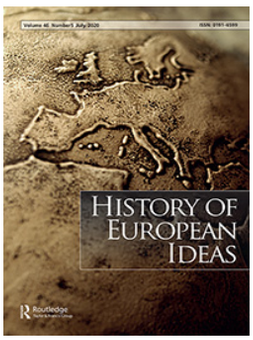

History of European Ideas

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rhei20

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To cite this article: Anne Schult (2020) Numbers and norms: Robert René Kuczynski and the development of demography in interwar Britain, History of European Ideas, 46:5, 715-729, DOI: 10.1080/01916599.2020.1746075

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2020.1746075

Published online: 08 Apr 2020.

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN IDEAS
2020, VOL. 46, NO. 5, 715–729
https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2020.1746075

Numbers and norms: Robert René Kuczynski and the development of demography in interwar Britain

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the effects of scientific governance on personal liberty in interwar Britain through the work and life of German-Jewish demographer Robert René Kuczynski. Kuczynski arrived in Britain as a refugee in 1933 and, within the span of a few years, moved from being a researcher and reader at the London School of Economics to becoming demographic adviser to the Colonial Office. In the service of the British government, Kuczynski realized the first complete demographic survey of the British Empire. Based on extensive primary research at the London School of Economics Archives and the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin, this article analyses the complex ways in which Kuczynski's experience as a forced intellectual migrant interacted with – and often contradicted – his scientific work on population and the national and imperial policies that were enabled by it. Doing so, this article points to the inadequacy of merely evaluating personal freedom by means of law and power politics and asks about the hidden constraints in technocratic governance based on scientific knowledge.

KEYWORDS

Intellectual migration; refugees; demography; statistics; eugenics

1. Introduction

In the fall of 1933, German-Jewish economic statistician Robert René Kuczynski was one among thousands of intellectual refugees that fled continental Europe to escape the increasingly violent persecution of 'non-Aryan' persons in and around the newly established Third Reich.[1] Unlike other academics from Central Europe, who sought safety in the United States or other distant places like Palestine, South Africa, Kenya, Brazil, and Argentina, Kuczynski did not travel far: recruited by none other than William Beveridge, he joined an illustrious cadre of international faculty at the London School of Economics and Politics (LSE) across the Channel to work at the forefront of the nascent field of demography.[2] There, Kuczynski's pioneering work in statistics aimed for more than simply the calculation of birth and death rates and, in light of the differing fertility rates between white Britons and non-white colonial subjects, increasingly advocated for a scientific management of population that would require close surveillance and complete enumeration. In 1944, this scientific vision was realized when the erstwhile refugee was appointed official advisor to the Colonial Office and set out to complete the first full demographic survey of the British Empire.

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[1]Statistics on the migration of Jewish or other German-speaking refugees to Britain before 1939 are inexact and unreliable: Louise London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy, 1930–1940', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 165; Ari Joshua Sherman, *Island Refuge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), appendix.

[2]Recent research into the field of forced intellectual migration has been dominated by the exodus of German-speaking intellectuals to America. Christian Fleck, *A Transatlantic History of the Social Sciences* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); Udi Greenberg, *The Weimar Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Martin Jay, *Permanent Exiles* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

While Kuczynski's investment in monitoring the vital statistics of colonial subjects appears symptomatic of the technocratic discourse on population that was led by the likes of Alexander Carr-Saunders and Julian Huxley with both explicitly racialized and modernizing undertones in 1930s Britain, it appears at best perplexing when considered against his personal background. How did a persecuted scientist who had been part of a racialized minority and served as a fervent advocate for socialist policies in Weimar Germany come to worry about the decline of the white population of the British Empire?[3] In order to understand this seeming paradox, I argue, it is necessary to investigate the link between migration, scientific knowledge production, and governance in interwar Britain.

In certain respects, Kuczynski's case is one of forced migration that rings familiar in light of a recent wave of scholarship on the rather sceptical British response to the predominantly Jewish forced migrants who arrived from the Continent in the 1920s–1930s. The Home Office posited these refugees as 'a problem of immigration rather than a duty of rescue' and, expressing fears of a corresponding rise of anti-Semitism at home, strictly limited the influx of migrants.[4] Those who made it across the border were further not met with open arms. As Dina Gusejnova details in her contribution to this issue, many found themselves temporarily incarcerated as 'enemy aliens'. Others have pointed out that intellectual migrants' acceptance by the British government was typically not based on humanitarian principles but rather predicated on labour demands, leaving the newcomers ambiguously situated between would-be asylum-seekers and imported 'human capital'.[5] Many academic fields in Britain, meanwhile, profited immensely from the ensuing influx of ideas and expertise, and newcomers had a sizable if seldom acknowledged impact on the development of domestic disciplines from medical science, psychiatry, and physics to the new social sciences.[6] This either inimical or mildly opportunistic reaction to Nazi-induced migration marks one of the key criticisms of historical narratives that project twentieth-century Britain as an island of liberty and tolerance in a sea of destruction.[7]

Viewed from a different angle, Kuczynski's stellar success within both the British academy and the Colonial Office appears as a testament to the rise of scientific governance, and the preponderance of statistical knowledge, in interwar Europe. Beginning in the early twentieth century, the British administration became increasingly dependent on a sprawling scientific apparatus to manage its population in the metropole and overseas. Across Europe, the experience of World War I had produced the sense of a significantly altered, potentially compromised population after the war.[8] British assessments of 'domestic stock' further coincided with anxieties about imperial decline.[9] Here demography, as a new sub-discipline that rigorously privileged the generation of 'useful knowledge' for policy application, contended that points of recovery could and should be identified through

