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## THE POPULATION OF RUSSIA.

By P. KROPOTKIN.

THE figures relative to the population of Russia which were obtained at the recent census lead to several important geographical conclusions, some of which have been indicated by P. P. Semenov in the report on the census which he read before the Russian Geographical Society on May 19,\* while some others will be indicated in this paper.

From the items which were given in the June issue of the *Geographical Journal*, it was seen that the population of European Russia proper has attained this year 94,188,750 inhabitants, while the population of all the non-Russian provinces of the empire is 35,022,363, of which 2½ millions are in Finland, nearly 9½ millions in Poland, 9¾ millions in Caucasia, nearly 3½ millions in the Kirghiz steppes, 4¼ millions in Turkistan and the Transcaspian territory, and 5¾ millions in Siberia.

At present the chief interest attaches to the distribution of the 94 millions of which the population of European Russia is composed, the last census giving most valuable data as regards its density in different parts of the territory, as well as the changes which took place in its geographical distribution within the last fifty years. In order to render these data more comprehensive, I have compiled the following table, in which the fifty provinces of European Russia are arranged into a number of natural groups, and the increase of population since the year 1851 is given for each group separately. I have also calculated the density of the population per square mile for each province separately, and I reproduce from the official census reports the relative proportions of males and females for each province of European Russia and for the other main divisions of the empire.

TABLE A.

Provinces.	Population.		Increase per cent. in 46 years.	Density in 1897. Inhab. per sq. mile.	Number of women per each 100 men. 1897.
	1897.	1851.			
Arkhangelsk ... ..	347,560	234,064	—	0·2	111·0
Olonets ... ..	366,647	263,409	—	1·2	110·9
Vologda ... ..	1,365,313	864,268	—	1·4	108·6
Northern provinces ...	2,079,520	1,361,741	53	—	—
Perm ... ..	3,002,655	1,741,746	—	3·7	107·0
Vyatka ... ..	3,082,615	1,818,752	—	8·2	109·2
Northern Urals ... ..	6,085,270	3,560,498	71	—	—
Novgorod ... ..	1,392,931	891,037	—	4·7	107·1
Pskov ... ..	1,136,580	657,283	—	10·9	106·0
St. Petersburg ... ..	2,104,511	566,409	—	19·5	87·4
Lake district ... ..	4,634,022	2,114,729	119	—	—
Livonia ... ..	1,300,401	821,457	—	11·8	106·3
Esthonia ... ..	413,724	289,800	—	8·7	103·3
Courland ... ..	672,539	539,270	—	10·2	105·8
Baltic provinces ... ..	2,386,664	1,650,527	54	—	—

\* It was published in the Russian *Official Messenger*, Nos. 106, 107, and 108.

