

Golden Betrayal

**The Erosion of Representation and the Loss of
Legitimacy in California**

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Acknowledgments

Seldom does one person owe so much to one foundation for support over so many decades of scholarship focused on various phases of a single topic. The John Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation sponsored a young student's dissertation grant in 1952-1953, which allowed the completion of a Ph.D. on redistricting from UCLA in 1955. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the same organization sponsored a series of monographs prior to the 1991 redistricting efforts. At the end of a career, in 1991-1993, the same foundation supported the completion of this book.

The writer likes to believe that the work is in the tradition of John Randolph Haynes. Dr. Haynes was at the forefront of the Progressive Movement in California and of municipal reform in Los Angeles. This book and the 1980s monographs have applied a similar spirit of reform and were based on the same kind of participation that underlay Dr. Haynes' work -- although more narrowly and in the arcane aspects of reapportionment/redistricting. Indicative of the changes in the subject matter over these four decades is the evolution of reapportionment into redistricting -- a recurring theme from the author's dissertation to this volume.

The list of others to whom the writer owes much is almost endless. The thanks here, therefore, must be general: to his students, to his supportive colleagues, and to his associates in both parties in redistricting battles (and, ultimately, in reform efforts). But the sense of gratitude is individual and deeply felt.

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Table of Contents

Preface	i
Chapter 1	1
Chapter 2	21
Chapter 3	46
Chapter 4	71
Chapter 5	.....	91
Chapter 6	.....	123
Chapter 7	.....	173
Chapter 8	.....	191
Chapter 9	.....	217
Epilogue	.....	229
Appendices		
I.	Charts	
II.	Maps	
Bibliography		

PREFACE

California entered the union in 1850 and began a development that has typically been onward and upward. This study looks at one facet of its development -- representation and its institutional manifestations in terms of reapportionment and redistricting. This work offers a new look at reapportionment and redistricting: over a long period of time, in one state, and with new perspectives, new terminology and a breadth of experience.

The whole cannot be understood in its parts alone; but the parts sometimes reveal the internal workings and ills of the whole. Often flaws are assumed to be minor and dismissed as irrelevant. And so it has been with reapportionment and redistricting, a decennial manifestation of the internal conflict and illness in the body politic.

In the mid-1920s, it was noted:

Failure to adopt a just apportionment of representation is a standing disgrace....The failure will in the near future constitute an increasingly important cause of irritation, friction, and distrust. The situation is unfavorable for the accomplishment of any unified program of constructive legislation.¹

Disputes over reapportionment engendered intense sectional political feelings between northern and southern California. Threats of secession by the south were renewed. Though not advocating drastic action, a southern newspaper captured the sense of frustration:

It [the current situation] is enough to begin yelling 'state division.' With the gasoline tax slipped over, the metropolitan water district knifed, the reapportionment killed for another two years at least, the man who looks at everything through the eyes of Southern California is very much out of sorts.²

Significantly, the anger was from an area peripheral to southern California's growth center, Los Angeles. Though it was experiencing the bulk of the changes in the 1920s, its hinterland also felt the pain caused by growth and development that the body politic was denying. In 1928, Francis Ahl could write that reapportionment remained California's "most perplexing problem."³

¹ Victor J. West, "Our Legislative Mills--California," 12 National Municipal Review 372 (July 1923).
² San Bernardino Daily Sun, April 25, 1925; cited by Bemis, op. cit., p. 198.
³ Frances N. Ahl, "Reapportionment in California," 22 American Political Science Review (1928) at p. 977.

The record of the 1920s can now be read as ominous. A representative government requires a sense of authority coming from the electorate. California in its near 150 years as an American state has sampled the whole range of representative experience -- districts which are multi-member, single member, at-large, use of initiatives, referenda, vetoes, court cases and court redistricting. Are the recurring symptoms indicative of a basic problem in the body politic?

With regard to the 1991 redistricting, two active participants in the process came to these conclusions:⁴

- ⌚ Challengers are condemned to defeat. Women, minorities, younger candidates and those with new ideas have little better than a long-shot chance to defeat incumbents who are entrenched in carefully gerrymandered districts.
- ⌚ Our electoral campaigns are dominated by commercial themes and mail order techniques. The tortuously shaped districts of the contemporary gerrymander are resistant to grassroots or volunteer-style campaigns. Only computerized direct mail or TV advertising can cope with today's bizarrely contorted and elongated constituencies.
- ⌚ Our politics are stuck in a time warp. Society is changing all around us, but politicians of the 60s continue to rehearse the themes of that bygone era. Incumbents who never face serious challenge have no need to rethink their positions.
- ⌚ Partisan and ideological tensions escalate. Incumbents, facing their only serious prospect of opposition in primaries, respond most sensitively to pressures from their own party's activists and ideologues. Both parties thus tip to their extremes. Compromise and moderation give way to shrill partisan rhetoric.
- ⌚ Negative campaigns and other kinds of dirty politics become common. Next to death and retirement, just about the only way an incumbent leaves office today is in the wake of scandal. No wonder, then, that both political parties are forever grubbing in the gutter for their issues.
- ⌚ Invulnerable incumbents refuse to deal with pressing policy issues, and the people are forced to use initiatives or litigation to decide major public controversies.

In a word, abusive redistrictings are eroding the representative character of our legislatures. Did the failure of leaders to redistrict within the framework of democratic imperatives play a role in the decline of legitimacy? Were the events of the 1970s and 1980s signs of deep structural and psychological problems or even decay?

4

Hardy, Leroy C. and Alan Heslop, *Who Guards the Guardians?*, pp. 36-37.

Change is the prevailing theme of this volume. Whether a means to process change or a sign of inability to confront change, reapportionment has been relevant and crucial to California's problems. As David Ricci has noted:

Organizations tend to press us to accept whatever they certify is worthwhile, both in action and belief. We have seen, though, that what an institution calls true is shaped, over time, more by its own needs than those of society at large. It follows that we must constantly scrutinize what organizations say or offer to us, and we must judge their product by standards of common sense and good taste which can arise only outside the bureaucratic bounds of functional rationality.⁵

This volume is critical of two status quo establishments: the political establishment based on authority, and the academic establishment based on prestige. The writer argues for new perspectives and new terminology because a battle against a political or an academic bureaucracy cannot be joined or won by using their frameworks.

This commentary begins with a definition of new terms and a different interpretation of political events. It does not claim to conform to the norms of behavioral political science. What is sought is a substitute for that disastrous diversion from both scholarship and politics. The exploratory investigations are based on verifiable facts taken to logical conclusions. The writer's conclusions are shaped by a long sojourn in the redistricting world in close association with members of both parties. With the facts the reader will be able to arrive at his or her own conclusions.

Studies about reapportionment have suffered from two limitations: they focus on a part of the total, often on only one event; and they are written by political scientists removed from the actual experience. This review covers the full period of nearly 150 years. The author's deep involvement in the last forty years, the most active period, may provide some insights to correct the latter limitation.

Every effort has been made to review sources from every perspective, including written accounts, oral histories, legal articles and the more eye-catching journalistic columns and discussions with politicians and staff of both parties. Three previous overviews require special acknowledgment: Allen, Quinn and Wilkimming. Footnotes direct the reader to elaborations, especially from the aforementioned

⁵ Ricci, David M., *The Tragedy of Political Science: Politics, Scholarship and Democracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 307; Ricci cites Kharasch, Robert N., *The Institutional Imperative: How to Understand the United States Government and Other Bulky Objects*, (New York, NY: Charterhouse, 1973), p. 209.

three, for additional facts and interpretations. Every effort had been made to objectively present the facts, and to correct erroneous information.

Interpretations are inevitably subjective. In the political arena the most difficult limitation on analysis is one's political inclinations, usually associated with a political party. Involvement in reform efforts affects political interpretation. Former political colleagues will reject interpretations as "sour grapes" or some other label connoting betrayal. No amount of effort can alter that interpretation. From a scholarly viewpoint the views of such critics are irrelevant. This interpretation is presented for what it is: factual information substantiated over time. One must judge the interpretation with Ricci's advice in mind: "Organizations tend to press us to accept whatever they certify is worthwhile, both in action and belief."

Assessment of responsibility in the political arena is plagued by subjective evaluations. The acts of the opposition tend to be automatically regarded as criminal: "they" won by using dirty tricks, pay-offs, glamour candidates, and so forth. The real question is the degree of criminality: is it a felony or a misdemeanor? Oddly the opposition always commits felonies. Your side commits misdemeanors. In the reapportionment/redistricting arena, the enemy gerrymanders, the friend redistricts.

The following new terms are introduced in this study as a means of understanding reapportionment and redistricting politics:

Opps (Occupants of Political Power): Opps is an original term applied to public officials. The none-too-subtle point is that people with the authority to act in the name of the public that elected them often do not act but are content to occupy a position with its perks, salary, pension and prestige, and without willingness to assume responsibility for their authority.

A recurring theme throughout this volume is that political movements for change quickly lapse into a bureaucratic pattern in which concerns for tenure progressively replace the sense of responsibility to the cause for which office was originally sought. This applies not only to the legislators, but also executives, administrators, and academics. Legislators ought to debate, process and resolve. Executives

and administrators ought to suggest, accommodate and act. Academics ought to teach and stimulate new ideas.

Opps are of both parties. Engaged in pseudo-conflicts, both are in fact concerned primarily with maintaining the status quo. In the current phase of political decline, redistricting becomes a more blatant device used by opps to perpetuate their positions.

Gerrycrats: Gerrycrat refers to a bureaucrat specializing in the creation of gerrymanders. Opps who have long since ceased to exercise their authority hire others to do their work. In the redistricting evolution recorded in this volume these experts are important because of the gerrymanders they create. Opps depend on such experts for their tenure.

Initially academics were hired for advice on redistricting but for limited periods; therefore they did not become bureaucrats. After the mid-1960s, more people with or without degrees but with computer expertise developed their own cottage industries with databases and state of the art capacities. Academics became expert witnesses for the highest bidder. Some political organizations acquired permanent academic staffers.

Map-prints: The writer suggests a new form of evidence -- the map-print. As originally proposed in the 1950s, the tracing of map movements was used as an analytical tool not only to indicate the political purposes of the redistricting and the degree of manipulation but also to demonstrate personal motivations. In the California context map-prints reveal the purposes and the perpetrators. When the crime is frustrated as in 1971 and 1991, evidence in the form of map-prints proves intent. On the other hand, when the crime is committed and then covered up, the evidence is conclusive and guilt is established beyond doubt.

Whether the actions of the politically correct were appropriate is the problem. Will map-print analysis give the courts the means to take jurisdiction? Yes. Will it provide the means for correction? No. The thrust of the analysis is to point up the need for a neutralization of the redistricting process by substituting objective grouping for subjective grouping. All the formulas, lists and criteria for creating

fair districts are meaningless in a court system made up of humans, unless objective standards are developed. Justice Frankfurter said it could not be done:

Judges are not equipped to adjudicate redistricting cases by legal training or experience or native wit. Apportionment battles are overwhelmingly party or intra-party contests. It will add a virulent source of friction and tension in federal-state relations to embroil the federal judiciary in them.⁶

The frequent fumbling of his successors would support this view.

The Politics of Fluke: In the later stages of the opp cycle the politics subtly shift from reality (facing factual changes) to denial, and the politics of fluke. When events do not correspond to expectations, the explanation is that the result was a fluke. The election was a fluke, therefore it should be disregarded in the political calculus.

This explanation was most manifest in the 1971 redistricting.⁷ Each victory prompted an analysis based on a fluke rather than a realistic appraisal. The political discussion wandered from reality to diversions which did not clarify conditions or encourage negotiations based on facts.

Types of Gerrymanders: Based on the California experience in 1951, a five-fold classification system for gerrymanders was developed: silent, concentration, dispersal, shoe-string, and elimination gerrymanders. On the basis of a study of Congressional districts from 1870 to the present and participation in the creation of districts in several redistrictings, the following classification is suggested to clarify thinking about gerrymanders -- the major abuse of current redistricting.⁸

⁶ *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962), pp. 323-24.

⁷ Districts conceded by all to be Democratic instead elected Republicans in the initial stages. After the court imposed districts were implemented in 1973, Democrats won substantially. The explanation was the Watergate fluke.

⁸ This classification was originally developed in the author's Ph.D. dissertation: L. Hardy, *The California Reapportionment of 1951*, at 391 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1955). The initial pattern was elaborated in a paper delivered at the 1961 American Political Science Association Convention: L. Hardy, "The Theory and Practice of Reapportionment," Sept. 1960. The present classification represents a development on the basis of five redistricting experiences since that time. Other similar classifications have been produced, the most frequently cited being: A. Hacker, *Congressional Districting, The Issue of Equal Representation*, 46 (1963). See also W. Keefe and M. Ogul, *The American Legislative Process: Congress and the States 80-82* (2nd ed. 1968).

- I. Silent Gerrymanders: Prehistoric Monsters of Twenty Years Ago
 - A. Inaction
 - B. Constitutional
- II. Current Species
 - A. Composition
 - 1. Concentration of them
 - 2. Concentration of us
 - 3. Dispersal of them
 - 4. Dispersal of us
 - B. Form -- Elongation of Shoestring
 - C. Purpose
 - 1. Elimination/Isolation
 - 2. Projection
- III. Breeding Grounds
 - A. Bipartisan environment
 - B. Partisan environment
 - C. Non-partisan environment

In each case, the terms describe the technique used to create political gain or advantage. Any effort to control gerrymanders, or to eliminate them, must consider their nature, their characteristics and their purposes. Of equal importance is the environment within which the species is spawned. As will be explained later, the current concern over affirmative action gerrymanders fits into the concentration gerrymander category, as well as the projection purpose.⁹

To simplify the presentation the following devices are used: "County" will not be repeated with each occurrence unless a distinction is necessary between a city and a county. Sonoma, Napa, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Merced, Fresno, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Mateo, Monterey, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Orange, Riverside, Imperial San Diego and Tulare will refer to the respective counties unless otherwise noted.