[3]Robert René Kuczynski, 'The White Population of the Empire', *Sociological Review* 29, no. 3 (July 1937): 221–31.
[4]London, 'Jewish Refugees', 163.
[5]London, 'British Immigration Control Procedures and Jewish Refugees, 1933–1939', in *Second Chance*, ed. Werner Eugen Mosse (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 498. For an overview of intellectual migration from Germany to Britain, see Gerhard Hirschfeld, 'Die Emigration deutscher Wissenschaftler nach Großbritannien, 1933–1945', in *Großbritannien als Gast- und Exilland für Deutsche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gottfried Niedhart (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1985), 117–40.
[6]For overviews of this broad influence, see Edward Timms and Jon Hughes, eds., *Intellectual Migration and Cultural Transformation* (Vienna: Springer, 2002); Mitchell G. Ash and Alfons Söllner, eds., *Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Emigré German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Mosse, ed., *Second Chance*. On the social and political backlash that many Jewish refugees faced, see Tony Kushner, 'The Impact of British Anti-Semitism, 1918–1945', in Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 191–208.
[7]London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933–1948* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); 'British Immigration Control Procedures', 485–518; Tony Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994); Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (London: Arnold, 1979); Gisela C. Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918–1939* (London: Macmillan, 1978).
[8]Stefanos Geroulanos and Todd Meyers, *The Human Body in the Age of Catastrophe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 247–91; Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 138–62.
[9]Alison Bashford, *Global Population* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 211–38; Karl Ittmann, *A Problem of Great Importance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

quantitative analysis. Influenced by American race relations, British colonial demography derived explicit political value. The deliberate admission of persecuted population scientists such as Kuczynski to the British academy did thus not remain a purely academic affair: it was inevitably defined by the demands of scientific governance, and the intellectual imports conversely fed back into conceptions of legitimate and efficient British rule.

Rather than choosing one or the other, this essay posits that Kuczynski's career trajectory as a population expert was situated in *both* of these contexts, and that their interplay offers insights into ongoing historical debates about claims to Britain having been the home of liberty in the mid-twentieth century. While liberty is often taken to be a purely political category whose degree is contested and ultimately both guaranteed and limited by the law, the case of Kuczynski demands a more expansive view. Irrespective of their legal status, refugees-turned-economic-migrants like Kuczynski were invariably subjected to a different kind of constriction of individual liberty under scientific governance, one that did not rely on legal codes or political coercion, but instead used knowledge as a means of control. More crucially, refugee scholars in the social sciences often *contributed directly* to a constrictive regime of registration and surveillance with their scientific output, which ultimately pitted their work against the personal politics that had turned them into refugees in the first place. Based on extensive primary research at the London School of Economics Archives and the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin, this essay analyses the complex ways in which Kuczynski's experience as a forced intellectual migrant interacted with – and often contradicted – his scientific work on population statistics. Doing so, it points to the inadequacy of merely evaluating personal freedom by means of law and power politics and asks about the hidden constraints in technocratic governance based on scientific knowledge.

2. A transnational concern: forecasting population in Germany, the US, and Britain

Under Beveridge's directorship, the LSE emerged from the Great War as a crucial hub for cross-disciplinary conversations between economists, psychologists, sociologists, and political theorists. True to its institutional roots in the socialist Fabian Society, the school was a place where 'left-wing politics mixed with left-wing science', and where critical studies of society often aimed to generate policies for reform and resource redistribution.[10] In this context, the collection of demographic data chiefly appeared as a matter of securing broad-scale welfare. As a link between social hygiene and social reform, regular censuses were used as a tool for identifying needs. Beveridge's interest in helping those in need and in guaranteeing individual liberties ultimately extended beyond the national context and toward a transnational academic community, as he became personally invested in saving scholars in Central and Eastern Europe from Nazi persecution. In 1933, he founded the Academic Assistance Council (AAC) to provide intellectual refugees with both relief and assistance in finding suitable employment.[11] As was true for the broader context of British immigration restrictions, though, what ultimately qualified individuals for such assistance in the name of freedom of thought and learning was 'not the persecution they were trying to leave behind, but what they could bring with them.'[12]

In the case of Kuczynski, who joined the LSE the same year the AAC was established, this added value was both scientific and political in nature. Like Beveridge, Kuczynski had long been inclined to use the empirical data gathered for statistical analysis to prop up welfare reform. For his first major

[10]Bashford, *Global Population*, 168. On the connection between LSE and the Fabian Society, see Norman Ian MacKenzie and Jeanne MacKenzie, *The Fabians* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977).

[11]William Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959). On the history of the AAC, later renamed the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), see David Zimmerman, 'The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning and the Politicization of British Science in the 1930s', *Minerva* 44 (2006): 25–45.

[12]London, 'British Immigration Control Procedures', 515; Alfons Söllner, 'On Transit to America – Political Scientists from Germany in Great Britain after 1933', in *Second Chance*, 122ff. On the intertwining of humanitarian aid for European refugee scholars and national politics, see Isabella Löhr, 'Solidarity and the Academic Community: The Support Networks for Refugee Scholars in the 1930s', *Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 231–46.

job, the academically-trained economist had served as Director of the Statistical Office in the municipality of Schöneberg, which was incorporated into Greater Berlin in 1920. As a city statistician, he was primarily concerned with financial and economic questions as well as with 'social problems' that arose from the mismanagement of urban planning, including housing, transportation, and nutrition.[13] Outside of his official capacity, he was an outspoken pacifist and active within the German League for Human Rights, where he tirelessly campaigned for German-French rapprochement and an economically-grounded version of universal human rights.[14] Never a formal member of any political party, Kuczynski nevertheless considered himself a social democrat and served as a member of the German Commission on Socialization after World War I. Some sources suggest that, in the tumultuous years of the Weimar Republic, he grew increasingly close to the German communist party. Either way, he sought to use statistics to 'expos[e] what he saw as the ravages of the capitalist system'.[15] In early Nazi Germany, such activism ensured that Kuczynski quickly gained a spot on the Gestapo blacklist. Once politics had turned into open persecution, he evaded arrest by clandestinely crossing the border into Czechoslovakia in 1933. He then headed to Paris, only to find his way to Geneva and begin working in a semi-official capacity as a statistician for the International Labour Organisation (ILO) – where he was allegedly hired on the spot by LSE's Beveridge.[16]