Provinces.	Population.		Increase per cent. in 46 years.	Density in 1897. Inhab. per sq. mile.	Number of women per each 100 men. 1897.
	1897.	1861.			
Vilna ... ..	1,591,912	787,609	—	15·7	100·4
Grodno ... ..	1,615,815	795,604	—	17·3	95·5
Kovno ... ..	1,549,972	875,196	—	16·0	103·5
Lithuanian provinces ...	4,757,699	2,458,509	94	—	—
Vitebsk ... ..	1,502,895	742,811	—	14·2	100·6
Minsk ... ..	2,156,343	935,345	—	9·7	100·0
Moghiblev ... ..	1,707,613	837,537	—	14·6	101·7
White Russia ... ..	5,366,851	2,515,693	105	—	—
Smolensk ... ..	1,550,973	1,069,650	—	11·3	109·0
Kaluga ... ..	1,178,835	941,402	—	15·8	116·2
Western Central ... ..	2,729,808	2,011,052	35	—	—
Tver ... ..	1,812,559	1,359,920	—	11·6	119·4
Yaroslav ... ..	1,073,593	943,426	—	12·5	133·0
Kostroma ... ..	1,428,893	1,020,628	—	7·0	117·1
Moscow ... ..	2,433,356	1,348,041	—	30·1	83·2
Vladimir ... ..	1,570,730	1,168,303	—	13·4	114·2
Nijni-Novgorod ... ..	1,603,034	1,126,493	—	13·0	110·7
Moscow industrial region	10,922,165	6,966,811	57	—	—
Tula ... ..	1,431,322	1,092,473	—	19·0	111·4
Orel ... ..	2,054,609	1,406,571	—	18·1	105·1
Kursk ... ..	2,394,893	1,665,215	—	21·3	101·7
Ryazan ... ..	1,827,537	1,308,472	—	18·0	111·2
Tambov ... ..	2,715,265	1,666,505	—	16·9	104·4
Penza ... ..	1,483,948	1,058,444	—	15·8	105·8
Northern black-earth region ... ..	11,907,574	8,197,680	45	—	—
Kazan ... ..	2,190,075	1,347,352	—	14·2	103·1
Simbirsk ... ..	1,550,458	1,024,286	—	12·7	106·7
Saratov ... ..	2,419,756	1,444,496	—	11·8	103·5
Middle-Volga provinces	6,160,289	3,816,134	61	—	—
Podolia ... ..	3,031,040	1,577,966	—	30·0	82·1
Volhynia ... ..	2,999,346	1,469,442	—	17·3	98·2
Kieff ... ..	3,564,433	1,636,839	—	28·8	79·6
South-western provinces	9,594,819	4,684,247	105	—	—
Voronej ... ..	2,547,320	1,629,741	—	16·0	101·0
Poltava ... ..	2,794,756	1,668,694	—	24·1	101·4
Chernigov ... ..	2,322,007	1,374,746	—	18·2	103·6
Kharkov ... ..	2,510,378	1,366,188	—	18·9	98·1
Ekaterinoslav ... ..	2,112,651	788,179	—	13·8	94·1
Little Russia ... ..	12,287,112	6,827,548	80	—	—
Bessarabia ... ..	1,936,403	874,044	—	18·0	94·8
Kherson ... ..	2,728,508	889,205	—	16·0	95·3
Taurida ... ..	1,443,835	608,832	—	9·9	89·8
Don ... ..	2,575,818	907,948	—	6·5	98·1
Southern provinces ...	8,684,564	3,280,049	165	—	—

Provinces.	Population.		Increase per cent. in 46 years.	Density in 1897. Inhab. per sq. mile.	Number of women per each 100 men. 1897.
	1837.	1851.			
Astrakhan ... ..	1,002,316	386,763	—	1·7	95·5
Samara ... ..	2,761,851	1,320,108	—	7·2	102·4
Ufa ... ..	2,219,838	956,447	—	7·4	99·6
Orenburg ... ..	1,608,388	689,269	—	3·5	100·3
South-eastern provinces	7,592,893	3,352,587	126	—	—
Total, European Russia	94,188,750	52,797,685	78	8·0	102·8
Poland ... ..	9,442,590	4,852,055	95	30·6	98·6
Finland ... ..	2,527,801	1,636,915	55	3·2	102·2
Caucasia ... ..	9,723,553	4,436,152	—	9·3	89·5
Siberia and Sakhalin ...	5,731,732	2,437,184	135	1·8	93·7
Steppe region ... ..	3,415,174	1,229,654	180	0·6	89·4
Turkistan and Transcaspian	4,175,101	—	—	2·5	83·0
Russians in Bokhara and Khiva ... ..	6,412	—	—	—	99·9
Russian Empire ... ..	129,211,113	67,380,645	92	2·5	100·0

A few remarks must be made concerning the value of these figures. The earlier censuses of Russia were not censuses at all, in the sense that now attaches to the term. They were mere enumerations of the "tax-paying" peasant and small artisan population, which enumerations—as P. P. Semenov remarked in his report—"supplied almost no data for science, were of little value for the administration, and were hateful to the population." Still, the data which were collected in this way in 1851 were supplemented from various sources, and worked out in a more or less scientific way, by Koeppen; they may thus be taken as approximately reliable, in preference to the figures of a later enumeration which was made in 1858. They are given in the second column of the above table. As to the figures obtained during this year's census, they may be considered as quite reliable, within certain reasonable limits of possible error. To take that census, an army of 150,000 enumerators was set to work for three months—a great proportion of them being volunteers (more than a thousand students of the University and the High Schools took part in the census at St. Petersburg). The lists were made for each family separately, and they contain the name, the sex, the age, the mother-tongue, and the profession of each individual. Such lists will evidently make it possible to determine the number of persons of each age in the population, and to compile at last a reliable ethnographical map of the Russian Empire.

