CARTOGRAMS AND THE MAPPING OF VIRGINIA HISTORY, 1790-1990

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Cartograms have demonstrated great potential for illustrating significant features of historical geography. They remain neglected in other social sciences, but they can function as a powerful teaching tool in history. Various cartograms, as well as other illustrations, accompany the text to this essay, which narrates some major themes in the social and political history of Virginia across the 19th and 20th centuries.

Geographers routinely employ cartograms to display a wide range of phenomena. Yet historians rarely make use of this tool, whether for teaching purposes or to convey research results. Certainly such is the case in the study and teaching of Virginia history. Moreover, no brief narrative synthesis exists of research findings in the historical geography of Virginia. This essay surveys and illustrates major dimensions of the social and political history of Virginia since 1790. Central to the effort is a collection of original maps and graphs. Many of these display the experiences of other states, too, at the same time that they relate developments within Virginia (and each other state) to the rest of the nation.

Cartograms—or cartographic diagrams—depend on a concept according to which magnitude can be presented in terms of space. Compare, for example, two maps of the United States in 1790. One (see Figure 1)

Figure 1. White Americans: 1790

portrays the states in terms of the distribution of white Americans across the nation at that first census. Another (Figure 2) does much the same thing, but in terms of slaves, and thus looks very different. Virginia, for example, contained 42 percent of all slaves counted in the nation that year, but only 14 percent of all white Americans resided in the Old Dominion. (Sources for each illustration or table appear in the notes at the end of this essay.)

Figure 2. Slaves in the U.S.: 1790

VIRGINIA, THE SOUTH, AND THE NATION, 1790-1860

As Figure 2 shows, the Chesapeake region was the center of North American slavery in 1790. Virginia contained 42 percent of all the slaves that were enumerated in the U.S. census that year, and Maryland had another 15 percent. South Carolina's 15 percent indicated an important secondary area of slave population, though its neighbor Georgia had fewer slaves as late as 1790 than did New York and New Jersey together.

Through each of the next four decades, Virginia's total slave population continued to grow (see Table 1), yet in 1830, as Figure 3 shows, the Old Dominion's share of all U.S. slaves had dropped to 23 percent. Meantime, the states to the north of Virginia had dropped from a com-
combined 22 percent (according to Figure 2) to only Maryland’s 5 percent. New states to the south and west—states that had not existed in 1790—now held more slaves than did Virginia and Maryland combined.

### Table 1. The Population of Virginia, 1790-1860: White, Slave, and Free Black

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>442,115</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>293,427</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>12,766</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>514,280</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>345,796</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>20,124</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>551,534</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>392,518</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>30,570</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>603,087</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>425,153</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>36,889</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>694,300</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>469,757</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>47,348</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>740,858</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>449,087</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>49,852</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>894,800</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>472,528</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>54,333</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,047,299</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>490,865</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>58,042</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1830 and 1860, Virginia’s share of all U.S. slaves fell from 23 percent to 12 percent (see Figure 4). In fact, the absolute number of slaves living in Virginia declined in the 1830s. Though the number turned up again in the 1840s and 1850s, the relative number continued to slip. Georgia had nearly caught up with Virginia when the census was taken in 1860; Mississippi and Alabama were not far behind; and Arkansas and Missouri each had more slaves than Maryland. A year or two later, on the eve of emancipation, Georgia had moved past Virginia into first place and, especially after West Virginia broke away as a separate state, Alabama and Mississippi may have dropped Virginia all the way to fourth.

### Figure 4. The U.S. Slave Population: 1860

Virginia’s white population showed a similar, though less dramatic, decline as a percentage of all white Americans. In 1790, only Massachusetts, with 15 percent (see Figure 1), claimed more white residents than did Virginia, with 14 percent, though Pennsylvania ranked right behind with 13 percent. No other state had more than New York’s 10 percent. By 1850 (Figure 5), though Virginia still led the South (and still trailed Massachusetts by only one point), New York, with 14 percent, had more than three times as many white residents as the Old Dominion (only 4 percent), and Pennsylvania almost three times as many.