While it is unclear how or when Beveridge first learned of Kuczynski's work, he surely was aware of the statistician's famed Net Reproduction Rate (NRR).[17] Over the course of the 1920s, Kuczynski earned international scholarly renown by developing a calculation that projected in how far a given population would reproduce itself in the future based on current fertility and mortality.[18] In his 1928 book *The Balance of Births and Deaths*, Kuczynski argued that to balance the birth rate against the death rate and ensure long-term conservation of a given population, one needed to investigate hypothetical fertility and to qualify present vital statistics with the markers of age and sex. Data collected in the form of simple birth and death rates, he insisted, gave a false sense of stability and covered up rapidly declining birth rates in Western and Northern Europe. After all, a numeric balance today would not translate into a balance tomorrow: 'If in a given population no death occurred and no birth', he admonished,

> such a population would continually grow older, and after 50 years there would be no more women of childbearing age and no more men with full physical working capacity. The total population would still be as large as 50 years earlier, but in the meanwhile it would have done nothing towards its reproduction, and it would have lost any future chance of reproduction.[19]

[13]Kuczynski, 'Die Wehrkraft der Land- und Stadtbevölkerung', *Die Hilfe*, no. 49 (1907): 777–8; Kuczynski, 'Die Sterblichkeit der Ortsgeborenen in Berlin', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 3, 35, no. 1 (1908): 110–14; Kuczynski, 'Wohnungsfrage und Bevölkerungspolitik', *Zeitschrift für Säuglingsfürsorge*, 10, no. 10 and 11 (1918): 226–31; Kuczynski, 'Maßnahmen zur Feststellung des tatsächlichen Wohnungsbedarfs', in *Ein Programm für die Übergangswirtschaft im Wohnungswesen*, ed. Deutscher Verein für Wohnungsreform (Berlin: Siemenroth, 1918), 1–9; Kuczynski, *Deutschlands Versorgung mit Nahrungs- und Futtermitteln* (Berlin: Springer, 1926).

[14]On the German League for Human Rights in its transnational context, see Emmanuel Naquet, 'The LDH and the Bund Neues Vaterland: The Convergence of Two Human Rights Associations, 1914 to 1939', in *Human Rights Leagues in Europe (1898–2016)*, ed. Wolfgang Schmale and Christopher Treiblmayr (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017), 79–94; Daniel Laqua, 'Reconciliation and the Post-War Order: The Place of the Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte in Interwar Pacifism', in *Internationalism Reconfigured* (London: Tauris, 2011), 209–38.

[15]John Christopher Green, *A Political Family* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 24.

[16]Details about the encounter are scarce. Both Kuczynski's son Jürgen and recent biographer John Christopher Green mention it but do not provide documentation. The LSE Archives do not contain further information either.

[17]Beveridge received a letter from Graham Wallace, co-founder of the LSE, pointing towards Kuczynski's work on population in the mid-1920s. Wallace to Beveridge, January 31, 1925, BEVERIDGE/2B/27/2, LSE Archives.

[18]As Michael Engberding and Ursula Ferdinand have argued, the net reproduction rate should be considered the product of a larger discourse around fertility at the time and not Kuczynski's lone 'invention'; nevertheless, Kuczynski became the main figure to popularize it. Engberding and Ferdinand, 'Die Nettoreproduktionsrate und die Kritik Robert René Kuczynskis an der englischen statistischen Registrierungspraxis', in *Ursprünge, Arten und Folgen des Konstrukts 'Bevölkerung' vor, im und nach dem "Dritten Reich"*, ed. Rainer Mackensen, Jürgen Reulecke, and Josef Ehmer (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009), 193–216.

[19]Kuczynski, *The Balance of Births and Deaths*, vol. II (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 206.

Proposing a matrilineal take on the future of society that characterized even children by their hypothetical reproductive capacity, Kuczynski later described the NRR as showing 'the average number of girls born to a newly born girl in the course of her life, or, what amounts to the same thing, the average number of future mothers born to a mother of to-day'.[20] Accordingly, a rate equal to 1 signalled a constant population size, as the number of present mothers were fully replaced by potential mothers; growth and shrinkage were in turn indicated by divergences from 1. As fellow demographer A.B. Wolfe pointed out, Kuczynski's true innovation was not of theoretical grandeur, but rather lay in 'a simple, yet adequate, method wholly understandable by anyone who knows arithmetic as far as simple fractions and percentage'.[21] Admiringly referred to as the 'Kuczynski rate' by other social scientists, this simple method was used widely in statistical scholarship of the 1930s and employed for official projections of world-wide population, such as in the League of Nations' *Statistical Year-Book*.

Although Kuczynski was still living in Germany when *The Balance of Births and Deaths* appeared, American population science and discourse had wielded formative influence on this seminal work. He had already spent significant time in the US, first interning with the US Census Bureau and then putting his statistical skills to use in the US Department of Labor in the early 1900s. Between 1926 and 1932, he further became associated with the Washington D.C.-based think tank The Brookings Institution, which declared its goal to be to provide scientific research for 'the development of sound national policies'. Indeed, it was Brookings that oversaw the production and publication of *The Balance of Births and Deaths*. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, sociopolitical developments in the US often served as a reference point in Kuczynski's early work, in particular with regard to wages and living standards.[22] However, his training in the US also inflected the very structure of his statistical analysis: he began to categorize vital statistics in terms of race and to focus not merely on total fertility but *differential* fertility, which pitted whites against blacks and 'natives' against 'foreign-borns'.[23] Upon closer inspection, the development of the NRR thus appears embedded in a long tradition of racialized discourse on Western decline.

Such fears of being subsumed by an exponentially-growing racialized other proved easily transferrable across the Atlantic in the 1930s, where Kuczynski's calculations spoke directly to British anxieties about an empire crumbling from within. Harking back to the late nineteenth-century work of Sir Francis Galton, commonly considered the 'father of eugenics', and Karl Pearson's writings on biometrics and differential fertility, British statistics had long been coloured by class. Yet, in an age of imperial insecurities, proclamations of decreasing fertility among Europeans increasingly emphasized race over class and pursued an optimal racial distribution across the empire. This question of distribution linked quantity and quality of population in complicated and at times contradictory ways: while the interwar period saw a revival of Malthusian ideas of general overpopulation and corresponding support for birth control, some demographers deemed such a broad-scale approach to limiting fertility problematic.[24] Focusing on the progressively-decreasing birth rates in the Western world, they rejected the Malthusian paradigm and instead sought out ways to increase or at least stabilize European fertility vis-à-vis the comparably higher birth rates of non-whites.