In the mean time, we can already see that considerable changes took place in the geographical distribution of the population of European Russia within the last forty-six years. From the third column of the above table A, it is evident that the increase of population has varied very much in different provinces. In some of them, possessed of a meagre clayey and sandy soil, the increase was as low as 25 per cent. in forty-six years, while in the provinces on the Black sea the average increase was 165 per cent., and even rose to 207 per cent. in Kherson.

True that the figures of the last census do not represent the *permanent*, but only the winter population. In Russia hundreds of thousands of peasants leave their abodes every winter, and wander south and north, towards the large towns, or to the fertile prairies, in search of work.\* This sort of temporary migration is also very well illustrated by the extraordinarily high proportion of women in the population of certain provinces, which is seen in the census figures (table A). Thus, in Kaluga, which I know personally, the very high percentage of women (116 women for each 100 men) depends entirely upon the fact that a considerable proportion of the male population go in winter to South Russia in search of work as carpenters; they go chiefly to Kherson, where we find, indeed, the reverse proportion of only 95 women for each 100 men. In Tver, the similarly high proportion of women (117 women for each 100 men) is due to the men going in great numbers to St. Petersburg, to work in the textile factories during the winter months. In both these cases, and in fact in all others, the disproportion between the male and the female elements of the population would not have been so great if the census had been taken in summer, when the Kaluga and Tver people return home in order to work in their fields; but the same disproportion would then appear in other provinces, from which a considerable number of men migrate southwards, to work at haymaking in the southern prairies. However, even if these temporary causes were eliminated, very considerable differences in the rate of increase of the population would be none the less quite apparent.

The fact is—and this fact has an immense importance for the general development of Russia, its history, and its further progress—that the centre of gravity of the population of European Russia has been shifted within the last fifty years southwards, towards the shores of the Black sea. A hundred, and even fifty, years ago the chief bulk of the population of European Russia was in Central Russia, round Moscow; there being at the same time another centre of dense and numerous population round, or rather south-west of, Kieff. Now the main centre of dense population has been shifted southwards; and, while in Central Russia the population has been increasing more slowly than on the average in European Russia, in the southern parts of the territory the population was doubled and nearly trebled. Russia may be said to move southwards to the Black sea. In South Russia, especially since a prodigious development of agricultural home-made machinery took place,† and since culture on a large scale was introduced in the fertile “black earth” prairies, we find the densest agricultural population. There we find also the greatest number of populous towns, all of recent growth. If we take the towns having more than 75,000 inhabitants, we find that, with the exception of St. Petersburg and Riga, they are all situated to the south of Moscow, and that quite a number of large towns, which were quite insignificant spots fifty years ago, have grown up, either in the south of Kieff, nearer to the Black sea, or in the south-east on the lower Volga. Such are Kharkov (170,682 inhabitants), Saratov (133,116), Ekaterinoslav (121,216), Rostov-on-Don (nearly 150,000), Astrakhan (113,075), Baku in Caucasia (112,253), Kishineff (108,506), Nikolaeff (92,060), and Samara (91,659); to say nothing of a number of southern towns like Elisabethgrad, Kremenchug, Tsaritsyn, Berdicheff, Novochoerkask, and Taganrog, which all have populations of more than 50,000. They have all grown up recently in

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\* The proportions of this migration may be judged from the figures which I gave in the descriptions of separate Russian provinces (K to Z) in the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica.’

† See the British Consular Reports in connection with the Nijni-Novgorod Exhibition.

South Russia, on or in the vicinity of the Black sea, and they are centres of either a considerable trade or of some important branch of industry. Besides, a very great number of populous villages in that region have rapidly become important small towns.

It may thus be said that the Baltic sea loses more and more of its importance for Russia, while the Black sea, and also the Caspian, acquire more and more importance in proportion. This is the fundamental fact which is brought into prominence by the last census.