Solutions: This volume argues the actions of gerrycrats have brought into question the legitimacy of the authority of current opps. The solution is to eliminate the gerrycrats -- a superfluous group of political bureaucrats whose actions will eventually sink the ship of state. Making the redistricting process a neutral

⁹See chapters 8-10.

process will not necessarily save the ship, but at least rotating captains, who must listen to the winds of change, will have a better chance.

CHAPTER 1

THE FIRST SIXTY YEARS--1850 TO 1910

Overview of Population Growth in California

California's first century of statehood has been characterized as an evolution "from wilderness to empire."¹ In 1850 California entered the union extensive in area, wealthy in gold, but small in population. For the first fifty years after statehood the population of California was concentrated in the northern areas of the state. In 1850, 94 percent of the state's population was in the territory to be occupied by its fifty northernmost counties. Approximately the same percentage prevailed until 1880.

At first the major portion of California's population was in the Sierra foothills, where the lure of mining brought the adventurous in search of quick riches. When gold diminished, people looked to other parts of California. What they saw was the great agricultural wealth of the state--her fertile valleys and extensive coastal areas. Agriculture became the chief industry. As a port city, the position of San Francisco was enhanced. Population followed the economic trends. Greater numbers settled in San Francisco and the coastal and valley areas rather than the foothills. When the transcontinental railroads arrived San Francisco was the terminus and the railroad moguls made her their headquarters.

Sacramento was San Francisco's only rival. Center of the gold rush, it captured capital status and became the source of political power. This was no federal system, in which the state government shares its authority with local governments. Every other part of California was dependent on Sacramento for its laws. When San Francisco sought to widen Kearney street into a boulevard, Sacramento's approval had to be obtained.

Nonetheless it was San Francisco which was the gateway and the Pacific port to the New World. Robert Cleland characterized the situation in these words:

Within the state itself, at the turn of the century, the political, economic and cultural center of gravity seemed permanently fixed in San Francisco, and the supremacy in those fields which the northern city had enjoyed for fifty years promised to remain as unchallenged in the future as it had been in the past.²

¹Robert Class Cleland, From Wilderness to Empire (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947).

²Robert Class Cleland, California in Our Time (1900-1940), New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, p. 7.

As the same writer noted, the northern city occupied a "seemingly impregnable position as the first city on the Pacific coast." Southern California's slow growth was watched "with a blend of indifference and tolerant superiority."³

In the 1880's, southern California began to emerge from under the shadows of the more heavily populated north. Shifts occurred from the pastoral, rancho style of economy to soil cultivation. Grapes, grain, and fruit were substituted for cattle and sheep. Spectacular land subdivision followed; and ranchos were converted into vast citrus groves as the citrus industry became profitable.

Completion of the transcontinental lines of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1885, together with extensive advertising, generated the first great southern California real estate boom.⁴ The use of irrigation assisted agricultural development. People stayed despite the difficulties of adjusting to such a fast-growing area. Glenn Dumke analyzed the situation in the following manner:

Agricultural development brought prosperity, prosperity brought fame, and fame attracted new settlers. Of all the causes of the boom, agricultural expansion was the most substantial and constituted a foundation solid enough to withstand the blow of the collapse. Without the real agricultural prosperity upon which the boom was based, speculation would have shattered the region's economic structure and might permanently have stunted its growth.⁵

Within Los Angeles County, oil production began in the late 1880's to be followed by the discovery of the vast Los Angeles oil fields. In 1899, San Pedro Bay was declared a "free port" and construction began on the breakwater. In 1907, work on the Owens River aqueduct was commenced to allow greater population influx. The first commercial motion pictures were filmed at Edendale toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century.

Southern California's population growth in turn reflected these developments. In 1890, 16.6 percent of the population was in the southern sections; in 1900 this had increased to 20.5 percent, and in

³Ibid., pp. 111, 114.

⁴Ibid., passim, briefly touches upon these developments. The most definitive treatment is found in Glenn Dumke, The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California (San Marino, Ca: Huntington Library, 1944). Briefer surveys are found in John W. Caughey, California (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), chapter 26, and Richard Bigger and James D. Kitchen, How the Cities Grew (Los Angeles: Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952), pp. 1-17. Earlier studies include: James M. Guinn, "The Great Real Estate Boom of 1887," 1 Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California (1890) 13-21; and Joseph Netz, "The Great Los Angeles Real Estate Boom of 1887," 10 Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, (1915), pp. 54-68.

⁵Dumke, op. cit., p. 16.

1910 to 31.1 percent. By 1920, southern California had 39.3 percent of the state's population. During the 1920's this figure edged toward the 50 percent mark. The southern counties surpassed the northern counties in population in 1930.

The north/south population shift was reflected in the tremendous growth of Los Angeles and the relative decline of San Francisco. Few people in 1850 thought the little pueblo of 1,610 people, which by 1880 had only grown to 11,183 people, would ever challenge the great port city of the north. Nevertheless, 50,395 people resided in the city of Los Angeles by 1890; in 1900 the population reached 102,479, and in 1910, 319,198. By 1920, Los Angeles' population had surpassed San Francisco's. In 1940 Los Angeles boasted a million and a half residents to San Francisco's 635,000. The era of gold, silver, and wheat--one that had given northern California and San Francisco predominance--had passed. A new era of "black gold"--citrus farming, automobiles, tourists, and motion pictures--had begun.

Another shift in population was also taking place within the state--the shift from rural to urban. Urban dwellers represented only 7.4 percent of the population in 1850; they accounted for 10.7 percent in 1860, 37.2 in 1870, 42.9 in 1880, 48.6 in 1890, and 52.3 percent in 1900. By 1910, the urban proportion of the population of California was 61.8 percent, or 1,468,419 urban residents in contrast with 909,130 rural residents. The decline in the percentage of rural dwellers continued in subsequent decades, dropping from 38.1 percent in 1910 to 32.1 percent in 1920, 27.6 percent in 1930, and leveling off at 27.5 percent in 1940. In subsequent decades the urban figures continually pushed upward and the rural downward.

By 1930 another type of population change was evident within the state. The population of the core areas within the large metropolitan areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco began to decline in proportion to the population of the suburbs. More and more people moved to the fringes of the cities. The day of the "bedroom" community had arrived. Though San Francisco was still the core area of the north, steadily growing influxes of people were swelling the population of Marin, San Mateo, Alameda, and Contra Costa counties. Likewise in the south, when in 1940 Los Angeles became the fifth largest city in the nation with a population of one and one-half million, the galaxy of satellite communities around it accounted for an almost equal number of residents.

The core/suburban dichotomy contained within it another demographic phenomenon. By 1960 ethnic composition became relevant. First to become significant were blacks in the fifties and sixties, then Latinos in the seventies and eighties, then Asian groups in the eighties and nineties.

Population changes--the tremendous growth of California in relation to that of the nation, the shift of population concentration from north to south, from San Francisco to Los Angeles, from rural to urban areas and from city core areas to suburban communities, and increasing ethnic populations--have found expression in the political life of California. Population shifts translated directly into reapportionment issues. California's reapportionment troubles began when the areas with sparse population grew faster than areas that had once held the largest proportion of the state's population. Groups whose political power was not commensurate with their growth and size were opposed, every step of the way, by the "vested interest" groups that wanted to retain the political power they possessed on the basis of previous population dominance. Demands for a proportionate share of representation conflicted with the interests of incumbent legislators and established pressure groups.

More and more, Senatorial and Assembly districts were located in the southern section of the state. Southern California, with four Assemblymen from 1850 to 1880, received 13 in 1890, 24 in 1911, and 32 in 1927. In 1931, 41 of the Assembly seats were allocated to southern California. Los Angeles County continued to gain representatives while San Francisco County lost legislators. Southern California also reaped a larger number of congressional districts with each decade. In 1890, Southern California's sparse population only entitled it to one of the state's seven congressional posts, in contrast to the even division of the congressional districts, ten for the north and ten for the south, in 1930.

Changes in political representation occurred only after great controversy. Once the State Senate's membership was set at 40 and the Assembly's membership at 80, every additional district for any county meant the loss of a district for another county. Consequently, the continuous relative decline in population of northern California, rural areas, San Francisco, and, ultimately, Anglo groups, brought citizens from those areas and groups into political conflict with citizens from southern California, urban and suburban areas, Los Angeles, and non-Anglo areas, respectively. In the first half of the twentieth

century rural groups demanded constitutional protection against urban dominance. By the end of the century ethnicity became the major issue in redistricting.

Settlement and Statehood

California burst forth as a frontier outpost at the end of the Mexican War (1846-1848). It held incredible promise for those who found the true meaning of its slogan: Eureka (I have found it). Hordes of Americans and other adventurers flooded into the northern portions of California in quest of gold—the symbol of opportunity, success, power and authority. Overnight Mexican Californios became a minority in the pastoral southern coastal areas known as the "cow counties".

As settlers moved in, the natural inclination was to seek a government to establish law, order, justice and security. Newcomers sought not just opportunity but legalization of their peaceful conquest. Jacksonian democracy was without significant challenge. In a world in which a pauper could become the wealthiest person in town by tomorrow, any pretense of oligarchy was rejected. The Mexican culture with its aristocratic inclinations was simply unacceptable to the new Gringos. Political equality was the important principle and the dynamic environment merely fortified the general commitment to what has become known as "one person, one vote."

Major General Riley, acting largely on his own and faced with growing concerns about stability in his military jurisdiction, issued a call for a Constitutional Convention in 1849 in response to growing demands for a government in line with the spirit of Jacksonian democracy. The Convention did not produce a set of essays comparable to the Federalist papers, nor were the members of Founding Father stature, but a reading of the Constitutional debates leaves little doubt of their competence and commitment to the democratic goals of the era. In contrast to the founding of the American Republic, the newly arrived Californians needed no persuasive essays to tip the scales for statehood. Though some had reservations and favored a preliminary territorial stage, at least for the southern section of the state-to-be, the overwhelming sentiment in the Constitutional Convention, and the territory, was for statehood.

California's constitution-makers were pragmatic individuals desirous of shaping a political system to reflect their goals and aspirations. The main questions were: how big would the state be; what institutional form would the government take; what were the rights of the citizens; and, who could vote?

In general, other frontier provinces of the recently established Mexican Republic had followed the practices of colonial administrative units. California, however, became a state within the American federation. As such the constitutional principles were: separation of powers; checks and balances; political equality unfettered by monetary requirements; short terms and rotation of offices; an executive; and a bicameral legislature.

Step by step, with resolutions, motions, and frequent adjournments, the Convention members hammered out answers to questions of legislative size in the two Houses, the composition of each House, the timing and staggering of elections and the general basis for representation. Representation in both Houses was to be based on white male population as determined by state and national census. Article IV, section 28 provided for an enumeration of the inhabitants in the year 1852, and at the end of every ten years thereafter. Article IV, section 29, specified that the number of State Senators and Assemblymen was to be fixed by the first Legislature. The Assembly would be not less than 24 nor more than 36 until the state's population reached 100,000. After attaining that size, the Assembly would never be less than 30 nor more than 80.

The State Senate would not be less than one-half the size of the Assembly. Because State Senators were to be elected for two year terms the Senators would be divided into two classes. The first class would serve only a one year term so that one half of the Senate would be elected each year. Section 7 provided that as the number of Senators increased the positions would be apportioned by lot, to keep the two classes as nearly equal as possible.

Article IV, section 30 controlled the groupings of counties for Congressional, Senatorial and Assembly districts when two or more counties were grouped together. Counties could not be separated by any county belonging to another district. No county could be divided in forming a Congressional, Senatorial or Assembly district; thus counties with more than one representative would be multimember.

One of the Convention's last acts was to provide for interim representation until the first Legislature established counties to be grouped into electoral districts. The interim arrangements provided eight electoral units, allocated as follows (the first number refers to Senators and the second Assemblymen): Los Angeles and San Diego (2, 2), Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo (1, 1), Monterey (1, 1), San Jose (1, 1), San Francisco (2, 5) Sonoma (2, 2), Sacramento (4, 9) San Joaquin (4, 9). The result was a Senate of 17 members and an Assembly of 30.

1850 to 1860

The first order of business for the first Legislature was the creation of subdivisions within the state. This was not a federal system of equal parts forming a union--the Constitution created a unitary system in which the state government would determine its subordinate parts. Twenty-seven counties were created. The next item of business was the allocation of representation. Senator Thomas J. Green introduced a joint resolution to establish a joint select committee to implement the constitutional guidelines.⁶

There was division within the joint select committee as to how large the Houses should be. A figure of 90 (27 Senators and 63 Assemblymen) had been suggested. The select committee's majority argued that representation was necessary only because of the impracticality of a people meeting en masse to enact laws; therefore the smaller the ratio of Legislators to voters the nearer the Legislature was to the public and the more representative it would be. Legislation would be greatly facilitated by increasing the size of the Legislature. In particular, the majority noted members in the Senate were called upon to serve on too many committees. Legislation was being retarded in committee or left in the hands of one or two members. The legislative process would be slow and tedious without a larger membership. The minority asserted that increasing the size of the Legislature was unnecessary. The joint select committee eventually provided a 30 member Senate and a 68 member Assembly.

