

# Growing Division and Reform

## Guide to Reading

### Connection

In the previous section, you learned how changes in politics, territory, and production methods changed the United States. In this section, you will discover how growing sectional disputes affected the nation and how reformers sought to improve society.

### Main Idea

- Sectionalism increased after the War of 1812, while voting rights expanded for American citizens. (p. 183)
- The Second Great Awakening brought an era of reform. (p. 186)

### Preview of Events



### Content Vocabulary

spoils system, caucus, secede, nullification, temperance, abolition, emancipation

### Academic Vocabulary

item, academic

### People and Terms to Identify

Missouri Compromise, John C. Calhoun, Trail of Tears, Whig, Second Great Awakening, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frederick Douglass

### Places to Locate

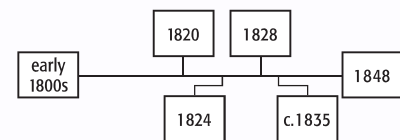
Missouri, Seneca Falls

### Reading Objectives

- **Discuss** the issues surrounding the Missouri Compromise.
- **Explain** the goals of the temperance movement, the women's movement, and the abolition movement.

### Reading Strategy

**Sequencing** As you read about growing division and reform in the early 1800s, complete a time line similar to the one below to record key events.



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

**11.1.3** Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

**11.3.1** Describe the contributions of various religious groups to American civic principles and social reform movements (e.g., civil and human rights, individual responsibility and the work ethic, anti-monarchy and self-rule, worker protection, family-centered communities).

**11.3.2** Analyze the great religious revivals and the leaders involved in them, including the First Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening, the Civil War revivals, the Social Gospel Movement, the rise of Christian liberal theology in the nineteenth century, the impact of the Second Vatican Council, and the rise of Christian fundamentalism in current times.

**11.3.3** Cite incidences of religious intolerance in the United States (e.g., persecution of Mormons, anti-Catholic sentiment, anti-Semitism).

## The Big Idea

**Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs can lead to division within a nation.** Sectional differences increased as new states joined the Union and issues over slavery continued to divide free and slave states. Adding to the tensions, South Carolina threatened to leave the Union over high tariffs that raised the price of needed goods. President Jackson initiated the effort to move Native Americans west. Many protested his decision to dissolve the Second Bank of the United States. In response, a new party, the Whigs, organized. During this time, reformers began to work to improve society. Religious reformers focused on reviving Americans' commitment to religion in what became known as the Second Great Awakening. Social reformers were involved in different reform efforts focusing on women's rights, educational reform, and the abolition of slavery.

**11.10.7** Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the nineteenth Amendment to the

movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

## The Resurgence of Sectionalism

**Main Idea** Sectionalism increased after the War of 1812, while voting rights expanded for American citizens.

**Reading Connection** What do you see as the defining characteristics of your state and region? Read on to learn why conflicts between different sections of the United States arose in the early and mid-1800s.

The Louisiana Purchase and improved transportation spurred new settlement in the West. Soon some of the territories grew large enough to apply for statehood.

### ★ An American Story ★

As May approached in 1820, Thomas Jefferson should have been enjoying his retirement from public life. Instead, a bitter political controversy had him feeling deeply troubled. After more than a year of debate, Congress had finally crafted a plan to allow the Missouri Territory to enter the Union as a slave state while Maine came in as a free state. This arrangement preserved the delicate balance in the number of free and slave states. The arrangement, known as the Missouri Compromise, highlighted the growing dispute over slavery's expansion into the Western territories—a dispute that Jefferson feared could tear the nation apart:

“This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell [funeral bell] of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence.”

—quoted in *The Annals of America*

The matter of statehood for Missouri stirred up passionate disagreements. Increasingly, sectional disputes came to divide Americans.

**The Missouri Compromise** In 1819 the Union consisted of 11 free and 11 slave states. Admitting any new state, either slave or free, would upset the balance of political power in the Senate. Many Northerners opposed extending slavery into the western territories because they believed that human bondage was morally wrong. The South feared that if

slavery could not expand, new free states would eventually give the North enough votes in the Senate to outlaw slaveholding.

