

ognize and respect the various ethnic groups and that customary laws remain in place as long as they did not contravene Western morality: cannibalism and ritual murder were deemed unacceptable. French courts could be used or appealed to under certain circumstances, and French law determined levels of criminality. The concept of punishing an individual who had committed a specific crime, as opposed to a collective family or social group, took hold, and for criminal acts, imprisonment was required, rather than the payment of compensation.

The goals of Ponty's educational program were to entrench French as the official language of French West Africa and create "useful men" (*hommes utiles*) who could work the land. He believed the universal acceptance of French would enable individuals to better their living standards, develop their country, counter the spread of Islam, and solidify society by instilling a love of French culture. The fact that this would lead to aspirations of equality was ignored.

Gail Tinsley

**See also** Colonial Administration; Education; French Empire; French West Africa

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## Population and Demographics

Imperialism's effects on population and demographics in colonies and metropolises are difficult to trace because multiple factors affect demographics, only some of which are directly attributable to imperialism or colonialism. Most studies of the demographic impact of colonialism (and there are surprisingly few) examine migration. Imperial migration can be categorized into three types: migration from the metropolis to the colonies, migration from the colonies to the metropolis, and migration between different colonies within the empire. It is often difficult, however, to draw a direct causal relationship between migration and colonialism.

One exception might be labor migration, which includes the movement of slaves and indentured servants as well as economic migration. The slave trade predated the heyday of imperialism but was

nevertheless quite significant demographically. Estimates of the demographics of the slave trade vary, but at least 10 million Africans were sent to the Americas, with most going to Brazil or the Caribbean. In addition to slavery, labor migration includes the movement of Indians to Mauritius, Ceylon, the Caribbean, British Guiana, Natal, and other parts of southern and eastern Africa; South Pacific Islanders to New Zealand; Chinese workers transiting through Hong Kong into Malaya and British North Borneo; and Asian migration into Australia and British Columbia. Migration from the Netherlands Indies to Surinam followed the same pattern. French colonial labor migration policy during World War I resulted in the recruitment of some 223,000 colonial subjects from North Africa, Indochina, and Madagascar, as well as Chinese workers. Labor migration was generally less important elsewhere, overshadowed by population movements from the centers to the imperial peripheries.

Population movement from metropolises to colonies was part of the larger phenomenon of emigration from Europe. Roughly 55 million people emigrated from Europe in the century following 1820, but most were not driven by imperialism: English, German, and Irish populations formed the largest groups of emigrants through the peak years of the 1850s, with Italians and Eastern Europeans coming to dominate thereafter. Key demographic push factors included unemployment caused by new agricultural practices and landownership in Great Britain and Germany; the Irish potato famine; and the search for religious freedom, such as that on the part of Jews from the Russian Empire. Emigration from Britain declined after the middle years of the nineteenth century and averaged roughly 200,000 annually from 1870 to 1894—some three-quarters of whom emigrated to the United States in the latter part of that period. British emigration slowed to a trickle in the 1890s, although organizations such as the Emigrants' Information Office, opened in 1886, reversed the proportion of emigrants staying within the empire to approximately two-thirds. Another surge of emigration began in 1907 and peaked between 1910 and 1913, when an average of 394,000 British emigrants annually left for the dominions or colonies, with the majority being English and Scottish rather than Irish as in the past. After World War I, settler societies in

Kenya and Southern Rhodesia attracted distressed landowners, former military officers and soldiers (aided, for example, by the 1919 Soldier Settlement Scheme for farming in Kenya), and others seeking foreign opportunities, including single women. Various British imperial emigration efforts were centralized in the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, which was periodically renewed and finally expired when the Commonwealth Settlement Act was passed in 1972. The demographic effects of colonialism were especially significant after World War II, as there was much migration to the colonies; many of the emigrants were participants in assisted settlement schemes in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

Another demographic effect of imperialism was transverse migration around the peripheries of empire, such as the large-scale movements between Australia and New Zealand and, to a lesser extent, South Africa. By the late nineteenth century, demographic and emigration policies took on geostrategic and geopolitical connotations as European governments began to see population as an asset or resource of imperialism, much like territory or natural resources. In this light, the 1905 Census of the British Empire cataloged the dispersal of people from the British Isles to the colonies of white settlement and elsewhere; the diaspora, especially of Indians, black Africans, and Pacific Islanders to imperial territories outside their homelands; and some influx of the colonial-born, especially those from white settler societies, into Britain.

With the exception of the wartime recruiting referred to earlier, migration to France from French colonies was not especially significant in the first half of the twentieth century. Much more important in terms of numbers was immigration into France from European countries. For example, between 1918 and 1928, some 400,000 Polish workers immigrated to France. Workers and political exiles from Italy after Benito Mussolini's accession in 1922 and from Spain during and after the civil war comprised other large sources of demographic growth. These groups were replaced in the middle of the 1950s by colonial subjects from the Maghreb, especially Algeria, and other French colonies in Africa and overseas. In addition, approximately 1 million *piets-noirs*, or white settlers born in Africa, moved to France following Algerian independence in 1962.

Decolonization also had major demographic effects in many other cases. Some involved population transfers between former colonies. Certainly, one of the largest mass population movements ever was the exchange of 14 million people between India and Pakistan in 1947 and 1948, after these countries achieved independence. Some 300,000 people migrated to the Netherlands from Indonesia in the years following Indonesian independence. Likewise, immigration to the United Kingdom surged in the 1950s. The 1961 census estimated that the "coloured" population of Great Britain rose in a decade from 74,500 to 336,000, to include 171,800 West Indians, 81,400 Indians, 24,900 Pakistanis, and 19,800 West Africans. Some scholars argue that their presence proved the existence of an integrated imperial labor market in the twentieth century, but further research on the demographic impacts of imperialism and colonialism remains to be done.

*Willem Maas*

See also Children; Class; Colonial Administration; Decolonization; Economics; Environment; Labor; Land; Social Sciences; Women

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**Portsmouth, Treaty of (1905)**

The peace treaty between Russia and Japan was concluded on September 5, 1905, at the Portsmouth naval yards in New Hampshire. The