⁶Journal of the California State Senate, 1850, p. 168.

The 1852 state census updated the 1850 national census and provided the basis for an 1853 reapportionment. Problems in obtaining accurate data were formidable in isolated parts of the state and in areas of great mobility.⁷ To rectify missing figures the Legislature followed an elaborate formula for developing a population figure based on voting records.⁸ Acting on the basis of the 1852 census figures the 1853 reapportionment allocated an 80 member Assembly and a 34 member State Senate.

The vote for the plan was 32 to 19. A review of the votes on the reapportionment legislation suggests it was not partisan--26 Democrats and 8 Whigs were in favor and 9 Democrats and 10 Whigs opposed.⁹ Similar approval came in the overwhelmingly Democratic State Senate. Sixteen Democrats and one Whig voted for the legislation. Two Democrats, one Whig and one unaffiliated member voted no.

As new counties were created in 1856 and 1857, they were treated as part of the old districts. Fresno remained part of the Tulare district,¹⁰ San Mateo part of the San Francisco district,¹¹ and Del Norte part of the Klamath district.¹² Also in 1857, four counties in the 12th district (Humboldt, Trinity, Klamath, and Siskiyou) were split. Humboldt and Trinity constituted one district, while Klamath, Del Norte and Siskiyou become another district.

The first twelve years of statehood were volatile in many respects. Population surged from 92,000 in 1850 to 379,994 in 1860. Demographic shifts were dramatic. Politics were unpredictable. Re-election, even bids for re-election, were rare.

During the first decade the Democrats dominated with the exception of the 1854 elections. 1858 brought the Democrats back into power, but with their own factional struggles complicating effective exercise of authority. There was a split in the Democratic Party between those who favored slavery and those who opposed it.

⁷Journal of the California State Senate, 1853, p. 744.

⁸The total population of the mining counties was 83,257. By comparing the ratio of population to votes using the voting records in the last general election with the same ratio in the other counties, El Dorado County was determined to have an estimated white population of 24,271. Appendix of the Journal of the California State Senate, 1853, p. 582.

⁹Journal of the California State Senate, 1853, p. 582.

¹⁰Statutes of California, 1856, chapter 127, p. 185.

¹¹Statutes of California, 1857, chapter 188, p.208.

¹²Statutes of California, 1857, chapter 52, p. 37.

The potential division of the state was also a major issue, one which became interlaced with larger national issues prior to the Civil War. Governor MacDougal called attention to the fact that although southern California paid 66% of the taxes it had very little representation. Such conditions so angered Assemblyman Pio Pico and others that a full scale effort was launched to divide the state. By 1859, the steps for division had reached the point of submission of documents to President Buchanan. California would have continued as a state consisting of the northern and central counties, while the new state of Southern California would have included territory now in the counties of Santa Barbara, Ventura, Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside, Imperial and San Diego. The division was stalled by the Civil War.

Annual elections prevailed until 1862. With population fluctuating dramatically, periodical redistricting was essential in spite of the constitutional stipulation of one redistricting per decade.

1861 to 1870

In 1861, Governor John Downey called the Legislature's attention to its apportionment responsibility. Downey's biennial address urged early action on the apportionment of districts among counties according to the white population as ascertained by the 1860 national census. The Governor also added:

I think the interest of the state would be served if the number of assemblymen and senators were reduced so as to approximate to the minimum number designated by the Constitution. Both bodies might thus be rendered more efficient and the cost to the State reduced materially.¹³

The Assembly's special Committee on Reapportionment noted its responsibility to apportion based on the number of white inhabitants. Actual total population figures were perplexing because Negroes, Mongolians and Indians were included. However, the Committee ultimately came forth with a reapportionment proposal.

¹³Journal of the California State Senate, 1861, p.42.

The Governor's proposal to decrease the Legislature's size was rejected. The Special Committee Report recommended the size of the two Houses be fixed at the maximum allowed by the Constitution. The Committee took the position that the extended area of the state, its diversified interests, population growth and the development of industry justified the adoption of the full constitutional limit in the two Houses. Although admitting a smaller membership would reduce the public expense, the Committee felt the desire of each local area for a representative would naturally lead to a continual demand for a distribution of Senators and Assemblymen to the maximum allowable. The Committee reasoned that greater expenses would be incurred in considering these applications than would result from apportioning Members to the constitutional maximum.¹⁴

The 1861 reapportionment was presented as Assembly Bill 443. Analysis of the votes shows both partisan and regional overtones. All Republicans voted for the legislation while the Democrats were split in two camps, almost equally for and against. In the Assembly the vote was 37 for (15 Republicans and 22 Democrats) and 28 against (all Democrats). In the Senate the vote for the legislation was 21 to 9. The regional areas that lost seats were opposed. All the Legislators from El Dorado County, a mining county, voted against the bill.

The creation of new counties continued. In 1864, Alpine and Lassen were created. In 1866, Inyo was created from sections of Tuolumne and Mono.¹⁵ Kern was created in the same year from Tulare and Los Angeles counties.¹⁶

1871 to 1879

In 1871, in the waning days of his administration, Governor Henry Haight admonished the Legislature to take up its responsibility to reapportion and in particular to address the San Francisco inequalities, San Francisco now having one fourth of the state's population. The Governor advocated

¹⁴Journal of the California State Assembly, 1861, pp. 709-11.

¹⁵Statutes of California, 1866, chapter 316, p. 357.

¹⁶Statutes of California, 1866, chapter 569, p. 797.

representation by districts. He believed districts would provide more just representation and "doubtless a higher grade of qualification" in the membership.

The Governor's advice was not taken and the old apportionment formula continued. In April 1872, the Sacramento Bee declared "It was wrong to continue this wrong...", referring to the failure to provide representation for the San Francisco and valley areas. The editorial termed the action a "foul blow" at the very vitals of government and found the actions of Legislators chosen by the electorate "because of their better qualities of head and heart" deplorable. The Legislator's task was to see such wrongs did not occur.

The best explanation was that the 1871 Legislature had not acted because more seats for San Francisco meant fewer for the rapidly declining mining areas. An 1871 Legislature made up of many Democrats from the areas destined to lose seats did not wish to liquidate its base. The 1873 Legislature, having more Republicans as well as 29 independents, was more amenable to adjustments. The new Republican Governor, Newton Booth, picked up the reapportionment issue which had been left by the previous Legislature. He declared the delay was "so manifestly unjust" it had the potential of "inviting a revolutionary remedy" if representation by population was not accomplished.

During the 1873-1874 session the Legislature responded to the gubernatorial request and made major shifts from the mining areas to Alameda, San Francisco and San Joaquin counties. Altogether the mining counties (Calaveras, El Dorado, Nevada, Placer, Sacramento, Sierra, Tuolumne and Yuba) lost 14 members in the Assembly and 8 in the State Senate. The halving of mining area representation allowed the transfer of legislative seats to Alameda (up one seat in both Houses), San Francisco (up seven seats in both Houses) and San Joaquin (gaining three seats in the Assembly and one in the Senate). Los Angeles and San Diego counties also gained seats.

Republicans, Independents and 7 Democrats carried the vote in the Assembly. Opposed were 18 Democrats, 3 Republicans and 3 Independents. More Democrats were against (18) than for (7) and the Republicans and Independents were the majority. Regional division is more pertinent. The no votes came primarily from Nevada and El Dorado--mining areas; losing counties in terms of relative population decline and therefore representation.

The large number of independents in favor of reapportionment change was a sign of a growing dissatisfaction with the Constitutional system. The Constitution of 1849 was no longer meeting the needs of a changing California. San Francisco was especially favorable to the idea of a new constitutional convention. The heyday of the gold rush was over and commercial and agricultural wealth were becoming more important. Dissatisfaction and agitation, especially in the Workingman Party of San Francisco, prompted the second Constitutional Convention of 1878-1879.

Naturally the issues included elections, size of the Legislature and voter qualifications. A move was made to give each county at least one representative. A proposal was made to increase the Assembly size to 120, while the Senate would remain at 40. Most critical from San Francisco's viewpoint as the dominant population center was a proposal to limit any county's representation to a fixed number of members. The latter proposal was soundly defeated.

After all the debate the most significant changes had to do with restrictions on the voting rights of Orientals and the inauguration of a single district system. The Constitution of 1879 included transitional provisions generally favorable to the Democrats.

1880 to 1889

The transitional guidelines stipulated by the new 1879 Constitution ended up becoming the basis for representation for several elections. Elections in 1880 resulted in the election of 34 Republicans, 23 Democrats and Workingmen, and 23 new members. No successful reapportionment was accomplished in 1881. Districts remained in effect for another election though entitlements clearly required adjustments. The State Senate was another problem. The Constitution of 1879 provided for three-year terms for those elected in 1879. Thus, the whole State Senate came up for election in 1882. One-half of the Senators would vacate their seats in 1884. Subsequently the senatorial term would be four years. The Democrats won 32 of the 40 Senate seats and 61 of the 80 Assembly seats in the 1882 election. Despite the questionable legality of the non-reapportioned Legislature the incumbents intended to rule.

Small wonder that the redistricting adjustments required by the 1880 census were delayed until 1883. To give San Francisco 25% of both Houses, which population entitled it to, not only meant giving

up seats from the rural mining counties of the north but, even more important, giving authority to newcomers.

In 1883, Democratic Governor George Stoneman stated that reapportionment should be a major priority for the 1883 legislative session¹⁷. Calling attention to the last Legislature's failure to comply with its Constitutional mandate the Governor said, "that the people of the State have a right to, and do expect, a fair apportionment, cannot be denied." The Governor urged early action in "a fair and impartial manner." Stoneman, a former legislator himself, acknowledged the political realities of reapportionment:

Instances are not infrequent in which the party in power, anxious to perpetuate its authority, has enacted an apportionment law for purely partisan purposes. In these cases little or no regard has been had for local desires or the general welfare. The missing of opposition majorities, and study of how the vote of the party in power should be distributed so as best to submerge the party have generally been the only objects considered.¹⁸

The Governor went on to observe the inherent disadvantages of yielding to political expediency:

It is to be doubted whether any real and ultimate party advantage has ever been attained by such an unpatriotic procedure. Honest effort is the only unerring guide to lasting success. But apart from their political effort the methods which I have criticized are intrinsically wrong. The constitutional mandate is clear and positive.¹⁹

The 1883 reapportionment debates were not without their statesmen. Notably on the record was the author of Assembly bills 128 and 130, Democratic Assemblyman James Flynn of San Francisco. He proclaimed his task was to represent all the people. He sought justice for all, irrespective of political ends. Flynn declared, "no man who stands on this floor and says he votes and acts in the interest of the Democratic party properly represents his district and certainly cannot make a good legislator."

Assemblyman Archibald Yell joined Flynn in denouncing partisan politics. He declared himself astonished at the action of certain members of the Democratic Party. From his perspective such people came more to represent political interests than the entire interests of the state. While claiming party loyalty, he did not come to apportion the state for party interests. Yell declared himself a representative of the whole people. The Mendocino Democrat said:

¹⁷Journals of California State Assembly, 1883, appendix, volume 1, section 3, p.6

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

I believe we should apportion this State as nearly as possible without regards to political grounds as the Constitution requires. I cannot see how any representative on this floor can vote to take from the Sacramento delegation one of her assemblymen. If you do not vote for my resolution [giving Sacramento three Assemblymen] you deprive 5000 people from Sacramento County from representation. I wash my hands of that. I should vote to apportion this State according to the dictates of the Constitution and the interests of the whole people. We cannot take a representative from Sacramento County simply from the fact that she is Republican in politics. I want to be fair and do equal justice to all people irrespective of party. If you only gave Sacramento County two Assemblymen, you deprive good people of representation and that will cast a stigma on the Democratic Party that will cut like a two-edged sword in the next campaign.

Both Assembly bill 128, the Assembly reapportionment bill and Assembly bill 130, the State Senate bill, passed with clear majorities. The Assembly bill was passed in the Senate with 28 Democrats and one Republican voting for it, while 3 Republicans voted against it. In the Assembly 41 Democrats voted for it, while 19 votes were cast against.

With regard to the Senate reapportionment bill, the votes in the Senate were 29 for (26 Democrats and 3 Republicans) and 3 against (all Republicans). In the Assembly a substantial majority made up of 48 Democrats and 1 Republican approved while 18 voted against it (14 Republicans and 4 Democrats).²⁰

The Senate reapportionment bill contained a proviso that its provisions would not take effect until July 1, 1886. The *San Francisco Chronicle* stated that the railroad interests had a part to play in that provision because they were satisfied with the make-up of the Senate and feared that a new election would decrease the working Democratic majority.²¹ The result of the 1883 reapportionment was that the Bay region's representation and dominance in the Assembly were increased at the expense of the mining areas. Representation of the southern counties increased slightly.

If the redistricting was conducted to enhance the Democratic Party's prospects, the plan failed miserably. Democrats were ousted in 1884, losing 39 Assembly seats.

²⁰Journal of the California State Assembly, 1883, pp. 328 and 447 (AB 128), and pp. 291 and 586 (AB 130).

²¹San Francisco Chronicle, March 6, 1893, p. 4.