Missouri's territorial government requested admission into the Union as a slave state in 1819. The next year, Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, sought statehood. The Senate voted to admit Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The Senate added an amendment to prohibit slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of Missouri's southern boundary. Southerners agreed, viewing this Northern region as unsuitable for farming anyway.

Henry Clay carefully steered the Missouri Compromise through the House of Representatives, which passed it by a close vote in March 1820. The next year, Missouri became the twenty-fourth state, and the Missouri Compromise temporarily settled the dispute over the westward expansion of slavery. Like Jefferson, however, many leaders feared more trouble ahead.

**A Disputed Election** Although the Republicans remained the only official political party, sectionalism was strong in the election campaign of 1824. On Election Day, four Republicans ran for president. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee led in the popular vote and in the Electoral College, but he did not win the necessary majority of electoral votes. In accordance with constitutional procedure, the decision went to the House of Representatives, whose members would select the president from the top three with the most votes.

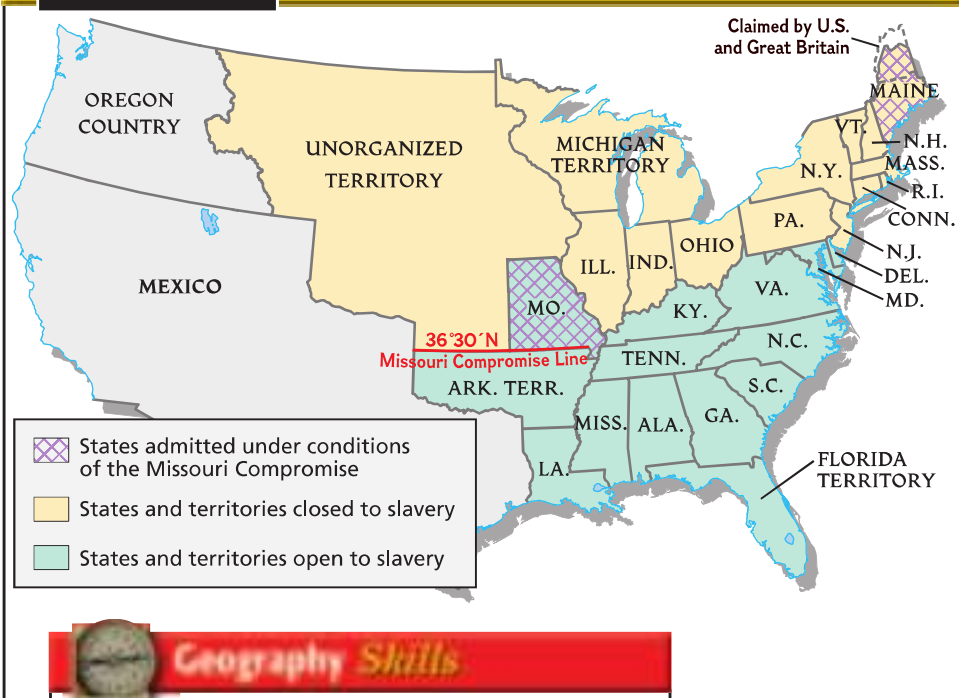
Henry Clay of Kentucky, who had placed fourth, was eliminated. As the Speaker of the House, Clay enjoyed tremendous influence, and he threw his support to John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. On February 9, 1825, Adams won the House election easily, with 13 votes to Jackson's 7 and William Crawford's 4.

Upon taking office, the new president named Clay as his secretary of state. Jackson's supporters immediately accused the pair of striking a “corrupt bargain,” whereby Clay had secured votes for Adams in return for a cabinet post. Adams and Clay denied



▲ Thomas Jefferson

## The Missouri Compromise, 1820



The campaign that year pitted John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson, who believed that the presidency had been unjustly denied him four years earlier. The candidates resorted to mudslinging, attacking each other's personalities and morals. When the results came in, Jackson had 56 percent of the popular vote and 178 of the 261 electoral votes, a clear victory. Much of his support came from the West and South, where rural and small-town residents, many voting for the first time, saw Jackson as the candidate most likely to represent their interests.