In the context of this 'depopulation panic', Kuczynski's rather dry work on statistical methodology appeared revelatory in its empiricism.[25] As long as fellow demographers analysed wrong or incomplete data, he argued, public ignorance of the growing danger of decline would ensue. As he lamented in a 1928 editorial on 'dying peoples' in the Western world, the focus on crude birth and death rates had led many to believe that European populations were *growing* rather than

[20]Kuczynski, *Population Movements* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 44.
[21]A.B. Wolfe, 'Review of the Balance of Births and Deaths', *American Economic Review* 20, no. 2 (1930): 347.
[22]Kuczynski, *Arbeitslohn und Arbeitszeit in Europa und Amerika 1870–1909* (Berlin: Springer, 1913).
[23]Kuczynski, 'The Fecundity of the Native and Foreign Born Population in Massachusetts', *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 16, no. 1 (November 1, 1901): 1–36; Kuczynski, *Die Einwanderungspolitik und die Bevölkerungsfrage der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Berlin: Leonhard Simion, 1903). Kuczynski's analysis of the American population also garnered interest by British scholars: see Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene* (London: Constable & Co., 1912), 142–3.
[24]On the Malthusian revival, see Bashford, *Global Population*.
[25]On the interwar 'depopulation panic' in Britain, see Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration*, 226–58.

shrinking, though nothing could be further from the truth. 'If one thing is certain,' he witheringly remarked, 'it is that future generations will laugh about the grotesque helplessness with which we, in the second quarter of the twentieth century, still treat the population question'.[26] What was needed in his opinion were not grand theoretical narratives à la Malthus, but more data collection, and hence more registration and more surveillance.

3. Establishing demography: Kuczynski and LSE's Social Biology Department

Kuczynski's proclivity towards empiricism, as set out in *The Balance of Births and Deaths*, was entirely shared by his benefactor-turned-supervisor in Britain. In the 1920s, Beveridge had realized his long-term plans to institutionalize 'the development of the natural bases of the social sciences' at the LSE by creating the Department of Social Biology.[27] This department was a perfect fit for the disciplinary goal and self-understanding of demography. As A.B. Wolfe argued in the 1930 *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, the aim of demography was to provide nothing less than 'the natural and social history of the human species.'[28] Situated firmly between the social and the biological, it constituted 'a kind of bio-social bookkeeping, a continuous inventory and analysis of the human population and its vital processes, collectively considered'.[29] Notably, this approach carried both de- and prescriptive qualities, and it undercut traditional sociology by treating population as a dictum of natural science. Yet, even if considered an independent discipline with its own methodology, the field of demography was late to academic institutionalization and struggled to find a home within the university system next to the more 'established' social sciences. As a result, demographers largely operated either out of sociology departments or outside of the university framework altogether and relied on monetary support from predominantly American foundations (such as Carnegie and Rockefeller) and the private sector, all of which had their own ideas about what purpose demographic research should serve.

LSE's Department of Social Biology was thus extraordinary in that it offered demographers a degree of institutional structure and academic rigor – without, for all that, obviating the need for external support. Kuczynski's position demonstrates this well: while linked to a British university, his employment was entirely contingent upon the financial support of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (i.e. the Rockefeller Foundation), which had provided funds for Beveridge's social biology experiment. As a result, the project goals bore an explicitly American stamp in both methodology and output – a fact that proved advantageous for Kuczynski, given his statistical training in the US and his familiar name across the Atlantic.[30]

Kuczynski's NRR would be the starting point for much of the work on declining fertility that was feverishly pursued at the Department of Social Biology. In *The Balance of Births and Deaths*, Kuczynski had abstained from attempting an explanation for this decline, prompting fellow demographer Wolfe to proclaim that it would be hard to find 'a more rigidly objective analysis of the population movement'.[31] However, the interdisciplinary circle of population experts he joined under Beveridge's tutelage was not shy to point fingers. Beveridge set the tone with a 1925

[26]Kuczynski, 'Sterbende Völker', *Finanzpolitische Korrespondenz* 9, no. 31/32 (1928): 1–4.
[27]The 'experimental' program of interdisciplinary work Beveridge imagined is succinctly laid out in a 1926 memo circulated among staff: 'The Natural Bases of the Social Sciences', November 15, 1926, MALINOWSKI/26/9, LSE Archives. On Beveridge's methodological dispute with the LSE economists, see Chris Renwick, 'Completing the Circle of the Social Sciences? William Beveridge and Social Biology at London School of Economics during the 1930s', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 44, no. 4 (July 1, 2014): 478–96.
[28]A.B. Wolfe, 'Demography', in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R.A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 5: 85.
[29]Ibid.
[30]See Fleck's argument about the influence of philanthropic efforts on the methodological canon of the social sciences in Fleck, *A Transatlantic History of the Social Sciences*; see also Susan Greenhalgh's argument on the foregrounding of activists' needs, in 'The Social Construction of Population Science: An Intellectual, Institutional, and Political History of Twentieth-Century Demography', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 1 (1996): 36. Yet the pressure to produce usable research based on funding needs was not unique to demography, at least not in the American context. See Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 400ff.
[31]Wolfe, 'Review of the Balance of Birth and Death', 348.

publication on the 'revolution in the vital history of the European races' after the 1880s, in which he argued that the general decline in birth rates 'bears the unmistakable marks of human purpose' and was caused by a voluntary adaptation of birth control and an associated decline in marriages.[32] Tracing the seeming biological problem back to a social one, he advocated for a 'responsible' handling of scientific discoveries such as birth control. In a slightly different vein, renowned zoologist and medical statistician Lancelot Hogben, who acted as department chair, criticized the simplistic linking of human society with class-based genetics and posed the population question in relation to capitalist economic organization, which had produced disincentives to reproduction.[33] With this, he found himself not only at odds with the British eugenics establishment, but also with the economics faculty at LSE, which included Friedrich Hayek and Lionel Robbins at the time.

