Focus on AP® Success 313A

Religious revivals • The Mormons • The creation of an education system • The roots of reform • Temperance • Women’s roles and women’s rights • Utopian experiments • Scientific progress • Artistic expressions • A national literature • Transcendentalism • Poets, novelists, and historians

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 340–341

- ✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Dress as Reform 325
- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** The Role of Women 326
- ✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Oneida Community 328
- ✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Reform: Who? What? How? and Why? 339

15 The South and Slavery 1793–1860

342



Focus on AP® Success 342A

Capitalism in the Cotton Kingdom • Southern social structure • Poor whites and free blacks • Life under slavery • Slave resistance • The abolitionist crusade • The white Southern response • Abolition and the Northern conscience

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 362–363

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Debating Slavery 354

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Bellegrave Plantation, Donaldsville, Louisiana, Built 1857 356

✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Struggle to Abolish Slavery 358

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** What Was the True Nature of Slavery? 361

AP® Review Questions for Part Four 363A

Part Five Testing the New Nation 1841–1877

364

16 Manifest Destiny and Its Legacy 1841–1848

366



Focus on AP® Success 366A

“Tyler too” becomes president • Negotiating the Maine boundary, 1842 • The annexation of Texas, 1845 • Oregon Fever • Manifest Destiny and James K. Polk, the “dark horse” of 1844 • War with Mexico, 1846–1848 • The Wilmot Proviso

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 383–384

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Warring over the Mexican War 378

✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Californios 380

17 Renewing the Sectional Struggle 1848–1854

385



Focus on AP® Success 385A

“Popular sovereignty” • California’s rush to statehood • The underground railroad • Sectional division and the Compromise of 1850 • The Fugitive Slave Law • Domestic and overseas expansion • Senator Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 402–403

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** The Compromise of 1850 396

18 Drifting Toward Disunion 1854–1861

404



Focus on AP® Success 404A

Uncle Tom's Cabin and the spread of abolitionist sentiment in the North • The contest for Kansas • The election of James Buchanan, 1856 • The Dred Scott case, 1857 • The Lincoln-Douglas debates, 1858 • John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, 1859 • Lincoln and Republican victory, 1860 • Secession

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 425–426

* EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 406

* CONTENDING VOICES Judging John Brown 416

* VARYING VIEWPOINTS The Civil War: Repressible or Irrepressible? 424

19 Girding for War: The North and the South 1861–1865

427



Focus on AP® Success 427A

The attack on Fort Sumter, April 1861 • The crucial border states • The balance of forces • Diplomacy and the specter of European intervention • Lincoln and civil liberties • Men in uniform • Financing the Blue and Gray • The economic impact of the war • Women and the war • The fate of the South

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 443–444

* CONTENDING VOICES War Aims: Emancipation or Union? 430

* MAKERS OF AMERICA Billy Yank and Johnny Reb 432

20 The Furnace of Civil War 1861–1865

445



Focus on AP® Success 445A

Bull Run ends the “ninety-day war” • The Peninsula Campaign • The war in the West • The North's naval advantage • Antietam, 1862 • The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863 • Black soldiers • Confederate high tide at Gettysburg, 1863 • Sherman marches through Georgia • Wartime politics • Appomattox, 1865 • The assassination of Lincoln, April 1865 • The legacy of war

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 471–472

* CONTENDING VOICES The Controversy over Emancipation 454

* EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address 459

* THINKING GLOBALLY The Era of Nationalism 468

* VARYING VIEWPOINTS What Were the Consequences of the Civil War? 470

21 The Ordeal of Reconstruction 1865–1877 473



Focus on AP® Success 473A

The defeated South • The freed slaves • President Andrew Johnson’s Reconstruction policies • The Black Codes • Congressional Reconstruction policies • Johnson clashes with Congress • Military Reconstruction, 1867–1877 • Freed people enter politics • “Black Reconstruction” and the Ku Klux Klan • The Colfax Massacre and the limits of Reconstruction • The impeachment of Andrew Johnson • The legacy of Reconstruction

- CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 492–493
- * EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Letter from a Freedman to His Old Master, 1865 476
- * CONTENDING VOICES Radical Republicans and Southern Democrats 481
- * VARYING VIEWPOINTS Did Reconstruction Fail? 492