As president, Jackson actively tried to make the government more inclusive. In an effort to strengthen democracy,

he vigorously utilized the **spoils system**, the practice of appointing people to government jobs based on party loyalty and support. In his view, he was getting rid of a permanent office-holding class and opening up the government to more ordinary citizens.

Jackson's supporters also moved to make the political system—specifically, the way in which presidential candidates were chosen—more democratic. At that time, political parties used the caucus system to select presidential candidates. The members of the party who served in Congress would hold a closed meeting, or **caucus**, to choose the party's nominee. Jackson's supporters believed that such a method restricted access to office to mainly the elite and well connected. The Jacksonians replaced the caucus with the national nominating convention, where delegates from the states gathered to decide on the party's presidential nominee.

**The Nullification Crisis** Jackson had not been in office long before he had to focus on a national crisis. It centered on South Carolina but highlighted the growing rift between the nation's northern and southern regions.

During the early 1800s, South Carolina's economy had been growing increasingly weak. Many residents blamed their troubles on the nation's tariffs. With little state industry, South Carolina purchased many of its manufactured goods from England. Tariffs made



### Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** The Missouri Compromise allowed which two states to enter the Union?
- Applying Geography Skills** Why did the South readily agree to making slavery illegal in the unorganized Louisiana Territory?

any wrongdoing, and no evidence of a deal ever emerged. Still, Jackson's outraged supporters decided to break with the faction of the party allied with Adams. The Jacksonians called themselves Democratic Republicans, later shortened to Democrats. Adams and his followers became known as National Republicans.

**A New Era in Politics** Throughout the first decades of the 1800s, hundreds of thousands of white males gained the right to vote. This was largely because many states lowered or eliminated property ownership as a voting qualification. They did so partly to reflect the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the social equality of frontier life. In addition, as cities and towns grew, the percentage of working people who did not own property increased. These people paid taxes and had an interest in the political affairs of their communities, and so they wanted a say in electing those who represented them. The expansion of voting rights was very much in evidence by 1828. That year, more than 1.13 million citizens voted for president, compared with about 355,000 in 1824.

these **items** extremely expensive. When Congress levied a new tariff in 1828—which critics called the Tariff of Abominations—many South Carolinians threatened to **secede**, or withdraw, from the Union.

The growing turmoil particularly troubled Vice President **John C. Calhoun**, who was from South Carolina. To pave the way for his home state to legally resist the tariff, Calhoun had put forth the idea of **nullification** in 1828. He argued that because the states had created the federal union, they had the right to declare a federal law null, or not valid.

The issue of nullification intensified in January 1830, when Senators Robert Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts confronted each other on the Senate floor. Hayne, asserting that the Union was no more than a voluntary association of states, advocated “liberty first and Union afterward.” Webster, perhaps the greatest orator of his day, countered that neither liberty nor the Union could survive without binding federal laws. He ended his speech with a stirring call: “Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!”

The war of words erupted into an explosive situation in 1832 when Congress passed yet another tariff law. South Carolinians stepped up their call for secession, while a special session of the state legislature voted to nullify the law. President Jackson considered nullification an act of treason and sent a warship to Charleston. As tensions rose, Senator Henry Clay managed to defuse the crisis. At Clay’s insistence, Congress passed a bill that would lower tariffs gradually until 1842. South Carolina then repealed its nullification of the tariff law.

**Native American Removal** Slavery remained a divisive question, but President Jackson decided to focus on other matters, including Native Americans. Although Jackson wanted to ensure the survival of Native American peoples, he accelerated an effort that had been going on for years—moving them out of the way of white settlers. In 1830 Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, which helped the states relocate Native Americans to largely uninhabited regions west of the Mississippi River.