Its geographical bearing is extremely interesting. The structure of the surface of European Russia may best be represented by stating that a broad plateau, deeply ravined by river valleys, crosses the territory from the south-west to the north-east; that is, from the Carpathians to the middle Urals. It slopes on the north-west towards the lake district and the double valley of the Sukhona and Vychegda (the two rivers which flow to meet each other and form, after their confluence, the Northern Dvina); and in the south it slopes towards the Black sea, the Sea of Azov, and the depression on the northern coast of the Caspian sea. Several separate depressions, which formerly were elongated gulfs of the Caspian sea and, later on, great lacustrine basins, are sunk into the plateau (the chief of them being that of Nijni Novgorod). This leading orographical feature of European Russia, which formerly was well understood by geographers, has unhappily been obliterated on recent hypsometrical maps, which, like all hypsometrical maps that are drawn with an insufficient number of contour-lines, have the drawback of obliterating the less pronounced yet important orographical features of a plateau-shaped territory. Nevertheless, all the physical and economical features of European Russia may be indicated on a map, in striking conformity with this leading feature of Russia's orography. The maps of distribution of various soils, of agriculture, of productivity of crops, of imported and exported corn, of agricultural well-being, of climate, and—we now see—of density and increase of population, can all be shown to be dependent upon the just-mentioned leading orographical feature. When we consider the figures of the last census from the geographer's point of view, we may interpret them as follows:—Formerly the Great Russians occupied the northern slope of the above-mentioned plateau, but gradually, since the seventeenth century, they began to spread along its northern edge. Next they spread on its surface; and since the end of the last century, when Turkish rule was abolished on the Black sea, they spread down the southern slope of the plateau, to the shores of the Black sea, the Sea of Azov, and the Caspian. At the present time as much as two-thirds of the whole population of European Russia is concentrated in the "black-earth" region, which covers less than two-fifths of the aggregate territory.

The table A fully illustrates this conclusion. We see, in fact, that the greatest increase of population took place in the southern "black-earth" and steppe-like parts of the plateau—the group of south-western provinces and Little Russia—and on its southern slope, in the provinces of Bessarabia, Kherson, Taurida, Don, and Astrakhan, where the increase of population was more than twice as high as the average increase for European Russia altogether.

Instituting a more detailed examination, and partly following P. P. Semenov's address, we find that (leaving aside the two capitals, Moscow and St. Petersburg) the densest population is in the south-western provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, and Kieff; in Little Russia (Voronej, Poltava, Chernigov, Kharkov); as well as in the group of the "northern black-earth region" (Kursk, Tula, Orel, Ryazan, and Tambov). In some parts of the last-named region, the agricultural population is altogether so dense that a considerable emigration to Siberia has taken place recently from the five last-named provinces. Consequently, the rate of increase of population was only 45 per cent. in forty-six years in these five governments.

In the Black sea provinces (Bessarabia, Kherson, Don, and Crimea) the increase ranges from 120 to 207 per cent., this last formidable increase having taken place in Kherson, where the population, attracted as it was by a very fertile, mostly unoccupied soil, by mining, and by the large city of Odessa, has more than trebled. The same is true of the south-eastern provinces on the lower Volga and in the Southern Urals, *i.e.* Samara, Ufa, Orenburg, and Astrakhan, where the increase was from 109 to 160 per cent., large towns also growing up in the mean time.

A strikingly small increase is found, on the other side, in the manufacturing region round Moscow, which contains nearly two-thirds of all the great industries of European Russia. In that region, notwithstanding the rapid growth of the capital itself, which now has nearly a million inhabitants, the increase was only 57 per cent., that is, much below the average increase for all European Russia.\* As to the partly manufacturing provinces of Kaluga and Smolensk, which are possessed of but a very meagre soil, the increase of their population was still smaller (respectively 43 and 25 per cent.). Two other regions of very low rate of increase are found also in the lake district (Novgorod and Pskov) and in North-Eastern Russia, where the increase was only from 40 to 58 per cent. in forty-six years, notwithstanding the scarcity of population. As to the capital, St. Petersburg, its population has trebled within the same period, and now exceeds  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million.

A notable feature is the rapid increase of population in the three Lithuanian provinces and the three provinces of White Russia. In only one of them, Kovno, the population has not doubled since 1851, while in the others the increase was from 100 to 137 per cent. The rapid multiplication of the Jews, and their better enumeration ("they have admirably well supplied all data for this census," M. Semennoff remarks), and especially the advantageous conditions under which the serfs were emancipated in the Lithuanian provinces (the Polish landlords were compelled, after the unsuccessful insurrection of 1863, to grant larger allotments and to receive smaller redemption for the liberation of their serfs than the Russian landlords in European Russia proper), fully explain, in Semennoff's opinion, that rapid increase.