AP® Review Questions for Part Five 493A

Part Six
Forging an Industrial Society
 1865–1900
 494

22 The Industrial Era Dawns 1865–1900 496



Focus on AP® Success 496A

The railroad boom • Speculators and financiers • Early efforts at government regulation • The Rise of Mass Production • Lords of industry • The gospel of wealth • Reining in the Trusts • Industry in the South • Widening inequality • The laboring classes • The rise of trade unions

- CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 522–523
- * CONTENDING VOICES Class and the Gilded Age 510
- * EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE The Photography of Lewis W. Hine 516
- * MAKERS OF AMERICA The Knights of Labor 518
- * VARYING VIEWPOINTS Industrialization: Boon or Blight? 522

23 Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age 1869–1896 524



Focus on AP® Success 524A

Ulysses S. Grant, soldier-president • Corruption and reform in the post-Civil War era • The depression of the 1870s • Political parties and partisans • The Compromise of 1877 and the end of Reconstruction • The emergence of Jim Crow • Class conflict and ethnic clashes

- CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 542–543
- * CONTENDING VOICES The Spoils System 535
- * MAKERS OF AMERICA The Chinese 536

24 America Moves to the City 1865–1900

544



Focus on AP® Success 544A

The rise of the city • The “New Immigrants” • Settlement houses, social workers, and political machines • Nativists and immigration restriction • Churches in the city • Evolution and education • Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois • The growth of higher education • The reading public • The “New Woman” and the new morality • Realism reshapes American literature, art, and architecture • The commercialization of popular entertainment

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 577–578

- * **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Italians 548
- * **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Manuscript Census Data, 1900 553
- * **CONTENDING VOICES** The New Immigration 556
- * **MAKERS OF AMERICA** Pioneering Pragmatists 566

25 The Conquest of the West 1865–1896

579



Focus on AP® Success 579A

Indians and whites on the plains • Contradictions and betrayals in Indian policy • The mining and cattle frontiers • Free lands and fraud • The great thirst in the arid West

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 599–600

- * **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Great Frontier 586
- * **CONTENDING VOICES** The Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre 588
- * **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Plains Indians 590
- * **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Robert Louis Stevenson’s Transcontinental Journey, 1879 597
- * **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Was the West Really “Won”? 598

26 Rumbles of Discontent 1865–1900

601



Focus on AP® Success 601A

The industrialization of agriculture • Farmers protest • Benjamin Harrison and the “Billion Dollar Congress” • Grover Cleveland, depression and discontent • Workers in revolt • Strikes at Homestead and Pullman • The Populists • Bryan versus McKinley, 1896

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 617

- * **CONTENDING VOICES** Populism and Anti-Populism 612
- * **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** The Populists: Radicals or Reactionaries? 616

AP® Review Questions for Part Six 617A

Part Seven

Struggling for Justice at Home and Abroad

1890–1945

618

27 Empire and Expansion 1890–1909 620



Focus on AP® Success 620A

The sources of American expansionism • The Hawaii question • The Spanish-American War, 1898 • The invasion of Cuba • Acquiring Puerto Rico (1898) and the Philippines (1899) • Crushing the Filipino insurrection • The Open Door in China • Theodore Roosevelt becomes president, 1901 • The Panama Canal • Roosevelt on the world stage

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 646–648

- ★ **CONTENDING VOICES** Debating Imperialism 630
- ★ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Puerto Ricans 632
- ★ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Filipinos 638
- ★ **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Age of Empire 642
- ★ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Why Did America Become a Colonial Power? 646

28 Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt 1901–1912 649



Focus on AP® Success 649A

Campaigning against social injustice • The muckrakers • The politics of progressivism • Women battle for reforms and against the saloon • Roosevelt, labor, and the trusts • Racial tensions • Safeguarding consumers • Protecting the environment • Roosevelt's legacy • The troubled presidency of William Howard Taft • Taft's "dollar diplomacy" • Roosevelt breaks with Taft • The election of 1912: The New Freedom versus the New Nationalism