The Cherokee in Georgia fought back by appealing to the Supreme Court, hoping that their territorial rights would be legally recognized. Chief Justice Marshall supported the Cherokees’ right to control their land in two decisions, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). Jackson refused to carry out the Court’s decision. “Marshall has made his opinion,” the president reportedly said, “now let him enforce it.” 📖 (See page 1007 for more information on *Worcester v. Georgia*.)

In 1838 Martin Van Buren, Jackson’s successor, sent in the army to forcibly move the Cherokee. Roughly 2,000 Cherokee died in camps while waiting for the westward march to begin. On the journey, known to the Cherokee as the **Trail of Tears**, about 2,000 others died of starvation, disease, and exposure.

Missionary-minded religious groups and a few members of Congress, like Henry Clay, declared that Jackson’s policies toward Native Americans stained the nation’s honor. Most citizens, however, supported them. By 1838 the majority of Native Americans still living east of the Mississippi had been forced onto government reservations.

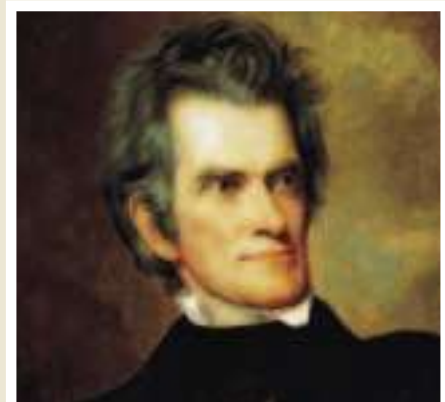
## Profiles IN HISTORY

### John C. Calhoun

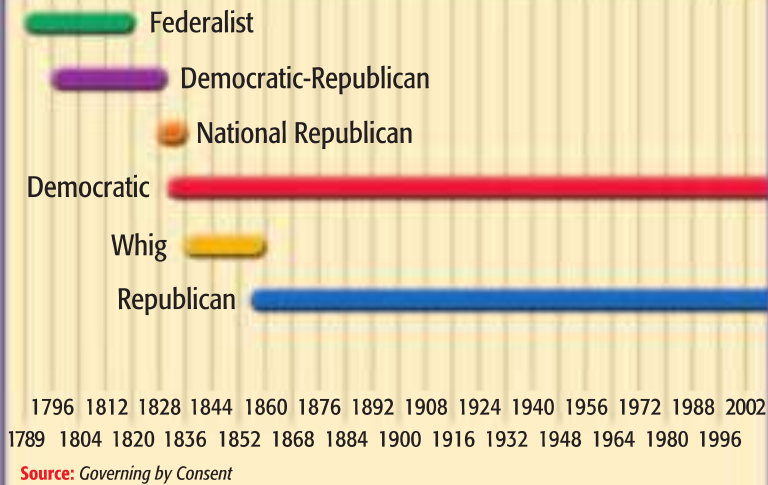
1782-1850

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina had a great impact on the history of the United States. As an influential member of Congress, he had urged war with Great Britain in 1812. He also was an ardent nationalist in his early career. After the War of 1812, Calhoun helped introduce congressional bills for a new Bank of the United States, a permanent

road system to bind the nation together, and a tariff to protect the nation’s industries. In the 1830s Calhoun abandoned his nationalist stance in favor of states’ rights and sectional interests. Fearing that the North intended to dominate the South, Calhoun spent the rest of his career trying to prevent the federal government from weakening states’ rights and from interfering with the Southern way of life.



## Major American Political Parties Since 1789



### Graph Skills

- Interpreting Graphs** What party shown had the shortest life span?
- Comparing** How long have Republicans and Democrats been major political rivals?

**A New Party Emerges** President Jackson also decided to dismantle the Second Bank of the United States. He resented the power that its wealthy stockholders exercised. Jackson vetoed a bill that would have extended the Bank's charter for 20 years. Then, by withdrawing the government's deposits, he forced the Bank to end.