While figures like Beveridge and Hogben were vocal about their political predilections, Kuczynski remained starkly focused on questions of statistical methodology in his contributions to the department. He often left it to colleague Enid Charles, a prolific anthropologist and Hogben's wife, to offer political interpretations of his tables and calculations.[34] Judging from their letter exchange over the years, Charles and Kuczynski had a cordial relationship and she often deferred to his statistical expertise, even after she and Hogben had moved on to the University of Aberdeen in the late 1930s and she began working with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in Canada.[35] Their symbiotic relationship was on full display in the 1938 volume *Political Arithmetic*, which summed up the research completed at the Department of Social Biology since its inception and was styled as an anti-Malthusian manifesto. Kuczynski offered up two contributions: The first was an introductory essay on measuring present fertility decline, which was followed up by Charles' commentary on how such decline should be answered in British policy. The second was composed of a brief survey of the writings of historical figures John Graunt, William Petty, and Edmund Halley on declining British fertility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kuczynski reproduced their often alienating proposals for increasing fertility through both punitive law and economic incentives without comment, but Hogben offered a clear endorsement by portraying them as the true 'founders of British demography' in his introduction.[36]

Despite his family's connections in the British Labour movement, it was perhaps Kuczynski's rather stoic 'scientific neutrality' that saved him when the Department of Social Biology was officially discontinued at the LSE at the end of 1937.[37] The year marked both the end of Beveridge's tenure as Director of the LSE and the breaking point of the patience of the Rockefeller Foundation's officers, who had grown increasingly weary of Hogben's political outspokenness and his propensity for costly animal experimentation in explorations of the link between human population and ecology. When the school's Court of Governors decided upon the department's closure, they simultaneously redistributed the remaining funds and awarded Kuczynski with a fixed appointment as Reader in Demography, the first position of its kind in Britain.[38]

While most historians agree that Beveridge's Department of Social Biology turned out to be a failure in the history of his otherwise impactful career at the LSE, then, things look decidedly different from the vantage point of newcomer Kuczynski.[39] The latter not only outlived the department's

[32]Beveridge, 'The Fall of Fertility among European Races', *Economica*, no. 13 (1925): 13, 18.
[33]Renwick, 'Completing the Circle', 485.
[34]Charles herself described her work as giving 'an exposition of Kuczynski's methods'. Enid Charles, *The Twilight of Parenthood* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1934), vi.
[35]Correspondence between Charles and Kuczynski, July 3, 1936 – November 15, 1938, Kuc7-2-C71, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin; Letter from Charles to Kuczynski, 1940s, Kuc7-2-C145, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin.
[36]Lancelot Hogben, 'Introduction – Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic', in *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), 13.
[37]On the Kuczynskis' politics in exile, see Green, *A Political Family,* 121–72.
[38]Court of Governors' Agenda, May 13, 1937 and Report from the Standing Committee, Meeting of December 1, 1937, CENTRAL FILING REGISTRY/237, LSE Archives. See also Dahrendorf, *LSE*, 263.
[39]For this failure narrative, see Christopher T. Husbands, *Sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1904–2015* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 57ff; Jeremy Shearmur, 'Beveridge and the Brief Life of "Social Biology" at the LSE', *Agenda* 20, no. 1 (2013): 79–94; Ralf Dahrendorf, *LSE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 258ff.

closure but was further able to use it as a stepping stone. Under Beveridge's successor at the LSE, fellow population expert Alexander Carr-Saunders, Kuczynski became increasingly intertwined with the British eugenics establishment, which was in turn experiencing a change of direction towards research-based arguments for a 'positive' eugenics that would not limit but rather increase the number of domestic births.[40] He was also associated with the Population Investigation Committee, a new social research group at LSE that was explicitly linked to the British Eugenics Society, for which Carr-Saunders served as Chairman, and began publishing in associated outlets like the *Eugenics Review* and the *Annals of Eugenics*. Indeed, he was invited to give an address on future trends in population at the Eugenics Society's General Annual Meeting in 1937.[41]

This increasing recognition of Kuczynski as a disinterested scientific expert was matched by the fact that, after years of advocating for a 'realistic' adjustment of population based on exact enumeration, his demands for improved and extended data collection were finally written into law. In 1938, the British government passed the Population (Statistics) Act. Fiercely opposed by the Labour Party as a tool of increased state surveillance, it stipulated the mandatory registration of births and deaths and the collection of detailed data about mothers, children, and marriages in particular.[42] Kuczynski, meanwhile, interpreted the bill as a clear sign of scientific progress. Authoring an entry on 'vital statistics' for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the same year, he praised it as finally furnishing 'the basic data indispensable for the framing of a population policy'.[43]

4. Counting the Empire: Kuczynski at the Colonial Office

Working on the improvement of statistical methodology and the expansion of registration procedures to provide data, Kuczynski also began to comment on British imperial statistics specifically, which he deemed insufficient at best. Similar to anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, his colleague at LSE, he appeared to press for an application of social science towards a better understanding, and ultimately management, of the colonies.[44] In his 1937 book *Colonial Populations*, Kuczynski made the case that statistics as an imperial science was vastly less successful in accurately quantifying population than its nation-state counterpart, and that demography seemed ill-developed as a tool to define and control the colonial subject. Crankily, he complained that 'the population statistics of most colonies are to-day in a condition similar, in many respects, to that of the population statistics of most European countries 150 years ago'.[45]