1890-1899

The 1891 Legislature was greeted with the usual gubernatorial urging on reapportionment. Republican Governor Henry Markham observed in his 1891 inaugural address that the population increases throughout the state had distorted population equality between districts. Markham called upon the Legislature to act in the spirit of justice and fairness to all sections of the state. The statewide result should be equal and exact representation for each county relating its proportion of population to that of the whole state.²²

Republicans were in control of the Legislature and in the 1891 session it was the Republican caucus which carefully considered and put forth a reapportionment plan. The Democratic minority did not offer amendments. Partly this was because the Republicans had carefully considered Democratic counties. An additional seat for Los Angeles was given to San Benito, a Democratic county, while its neighbor Santa Cruz, a Republican county, had only one Assemblyman for 19,000 people. In another concession to the opposition, Solano, a Republican county with a population equal to Colusa and Lake was denied an Assemblyman even though the Navy yard there would guarantee its Republicanism for the next 20 years. Republican Assemblyman Henry Dibble contended the question of politics was never raised in the caucus.

The votes in favor of the Assembly and Senate reapportionment bill, Assembly bill 734, were substantially Republican. In the Senate, 24 Republicans supported the bill, while 9 Democrats and 2 Republicans voted no. In the Assembly, 49 Republicans were joined by 2 Democrats and 1 American Party member, while 15 Democrats cast no votes.²³

A result of the redistribution of legislative seats in 1891 was that after a heyday of endless growth San Francisco began to experience an erosion of its legislative strength. In the Assembly, northern counties (Butte, Nevada, Solano and Sonoma) declined. Central and southern counties gained. Similar changes occurred in the Senate. Northern counties (Butte and Nevada) lost and southern counties (Los

²²Appendix to the California State Senate and Assembly Journals, 1891, volume 1, p. 6.

²³Journal of the California State Senate, 1891 and Journal of the California State Assembly, 1891.

Angeles and San Diego) gained. The mining counties continued to slip, going from 8 to 6 Senators and from 18 to 13 Assemblymen. In the south Los Angeles gained half of the increases.²⁴ Congressional gains were also registered, with one new district going to central California.

1900 to 1911

The overwhelming Republican control of the Legislature in 1901(60 of 80 Assemblymen and 36 of 40 Senators) guaranteed that it would respond to Governor Henry Gage's biennial address. The Governor expressed confidence in the Legislature's integrity and fairness in enacting reapportionment legislation on the "basis of abstract right."²⁵

A major point of contention was the representation of San Benito County and of the Sacramento districts, Republican areas. Under-populated for the representation they had, they effectively denied representation to other areas.

The result of the 1901 reapportionment was that districts in the San Joaquin Valley and the Bay region remained basically the same. Despite relative population decline San Francisco did not lose representation. Alameda County gained one Senator and one Assemblyman. Madera County, now separated from Fresno, was moved into the 12 State Senate district and the 25 Assembly district to join other San Joaquin Valley counties. The major losses occurred in the north coast, in Sacramento and in the foothill and mountain areas. Districts were consolidated by grouping adjacent counties. The benefactor of the northern and rural losses was southern California. But, significantly, all of the gains--two Senators and three Assemblymen--went to Los Angeles. Though the south gained, envy of Los Angeles emerged among southern counties.

The vote on the reapportionment bill (Senate bill 447) was 28 to 0 in the Senate and 48 to 19 in the Assembly, with two Republicans having voted against their party. Again regional vote analysis is

²⁴Statutes of California, 1891, chapter 81, pp. 71 to 83. During the decade two central counties were created, Madera and Kings.

²⁵Journal of the California State Senate, 1901, p. 34.

more telling of the basis for reapportionment behavior.²⁶ Of interest was Assemblyman Fred Stewart's explanation of his reasons for voting for the bill:

I have voted for adoption of this report because I consider the joint action of the Republican members of the Legislature in caucus binding upon me, being a member of said caucus; but I believe the bill to be a denial of the rights of the people of the State of California to equal representation under the Constitution, and an unfair and unequal apportionment in so far as the giving of an Assemblyman to the County of San Benito is concerned.²⁷

CHART I: ENTITLEMENTS BY DECADE--1850 to 1870

1850	Total State Population	approximately 116,000
	Ideal Assembly District Population	3,222
	Ideal State Senate District Population	7,250
	Ideal Congressional District Population	58,000
1852	Total State Population	approximately 255,000
	Ideal Assembly District Population (80)	3,188
	Ideal State Senate District Population (35)	7,286
	Ideal Congressional District Population (2)	127,500
1860	Total State Population	379,994
	Ideal Assembly District Population (80)	4,750
	Ideal State Senate District Population (40)	9,500
	Ideal Congressional District Population (3)	126,665
1870	Total State Population	560,247
	Ideal Assembly District Population (80)	7,003
	Ideal State Senate District Population (40)	14,006
	Ideal Congressional District Population (3)	140,062

Entitlement

Year	Population	Assembly	State Senate	Congress
North Coast: ²⁸				
1850	1,923	0.50	0.38	0.04
1852	9,045	2.84	1.23	0.34
1860	36,545	7.69	3.84	0.29
1870	54,247	7.75	3.87	0.39

²⁶Journal of the California State Senate, 1901.

²⁷Journal of the California State Assembly, 1901, p. 1175.

²⁸The north coast consisted of the original 1850 counties of Marin, Mendocino, Napa, Sonoma, Trinity. Subsequently counties were created: Humboldt (1853), Del Norte (1857), Lake (1861); Klamath was given to Humboldt and Siskiyou in 1874.

Bay Region²⁹

1850	est. 24,000	07.46	03.32	0.42
1852	45,704	14.33	06.27	0.35
1860	86,183	18.15	09.07	0.68
1870	215,052	30.71	15.34	1.54

Central Coast³⁰

1850	4,038	1.25	0.56	0.07
1852	5,842	1.84	0.81	0.04
1860	15,008	3.17	1.58	0.12
1870	31,175	4.45	2.23	0.22

Southern California³¹

1850	4,328	1.35	0.60	0.06
1852	11,146	3.49	1.53	0.09
1860	21,208	4.47	2.23	0.16
1870	24,248	3.47	1.72	0.18

San Joaquin Valley³²

1850	3,647	1.13	0.50	0.06
1852	13,611	4.27	1.87	0.11
1860	22,064	4.65	2.32	0.18
1870	44,150	6.31	3.14	0.32

Sacramento Valley³³

1850	1,343	0.20	0.42	0.03
1852	19,436	6.10	2.67	0.15
1860	42,926	9.03	4.53	0.36
1870	55,684	7.95	3.99	0.40

²⁹The Bay area consisted of the original 1850 counties of Contra Costa, San Francisco and Santa Clara. Subsequently counties were created: Alameda (1853) and San Mateo (1856).

³⁰The central coast consisted of the original 1850 counties of Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz. Subsequently San Benito (1874) and Ventura (1872) counties were created.

³¹Southern California consisted of the original 1850 counties of Los Angeles and San Diego. Subsequently counties were created: San Bernardino (1853), Orange (1889), Riverside (1893), and Imperial (1893).

³²San Joaquin consisted of the original 1850 county of San Joaquin. Subsequently counties were created: Tulare (1852), Stanislaus (1854), Merced (1855), Fresno (1856), Kern (186), Madera (1893), and Kings (1893).

³³Sacramento consisted of the original 1850 counties of Colusa, Sacramento, Solano, Sutter, and Yolo. Subsequently Glenn county was created (1891).

Foothills³⁴

1850	53,006	16.43	7.34	0.93
1852	154,187	29.14	21.16	1.22
1860	141,503	32.47	16.23	1.08
1870	118,820	16.96	8.48	0.84

CHART 2: ENTITLEMENTS BY DECADE--1880 TO 1900

Year	Population	<u>Entitlement</u>		
		Assembly	State Senate	Congress
North Coast				
1880	106,452	9.85	4.92	0.76
1890	133,924	8.88	4.43	0.79
1900	150,770	8.12	4.05	0.81
Bay Region				
1880	353,168	32.67	16.33	2.45
1890	464,468	30.76	15.37	2.69
1900	563,335	30.34	15.18	3.04
Central Coast				
1880	53,416	4.95	2.46	0.38
1890	86,216	5.70	2.85	0.50
1900	97,463	5.25	2.63	0.53
Southern California				
1880	49,785	4.61	2.30	0.34
1890	175,527	11.63	5.81	1.02
1900	270,910	14.58	7.30	1.47
San Joaquin Valley				
1880	65,116	6.02	3.01	0.46
1890	113,162	7.50	3.74	0.67
1900	143,169	7.71	3.85	0.76
Sacramento Valley				
1880	85,232	7.70	3.85	0.58
1890	95,181	6.30	3.15	0.54
1900	106,247	5.72	2.88	0.57

³⁴The Foothills consisted of the original 1850 counties of Butte, Calaveras, El Dorado, Shasta, Tuolumne, and Yuba. Subsequently counties were created: Nevada (1851), Placer (1851), Siskiyou (1852), Sierra (1852), Plumas (1854), Amador (1854), Tehama (1856), Mono (1861), Alpine (1864), Lassen (1864), Inyo (1866), and Modoc (1874).

Foothills

1880	193,036	17.86	8.93	1.33
1890	139,652	9.24	4.63	0.80
1900	153,159	8.24	4.14	0.83

CHAPTER 1

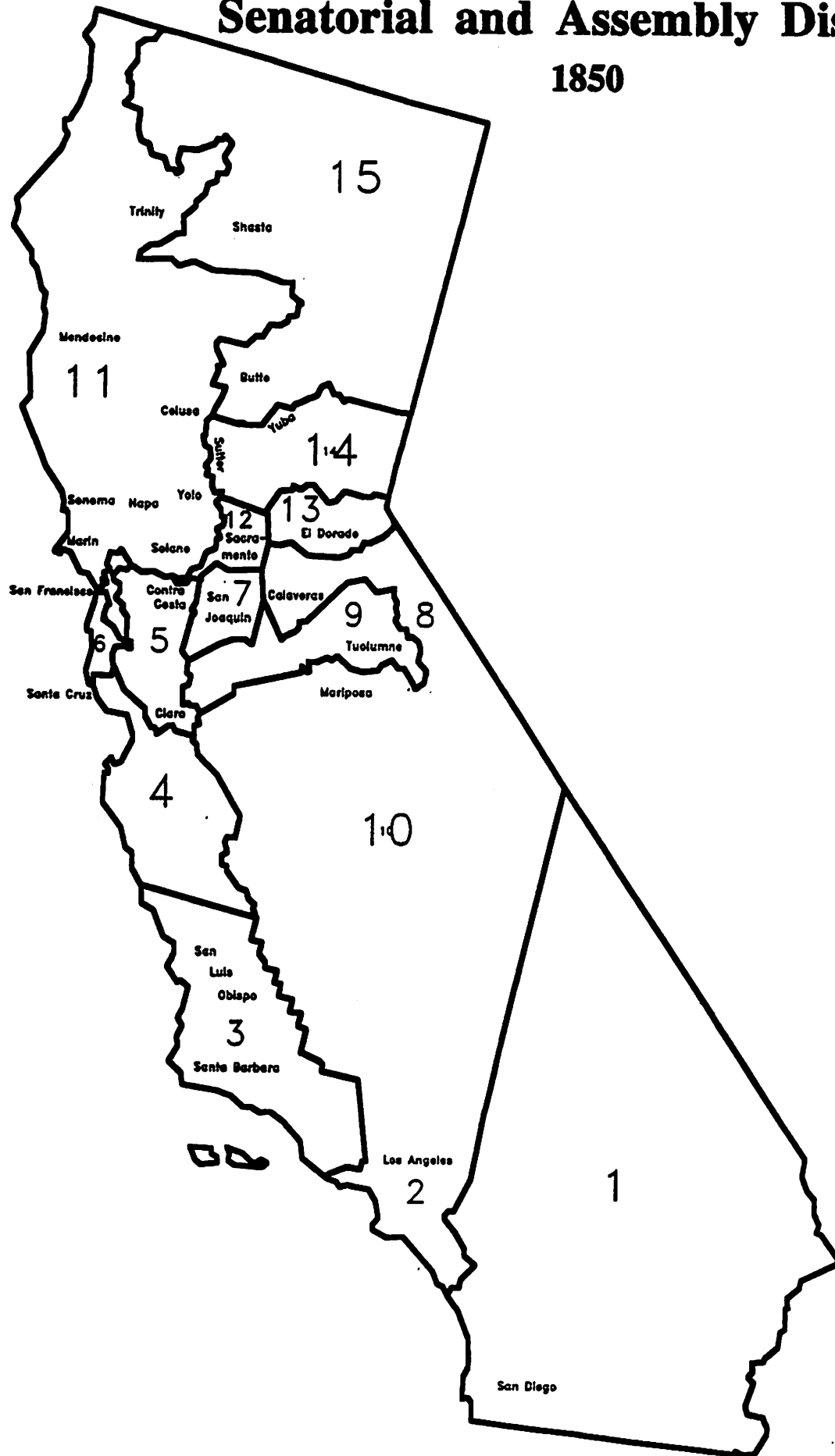
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Population Distributions 1910-1920
Population Distributions 1930 1940