Migration to America offers one explanation for Virginia’s drop in rank. By the many tens of thousands, Europeans made their way to the United states between 1790 and 1860, particularly in the 1840s and 1850s. Most of those newcomers went anywhere but to the South. As Figure 6 shows, one in every four of all immigrants living in the United
States in 1860 lived in New York. Virginia had more immigrants than Delaware but far fewer than New Jersey or Indiana, let alone Pennsylvania, Ohio, or Illinois. The new state of Wisconsin alone had more foreign-born residents than did all eleven states, combined, that soon formed the Confederacy. Immigrants showed up on the map where slaves did not.

**Figure 5. White Americans: 1860**

Not only did most newcomers to America fail to move to Virginia (or anywhere else in the South), large numbers of free Virginians—black and white—chose to leave the state. As Figure 7 shows, among all free people native to Virginia but living elsewhere in 1860, half had moved to slave states, and half to free states. To be sure, some white Virginians caught “cotton fever” and migrated to the Deep South, yet only one in five moved to states that eventually joined the Confederacy, and less than half of those moved to any of the seven Deep South states from South Carolina to Texas. More moved to Kentucky or Missouri.

**Figure 7. Migrants: Native Free Virginians' New Homes: 1860**

In still larger numbers, when they left for the west, they crossed the Ohio River. Thus they landed in Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois (territory that had formerly been part of Virginia but was no longer). More free natives of Virginia who lived elsewhere in 1860 lived in Ohio than in any other state. They and their children contributed to the fact that, already by 1850, Ohio—which was not even a state until 1803—had more than twice as many free residents as did Virginia. Thus, Virginia natives and their children contributed large fractions of the populations in 1860 of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

It is even more true that Virginia natives and their children contributed large fractions of the slave populations of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the cotton states. If interstate migration had ended in 1830, and Virginia had still contained 23 percent of the nation's slaves thirty years later, slaves in Virginia might have numbered 900,000 instead of fewer than 500,000. And if the slaves in Virginia had made up 42 percent of all U.S. slaves in 1860, as they had in 1790, their actual number might
have exceeded 1.6 million. Migration to the new lands to the south and west made that kind of difference.

In sum, while few people chose to move into Virginia, huge numbers of free Virginians saw better opportunity to the west than in their native state. Free Virginians, when they moved out of state, typically moved northwest, while slave Virginians were far more likely to move southwest. That is, the owners of Virginia slaves elected to send (or take) those slaves, by the tens of thousands, to the new slave states to the south and west. By contrast, free Virginians elected, by the tens of thousands, to leave Virginia and the Slave South for the North.

**SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN VIRGINIA, 1820s-1860s**

Figure 8 portrays Virginia society in 1850, when people in slave families comprised 33 percent of the total population. People in slave-owning families comprised 22 percent. And all other Virginia residents—those neither slaves nor slaveowners—comprised 45 percent.5

Figure 8. Social Groups in Virginia: 1850

Compare that model of Virginia society with (simplified) versions of society in each of the twelve other states whose populations were more than 10 percent slave in 1860 (Figure 9). In most states across the Deep South, slaves outnumbered each of the other two groups; in the Upper South, people who were neither slaves nor slaveowners proved the largest group. In every state, members of slaveowning families comprised the smallest of the three groups, and planter families (those owning at least twenty slaves each) comprised only a small minority of a small minority.6 Thus what might be termed “one-person, one-vote” history demonstrates the relative numerical importance of various social groups, even if it does not show, at the same time, their personal autonomy or their relative economic dominance or political power.

Figure 9. Social Groups in Southern States: 1860

The different social groups in pre-Civil War Virginia were distributed very differently in various regions of the state. Slaves and their owners predominated in the east, while nonslaveowning whites typified the west. Figure 10 divides the state at the Blue Ridge and then subdivides each region, western and eastern, into two districts (Mountains and Shenandoah Valley; Piedmont and Tidewater).7

Figure 10. Three Racial Groups in Four Virginia Regions: 1830

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Piedmont</th>
<th>Tidewater</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals: 204</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Display in 1,000s. Actual statewide totals: 694,302 whites; 47,349 free blacks; 469,755 slaves. Aggregate population: 1,211,406.
Those regional differences in Virginia—in patterns of migration (Figure 7) as well as in social structure (Figure 8)—are related to the nature of the political conflict within Virginia between the 1820s and the 1850s and, moreover, to the experience of the Old Dominion on the road to secession and through the Civil War. To draw analogies between the state and the nation, the western part of the Old Dominion functioned in ways that resembled the North in national politics. Similarly, meantime, the east in the state functioned like the South in the nation.