In Kuczynski's eyes, the reasons for this sorry state of affairs were several. For one, social categories and hierarchies of non-European societies, which guided census subjects' self-identification, often differed from those used in the metropole. Similarly, perceptions of race in the colonies did not necessarily conform to European standards. Expert knowledge from the metropole thus clashed with local knowledge overseas and, as Kuczynski complained, census-takers in the colonies often arbitrarily corrected or changed categories between censuses, which resulted in a set of statistics that were not even internally coherent for *one* colony.[46] In addition, birth and death registration was not compulsory in most colonies, or at least not properly enforced. As a result, the published data, 'while possibly satisfying the needs of the local administration, fail[s] to show the facts which are of general interest and which would enable comparisons between the various colonies to be made'.[47] Broken down into unhelpful categories and failing to cover every colonial subject in a given administrative

[40]Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration*, 248–9.
[41]Subsequently printed as Kuczynski, 'Future Trends in Population', *Eugenics Review* 29, no. 2 (July 1937): 99–107.
[42]On the reaction of the Labour Party, see Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration*, 250.
[43]'Vital Statistics' (draft with annotations), Kuc7-1-2-349, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin.
[44]Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society', *Economica* 6 (1922): 208–19. A similar drive towards knowing and ruling colonial subjects by scientific data occurred in the realm of interwar British psychology. Erik Linstrum, *Ruling Minds: Psychology in the British Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 83–115.
[45]Kuczynski, *Colonial Population* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1937), xiv.
[46]Ibid., 10–11.
[47]Ibid., ix.

unit, such censuses produced merely partial knowledge and a 'reasoned guess' at best.[48] The colonial project of population statistics, both in its data collection and subsequent application in policy, thus remained flawed in methodology, unevenly and haphazardly executed, and overall 'in a most unsatisfactory state.'[49]

With this rather unflattering assessment, Kuczynski clearly hit a nerve. Census-taking had been widely used as a tool for social investigation overseas in the 1920s and 1930s, and the British administration perceived population statistics as an important element of colonial control. Its results could be directly implemented through health policies and family planning, but also settlement and migration. At the Imperial Conferences of the mid-1930s, the British repeatedly puzzled over how to boost the white population in the colonies without downgrading the metropole – in other words, how to find a perfect equilibrium of 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' throughout the empire.[50] Linking quantity with quality, they obsessively compared fertility rates of populations in metropole and colonies in the overarching fear that non-European colonial subjects might eventually outnumber 'true Britons' at home. Improving the accuracy of imperial counting mechanisms was thus deemed a crucial political task.

In his own analysis of the precarious state of whites in the empire at large, Kuczynski confirmed these anxieties by stating that fertility had 'decreased so much that the white population of the Empire is no longer reproducing itself.'[51] Although this looming decline was constantly obscured by 'coloured births' being registered as white in the colonies for personal advantages, Kuczynski ascertained, the trend was clear and demanded alternative measures.[52] Interestingly, to solve the dilemma of the decreasing white population, he proposed to follow the example of the US. In a publication on US immigration restrictions in 1903, he had described population growth as a key to international political success and had warned that, given the lower birth rates of the white portion of the US population, the extensive immigration restrictions then pursued by the US government would prove detrimental.[53] Similarly, he now proposed that additional immigration from the Continent into the British Empire could solve the problem of the declining white population, thus offering a surprising reinterpretation of the place of Jewish refugees within the broader scheme of mobility, and an implicit justification for relaxing immigration restrictions – albeit at the expense of colonial subjects.[54]

While most of his technical writing abstained from citing concrete policy proposals, Kuczynski explicitly approached colonial statistics as a problem of application and regularly engaged with an institutional network focused on colonial administration. In the early 1940s, he maintained a subscription to the *Crown Colonist*, a publication aimed at colonial administrators, and he continued a lively exchange with the Colonial Department of the University of London's Institute of Education, which was tasked with training teachers for the colonial service.[55] Yet, it is hard to make out what Kuczynski thought about colonialism, let alone the British variant, in political terms. Caught between German and British allegiances, he made a variety of contradicting statements over the years, none of

[48]Kuczynski, Colonial Population, viii.
[49]Ibid., ix. For a detailed analysis of the inadequacy of colonial statistics, see Dennis D. Cordell, Karl Ittmann, and Gregory H. Maddox, 'Counting Subjects: Demography and Empire', in *The Demographics of Empire*, idem. eds. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 1–21.
[50]ILO Director Albert Thomas, for one, referenced these debates in his presentation at the 1927 World Population Conference as an argument for encouraging migration to regulate the worldwide population distribution. See Margaret Sanger, ed., *Proceedings of the World Population Conference* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1927), 257.
[51]Kuczynski, 'The White Population of the Empire', 229.
[52]Ibid., 224.
[53]Kuczynski, *Die Einwanderungspolitik*.
[54]Kuczynski refrains from addressing Palestine here.
[55]Letter from the *Crown Colonist* to Kuczynski, January 16, 1941, Kuc7-2-C149, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin; Correspondence between Robert William Brierley Jackson, Institute of Education, and Kuczynski, January 24, 1938 – December 23, 1938, Kuc7-2-J21, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin; Correspondence between Margaret Read, Institute of Edication, and Kuczynski, December 19, 1940 – December 13, 1941, Kuc7-2-R6, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin.

which can easily be interpreted as critical towards colonialism per se. While campaigning for the German League for Human Rights in France in the 1920s, for example, Kuczynski lamented the 'robbery of the German colonies' that was pushed by the British as part of the Versailles Treaty, which he deemed 'partially an act of revenge'.[56] Living in Britain in the 1930s, he derided Hitler's justification of expansionist politics and claims to regain colonies based on population size in relation to area. In a 1939 Oxford pamphlet titled *'Living-Space' and Population Problems*, he dismissed the German pseudo-scientific argument for expansion as not holding up to expert inquiry: by getting the colonies back, Kuczynski explained, Germany would derive a more dense population overall, such that their 'share of living-space,' as a ration of population to area, would stay the same if not decrease. 'There cannot be the least doubt', he proclaimed, 'that even if his wildest dreams of conquest in the East could be fulfilled, Herr Hitler would still consider Germany's living-space inadequate as long as her colonial aspirations were not realized'.[57] All the while, he had no criticism to offer for British imperial possessions and colonial rule, simply describing Britain's territory in relation to its population size as its 'due share' of world area.[58]

And yet, some of Kuczynski's archival remains from his younger years seem to betray doubts about the desirability of colonial rule. For one, he owned the first issue of *Der koloniale Freiheitskampf*, a 1926 publication of the transnational League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression, which united interwar communists and anti-imperial activists.[59] Equally, Kuczynski saved a copy of the address 'The Race Problem and Peace' held by American civil rights activist James Weldon Johnson in 1924, in which Johnson argued that there could be no lasting peace as long as politics still ran on perceptions of racial inferiority.[60] Nevertheless, it remains unclear in how far he subscribed to views expressed in these anticolonial writings, and how his own views may have changed – or were repressed – once he was exiled in Britain and depended on government approval.

