# CONTENTS

*List of Illustrations*  
xiii

*Preface*  
xv

**PROLOGUE**  
Lessons of Liberation: Iraq, 1915–1921  
1

**CHAPTER 1**  
Three Crises and an Outcome  
10

  *The Choice among Alternatives*  
  10

  *Beyond “The National Ideology of American Exceptionalism”*  
  15

  *Empire: “A Rose by Any Other Name . . .”?*  
  21

  *Globalization and Empires*  
  25

  *Time and Motion*  
  32

  *“The Growing Labours of the Lengthen’d Way”*  
  41

**PART I** DECOLONIZATION AND DEPENDENCE, 1756–1865  
43

**CHAPTER 2**  
The Advance and Retreat of the Military-Fiscal State  
45

  *Cause and Chronology*  
  45

  *A Great Convergence?*  
  48

  *The Glorious Revolution, and the Exceptional Military-Fiscal State*  
  53

  *The Evolution of Britain’s Military-Fiscal State*  
  60

  *The New Global Order*  
  64
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 3</th>
<th>From Revolution to Constitution</th>
<th>95</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harry Washington and the Emerging Global Order</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toward “The New Colony-System”</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Company at Work</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Revolution of Declining Expectations</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“An Indissoluble Union of the States under One Federal Head”</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Spectacles of Turbulence and Contention”</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Not an Empire, but the Project of an Empire”</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 4</th>
<th>The Struggle for Independence</th>
<th>142</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Midnight’s Children</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Rhetoric and the Reality of Revolution</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dilemmas of Dependent Development</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural Continuities</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Converting the Forests of a Wilderness into the Favourite Mansion of Liberty”</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 5</th>
<th>Wars of Incorporation</th>
<th>191</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The Great Nation of Futurity”</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The Bright Idea of Property, of Exclusive Right”</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1812: The Second War of Independence?</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“America Knows How to Crush as Well as How to Expand”</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“An Irrepressible Conflict between Opposing and Enduring Forces”</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“For God’s Sake, Let Us If Possible Keep Out Of It” 228

War and Peace Revisited 234

PART II MODERNITY AND IMPERIALISM, 1865–1914 239

CHAPTER 6 Uneven Development and Imperial Expansion 241

“The Earth, Restive, Confronts a New Era” 241

“Via Pecunia”: The Road to Modern Globalization 243

“O, My Brothers, Love Your Country” 249

The Great Deflation 255

Globalization and “New” Imperialism 261

Lions, Jackals, and the Scramble for Empire 267

“This Is a New Age; The Age of Social Advancement Not of Feudal Sports” 281

CHAPTER 7 Achieving Effective Independence 287

“In the Midst of Confusion and Distress” 287

‘All Has Been Lost, Except Office or the Hope of It” 289

“Beautiful Credit! The Foundation of Modern Society” 306

The Culture of Cosmopolitan Nationalism 316

From “Union” to ‘America” 332

CHAPTER 8 Acquiring an Unexceptional Empire 337

“Our World Opportunity, World Duty, and World Glory” 337

The Battle Over the Wars of 1898 339

Don Quixote’s Last Ride 343

Mobilizing the Means of Destruction 352

“The Irresistible Tendency to Expansion . . . Seems Again in Operation” 355
“We Come as Ministering Angels, Not as Despots” 362
“Destiny, Divinity and Dollars” 373

CHAPTER 9 Insular Perspectives on an Intrusive World 383
“The Wheels of the Modern Political Juggernaut” 383
Sugaring the Pill 386
Cuba: “A Lot of Degenerates Absolutely Devoid of Honor and Gratitude” 390
Puerto Rico: “Into History as a Picnic” 399
The Philippines: “Land that I Idolise, Sorrow of my Sorrow” 403
Hawai‘i: “A People Fast Passing Away” 417
WARS OF CHOICE 427

