

went for Bush, were about to become reliably Democratic (California) and Republican (Texas); how the Hispanic vote, which was not a high-turnout demographic, has become key for Democrats since Hispanic turnout has increased dramatically; and the cementing of the influence of the Evangelical wing of the Republican Party. All of these trends were present in 1988 but were poised to take off in the intervening years. Pitney also considers the roots of cable television and right-wing talk radio, dramatic differences in messaging and fundraising that were not as prevalent in 1988 as in the internet age, and how 1988 was among the last campaigns to distinguish between campaigning and governing.

In sum, *After Reagan* is highly recommended. A few typos aside, it is highly readable, engaging, and extremely interesting. It would fit well in whole or in part in undergraduate or graduate classes on campaigns and elections, or the presidency itself. Though it is about the 1988 election, the book succeeds in illuminating almost as much about our current politics.

Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion. By Paul Frymer. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017. 312p. \$35.00 cloth. \$24.95 paper.

doi:10.1017/S1537592720002182

— Colin D. Moore , University of Hawai'i
cdmoore@hawaii.edu

How did the supposedly “weak” American state create a vast settler empire? With a few notable exceptions, scholarship in American political development (APD) has had surprisingly little to say about this question. Most of our theories about American state development are drawn from research on the social welfare state and the development of federal bureaucracies. The arrival of Paul Frymer’s *Building an American Empire*, then, is a welcome addition to the literature. With the publication of this book, APD now has a clear and persuasive account of US territorial expansion.

In this masterful study, Frymer highlights how federal land policies were used strategically to manufacture white majorities and push indigenous people off their lands. Homesteading laws that provided free or subsidized land to white Americans and European immigrants allowed the state to expand its dominion with little coercive power. It did this, Frymer writes, not through military power but by facilitating settlements on the frontier to avoid “being stretched too thin while maintaining strength through compactness” (p. 36).

Frymer covers a lot of ground in this book, but he does so skillfully, detailing the expansion of the United States from 13 to 48 states and the annexation of Hawai‘i. He moves through the history of US expansion geographically and chronologically, beginning with expansion east of the

Mississippi, and, later, the Louisiana Purchase and lands in the Southwest acquired from Mexico. The history of black colonization, a chapter of US history that is far too often neglected, is covered in great detail.

Much more than a work of synthesis, Frymer gathers evidence from congressional debates and roll-call votes, which he supplements by examining territorial records, periodicals, and some archival sources. This allows him to pay careful attention to shifts in partisan control, sectional tensions, changes in the capacity of the American state, and indigenous resistance. His incorporation of pioneering scholarship in Native American and cross-border history is particularly welcome (e.g., Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 1991; Andrew J. Torget, *Seeds of Empire*, 2015).

As one might expect, Frymer begins by considering the incorporation of territory east of the Mississippi. Rather than permitting settlers to move across the continent on their own, US officials carefully laid out townships that allowed the state to “secure contested frontiers by being ‘full on this side’ before forging farther into vast geographic spaces” (p. 10). This strategy was born out of the state’s inability to overpower Native American resistance through military power. White settlers, Frymer argues, were used to establish a frontier that was easy to protect. What is more, settlers remained tied to American metropolitan centers that assured their security and fidelity to the United States. The low visibility of government power likely contributed to a still-common view that the American West was a largely stateless space.

Although the low-capacity American state used land purchases and exploitive treaties as its primary tools of dispossession, coercive force played a role as well. Under Andrew Jackson’s direction, the infamous Removal Act of 1830 forced Native Americans to settle west of the Mississippi. Not only did mass resistance from indigenous people deplete the government’s resources but Frymer also argues that the sheer horror of this policy—one that led to the death of roughly one-fourth of the Cherokee nation—led to political opposition among northern activists.

In a detailed section on Louisiana, Frymer explains how the territory’s mixed-race population initially led some to oppose its incorporation into the union, an episode that reveals the tension between the American state’s twin goals of expansion and racial homogeneity. The “solution,” which was implemented by Louisiana’s legislature in 1806, was to establish Black Codes to place whites above free and mixed-race people of color.

Territories with diverse populations, Frymer argues, could be incorporated only if strict racial hierarchies were enforced. Although the North and South differed over slavery, there was overwhelming support for the United States as an exclusively white settler nation. In this way, Frymer demonstrates the importance of looking beyond the traditional divide between the North and South to uncover how westward expansion also shaped US racial attitudes.