Whatever his personal leanings, Kuczynski's prolonged engagement with colonial statistics ultimately received a positive response from the British government as he set out to conduct the first systematic, complete survey of the British imperial population. The idea for such a survey, modelled on the *Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire* that had been published periodically over the 1930s by the Colonial Office itself, first surfaced during his tenure at the Population Investigation Committee in 1940. It received official endorsement by the Colonial Office when Kuczynski was appointed demographic advisor in 1944. The outcome, the *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, was published in three volumes between 1948 and 1953: the first on West Africa, the second on South and East Africa, and the third on America, the Atlantic, and Oceania. The preface of the first volume indicates that Kuczynski actually aimed to fill four books, but for unknown reasons the planned volume on 'Europe and Asia' was never published.[61] Collating myriad numbers from every corner of the Empire, Kuczynski set out to provide detailed census numbers and analyse the composition of the respective populations by race, birthplace, nationality, sex, age, and 'conjugal condition'. He then focused on birth and death counts, detailing degrees and causes of mortality. Finally, relating fertility and mortality, he gave a formal prognosis of population growth within the respective territories. 'More than a compendium of census data and vital statistics', as reviewer G. Gordon Brown approvingly put it, the work offered 'a thorough study of population and population changes since the days of earliest European colonization' and was poised to become an 'indispensable reference work'.[62]

[56]Kuczynski, *Wenn Friedensfreunde reden* (Berlin: Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte e.V., 1924), 14.
[57]Kuczynski, *'Living-Space' and Population Problems* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939), 20.
[58]Ibid., 7.
[59]*Der Koloniale Freiheitskampf: Mitteilungsblatt der Liga gegen Kolonialgreuel und Unterdrückung*, no. 1 (1926), Kuc7-1-2-616, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin.
[60]James Weldon Johnson, *The Race Problem and Peace* (Chicago, 1924), Kuc7-1-2-363, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin.
[61]Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, vol. I* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), vi–vii. When Kuczynski died in 1947, his daughter Brigitte Long completed the editorial work for the last two volumes on his behalf.
[62]G. Gordon Brown, 'Review of *A Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*', *International Journal* 5, no. 1 (1950): 76, 77.

At the same time, the survey marked an extension of Kuczynski's methodological critique and repeatedly addressed the limits of demographic knowledge. As he wrote in his introduction to the first volume, lacking registration procedures and differing interpretations of racial categories made much of the historical data unreliable. 'A demographer who undertakes to survey the Colonial Empire is in a peculiar position', he reflected. 'The basic material … is too defective to permit the drawing of final conclusions'.[63] As a result, 'to appraise fertility, morbidity, mortality, or migrations is about as difficult in most African Dependencies as to appraise the frequency of adultery in this country'.[64] It was up to the demographer as an independent expert to gather the appropriate data and 'form a correct opinion on demographic matters … because demographic facts are not obvious.'[65] Colonial population, then, needed to be investigated by experts, and not just anyone – and evidently not the government – had the tools to do so.

This blatant argument for the scientific legitimacy and political utility of demography was in part a product of its time and attests to its uncertain position within the academy; yet, it should also be read against the background of Kuczynski's personal struggle for legitimacy in Britain. After all, at the very same time that he came into favour with the Colonial Office, Kuczynski was also pursuing naturalization as a British citizen. These parallel processes resulted in the causal interlinking of his personal life with his professional endeavours, much in the style of an exchange economy. While he implored Beveridge to support his application for citizenship, for example, Kuczynski also provided him with valuable statistics so he could write a treatise on food supply and nutrition during the war.[66] Similarly, letters from Kuczynski to the Home Office's aliens department crossed paths with official correspondence from the Colonial Office asking for his expert opinion on census-taking in the colonies. Indeed, in a more ironic turn of events, while the British security service MI5 amassed an extensive file on Kuczynski and his family members, whom they deemed suspicious and potential communists, the demographer himself was tracking, assessing, and re-assessing African populations overseas.[67] In the end, curbing the deviant proclivities of one individual appeared to be less urgent than the need to control the broader population: shortly before his death in 1947, Kuczynski was officially granted British citizenship.

5. Conclusion: looking for liberty under scientific governance

Examining Kuczynski's intellectual trajectory and the pivotal role he played in establishing the discipline of demography within the British academy forces us to look beyond the realm of power politics and law to assess liberty – or rather, the lack thereof. On the one hand, as a forced migrant, Kuczynski's life in Britain was fundamentally circumscribed by his new host state, and his intellectual output was defined by the demands of the British academy. His move to Britain in the 1930s was surely preferable to potential statelessness yet never simply voluntary; it blurred humanitarian, political, scientific, disciplinary, and institutional motivations among the parties involved. On the other hand, Kuczynski's time at the LSE was marked by profound professional development and success, not in small part because he navigated institutional quarrels by deliberately positioning his work as non-political. While his subsequent turn towards colonial statistics was not atypical for British demography, in which the Colonial Office long constituted the only domestically funded alternative to US-backed projects, it nevertheless reveals the less 'progressive' use demographic research lent itself towards. Creating clear racial hierarchies, the exact enumeration of British subjects both in