Among the groups depicted in Figure 10, the one that displayed much the greatest growth during the antebellum years was whites in the Trans-Allegheny West. Closely related to that growth, during the generation between the 1820s and the 1850s, white Virginians clashed over conflicting visions of the Commonwealth’s future. In the 1829-30 constitutional convention, and again in 1850-51, delegates from the west, whose typical voting constituents were small farmers, struggled for an end to a property-holding requirement for voting and, more important, for a larger share of representation in the state legislature. They came away largely empty-handed in 1829-30 but not in 1850-51. So strongly did people on both sides of the fight—east and west—feel about securing their interests that some on each side spoke of dividing the state into two if they lost.12

Increasingly, at the same time slaveowners in eastern Virginia faced opposition from nonslaveholding white men in the western half of the state; they suffered a diminishing ability to protect their interests in national politics. The drop in population in Virginia and the South as a whole, relative to the North, translated into fewer seats in Congress and, thus, fewer votes in the electoral college. When the new Republican party ran a victorious campaign for the presidency in 1860, and South Carolina led the way in seceding, Virginia voters had to decide how to respond.

A state convention was called to decide that question. Most convention delegates from east of the Blue Ridge proved consistent in support of secession, while many western delegates just as consistently rejected it. When shooting erupted at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, and President Lincoln called for volunteer troops to put down a “rebellion,” a crucial swing group changed positions and converted what had been a majority of Unionists into a new majority of secessionists.13

The South as a whole proved to be Virginia writ large. In the secession winter of 1860-61, slave states fell into three groups. The more important slavery was, the sooner a state was likely to secede, as those slaves’ owners sought to protect their interests from what they perceived as threats from President Lincoln and his Republican party. South Carolina, with the largest slave percentage (57) of any state, was the first to secede, followed by all the other states in which slaves comprised the largest of the three groups (see Figures 9 and 11), plus Texas. After Fort Sumter and Lincoln’s call for troops, four more states seceded and joined the Confederacy; in all four, including Virginia, the in-between group outnumbered slaves, but slaves nonetheless comprised 25 percent or more of all residents. A third group of slave states, those whose slaves numbered fewer than 20 percent of all residents, remained in the Union. Thus, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware stayed in the Union, and much of western Virginia rejected the Confederacy and became a new state.14

Figure 11. Slavery and Secession: 1860-1861

Each slave state displays:
1) slaves as a percentage of state population
2) date of secession

The results of the Civil War overruled those delegates who had supported secession. The defeat of the Confederacy can be explained in various ways. One is to point to the mountain South, best exemplified by the state of West Virginia but similarly represented by the many thou-
sands of white Union soldiers from East Tennessee. Another is to point to the crucial contributions of black Americans—some from the North, some from the South; some of them free and some slaves—including a considerable number from Virginia. Yet another is to point to the tens of thousands of men who marched in Virginia, natives of Virginia (or their sons) but residents of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and wearing Union blue rather than Confederate gray. In all these ways, native southerners, including masses of native Virginians, fought to secure the defeat of the Confederate States of America.

**VIRGINIA AND THE SECOND “GREAT MIGRATION”**

After the Civil War, as before, few people moved into Virginia. Virginia's actual absence from Figure 12 shows that in 1920, as in 1860, fewer immigrants to America lived in the Old Dominion. At the same time, large numbers of Virginians continued to leave their native state. Instead of the east-west movement that dominated migration out of Virginia for much of the 19th century, however, a south-north movement dominated the closing decades of the 19th century and the first third of the 20th.

**Figure 12. Foreign-Born: 1920**

The Great Migration of the 20th century brought tens of thousands of southerners, white and black alike, to northern cities. Compared with Figure 14, Figure 15 reflects the movement of black Southerners from south to north between the 1910s and the 1970s. For example, Georgia's share of black Americans dropped from highest in the nation in 1910, 12 percent, to only 6 percent in 1980, while Mississippi dropped from second place, 10 percent, all the way to 3. Meanwhile, New York rose from 1 percent to 9 percent, tops in the nation, and California, which had too few black residents in 1910 to round up to 1 percent, assumed second place with 7 percent in 1980.