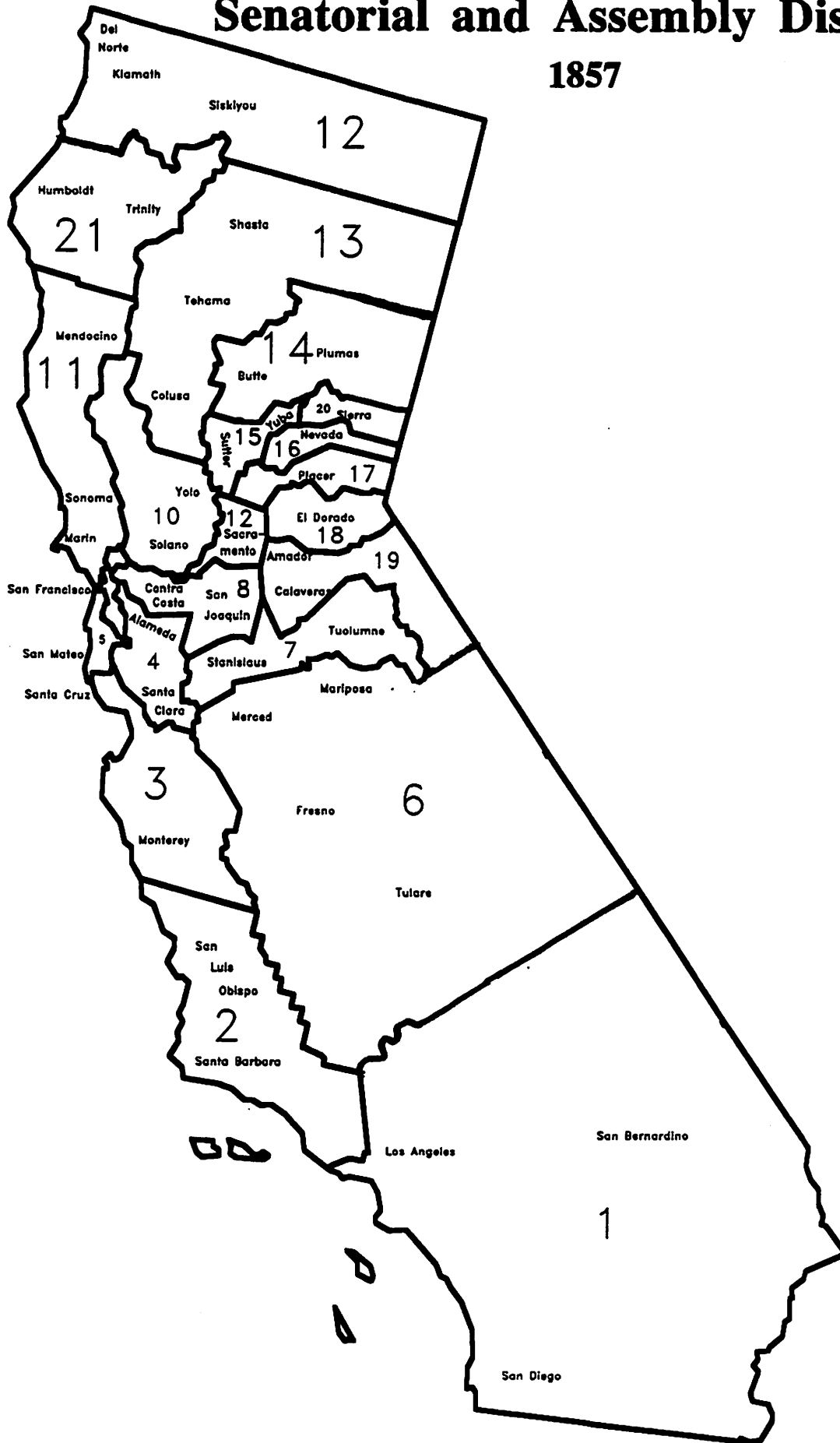
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Assembly and Senatorial Districts	-- 1850
Assembly and Senatorial Districts	-- 1857
Assembly and Senatorial Districts	-- 1863-1864
Congressional Districts	-- 1865
Assembly and Senatorial Districts	-- 1873
Assembly and Senatorial Districts	
San Francisco	-- 1873
Congressional Districts	-- 1873
Assembly Districts	-- 1883
Congressional Districts	-- 1885
Senatorial Districts	-- 1883
Senatorial Districts -- San Francisco	-- 1885
Assembly Districts	-- 1891
Senatorial Districts	-- 1891
Assembly and Senatorial Districts	
San Francisco	-- 1891
Congressional Districts	-- 1891
Assembly Districts	-- 1901
Senatorial Districts	-- 1901
Assembly and Senatorial Districts	
San Francisco	-- 1901
Congressional Districts	-- 1901