Intermission Tarzan’s Mirror to Modernity 437

PART III EMPIRES AND INTERNATIONAL DISORDER, 1914–1959 441

CHAPTER 10 The Modern Imperial System: From Conquest to Collapse 443
The “American Century”? 443
Isolation or Integration? 446
World War I and the Return to Normality 450
“One of the Greatest Economic Catastrophes of Modern History” 456
The War to Break and Re-Make Empires 465
The Second Colonial Occupation 470
Liberation—Colonial Style 483
The End of the Affair 489
CHAPTER 11  Ruling the Forgotten Empire  494
   Buyers’ Remorse  494
   “A Greater England with a Nobler Destiny”  497
   The Modernizing Mission  504
   Owning an Empire: Congress and the Constitution  509
   Lobbies and Liberties  512
   “A Course of Tuition under a Strong and Guiding Hand”  521
   “Hardly a Ripple of Failure upon the Stream of Our Success”  530
   Prospective  533

CHAPTER 12  Caribbean Carnival  539
   Pleasure Islands  539
   Puerto Rico: “An Example of the Best Methods of Administering Our Insular Possessions”  543
   Cuba: “That Infernal Little Republic”  559
   “Now, No Longer Can We Be Unmoved”  588

CHAPTER 13  Paradise in the Pacific  592
   “Where Skies of Blue Are Calling Me”  592
   “Hawai‘i: A World of Happiness in an Island of Peace”  594
   The Philippines: “Substituting the Mild Sway of Justice and Right for Arbitrary Rule”  607
   “Ours Not to Rest Till Our Banner Wave”  632
   The Insular Empire in Retrospect  635

CHAPTER 14  “The Twilight of Confused Colonialism”  639
   “Surrendering Authority and Retaining Responsibility”  639

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Global Setting</strong></td>
<td>641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Holding On</strong></td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Protection in the Pacific</strong></td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coercion and Collaboration in the Caribbean</strong></td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moving On</strong></td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Progress in the Pacific?</strong></td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contrasts in the Caribbean</strong></td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conclusion: “A Shining Example of the American Way for the Entire Earth”</strong></td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PART IV THE OUTCOME: POSTCOLONIAL GLOBALIZATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dominance and Decline in the Postcolonial Age</strong></td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The One Duty We Owe to History Is to Rewrite It”</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Globalization and Empires</strong></td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Postcolonial Globalization</strong></td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The United States: The Aspiring Hegemon</strong></td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Captain America: To Be Continued?</strong></td>
<td>721</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epiologue</strong></td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lessons of Liberation: Iraq, 2003–2011</strong></td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Notes</strong></td>
<td>739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Index</strong></td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ILLUSTRATIONS

PHOTOS

FIGURE 8.1  The Union of North and South, 1898  371
FIGURE 9.1  José Martí, 1875  398
FIGURE 9.2  General Emilio Aguinaldo, 1899  414
FIGURE 9.3  Queen Lili‘uokalani, c. 1877 (ruled 1891–1893)  424
FIGURE 12.1  Luis Muñoz Marín, c. 1957  555
FIGURE 12.2  Pedro Albizu Campos, 1936  555
FIGURE 12.3  Fulgencio Batista and Ramón Grau San Martín, 1933  583
FIGURE 13.1  Sergio Osmeña, Governor Francis Harrison, and Manuel Quezon, 1918  614

MAPS

MAP 1.1  The U.S. Insular Empire  14
MAP 3.1  The Mainland Colonies after the Peace of Paris, 1763  108
MAP 5.1  The Continental Expansion of the United States in the Nineteenth Century  204
MAP 12.1  The Caribbean Islands during the Period of U.S. Rule  542
MAP 12.2  Puerto Rico: Export Crops, Railroads, and Towns, 1920  544
MAP 12.3  Cuba: Sugar Production (by Province), Towns, and Railroads, 1924  562
MAP 13.1  Hawai‘i: Export Crops and Towns in the Interwar Period  595
MAP 13.2  The Philippines under U.S. Rule  608

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
# TABLES

**Table 5.1** Statehood as an Index of the Political Development of the United States

**Table 9.1** Sugar Supplies of the United States, 1870–1906

**Table 11.1** Total Sugar Deliveries for U.S. Consumption by Country of Origin (%), 1917–1939