By the mid-1830s, those who criticized Jackson's decision had formed a new political party, the **Whigs**. Led by former National Republicans like Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster, the Whigs wanted to expand the federal government, encourage industrial and commercial development, and create a centralized economy. Such policies differed from those of the Democrats, who favored a limited federal government. The Whigs ran three candidates for president in the election of 1836. Jackson's continuing popularity, however, helped assure victory for his handpicked successor, Democrat Martin Van Buren.

Shortly after Van Buren took office, a crippling economic crisis hit the nation. The roots of the crisis stretched back to the end of Jackson's term, a period in which investment in roads, canals, and railroads boomed, prompting a wave of land speculation and bank lending. This heavy spending pushed up inflation, which Jackson feared eventually would render the nation's paper currency worthless. Just before

leaving office, therefore, Jackson issued the Specie Circular, which ordered that all payments for public lands must be made in the form of silver or gold.

Jackson's directive set off the Panic of 1837. With easy paper credit no longer available, land sales plummeted and economic growth slowed. In addition, the National Bank, which could have helped stabilize the economy, no longer existed. As a result, many banks and businesses failed and thousands of farmers lost their land through foreclosures. Van Buren, a firm believer in his party's philosophy of limited federal government, did little to ease the crisis.

With Van Buren clearly vulnerable, the Whigs easily won the 1840 election by nominating General William Henry Harrison, a hero of the battle against Native Americans at Tippecanoe in 1811. Harrison, who spoke at his inauguration for two hours in bitter cold without coat or hat, died one month later of pneumonia. Vice President John Tyler, a Southerner and former Democrat who had left his party in protest over the nullification issue, then took over.

Tyler's ascendancy to the presidency dismayed Whig leaders. Tyler sided with the Democrats on numerous key issues, refusing to support a higher tariff or a new national bank. The new president did win praise, however, for the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which established a firm boundary between the United States and Canada.

**Reading Check** **Summarizing** What caused the nullification crisis?

## The Reform Spirit

**Main Idea** The Second Great Awakening brought an era of reform.

**Reading Connection** Identify a local, national, or world issue that you believe citizens and lawmakers need to address. Why is this issue important to you? Read on to find out about the issues that attracted the attention of reformers during the mid-1800s.

During the mid-1800s, many citizens worked to reform various aspects of American society. The reform movement stemmed in large part from a revival of religion that began at the turn of the century.

**The Second Great Awakening** Many church leaders sensed that the growth of scientific knowledge and rationalism were challenging the doctrine of faith. In the early 1800s, religious leaders organized to revive Americans' commitment to religion. The resulting movement came to be called the **Second Great Awakening**. Various Protestant denominations—most often the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians—held camp meetings where thousands of followers sang, prayed, and participated in emotional outpourings of faith. One of the most successful ministers was Charles G. Finney, a former lawyer. Using some methods he learned in court, Finney pioneered many methods of revivalism evangelists still use today.

As membership in many Protestant churches swelled, other religious groups also flourished. Among them were Unitarianism, Universalism, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose followers are commonly known as Mormons. Joseph Smith began preaching the Mormon faith in New York in the 1820s. After enduring much harassment in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and elsewhere, Mormons across the Midwest moved to Illinois. There the group prospered, and their settlement of Nauvoo grew to about 15,000 in 1844. Persecution continued, however, and following the murder of Joseph Smith, the Mormons headed west, finally putting down permanent roots in the Utah Territory.

Revivalists preached the power of individuals to improve themselves and the world. Lyman Beecher, one of the nation's most prominent Presbyterian ministers, insisted that the nation's citizenry, more than its government, was responsible for building a better society.

Associations known as benevolent societies sprang up in cities and towns across the country. At first, they focused on spreading the word of God and attempting to convert nonbelievers. Soon, they sought to combat a number of social problems. One of the most striking features of the reform effort was the overwhelming presence of women. Young women in particular had joined the revivalist movement in much larger numbers than men. One reason was that many unmarried women with uncertain futures discovered in religion a foundation on which to build their lives. As more women turned to the church, many of them also joined religious-based reform groups.