Senatorial and Assembly Districts 1850

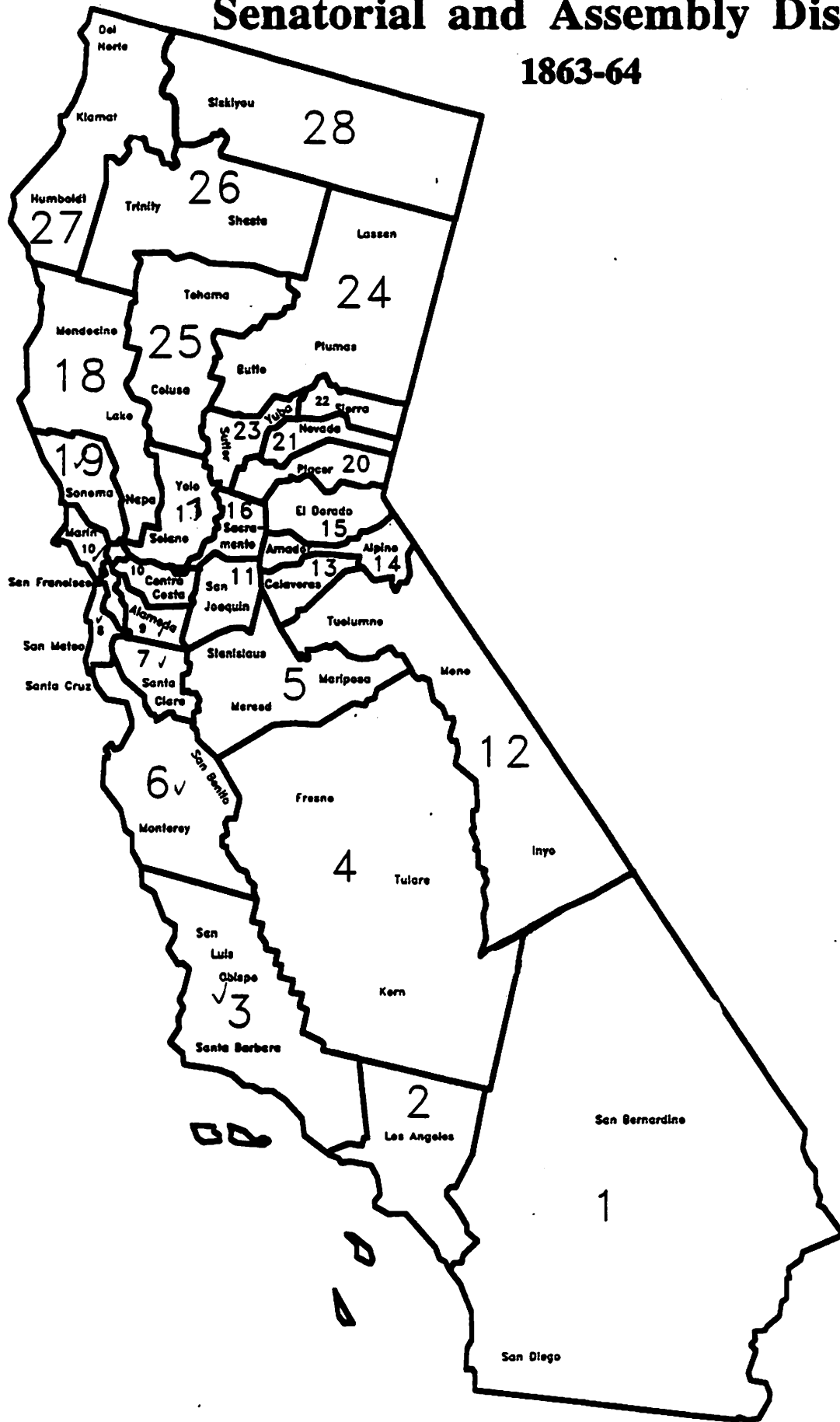


Senatorial and Assembly Districts 1857



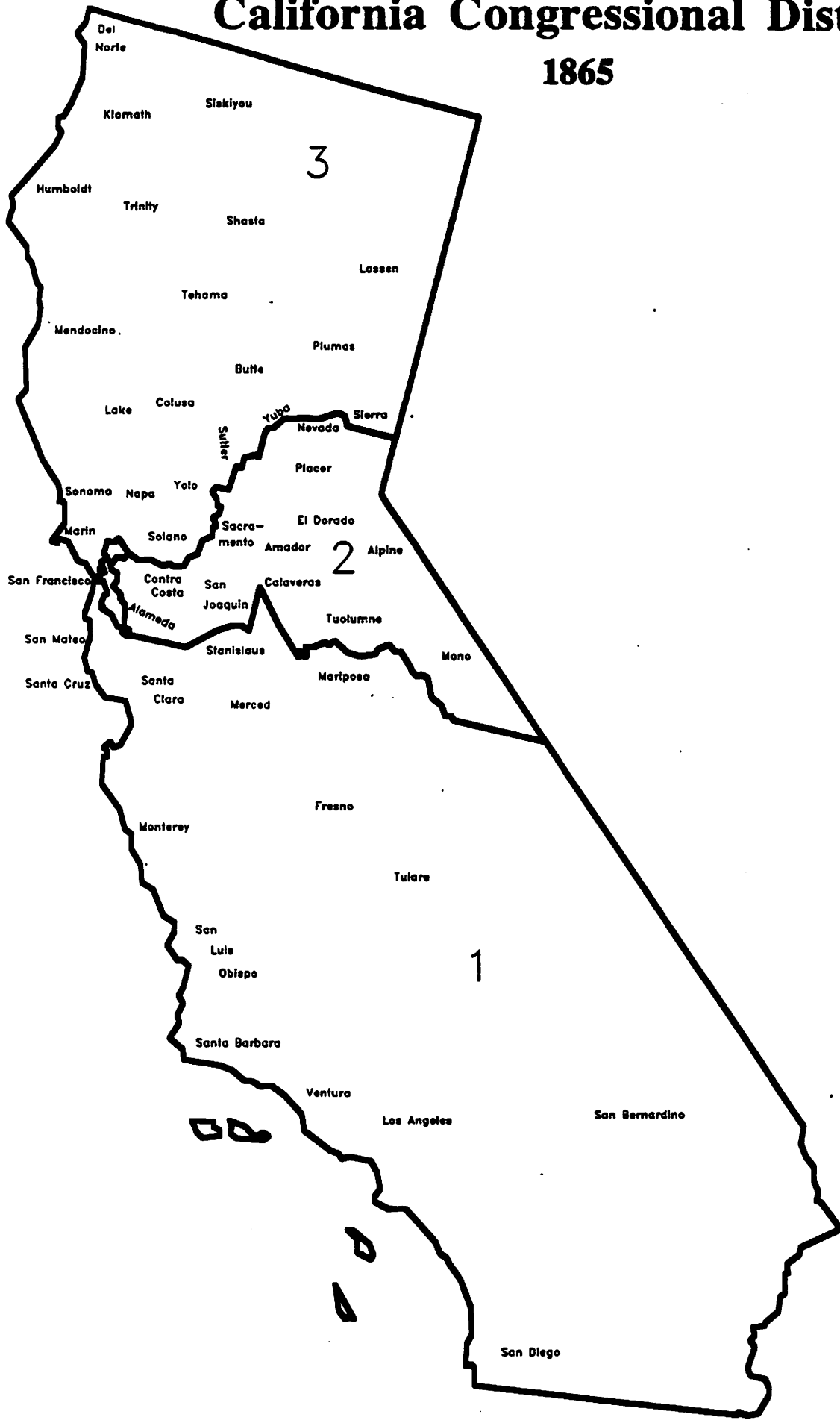
Senatorial and Assembly Districts

1863-64



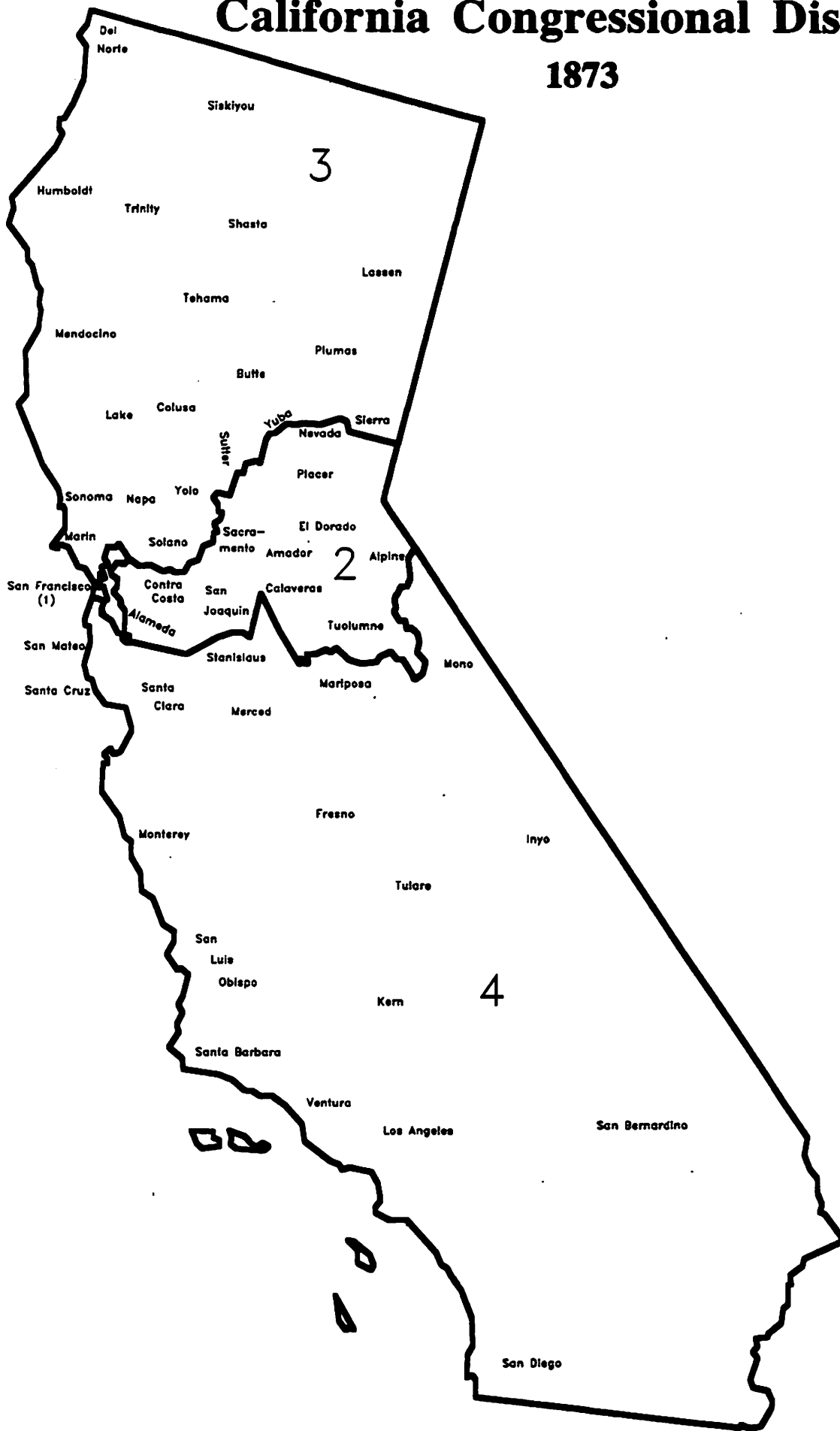
California Congressional Districts

1865



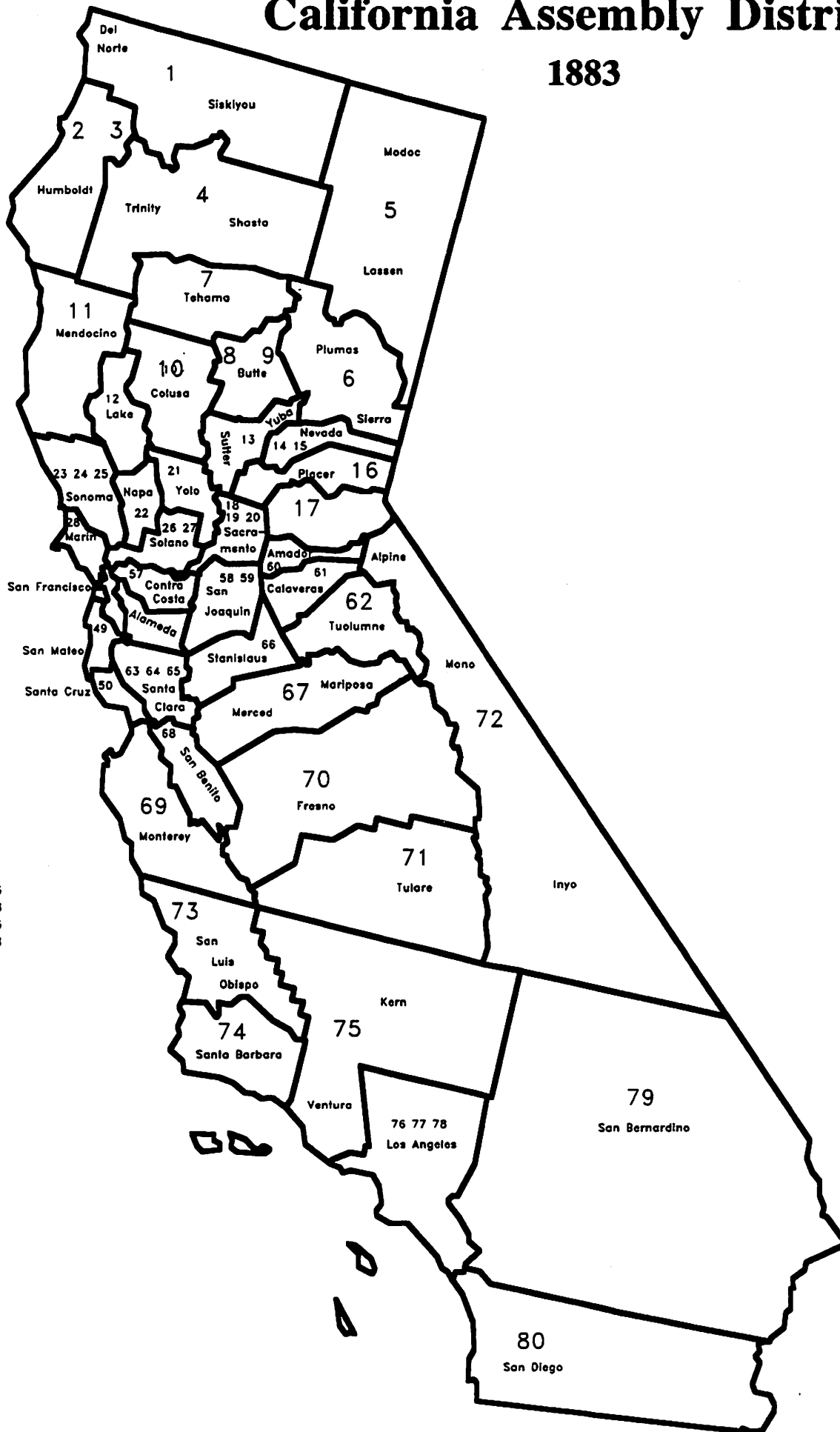
California Congressional Districts

1873



California Assembly Districts

1883

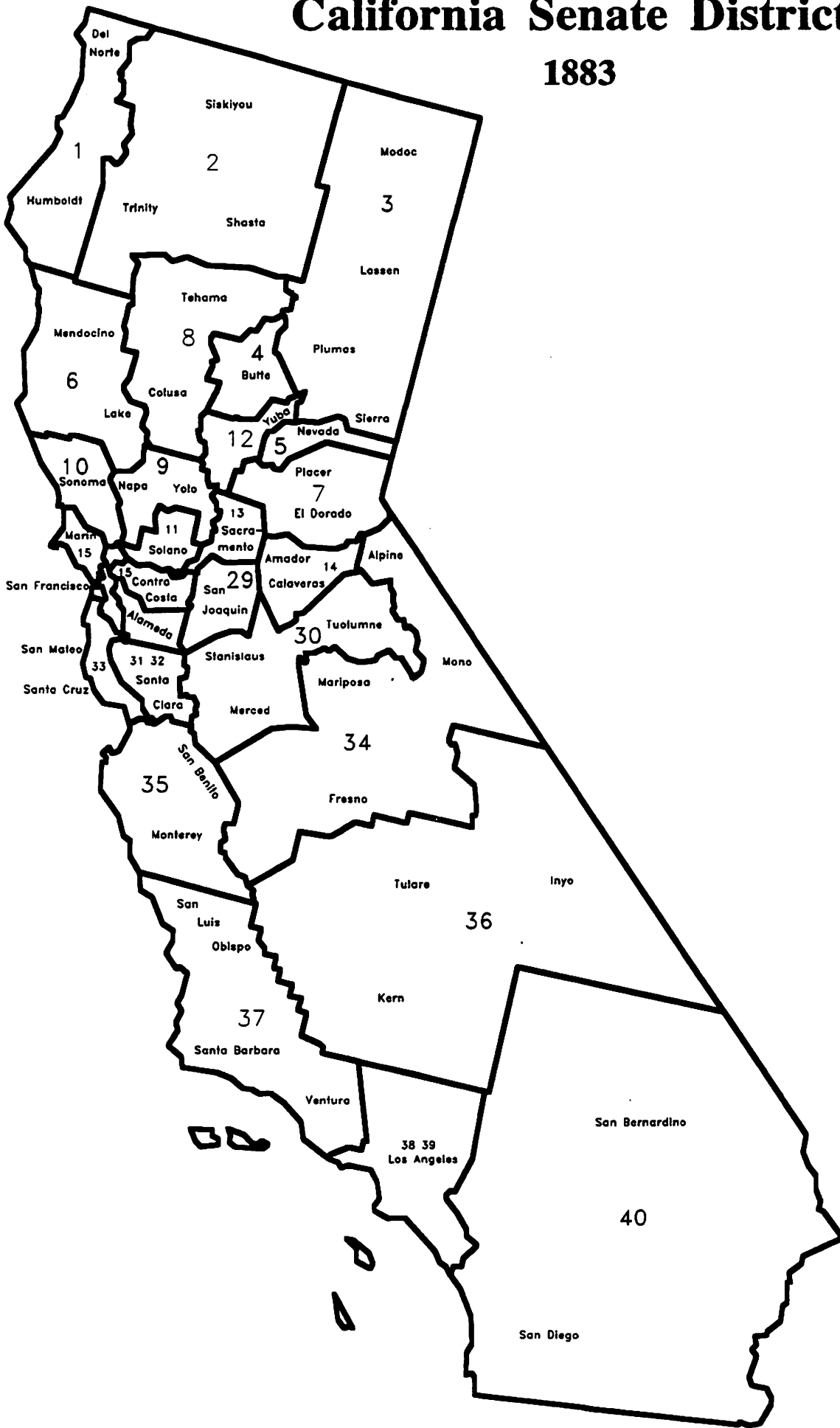


Alameda
51 52 53
54 55 56

San Francisco
29 30 31 32 33
34 35 36 37 38
39 40 41 42 43
44 45 46 47 48