**Figure 13. Black America: 1880**

**Figure 14. Black America: 1910**
Virginians, too, participated in a large way in that exodus. As in the rest of the South, the black percentage of Virginia's population steadily declined as proportionately—if not absolutely—more blacks than whites left those states. Table 2 shows that in the 1920s, much as in the 1830s, the total number of black residents of Virginia actually declined. In some other decades—1880s, the 1900s, and the 1930s—Virgina's black population grew, but by less than 2.0 percent.21

All of which begins to point up Virginia's unusual history in this respect. Black Virginians did not wait until World War One to begin their rendition of the Great Migration. Rather, their exodus began by the 1880s and persisted through the 1930s. Figure 13 shows that, in 1880, Virginia remained home to one in ten of all black Americans. Georgia had moved to the top of the list, and Mississippi had moved to second place, while Virginia had dropped to third (though more blacks lived that year in Virginia and West Virginia, combined, than in Mississippi). Figure 14, however, indicates a sharp drop in the percentage of black Americans living in Virginia, from 10 to 7, in the thirty years between 1880 and 1910.

Table 2. The Population of Virginia, 1870-1990:
White and Nonwhite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>White Number</th>
<th>White Percent</th>
<th>Nonwhite Number</th>
<th>Nonwhite Percent</th>
<th>Aggregate Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>712,089</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>513,074</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>1,255,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>880,858</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>631,707</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>1,512,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,020,122</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>635,858</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>1,655,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,192,855</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>661,329</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>1,854,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,389,809</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>671,803</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>2,061,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,617,909</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>691,278</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>2,309,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,770,441</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>651,410</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>2,421,851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2,015,583</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>662,190</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>2,677,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,581,555</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>737,125</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>3,318,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,142,443</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>824,506</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>3,966,949</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3,761,514</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>886,980</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>4,648,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4,236,345</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>1,110,473</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>5,346,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4,793,278</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>1,394,080</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>6,187,358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The black population alone was 861,368 (18.5%) in 1970; 1,008,665 (18.9%) in 1980; and 1,162,994 (18.8%) in 1990.

Other census figures detail the change. In 1880, as Table 3 shows, Mississippi and Alabama reported the largest numbers of native black Virginians living outside Virginia. Over the next few decades, the numbers living in the Deep South declined, as old men and women died who had moved there as slaves. By contrast, the numbers living in the mid-Atlantic states showed sharp rises. As early as the 1880s and continuing thereafter, black Virginians moved in substantial numbers into the states directly to the north. Thus black natives of Virginia became residents of Philadelphia and New York City. In the 1880s alone, Mississippi lost a net 8,701 black residents who had been born in Virginia (35 percent of its nation-leading total in 1880). During the same decade, Pennsylvania's share rose by 5,772 (or 97 percent), as that state climbed to number one.21
Black and white Virginians played out various political roles in the century after Civil War and Reconstruction. From the 1860s on, only a much shrunken version of western Virginia remained to influence politics in the Old Dominion. Taking the place in Virginia politics of the missing white voters from the west were large numbers of black voters from the east. Black voters—and black officeholders, too—were integral parts of the political scene in Virginia across the 1870s and 1880s. Then they, too, declined in influence.

Black voters became far fewer and black officeholders nonexistent. In large part because of a policy of disfranchisement, a small and mostly white electorate characterized Virginia politics throughout the first half of the 20th century. The Democratic party dominated state and federal elections alike.

Beginning by the 1950s and surging in the 1960s, large numbers of white voters in Virginia shifted to the Republican party. A major explanation is that the federal government and the national Democratic party increasingly identified with black civil rights. Figure 16 portrays the continuing shift between the 1930s and the 1980s, as, in presidential elections, Virginia converted from a state dominated by Democrats in the 1930s and ‘40s to one routinely Republican in the 1970s and ‘80s. In the election of 1948, the Dixiecrats’ third-party campaign supplied a temporary haven for disaffected Democrats on their way to the Republican party. The dwindling relative numbers of black Virginians, when they regained the right to vote, abandoned the Republican party and embraced the Democrats, but the flood of white voters heading in the other direction overwhelmed them.