In one of the book's major scholarly contributions, Frymer shows the importance of internationalizing research on the American state. Drawing on a rich body of cross-border historical scholarship, he argues that the Mexican government's failure to settle lands north of the Rio Grande made those lands attractive to the United States as a place for white settlement. By contrast, the more densely populated areas of present-day Mexico ultimately prevented their incorporation. Cuba and Santo Domingo were never annexed for similar reasons. One hopes that other APD scholars will be inspired by this example to pay more attention to how events in Latin America and the Caribbean affected US political development.

In a stand-alone chapter that enriches his story of territorial expansion, Frymer pays particular attention to the long-standing project of black colonization. Although there is an enduring misconception that this was a fringe project, Frymer shows that it had significant support among many political elites including James Madison and Abraham Lincoln. Rather than allowing African Americans to move westward, which threatened the racial demography of territorial expansion, northern leaders developed ill-conceived plans to create black colonies in Africa, Latin America, or the Caribbean. Most of these schemes were never implemented, but their popularity among a wide variety of US elites reveals the state's commitment to white supremacy across the continent.

The book concludes with a brief look at the acquisition of Hawai'i, the final site of American settler empire.

Despite vigorous opposition from Native Hawaiians and concerns about the archipelago's diverse population, the white oligarchy managed to overthrow Queen Lili'uokalani. The annexation of Hawai'i was in doubt until the American rebels could convince Congress that the islands were suitable for white settlement. Although this section could have engaged more directly with the extensive literature on Native Hawaiian resistance (e.g., Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 2004), Frymer still makes a persuasive case: Hawai'i may have been located thousands of miles from the North American continent, but the logic of demographic dominance still applied.

Any scholar of empire, state development, race, or indigenous politics will benefit from a close reading of *Building an American Empire*. With this fine study, Frymer paves the way for more nuanced understandings of the nineteenth-century American state and its foundational political project of territorial expansion. He also fills a gap in APD scholarship, which has too often neglected the importance of territorial expansion and indigenous resistance in shaping US institutions. In tracing the history of US settler colonialism, he establishes the centrality of land policies that allowed the American state to expand its control with little direct coercive force. But Frymer's careful research reveals more than the underlying institutional mechanisms of empire building. He also uncovers the tensions between expansion and white supremacy that have always been at the heart of American empire.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Limits to Decolonization: Indigeneity, Territory, and Hydrocarbon Politics in the Bolivian Chaco. By

Penelope Anthias. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018.

312p. \$115.00 cloth, \$27.95 paper.

doi:10.1017/S1537592720001619

— Karleen Jones West , SUNY Geneseo
kwest@geneseo.edu

In 2006, Evo Morales was famously elected the first self-identified indigenous president of Bolivia. Under Morales, the decolonization of politics, economics, society, and culture was the central project motivating state and social transformation. Morales promised to extend human rights and dignity to every Bolivian citizen as part of his “plurinational” state, which formed the cornerstone of his New Left political ideology and the rewritten 2009 constitution. In 2011, Morales mandated an annual “Day of Decolonization” celebrating indigenous nations and commemorating his administration's extension of rights to Bolivia's long-neglected indigenous citizens.

According to Penelope Anthias, the president of Bolivia's Guaraní indigenous community Itika Guasu claimed, also in 2011, that the Guaraní had finally achieved “fully legal recognition” (p. 5) of their property rights over their native community territory (Tierra Comunitaria de Origen; TCO). However, this “fully legal recognition” was not provided by Morales and the Bolivian state. Instead, after a decade of failed attempts to gain legal titles for their TCO from the Bolivian government, Itika Guasu had circumvented the state to directly negotiate and sign an agreement with the Spanish oil company Repsol. In exchange for access to Itika Guasu's section of the hydrocarbon-rich subsoil of Bolivia's arid Chaco region, Repsol acknowledged the Guaraní's property rights and promised them an investment fund totaling \$14.8 million, “the interest from which was to be managed independently by the Guaraní organization” (p. 5).

There is tremendous irony in this juxtaposition of Morales's decolonization efforts and Itika Guasu's view that they achieved “fully legal” recognition of their lands only through an agreement with a Spanish oil company. But this juxtaposition also captures the desperate situation in which many of Latin America's contemporary