**Social Reform** The optimism and emphasis on the individual found in religion gave rise to dozens of utopian communities in which people wanted to find a better life. While only a few chose that path, many more attempted to reform society instead. A number of these reformers, many of them women, argued that no social vice caused more crime, poverty, or family damage than the excessive use of alcohol.

Although advocates of **temperance**, or moderation in the consumption of alcohol, had been active since the late 1700s, the new reformers energized the campaign. Temperance groups formed across the country, preaching the evils of alcohol and urging heavy drinkers to give up liquor. In 1833 a number of groups formed a national organization, the American Temperance Union, to strengthen the movement.

While persuading people not to drink, temperance societies pushed to halt the sale of liquor. In 1851 Maine passed the first state prohibition law, an example a dozen other states followed by 1855. Other states passed "local option" laws, which allowed towns and villages to prohibit liquor sales within their boundaries.

Other reformers focused on prisons and education. Around 1816 many states began replacing overcrowded prisons with new penitentiaries where prisoners were to be rehabilitated rather than simply

### History Through Art

**Religious Zeal** J. Maze Burban's *Religious Camp Meeting* shows a charismatic preacher reaching many in the audience. [From studying the image, can you suggest other reasons people might want to attend?](#)




locked up. States also began funding schools in which students would become better-educated workers and voters.

**The Women’s Movement** Since women had no vote in the 1800s and did not need to become educated voters, they were largely left out of the education reform. In addition, with the rise of factories and other work centers in the 1800s, men left home to go to work, while women tended the house and children.

Most people believed the home was the proper place for women, partly because the outside world was seen as dangerous and partly because of the era’s ideas about the family. For many parents, raising children was treated as a solemn responsibility because it prepared young people for a proper Christian life. Women were viewed as better able to serve as models of piety and virtue for their families. At that time, most women did not feel that their role in life was too limited. Instead, the era’s ideas implied that wives were partners with their husbands, and, in some ways, morally superior.

Nonetheless, a number of women took advantage of the reform movement to create more educational opportunities for girls and women. The early 1800s saw the funding of schools for girls that taught **academic** subjects. In 1837 the first higher education institution for women, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts, opened.

The idea that women had an important role in building a virtuous home was soon expanded to society. As women became involved in reform movements, some argued for the right to promote their ideas. In 1848 activists Lucretia Mott and **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** organized the **Seneca Falls** Convention in New York. This gathering of women reformers marked the beginning of an organized woman’s movement. The convention issued the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, better known as the Seneca Falls Declaration. It began with words expanding the Declaration of Independence: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal. . . .”  (See page 994 for more information on the Seneca Falls Declaration.)

Although Stanton shocked the women present when she proposed a focus on suffrage, or the right to vote, the convention narrowly passed her proposal. Throughout the 1850s, women organized conventions to promote greater rights for themselves.

**The Abolitionist Movement** Of all the reform movements that began in the early 1800s, the movement calling for **abolition**, or the immediate end to

slavery, was the most divisive. By pitting North against South, it polarized the nation and helped bring about the Civil War.

Opposition to slavery in the United States had actually begun as early as the Revolutionary War era. Quakers and Baptists in the North and South agreed not to enslave people, viewing the practice as a sin that corrupted both slaveholder and slave. In Virginia in 1789, the Baptists recommended “every legal measure to [wipe out] this horrid evil from the land.”

One notable antislavery effort in the early 1800s was the formation of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in December 1816. This group, supported by such prominent figures as President James Monroe and Chief Justice John Marshall, encouraged African Americans to resettle in Africa. The privately funded ACS chartered ships and helped relocate between 12,000 and 20,000 African Americans along the west coast of Africa in what became the nation of Liberia. Still, there were more than 1.5 million enslaved persons in the United States in 1820. Many of them, already two or three generations removed from Africa, strongly objected to the idea of resettlement.