In presidential elections by the 1950s, and in gubernatorial elections by the late 1960s, Virginia became a two-party state. While racial considerations played a central role in renovating presidential politics, other forces working for change, too, took their places at the center of the stage. In the 1960s, a split between the growing urban areas and the long-dominant rural areas (particularly the Southside and the Valley) characterized intrastate politics, as legislative apportionment became much the kind of issue that it had been back in the 1830s and ‘40s. Various forces at work in Virginia politics made it possible for Republicans to win the governorship in 1969, 1973, and 1977, but Democrats took it back in 1981 and retained it in 1985 and 1989. Moreover, when L. Douglas Wilder, a black Democrat, won the governorship in 1989, the racial makeup of Virginia society—less than 20 percent black—meant that, though his Republican opponent took the majority of white votes, Wilder had received more votes from whites than from blacks.

NEW PATTERNS IN VIRGINIA SOCIETY

The human exodus from Virginia slowed in the 1930s. In fact, in the past fifty years or so, for the first time since the colonial era, large
numbers of people have moved into eastern Virginia. In pursuit of opportunities that have opened in civilian federal employment, at military installations, and in other types of jobs, newcomers to Virginia and native Virginians alike have moved to areas around the nation's capital and along the Chesapeake Bay. The urban and suburban areas of eastern Virginia have demonstrated rapid population growth, while much of the rest of the state has stagnated or declined. The state's aggregate population grew enough that, after the Census of 1990, Virginia gained an additional seat in Congress.

In part, this growth was a movement of immigrants, as newcomers to America sought opportunity in the Old Dominion. Much more, it was a movement of migrants from other states, and, in addition, some western Virginians headed east across the Blue Ridge. So great was the migration into Virginia that in 1990 only 54 percent of all residents of the Old Dominion had been born there. Another 40 percent had been born elsewhere in the United States and moved to Virginia—about half each from the South and from outside the South. Five percent (311,809) were immigrants; half had entered the country only in the 1980s. Finally, in evidence of military personnel who had been stationed overseas, 72,500 (1 percent) had at least one American parent but had been born outside the United States.  

Virginia society became even whiter in complexion in the century after the Civil War. Virginia’s population saw a sudden rise in its percentage black when West Virginia, mostly white, went its separate way in the 1860s. As Table 2 shows, the censuses of 1870 and 1880 reported Virginia’s population to be more than 40 percent black. By contrast, those of 1970 and 1980 showed figures of less than 20 percent black. Thus, the whitening process, which had been under way in the generation before the Civil War, continued long after the war.

After the mid-1960s, however, these traditional patterns, too, underwent great change. By the 1970s, the black percentage slowed its long descent and began to hold at just under 19. In the 1970s, moreover, as Asian-Americans increased in numbers, the white percentage stopped growing and itself began to slip. After topping 80 in the 1970 census, Virginia’s white percentage shrank in the 1970s and again in the 1980s. Newcomers from the Philippines, Korea, Vietnam, and elsewhere in Asia began to transform the face of Virginia society. Not for two centuries had Virginia been home to approximately its proportional share of newcomers to America. Increasingly, too, as in colonial times, the story of Virginia society had to be told in terms of more races than only black and white, African and European.

NARRATION AND ILLUSTRATION

In various ways, graphics can point to major developments in the history of Virginia, other states, and the nation. They can illustrate, though they cannot narrate, a society's history. In part, by illustrating what scholars have previously known, they can make such findings more widely and readily understood. In part, too, they suggest patterns not previously recognized even by many scholars. Either way, cartograms in particular have a promising future in illustrating the past. They can promote a better understanding of the contours and causes of social and political change.

NOTES

1 The 1790 census enumerated 3,172,464 whites in the United States, 442,115 (13.9 percent) of them in Virginia. Figure 1: U.S. Census Bureau, Population of the United States in 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 600. Note that all numbers in the illustrations are rounded to the nearest whole percent.

2 The 1790 census enumerated 697,624 slaves across the United States and 292,627 (41.9 percent) in Virginia. Figure 2: U.S. Census Bureau, Negro Population, 1790-1915 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 57.

3 Table 1: Population of the United States in 1860, 598-604.

4 The 1830 census enumerated 2,009,043 slaves in the entire United States and 469,757 (23.4 percent) in Virginia. Figure 3: Negro Population, 1790-1915, 57.