As to Poland, which is the most densely peopled part of the empire, its population has nearly doubled since 1851 (increase 94 per cent.), and, what is still more remarkable, this high rate of increase was maintained within the last twelve years as well, while in several other parts of Russia the increase which took place in previous decades slackened recently. A good climate, a fertile soil, and an absence of droughts, which are so painfully felt in South-Eastern Russia, the specially favourable conditions under which the ex-serfs were liberated, the rational culture which spreads amongst the peasants as well, the rapid growth of industry, and partly also the German agricultural immigration, which was favoured by the German Government, explain this rapid increase.

As to Caucasia, its population has grown from 4,436,152 inhabitants in 1851 to 9,724,000; but this is not due to annexations—only 447,000 inhabitants having been annexed in 1878.† It is due partly to better methods of enumeration, but especially to the rapid colonization of Northern Caucasia by the Russians, as also, undoubtedly, to a local increase of population in Transcaucasia, where agriculture attains a high degree of perfection (in Tiflis and Kutais), while Baku has become a great industrial centre owing to its naphtha wells. The two

\* The high percentage of women in that region shows that a considerable number of men must be absent in winter-time; but all allowance being made for that cause, the increase would still be very small.

† Against which might be set the loss by the depopulation of Abkhasia, now shown as uninhabited in the official maps.—ED. G.J.

provinces of North Caucasia—Terek and Kuban—have now become, partly in consequence of immigration, and partly in consequence of natural increase (number of births as high as 55 in the thousand), important centres of Russian population—a very considerable number of small Cossack villages having lately become towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.

As to Siberia and the Kirghiz steppes, they are being rapidly colonized by Russian emigrants. The province of Tobolsk is now thoroughly Russian, and it appears that even in the provinces of the Amur, Maritime, and Sakhalin there is already no less than 350,000 inhabitants, almost entirely Russians.

A question of great interest arises in connection with the last census, namely, what are the respective numbers of the different nationalities of which the Russian empire is composed? The lists of the census will undoubtedly give a complete answer to this important geographical question. It will take, however, much time to work out these data of the census, and in the mean time I have attempted to roughly compute what may be the number of Russians in that heterogeneous empire. For that purpose, I have availed myself of the percentages of different nationalities in Russia which were published some twenty years ago by Rittich.\*

Taking Rittich's percentage figures and the data of the last census, the following table, which of course represents but a rough estimate, could be computed for European Russia :—

TABLE B.

Groups of provinces.	Population.	Great Russians.	Little Russians.
Northern and Baltic provinces	6,572,000	3,600,000	—
Lithuania, White Russia, and South-West Russia ... ..	19,719,000	200,000 (6,800,000 White Russians)	8,810,000
Little Russia and Don ... ..	12,750,000	4,000,000	8,400,000
Central Russia ... ..	28,082,000	26,100,000	1,000,000
Volga provinces ... ..	9,923,000	6,100,000	3,800,000
North-East Russia ... ..	9,913,000	7,400,000	100,000
Southern provinces ... ..	8,222,000	1,300,000	4,300,000
European Russia ... ..	94,081,000	49,700,000 (7,900,000 White Russians)	26,400,000

It may thus be said that there are in European Russia about 83,000,000 Russians out of 94,000,000 inhabitants, *i.e.* nearly 50,000,000 Great Russians, over 26,000,000 Little Russians, and about 7,000,000 White Russians (Byelorusses). There are, moreover, more than 3,000,000 Russians (Great and Little Russians) in Caucasia (chiefly in Cis-Caucasia), over 1,000,000 Russians in the Kirghiz steppes territory, and over 5,000,000 Russians in Siberia, as against less than 750,000 natives. The Russians thus make a little over two-thirds of the total population of the empire, and they are settled in three compact bodies—in Russia proper, in Northern Caucasia, and in Siberia.

\* 'Plemennoi Sostav Kontingentov Russkoi Armii,' by A. E. F. Rittich. St. Petersburg. 1875.