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 673–674

- ★ **CONTENDING VOICES** Debating the Muckrakers 651
- ★ **THINKING GLOBALLY** "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" 654
- ★ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** *Muller v. Oregon*, 1908 659
- ★ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Environmentalists 664
- ★ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Who Were the Progressives? 673

29 Wilsonian Progressivism in Peace and War 1913–1920

675



Focus on AP® Success 675A

Wilson the idealist • Tackling the tariff, the banks, and the trusts • Wilson's diplomacy in the Western Hemisphere • War in Europe and American neutrality • The reelection of Wilson, 1916 • America goes to war, 1917 • Wilsonian idealism and the Fourteen Points • Propaganda and civil liberties • Workers, blacks, and women on the home front • The United States fights in France • Peacemaking at Paris and the League of Nations • The Senate rejects the Versailles Treaty

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 703–704

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Battle of the Ballot 692

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** “Mademoiselle from Armentières” 695

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Woodrow Wilson: Realist or Idealist? 702

30 American Life in the “Roaring Twenties” 1920–1932

705



Focus on AP® Success 705A

The emergence of a mass-consumption economy • The automobile era • Radio and the movies • The Jazz Age • The “red scare” • The KKK returns • Immigration restriction, 1921–1924 • Prohibition and gangsterism • The Scopes trial • The stench of scandal • Herbert Hoover, cautious progressive • The Great Crash of 1929 • Hoover battles the Great Depression • Aggression in Asia • “Good Neighbors” in Latin America

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 740–742

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** The Jazz Singer, 1927 709

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** All That Jazz 711

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Lampooning Hoover, 1932 737

31 The Great Depression and the New Deal 1933–1939

743



Focus on AP® Success 743A

Franklin D. Roosevelt as president • The Hundred Days Congress, 1933 • Relief, recovery, and reform • Depression demagogues • Women in public life • The National Recovery Administration • Aid for agriculture • The dust bowl and the Tennessee Valley Authority • Housing and Social Security • A new deal for labor • The election of 1936 • The Supreme Court fight, 1937 • The New Deal assessed

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 768–769

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** The New Deal at High Tide 763

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** How Radical Was the New Deal? 767

32 Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War 1933–1941 770



Focus on AP® Success 770A

Roosevelt's early foreign policies • German, Japanese, and Italian aggression • The Neutrality Acts • The Spanish Civil War • Isolation and appeasement • The horrors of the Holocaust • France falls and Britain totters • FDR's historic third term • The Lend-Lease Act and the Atlantic Charter, 1941 • The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 788–789

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** To Intervene or Not to Intervene 778

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Public-Opinion Polling in the 1930s 779

33 America in World War II 1941–1945 790



Focus on AP® Success 790A

The shock of war • The internment of Japanese Americans • Mobilizing the economy • Women in wartime • The war's effect on African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans • The economic impact of war • Turning the Japanese tide in the Pacific • Campaigns in North Africa (1942) and Italy (1943) • "D-Day" in Normandy (France), June 6, 1944 • Germany surrenders, May 1945 • The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 1945 • V-J Day, August 15, 1945

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 818–819

✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Japanese 794

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** War and the Color Line 798

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Franklin Roosevelt at Tehran, 1943 809

✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** America and the World in Depression and War: A Study in Contrasts 814

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** The Atomic Bombs: Were They Justified? 817

AP® Review Questions for Part Seven 819A

Part Eight

Making an American Superpower

1945–1980

820

34 The Cold War Begins 1945–1952

822



Focus on AP® Success 822A

Harry S. Truman as president • Origins of the Cold War • The United Nations and the postwar world • Communism and containment • The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO • Domestic anticommunism and the menace of McCarthyism • The Korean War, 1950–1953 • Domestic policy in the Truman years • Postwar prosperity • The “Sunbelt” and the suburbs • Homeowners and “Redlining” • The postwar baby boom

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 851–852

- * **CONTENDING VOICES** Debating the Cold War 829
- * **MAKERS OF AMERICA** Scientists and Engineers 834
- * **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Suburbanites 846
- * **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Government Policy and Homeownership 848
- * **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Who Was to Blame for the Cold War? 850

35 American Zenith 1952–1963

853



Focus on AP® Success 853A

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- * **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Beat Generation 874