Although a significant number of magistrates were members of the state legislature, a study of voting behavior revealed no bloc voting on bills that affected the powers and jurisdictions of the county courts or that attempted to remove errant justices of the peace. Ireland's study also delineates the relationship of the county officials with the governor, the higher judicial tribunals, and the towns and cities of the state.

The patronage power of the county courts was highly significant and virtually absolute. The clerk, constable, jailer, coroner, surveyor, sheriff, and county attorney were regularly appointed by the court. The office of sheriff, the most lucrative financially and powerful politically, by law evolved onto the senior magistrate. In the larger counties the office was often sold and at times publicly auctioned off to the highest bidder.

The system was not without fault. "Inattentiveness, cumberedomeness, disorderliness, and inexpertness pervaded the local tribunals" (p. 145). The system was reformed in 1849, although Ireland concluded that many of the deficiencies persisted under the new arrangement.

The study is well researched and competently written. In the section on the financial business of the courts it would have been useful to have indicated the comparative size of county budgets for various periods. One also would have hoped that Ireland would have explored in greater detail the family relationships mentioned on page 67.

If local history in other states can receive similar incisive treatment, then one of the major gaps in American historiography will be closed.

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One important branch of constitutional law which has never received the scholarly or the public attention it deserves is state government. This has been true despite the large
importance of that level of political power throughout American history, a power which is significant even today when the national leviathan seems so dominant. In order to inform the citizenry and to facilitate constitutional reform, the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois is publishing a series, *Studies in Illinois Constitution Making*, of which this volume by Janet Cornelius is a part. Though it is an unpretentious survey of the state’s constitutional changes from 1818 to the present, in its original multilithed form it must have been helpful to the delegates of the Illinois constitutional convention of 1969-1970 as they wrote a new, long overdue frame of government. Afterward, the author added an interesting chapter on the convention’s work, and the whole book now appears in print.

The story of constitution making in Illinois is typical. The first document which was adopted by the frontier state in 1818 borrowed heavily from territorial experience and from models of older states. Partly imitative and partly developmental, it entrusted power mainly to the legislature and extended the voting franchise to all adult males, even aliens. But the horrid nightmare of internal improvement and banking excesses of the 1830s led to change in 1848: a Jacksonian constitution with extensive limitations on legislative power. During the Civil War a convention controlled by Democrats (some suspected of obstructing the war for the Union) drafted a constitution that was rejected by the voters. Then in 1870, during an industrializing period, another attempt succeeded. This document was noteworthy for authorizing the famous Granger legislation and for venturing into the novel system of cumulative voting in legislative districts. But it had familiar faults: it resembled a detailed code of statutes more than a fundamental law; and it was nearly impossible to amend. Over the next century several efforts to bring state government into a more realistic relationship to modern social conditions failed.

After World War II new leadership for reform, including Adlai Stevenson and Richard Daley, appeared. The first achievement was adoption of the Gateway amendment, making it easier to alter the constitution by abandoning the old rule that a ballot not voting on an issue was a negative vote. Still, the process of piecemeal amendment proved to be
too slow, and in late 1969 a convention finally met to replace the outmoded document of 1870. On the whole the outcome was salutary. Highlights of improvement included a more equitable system of legislative apportionment (naturally popular in Cook County after so many years of controversy with downstate), a recognition of intense urban needs, and an expanded bill of rights. As for the latter, the protection of rights of blacks and women and the prohibition of official “eavesdropping” were especially liberal.

As a serviceable introduction to constitutional revision for one state, the study is adequate; and as a message illustrating what ought to be done throughout the country, it may have a positive impact. In this age of crisis for urban and state government anything of the sort is welcome.

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Maurice G. Baxter

The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861.

This study of party formation and voting behavior focuses on a social analysis of the transition to mass politics in Michigan. Relying primarily on intensive investigation of aggregate voting data and census returns and on the approaches and the methods of the social sciences, Formisano dissects Michigan politics much in the manner that his mentor, Lee Benson, examined New York.

Professor Formisano’s thesis is provocative. Religious and ethnic-cultural cleavages shaped the formation of party alignments in Michigan. Democratic dominance between 1837 and 1852 represented the triumph of anti-evangelical social groups who rejected the moral society promoted by native evangelical Protestants first through Antimasonry and then Whiggery. In the 1850s similar differences reshaped party alignments. Anti-Catholic feelings generated by the rise of the Know Nothings divided the Democrats and transformed the Whigs into a new Republican majority. Hostility toward the slave South also contributed to the triumph of the Republicans and their continuation as the state’s evangelical party.