Defending Lincoln—And Discovering Him

Those who slander Abraham Lincoln these days—apologists for the old slaveholders and the new “shareholders”—have been patiently, thoroughly debunked and dismantled by William Lee Miller’s new book.

Miller explores Lincoln’s life and work prior to his Presidency, to demonstrate his consistent fight against racism. With good dry humor and an unobtrusive informal style, Miller shows Lincoln’s very calculating steps to get the power he needed to advance society for all Americans.

Lincoln’s Virtues is a companion to Miller’s excellent Arguing About Slavery: John Quincy Adams and the Great Battle in the United States Congress. Here we see Lincoln exploding into action against the threat that slavery would spread and destroy the nation, rather than die as an institution confined to the Old South. Miller shows Lincoln’s constant focus on slavery’s moral wrong; and his many-years-long hunting, perhaps even political “stalking,” of Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas, whose Kansas-Nebraska Act opened the gates to the universal spread of slavery.

Douglas used race-baiting as his main debating weapon, while Lincoln educated audiences to see their own racist attitudes as a recent historical degradation of popular opinion. Lincoln reminded them that only five years earlier, no one would have thought to say what Douglas and his ilk now preached—that only whites were meant by the “all men are created equal” of America’s Declaration of Independence.

Miller uses no rare texts, only sources available to all researchers. Thus, by contrast with his work, those who now call Lincoln a racist, or tear words out of context to claim he didn’t oppose slavery, are proven to be utterly disrespectful of truth.

Lincoln’s True Identity

But, although he deeply admires Lincoln, in an important sense Miller does not understand Lincoln’s identity. This flaw appears jarringly: Miller rebukes Lincoln for initiatives whose purpose and importance he simply does not recognize.

From 1858 into 1860, Lincoln gave different versions of an address on “Discoveries and Inventions.” Miller scorns that speech, calling it a failure, and boring.

It was Lincoln’s own favorite speech, on the score of repetition. He showed the essential difference between man and all other living creatures: that while beavers and ants work hard and effectively, their labor is always the same as that of their grandparents. But man, through creative problem-solving, discovers and invents the means to change and improve his own labor. Cognition, and resulting progress, mark mankind as a unique species.

Miller’s contempt for this speech is a serious blunder. It contains the core of Lincoln’s ideas on the race issue. In it, Lincoln shows scientifically man’s elevated and dignified species-nature, and thus the nature of all men, equally.

More deeply, this is Lincoln’s personal identification with a very specific turn of mind—the humanist republican, a Western tradition originating with Plato’s Athens.
The Fifteenth-century Golden Renaissance, reviving Plato, gave the world the revolutionary idea of the modern nation-state republic. This Renaissance invention was finally realized in a durable form in the American Revolution; and Abraham Lincoln, reviving the American Founders’ ideals, saw himself a colleague of these humanist fighters across the ages.

Hints of this appear in the Miller biography, but the author never pulls them together to get at the core of Lincoln’s moral philosophy.

Moral Philosophy

For example, Mary Lincoln is quoted, that while her husband was not a “technical Christian,” “he was a religious man always,” and he had a “kind of poetry in his nature.” Miller says Lincoln “liked and memorized and recited poems of Robert Burns that puncture the pretensions of religious folk.” He uses these tidbits defending Lincoln from Fundamentalists’ charges of irreligion; but Lincoln’s Christianity is a universe above those gnostic hypocrites.

Or, Miller quotes from the Discoveries speech, on the invention of printing: most “men . . . were utterly unconscious, that their conditions, or their minds were capable of improvement. They not only looked upon the educated few as superior beings; but they supposed themselves to be naturally incapable of rising to equality. To emancipate [sic] the mind from this false and under estimate of itself, is the great task which printing came into the world to perform.”

Miller says Lincoln himself must have “been, when a boy, a supreme example of his point that by much reading of printed books, by joining in a conversation across the years and across the ocean with minds of distinction, he could acquire confidence in his own powers . . . . [T]hat would be a key to all his accomplishments.”

But unstated is Lincoln’s commitment to use the power of the nation, and its self-government, to create education—and high living standards, which are necessary to stimulate the minds and give power to the people of the country. Lincoln’s Renaissance passion for improvement is his national mission.

Economic Development

Miller vaguely defines the “ideological reasons” for Lincoln’s politics: “his agreeing with the Whig program of economic development; his sharing in the aspiring, improving, intellectualizing, even moralizing element in Whig culture; and his vibrating in tune with Whig nationalism and devotion to the Union.”

But how do these elements make a coherent philosophy? And who are its opponents, the enemies of economic development, improvement, intellect, morality, nationalism, and the Union?

All American politics were defined by the strategic-level fight between humanist nationalists such as Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Lincoln, versus soulless, British Empire-aligned, anti-nationalist operatives such as Aaron Burr, Martin van Buren, and August Belmont. There is no reference in the Miller biography to the nationalist conceptions of Henry Clay, Lincoln’s mentor, and no mention of Mathew Carey or his son Henry C. Carey, whose economic writings defined Lincoln’s program throughout his career.

So, Miller has no conception of what Lincoln meant in the speech of Dec. 26, 1839, attacking Democratic President van Buren and his faction as a “volcano of corruption,” who had destroyed the Bank of the United States in order to turn over the nation’s credit and banking powers to private swindlers. He said the nation’s liberties were at stake, and he would be willing to die rather than to surrender to this corruption.

Miller dismisses Lincoln’s fire, in the matter of the Bank, as “melodramatic,” “morbid,” “disproportionate” and “goofy.” But Lincoln knew what was at stake, and it is what is still at stake today. Rule by private bankers and slaveowners would perpetuate the crushing colonial backwardness of the plantation system, and sink the nation.

Van Buren was voted out in a landslide in 1840, and Lincoln’s Whig Party prepared to implement a new National Bank. But the new Whig President died suddenly and mysteriously, after only one month in office. Vice President John Tyler, a nominal Whig from Virginia, succeeded to the Presidency, betrayed the Whig program, and vetoed the national bank. Tyler’s political sponsors would more and more openly attempt to destroy the United States in the years to come.

Imperial Betrayal

Later, as a Congressman, Lincoln demanded evidence from President James K. Polk that Mexico had really invaded the U.S. to start the Mexican War; he embarrassed the lying President.

Biographer Miller condemns Lincoln’s 1848 Spot Resolutions, aimed at Polk, as a nasty, personal, and unnecessary attack against the dignity of the President. But there is rather direct evidence that Lincoln knew what Miller has not really attempted to understand. Miller quotes from Lincoln’s Autobiographical sketch (written 1860), on the issue of the Mexican War: “[T]he act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans, was unnecessary, insasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting, or menacing the U.S. or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President.”

Miller stops there, omitting the sentence ending the quoted paragraph (where Lincoln is speaking of himself in the third person): “He thought the principal motive for the act, was to divert public attention from the surrender of Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight” to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary question.”

This refers to the swindle by Polk—whose election, Lincoln’s Whig Party charged, was financed by British free-traders: Polk gave the British Empire control of the Pacific Northwest above what is now Washington State, in exchange for British backing for the slaveowner-led U.S.A. to invade our neighbor republic to the south.

Lincoln’s passion, and his blunt speaking on imperial betrayal of America’s mission, shows us the heart of his politics, and the heritage which we must today reclaim.

—Anton Chaikin