California Senate Districts

1883

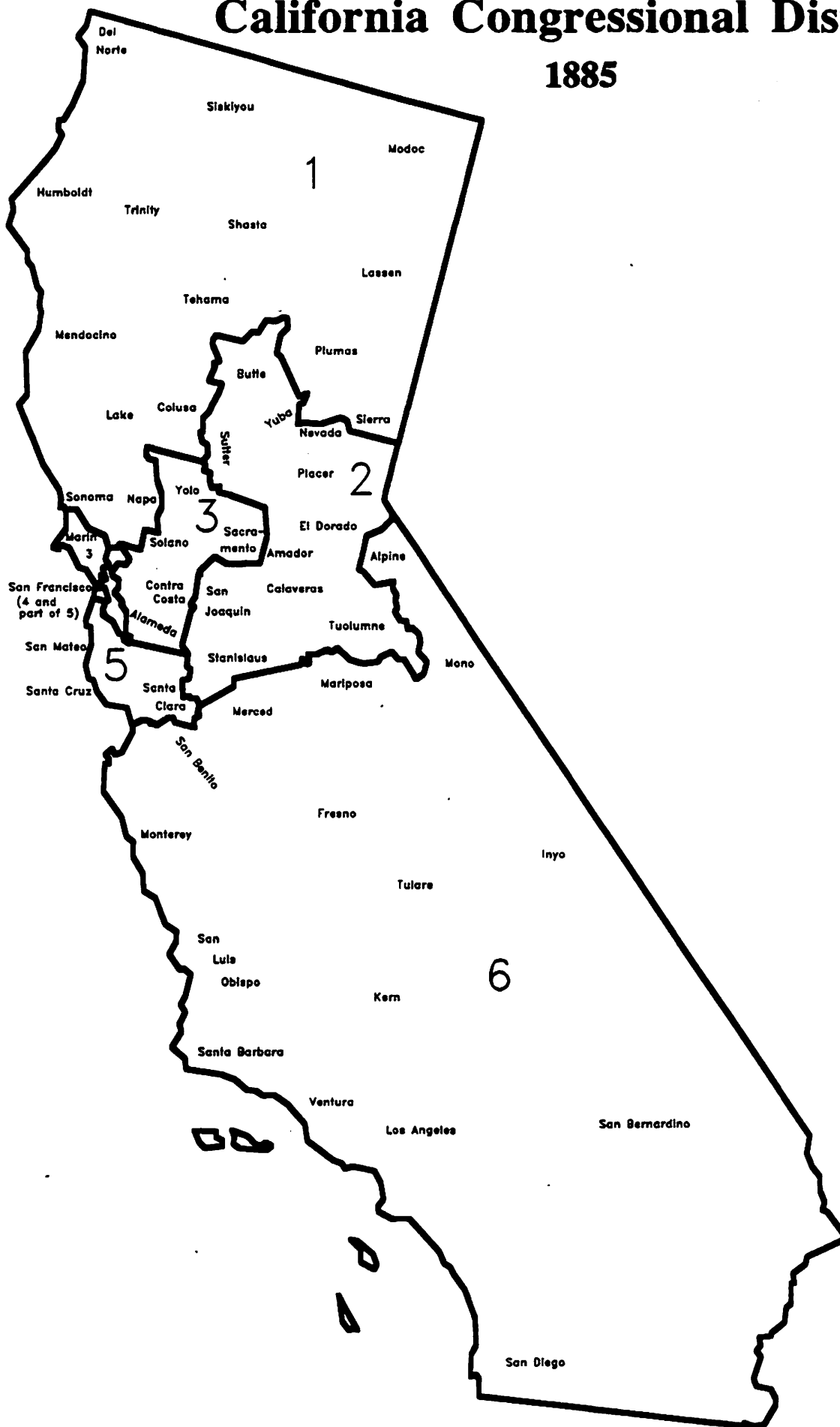


Alameda
16 17 18

San Francisco
19 20 21 22 23
24 25 26 27 28

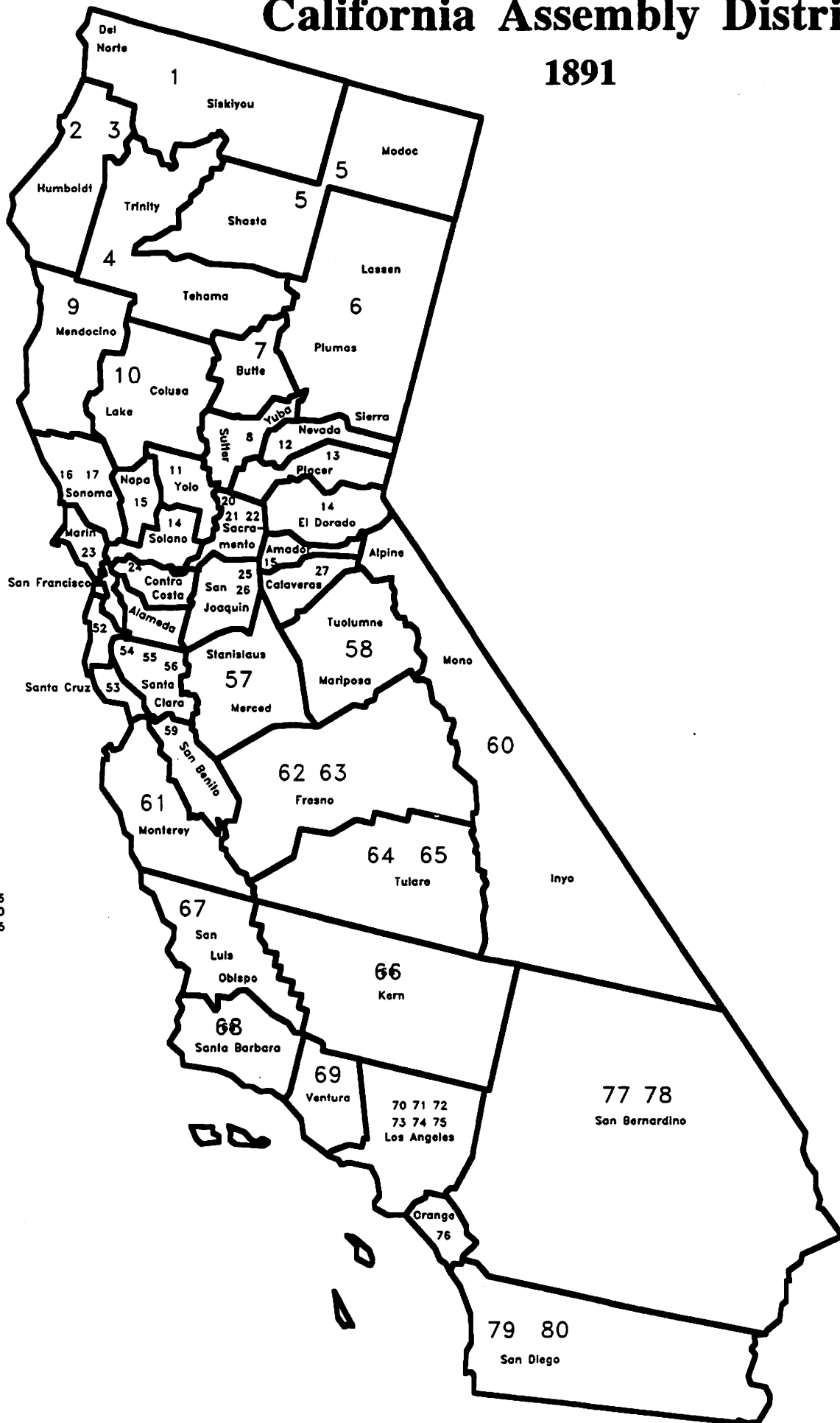
California Congressional Districts

1885



California Assembly Districts

1891

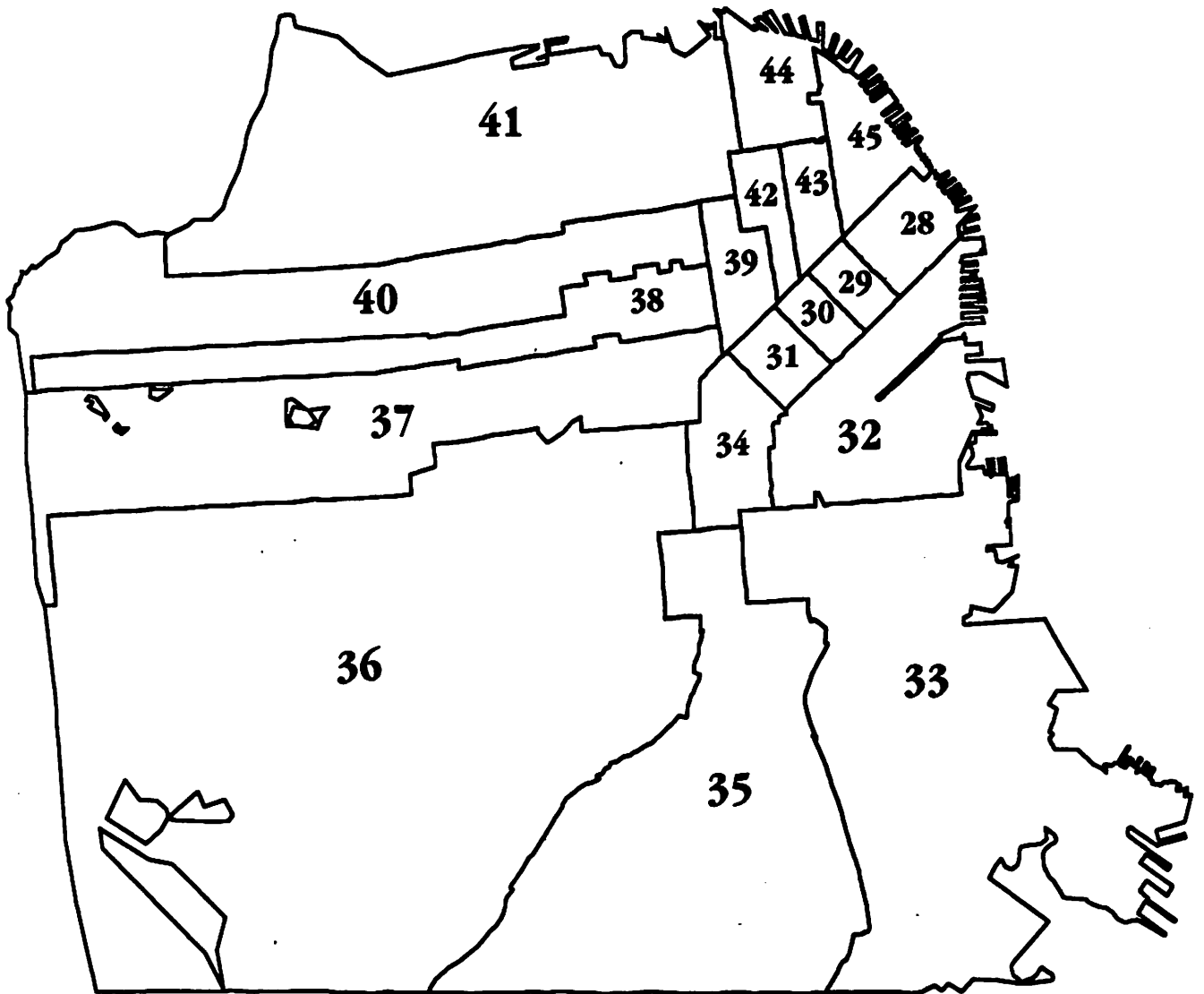


Alameda
46 47 48
49 50 51

San Francisco
28 29 30
31 32 33 34 35
36 37 38 39 40
41 42 43 44 45

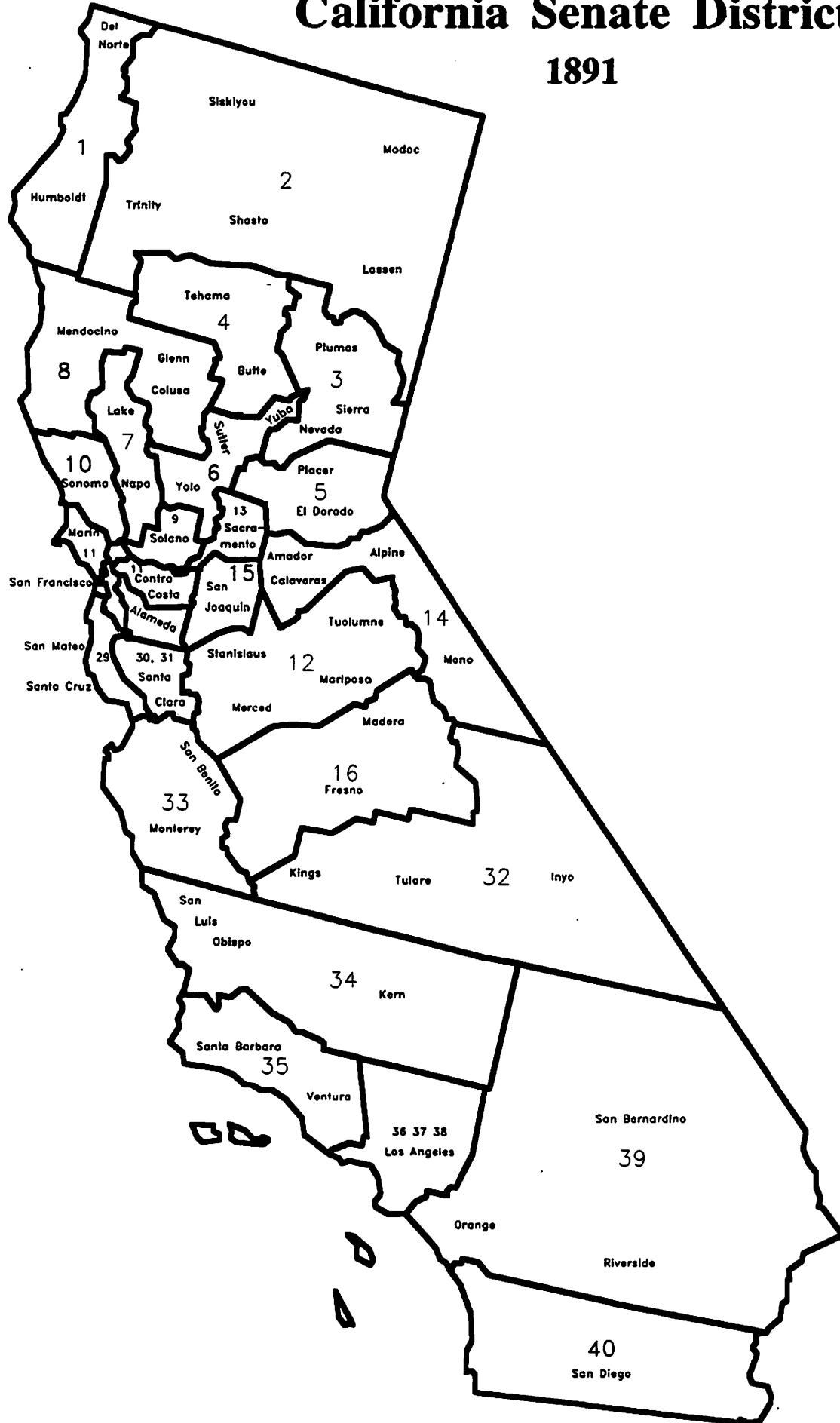
San Francisco Assembly Districts

1891



California Senate Districts

1891

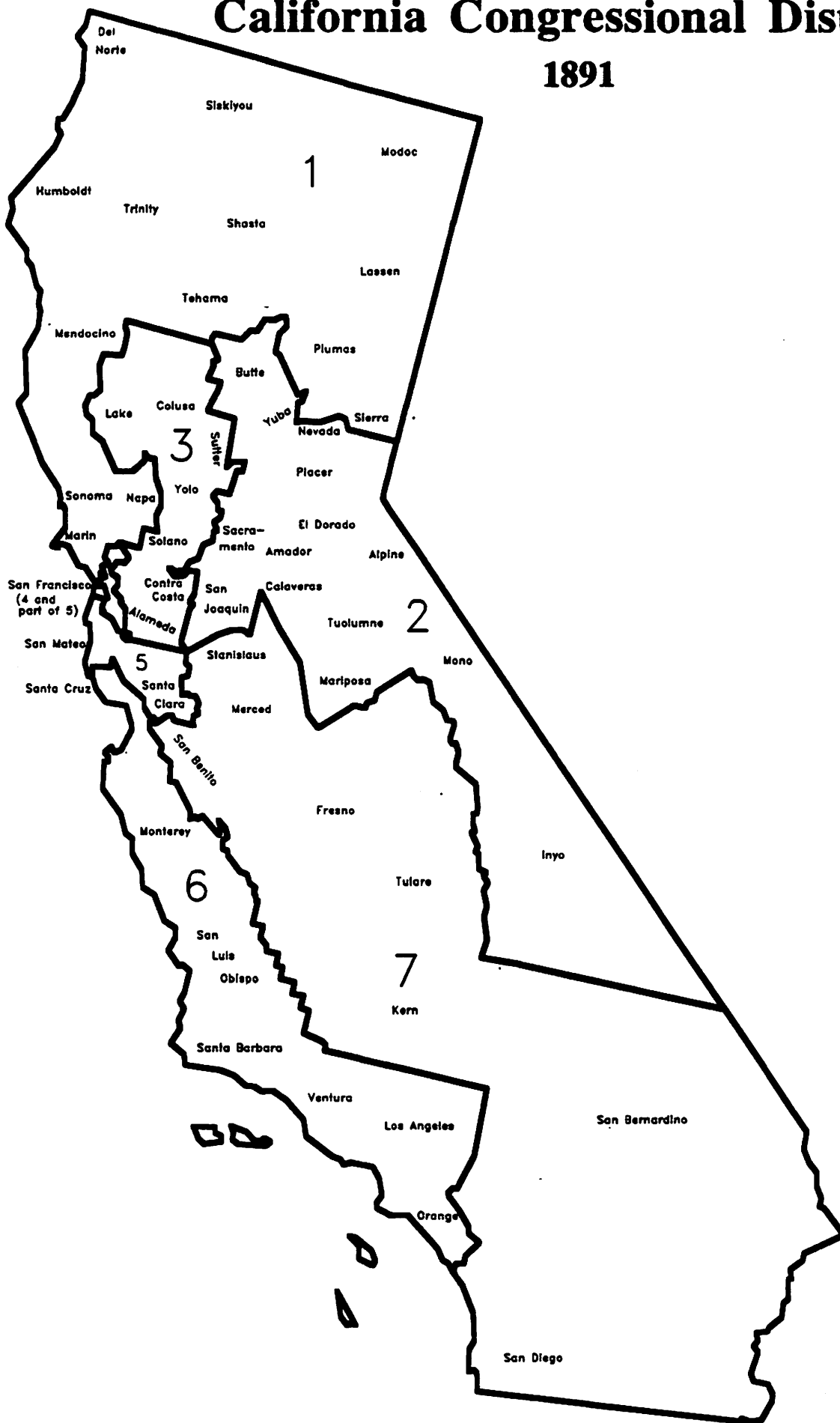


Alameda