[63]Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, vol. I*, v.
[64]Ibid., vi.
[65]Ibid.
[66]Kuczynski to Beveridge, October 18, 1938, folder 1, BEVERIDGE/5/21, LSE Archives; Beveridge to Kuczynski, November 16, 1939, folder 2, BEVERIDGE/5/21, LSE Archives. For the resulting publication, see William Beveridge, *Blockade and the Civilian Population* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939).
[67]Charmian Brinson, '"Very Much a Family Affair": The Kuczynski Family and British Intelligence', in *Voices from Exile*, ed. Ian Wallace (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–19.

the metropole and overseas allowed the increase of liberty for some while restricting it for others.[68] Indeed, the methodology Kuczynski advanced appears as a forebearer of the entanglement of post-war Anglo-American prognostic demography with development politics, as is illustrated by the contested legacy of demographic transition theory.[69]

If mid-century refugees like Kuczynski are to serve as a test case for the state of European and specifically British liberty, asking who legally qualified for refuge (and freedom) because their knowledge was deemed 'useful' is indeed paramount. However, as the case of Kuczynski shows, such an inquiry must also include the scientific realm in which such refugee scholars worked. In light of governance by and with scientific experts, which claims to move beyond political fault lines by relying on 'neutral' facts and calculations, it is not enough to point to the legal loopholes and fraught political tactics of aid and admission; we also need to ask what this 'useful' knowledge was being deployed towards, and in what ways it came to affect the knowledge producers themselves.

The mismatch between the notion of Kuczynski as a 'good European' who 'wished to understand and remedy social evils', as Beveridge and Carr-Saunders lauded him retrospectively, and his activities as a more dubious servant of imperial rule appears so glaring – and frankly inconvenient – that most observers, both then and now, only see one or the other.[70] Kuczynski's son Jürgen, an outspoken member of the Communist Party and eventual Soviet spy, approvingly commemorated his father as a 'progressive scientist and politician', but had little to say about his work in service of the British Colonial Office.[71] In a similar vein, representatives of the early Soviet administration in East Germany proclaimed him to be a 'fearless fighter against Hitler's barbarism' who had served in the 'honest struggle for the working class' with his revelatory statistics.[72] Conversely, scholars of colonial governance who have examined Kuczynski's defining study of the British Empire generally focused on his role as a technocrat and bracket his personal politics and professional commitments before coming to Britain.[73]

This essay's conclusion is not to resolve these glaring incongruencies. Rather, it suggests that one might have to allow for the possibility that to Kuczynski, who fundamentally believed in the power of accurate, complete numbers to create a more just society, these may not have been paradoxes at all. An example from his time at the LSE illustrates this well: returning once more to the subject of US population in 1936, he offered up a statistical assessment of the 'peopling of America with Blacks', which effectively amounted to a numerical history of the transatlantic slave trade.[74] Here, he posited that the much greater availability of demographic data about Black Americans was based on 'the fact that a great deal of research work was undertaken in connexion with the fight for the abolition of slavery, while there never has been a similar incentive of white immigration', which he deemed 'an explanation but not an excuse' for the dearth of numbers on whites.[75] What he omitted in

[68]On the importance of the Colonial Office for British democracy, see Karl Ittmann, 'Demography as Policy Science in the British Empire, 1918–1969', *Journal of Policy History* 15, no. 4 (November 5, 2003): 425.

[69]The rise of demographic transition theory, which entailed a similar problematization of female fertility, was hugely influenced by US geopolitical concerns, and demographic centres like the Office of Population Research created at Princeton University received significant funding from the US government, in particular in the wake of decolonization movements. Susan Greenhalgh, 'The Social Construction of Population Science'; Simon Szreter, 'The Idea of Demographic Transition and the Study of Fertility Change: A Critical Intellectual History', *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 4 (1993): 659–701; Dennis Hodgson, 'Demography as Social Science and Policy Science', *Population and Development Review* 9, no. 1 (1983): 1–34.

[70]Beveridge and Alexander Carr-Saunders, 'Obituary: Robert René Kuczynski', *Economic Journal* 58, no. 231 (1948): 437, 435. The (as yet unpublished) project *Shaping Demographies* of the Institut für Geschichte der Medizin und Ethik der Medizin at the Charité Berlin promises to offer a more balanced view on Kuczynski. See https://medizingeschichte.charite.de/forschung/shaping_demographies/.

[71]Jürgen Kuczynski, *René Kuczynski, ein fortschrittlicher Wissenschaftler in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1957).

[72]Tulpanow and Abramow to Jürgen Kuczynski, December 12, 1947, Kuc7-3-3-110-a, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin; Karl Obermann to Jürgen Kuczynski, December 13, 1947, Kuc7-3-3-122, Berlin-Sammlung, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek.

[73]Ittmann, *Problem of Great Importance*, 1–3; Ittmann, 'Demography as Policy Science'; Sarah Walters, 'Counting Souls: Towards an Historical Demography of Africa', *Demographic Research* 34 (2016): 63–108.

[74]Kuczynski, *Population Movements*, 8ff.

[75]Ibid., 19.

this context, of course, was that the reason for having such an extensive numeric record about people of colour was a system where individuals were sold and thus recorded as property. To Kuczynski, detailed statistics consistently served as the basis for knowledge and improvement, but never appeared as potential evidence for coercion in the politics of enumeration.

Ultimately, Kuczynski's case poses broader questions about the relationship between statistical science and democracy, and more specifically demography's compatibility with human rights. Kuczynski himself was an ardent proponent of the German League for Human Rights and clearly saw those universal rights breached by fascism in his time; yet, he simultaneously argued that individuals, as contained within a given population, could and indeed needed to be categorized and managed scientifically, implying that equality ends where population begins. Indeed, his and others' attempts to control the relations between qualitatively differing populations through enumeration also beg reference to the biopolitical regime that turned Kuczynski himself into a migrant in the first place. Assessing his work and life thus shows us the necessity to not only ask about liberty for whom, which often privileges the legal perspective and focuses on identifiable rights, but also about what kind of liberty is possible, or desired, under the supposedly neutral rule of numbers.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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