5 The 1860 census enumerated 3,953,750 slaves in the United States, 490,865 (12.4 percent) of them in Virginia. Figure 4: Ibid.

6 The 1860 census enumerated 26,922,538 whites (whether native or immigrant) in the entire United States and 1,047,299 (3.9 percent) in Virginia. Figure 5: Population of the United States in 1860, 598.

7 Figure 6: Ibid, 622-623.

8 Figure 7: Ibid, 598, 604, and 618-619. The 1860 census found 1,001,710 native free Virginians (whether white or black) still living in Virginia and 399,700 living elsewhere. For further analysis of east-west migration during these years, see Peter D. McClelland and Richard J. Zeckhauser, Demographic Dimensions of the New Republic: American Interregional Migration, Vital Statistics, and Manumissions, 1800-1860 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 5-8, 138-143, and 139-164; and Richard H. Steckel, “The Economic Foundations of East-West Migration During the 19th Century,” Explorations in Economic History 20 (January 1983): 14-36.

9 Figure 8: Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1850 (2 vols.; Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933), 1: 482; Population of the United States in 1860, 604;
U.S. Census Bureau, Agriculture of the United States in 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 248. Figure 8 rests on the following assumptions (none entirely true): (1) All individuals were members of families that (a) owned slaves, (b) were slaves, or (c) neither owned nor were slaves, and all free families had the same size. (2) Each slaveholding family appeared only once in the records. And (3) no free blacks owned slaves.

10 Planters comprised 19.8 percent of all slaveholders in South Carolina, tops in the nation, and Mississippi followed with 19.2 percent. Those two states tied for first place with 4.1 percent of all residents members of planter families. For assumptions, see Note 9. Figure 9: Population of the United States in 1860, 598-599; Agriculture of the United States in 1860, 247; Gray, History of Agriculture, I: 482.

11 Figure 10: Alison Goodey Freehling, Drift toward Dissolution: The Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831-1832 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 269.

12 The west took the position that legislative districts should reflect only white population; until the 1850-51 convention, the east insisted otherwise. Freehling, Drift toward Dissolution, 36-81, 224-247, 286-287; Craig M. Simpson, A Good Southerner: The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 78-85.

13 Simpson, A Good Southerner, 239-251; Freehling, Drift toward Dissolution, 249-259.

14 Figure 11: Population of the United States in 1860, 598-599. Regarding secession, see David M. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861, completed and edited by Don E. Fehrenbacher (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), chs. 18 and 20.


17 The 1920 census enumerated 13,920,692 foreign-born residents of the United States, only 31,705 (0.2%) of them in Virginia. Figure 12:


19 Figure 14: Negro Population, 1790-1915, 840. Figure 15: The World Almanac and Book of Facts (1985), 250.


22 Figure 13: Negro Population, 1790-1915, 840.

23 As late as 1890, the nation’s capital city still outranked Pennsylvania. Among the phenomena reflected in Table 3, free blacks who had migrated from Virginia to Ohio before the Civil War diminished in number as they died in the 1880s and 1890s, and significant numbers of black Virginians moved to the coal fields of West Virginia in the years around the turn of the century; West Virginia was a southern state whose population’s black percentage grew rather than shrank during those years. Table 3: U.S. Census Bureau, Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883), 491; Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 576-577; Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 (3rd ed.; Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 52-53; Negro Population, 1790-1915, 77.


25 Regarding the Virginia political system across the 1920s, ’30s, and ’40s, see V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), ch. 2.


28 1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape File 3A. The 1980 census counted 177,318 immigrants in Virginia (1.3 percent of the nation’s total), and that figure continued to surge in the following decade.

29 Into the 1960s, most “nonwhite” Virginians enumerated in the federal census were African-American; the two categories were nearly identical. As late as 1970, only 25,612 among the 886,980 nonwhite residents of Virginia were Filipino (6,904), Japanese (3,457), Chinese (2,303), or other nonblacks. In 1990, by contrast, that figure climbed to 231,012; and fully half were Filipino (34,586), Korean (30,369), Chinese (22,102), Vietnamese (21,729), or Asian Indian (20,440). The note to Table 2 gives the black figures for those years. One in six nonwhites in Virginia in 1990 was classified as neither black nor white. *1970 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 48, Virginia* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1973), 48 (Table 19), 572-573 (Table 139); 1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape File 3A.

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