26 27 28

San Francisco
17 18 19
20 21 22
23 24 25

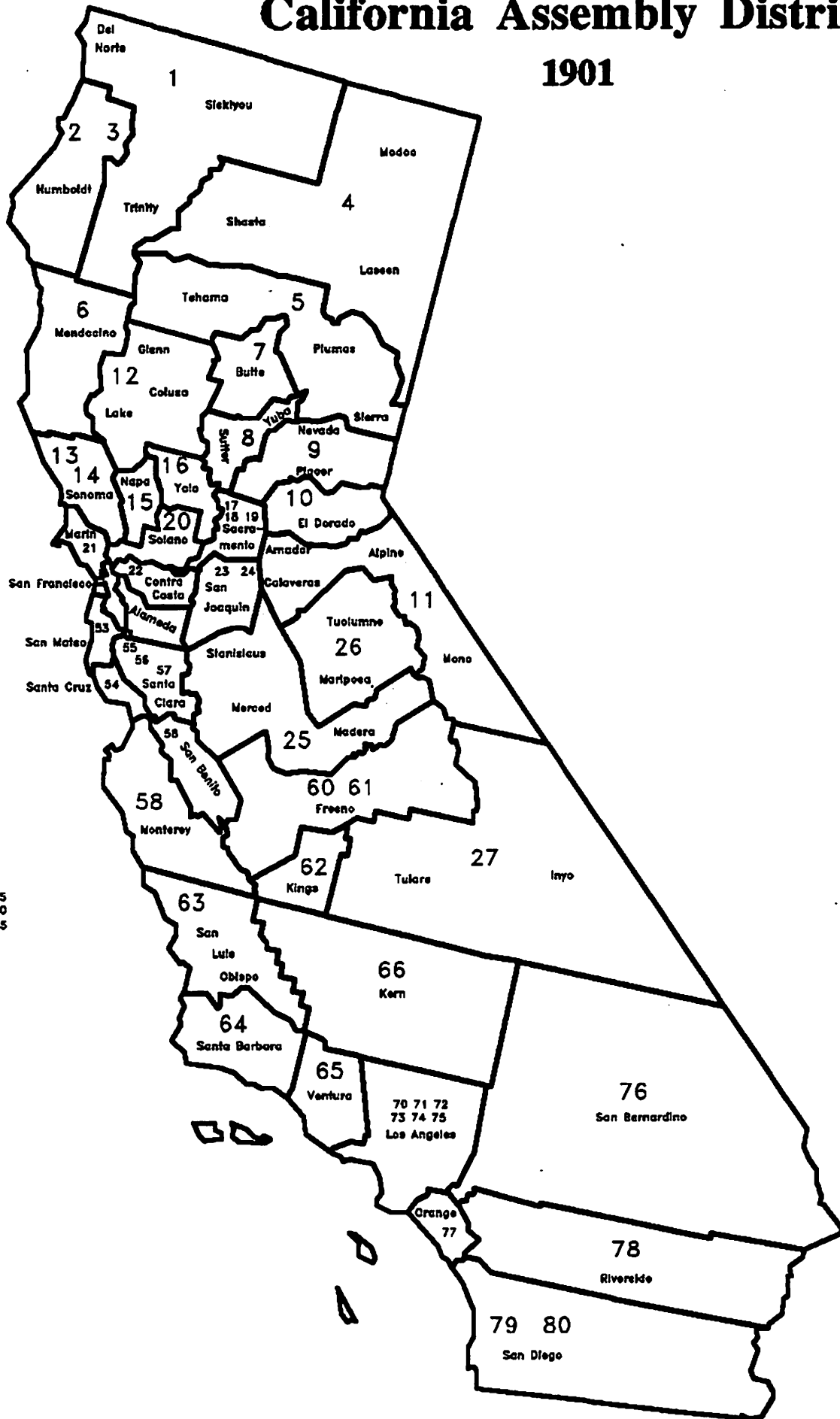
California Congressional Districts

1891



California Assembly Districts

1901

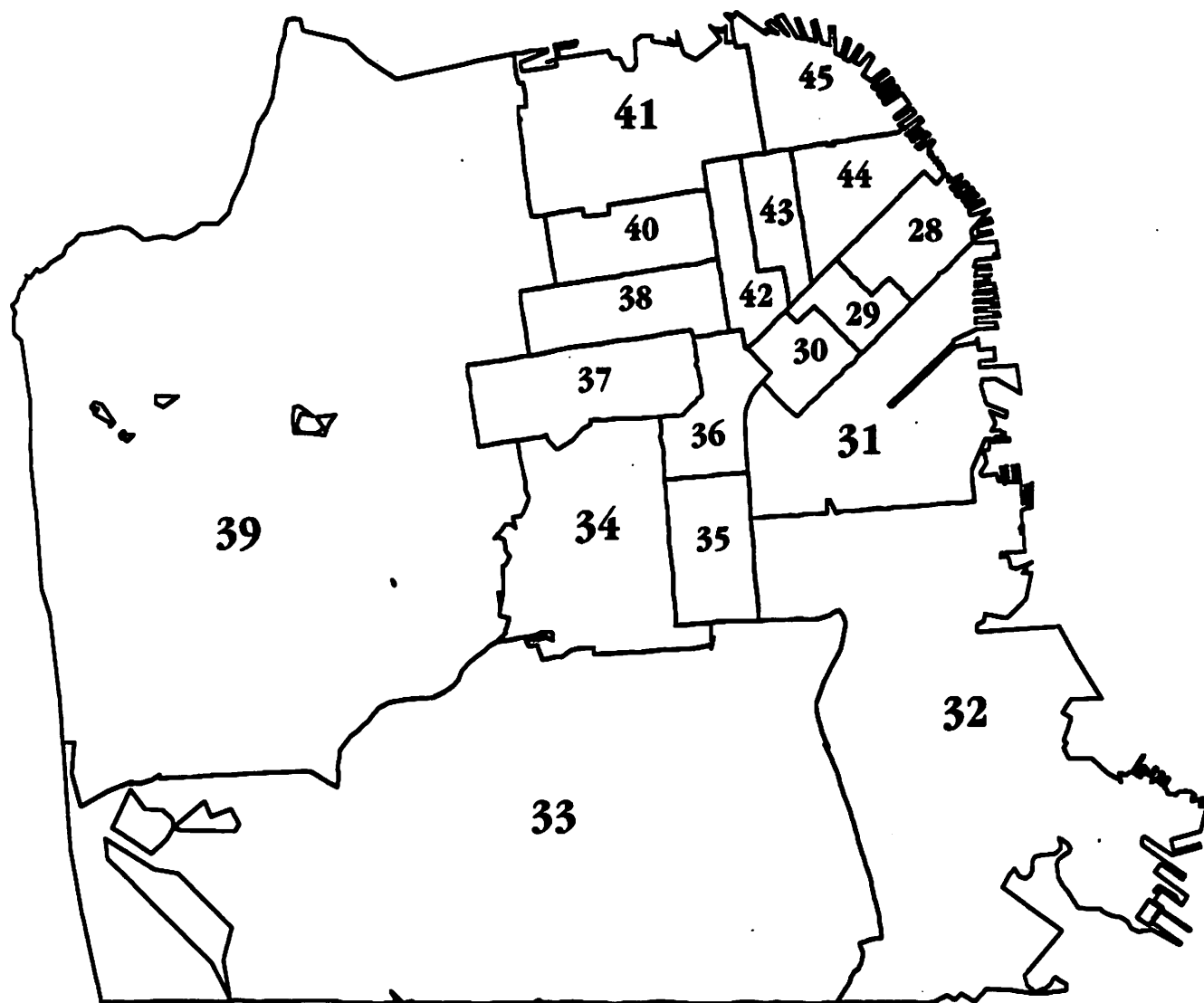


Alameda
46 47 48
49 50 51 52

San Francisco
28 29 30
31 32 33 34 35
36 37 38 39 40
41 42 43 44 45

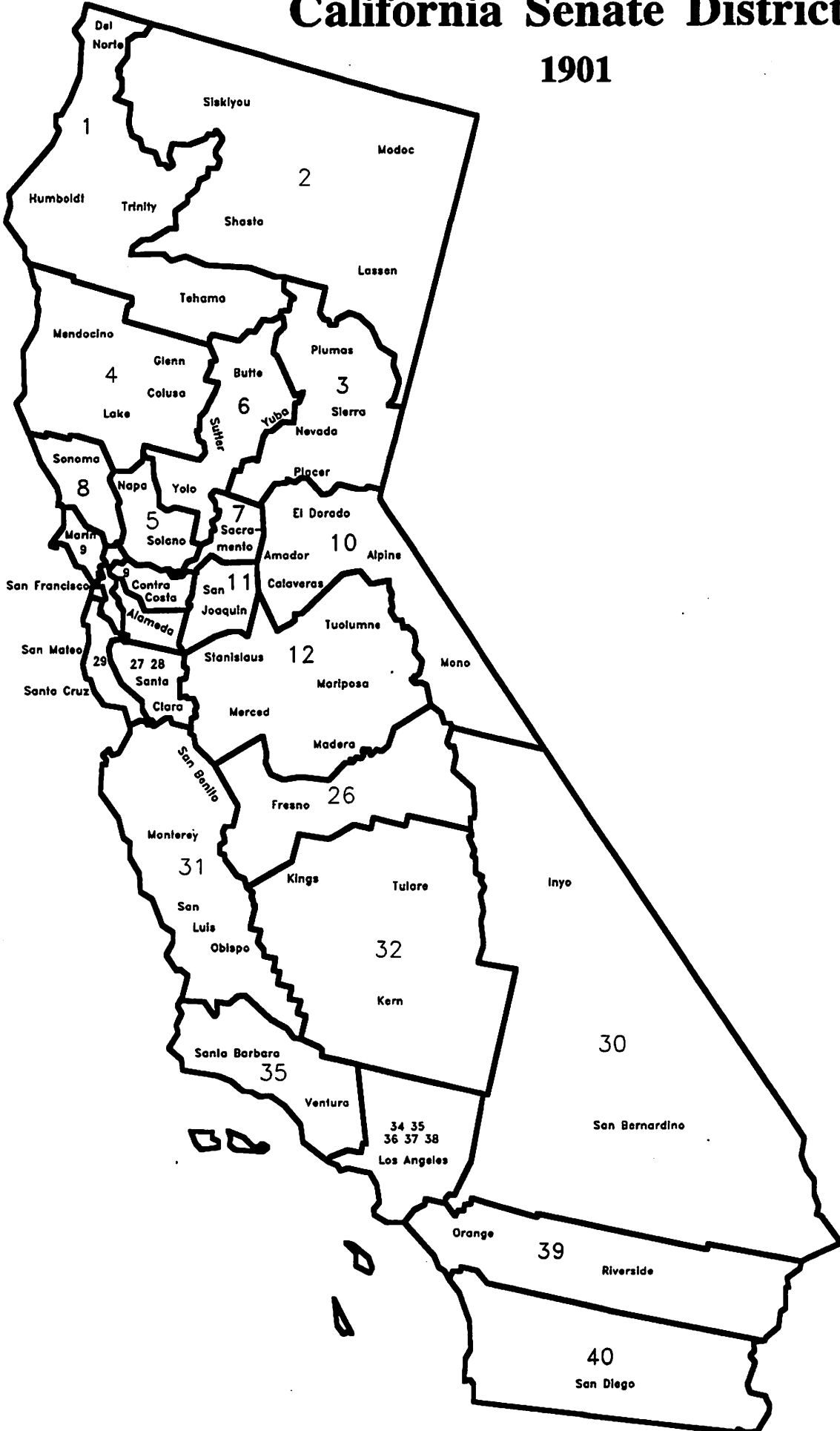
San Francisco Assembly Districts

1903



California Senate Districts

1901



Alameda
13 14 15 16

San Francisco
17 18 19
20 21 22
23 24 25

34 35
36 37 38
Los Angeles

California Congressional Districts

1901