The antislavery movement gained new momentum in the 1830s, thanks largely to William Lloyd Garrison. In his newspaper, the *Liberator*, Garrison called for the immediate **emancipation**, or freeing, of enslaved persons. Garrison attracted enough followers to found the New England Antislavery Society in 1832 and the American Antislavery Society in 1833.

Many women also gave their efforts to the abolitionist cause. Prudence Crandall worked as a teacher and abolitionist in Connecticut. Lucretia Mott also spoke out in favor of abolition. Some Southern women, such as the South Carolina sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké, also joined the crusade.

**African American Abolitionists** Not surprisingly, free African Americans took a prominent role in the abolitionist movement. The most famous was **Frederick Douglass**, who had escaped from slavery in Maryland. He published his own antislavery newspaper, the *North Star*, and an autobiography. Another important African American abolitionist was Sojourner Truth. She gained freedom in 1827 when New York freed all remaining enslaved persons in the state. In the 1840s her eloquent and deeply religious antislavery speeches attracted huge crowds.

While many Northerners disapproved of slavery, some objected to abolitionism even more. They regarded the movement as a dangerous threat to the existing social system. Some whites, including many prominent businesspeople, warned that it would

produce a destructive war between the North and the South. Others feared it might bring a great influx of freed African Americans to the North, overwhelming the labor and housing markets. Many Northerners also had no desire to see the South's economy crumble. If that happened, they might lose the huge sums Southern planters owed to Northern banks as well as the Southern cotton that fed Northern textile mills.

To most Southerners, slavery was a "peculiar institution," one that was distinctive and vital to the Southern way of life. The South had remained mostly agricultural, becoming increasingly tied to cotton and the enslaved people who planted and picked it. Southerners responded to the growing attacks against slavery by vehemently defending the institution. South Carolina's governor called it a "national benefit," while Thomas Dew, a leading academic of the South, claimed that most slaves had no desire for freedom, as they enjoyed a close and beneficial relationship with their slaveholders. "We have no hesitation in affirming," he declared, "that . . . the slaves of good [slaveholders] are his warmest, most constant, and most devoted friends."

In 1831, when a slave rebellion left more than 50 white Virginians dead, Southerners were outraged. They cracked down on slaves throughout the region and railed against the North. Further, they demanded the suppression of abolitionist material as a condition for remaining in the Union. Southern postal workers refused to deliver abolitionist newspapers. In 1836, under Southern pressure, the House of Representatives passed a "gag rule" providing that all abolitionist petitions be shelved without debate.



▲ Frederick Douglass (center left) attending an abolitionist rally in Cazenovia, New York, in August 1850

Such measures did not deter the foes of slavery. Although the abolitionist movement was still relatively small, it continued to cause an uproar, and the North-South split continued to widen.

**Reading Check** **Comparing** How did Northerners' views on abolition differ from those of Southerners?

**HISTORY**  **Study Central**  
*Online*

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Study Central**.

**SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

- Vocabulary** Define: spoils system, caucus, item, secede, nullification, temperance, academic, abolition, emancipation.
- People and Terms** Identify: Missouri Compromise, John C. Calhoun, Trail of Tears, Whig, Second Great Awakening, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frederick Douglass.
- Places** Locate: Missouri, Seneca Falls.
- Describe** the changes President Jackson instituted in order to make government more inclusive and democratic.

**Reviewing Big Ideas**

- Explaining** What were the issues behind the Missouri Compromise?

**Critical Thinking**

- Historical Analysis** **Understanding Change** How did the Second Great Awakening affect the reform spirit of the mid-1800s? **CA HI.2**
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify key facts about the political parties active in the 1830s.

Party	Leaders	Policies
Democrats		
Whigs		

**Analyzing Visuals**

- Examining Art** Study the painting on page 187 of the camp meeting. What elements of the image suggest that the revival attracted many working-class people?

**Writing About History**

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are active in one of the reform movements of the early 1800s. Write a speech to persuade others to support your cause. Make sure you clearly describe your cause and include at least three reasons why others should support it. **CA 11WS.1**