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# “Uncle Sam is to be Sacrificed”: Anglophobia in Late Nineteenth-Century Politics and Culture

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## Abstract

The language of Anglophobia has been widely accepted as the coin of American politics throughout the nineteenth century. However, the grand narrative of Anglo-American rapprochement in the final quarter of the century has diverted attention away from the many forms and purposes bestowed upon Anglophobia. The discourse of Anglophobia fits hand in glove within debates regarding American nationality and citizenship. For this reason a variety of ethnic, social, and political groups deployed anti-English sentiments for the purposes of mobilizing the electorate and as a surrogate for attacking other social and economic elites. What follows is an examination of the panoply of Anglophobias that existed in Gilded Age America. Utilizing its protean and malleable nature, Anglophobia was a lens through which Americans refracted,

reformulated, and refined the concepts of national identity, domestic policy, and American interests abroad.

Keywords:

Anglophobia Britain Anglo-American relations Gilded Age

## Notes

1. Smith, "Hatred of England," 547.
2. Higginson et al., "Do Americans Hate England?" 764.
3. Perkins, *Great Rapprochement*, 5; Allen, *Britain and the United States*, 518–49; Crapol, *America for Americans*, 3–19. William [Reuter's](#) essay "Anatomy of Political Anglophobia" is a lonely exception to this rule. Reuter touches upon many of the arguments raised here but often does not delve far below the discourse of Anglophobias to reach an understanding of the different ways in which it was employed so as to mobilize ethnic groups and the electorate, or, to its uses beyond that of electoral politics instead insisting that a "general hostility" to British institutions allowed it to flourish. What is more there are problems with his chronology, stating that Anglophobia disappeared abruptly from national politics after 1900, yet, the protean nature of Anglophobia ensured that it rather manifested itself in a different form. Contra Reuter, John Moser shows that Anglophobia flourished after the turn of the century. See his *Twisting the Lion's Tail*.
4. For an overview of these arguments, see [Brauer](#), "United States and British Imperial Expansion" and Sexton, "The United States and the British Empire since 1783." For the Louisiana Purchase and Florida, see [Lewis](#), *American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood* and for debates over Texas see Haynes, "Anglophobia and the Annexation of Texas." The Oregon question is discussed by Howard Temperley in *To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty*. Finally, John Craig Hammond expertly deals with fears that western territories might ally with the Old World in *Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion*.
5. Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*, 181–5; Haynes, "Anglophobia and the Annexation of Texas," 122–5.

6. Brauer, "United States and British Imperial Expansion," 23-5.
7. Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 245-55. Smith and his opponents debated in the *Review's* pages at the height of its popularity - by 1891 its circulation reached its peak of 76,000 subscribers from just 7500 a decade earlier.
8. Smith, "Hatred of England," 548-9.
9. Smith, "Hatred of England," , 551.
10. Smith, "Hatred of England," 554.
11. Smith, "Hatred of England," 555.
12. Higginson et al., "Do Americans Hate England?" 750.
13. Higginson et al., "Do Americans Hate England?" 750.
14. Higginson et al., "Do Americans Hate England?" 771-2.
15. Higginson et al., "Do Americans Hate England?" 754.
16. Quoted in Reuter, "Anatomy of Political Anglophobia," 122.
17. Quoted in Crapol, *America for Americans*, 171-2.
18. [Johnson](#) and Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 80.
19. *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier*, October 26, 1888, 1; *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 26, 1888, 2; *Los Angeles Times*, October 26, 1888, 1.
20. *Historical Statistics of the United States*.
21. Kenny, *The American Irish*, 42.
22. Smith, "Hatred of England," 548.
23. Quoted in Sewell, "Rebels or Revolutionaries?" 726.
24. Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 210-22.
25. Higginson et al., "Do Americans Hate England?" 763.
26. *Irish World*, April 28, 1894, 4.

27. Sewell, "Rebels or Revolutionaries?" 723-33.
28. Self, "Abuse of Citizenship," 551-3.
29. Rogers, "Harboring Conspiracy," 521-3. See also Sewell, "Rebels or Revolutionaries?" 728-33.
30. Self, "Abuse of Citizenship," 554.
31. O'Donovan Rossa used extreme but also extremely novel tactics for the cause of Irish nationalism, even managing to fund the design and building of a submarine known as the "Fenian Ram" to attack the British merchant marine. See Short, *Dynamite War*, 35-77; [Brown](#), *Irish-American Nationalism*, 63-85.
32. See the brilliant and lucidly argued chapter, "Ireland Sold for Gold!" in Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 210-22. For Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa's advertising of the Skirmishing Fund in the *Irish World*, see the March 4, 1876 edition, which reprinted a letter from O'Donovan Rossa to Ford. As a mark of Ford's reticence over the course O'Donovan Rossa proposed, it ought to be noted that he received the letter some three months before finally printing its contents. See [Brown](#), *Irish-American Nationalism*, 69-70.
33. *Irish World*, April 28, 1894, 4. For example, see *Irish World*, January 11 and February 1, 1890. In both instances the illustrations accompanying the calendar directly connected Irish revolutionary nationalism and the struggle against British colonial aggression with America's own colonial rebellion. The latter case is particularly vivid, depicting Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, hanged, drawn, and quartered alongside an illustration of James Duane being installed as the first Irish-American mayor of New York in 1774, thereby establishing a link between Irish and American revolutionary violence.
34. Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 249-53; Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic*, 176-82. One ought not press this too far, however, as Kevin Kenny has convincingly argued that the "institutional and associational life" created through Irish "ethnic assertiveness" was the "primary means through which the American Irish were assimilated." Kenny's stress is on the search for respectability of both Protestant and Catholic Irish middle classes who often previously had little sense of national or ethnic identity. Achieving either, or both, thus became the driving force for assimilation into American life. See Kenny, *The American Irish*, 147-9.

35. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 135–56.
36. Higginson et al., “Do Americans Hate England?” 765.
37. *Life*, April 26, 1883, 201.
38. See *Life*, February 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1883 and March 1, 1883.
39. Roosevelt, *American Ideals*, 22–4.
40. Lodge, “Colonialism in the United States,” 332.
41. Lodge, “Colonialism in the United States,” 361.
42. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 9, 1887, 4. See also Higginson et al., “Do Americans Hate England?” 765; and, *Life*, January 30, 1890.
43. *Irish World*, May 3, 1890, 4.
44. *Daily Picayune*, March 17, 1895.
45. *Life*, April 5, 1883.
46. *Irish World*, April 28, 1894, 4.
47. *Irish World*, January 1, 1898, 4.
48. *Irish World*, April 30, 1898, 4.
49. For an excellent discussion of the antebellum origins of the Carey school, see Onuf and Onuf, *Nations, Markets, and War*, 296–302.
50. Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 227–8.
51. Crapol, *America for Americans*, 171.
52. *Judge*, July 9, 1892, 32.
53. Crapol, *America for Americans*, 191–218. Populist anti-Semitism was also a strong current in this conspiratorial discourse, positing the existence of an international “gold ring” of “Shylock” financiers (specifically the Rothschilds) locking the United States in colonial subservience. See Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 78–9; [Postel](#), *Populist Vision*, 152; Woodward, “The Populist heritage and the Intellectual,” 154–6.

54. James B. Weaver quoted in Pollack, *Populist Mind*, 142; [Kazin](#), *Populist Persuasion*, 27-46.
55. Emery, *Seven Financial Conspiracies*, 25.
56. Lewewlling quoted in Pollack, *Populist Mind*, 6.
57. Kazin, *Populist Persuasion*, 33-4.
58. Watson quoted in *ibid.*, 25.
59. See Pollack, *Populist Response to Industrial America*, 32-5.
60. Weaver quoted in Pollack, *Populist Mind*, 145, 147.
61. Kazin, *Populist Persuasion*, 35-6.
62. [Destler](#), *Empire of Reform*, 249-50.
63. Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, 510-36.
64. *National Bulletin*, October 22, 1892.
65. Bryan, *First Battle*, 206.
66. Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise*, 521-9.
67. Crapol, *America for Americans*, 213-5.
68. This has been particularly the case with James G. Blaine who has been misleadingly caricatured as being demagogic and "excessively political." See Sewell, "Political Rhetoric and Policy-Making," 61-84; Crapol, *America for Americans*, 67-87, 166-86.
69. Sewell, "English-Speaking Race is in Mourning," 668-72, 68-686.
70. Crapol, *America for Americans*, 72-3. A similar case has been made for the arch-nationalist Henry Cabot Lodge. See Widenor, *Henry Cabot Lodge*, 81-4.
71. Sewell, "English-Speaking Race is in Mourning," 681-2; Prochaska, *Eagle and the Crown*, 82-108.
72. Dicey, "Americomania in English Politics," 52-3.

73. Gladstone, "Kin Beyond the Sea," 185. On late nineteenth-century attitudes toward America in Britain, see Tulloch, *Changing British Attitudes*, 825–40; and Butler, "Critical Americans," 224–32, 243–8.
74. Carnegie, "A Look Ahead," 690.
75. Crapol, *Anglophobia to Fragile Rapprochement*, 22–28.
76. Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons," 1315–35.
77. Higginson et al., "Do Americans Hate England?" 758.
78. Quoted in Campbell, *Revolution to Rapprochement*, 191.
79. Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 112–30.
80. Dicey, "New American Imperialism," 489.
81. Quoted in Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons," 1325. "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons" is keenly sensitive to the many forms that Anglo-Saxon manifested itself in and to the internal contradictions between its British and American expressions.
82. For transatlantic liberal and intellectual connections, see Butler, *Critical Americans*; Kelley, *Transatlantic Persuasion*. For connections between social reformers, see Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*. On transatlantic marriage, see [Brandon](#), *Dollar Princesses*; and Montgomery, *Gilded Prostitution*. For a synthesis of the importance of these connections, see Kramer's excellent analysis in, 1326–8.
83. For Anglo-American cooperation in the Far East, see Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 148–74.
84. On late nineteenth-century migration to the United States, see [Bodnar](#), *The Transplanted*. For a treatment of American reactions to these migrants, see Higham, *Strangers in this Land*; and, for an illuminating discussion of Boston's Immigration Restriction League, see Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants*, particularly chapters 5–7 and 10.
85. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 November 1898, 4.

86. On the Boer problem, see Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 130–47; Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1335–44. For Wilson's attitude before the First World War, see Parsons, *Wilsonian Diplomacy*. In *Twisting the Lion's Tail*, John Moser highlights how in the aftermath of the First World War a diverse collection of interest groups – Republican conservatives, liberal anti-imperialists, Midwestern progressives, German-Americans, Irish-Americans – used Anglophobia to foster domestic political agendas. He adeptly illustrates how it was utilized in the assertion of U.S. interests abroad, chiefly Britain's inability to payback war loans from the First World War, and, as the Second World War approached, through the claim that the U.S. would not “pull British chestnuts out of the fire” again.

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