For him London was a fruitful transitory stop: The Migrant’s destiny of Miron Kantorowicz

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Abstract

This article is devoted to the scholarly career of Miron Kantorowicz (1895 - after 1977), the German-educated Russian-Jewish refugee. Kantorowicz spent the fifteen years, from 1919 to 1934, in Berlin. He is best known in contemporary Germany as “Alfred Grotjahn’s librarian”, as he was long-time assistant to Grotjahn, the founder of social hygiene, and his name is often mentioned among scholars expelled by the Nazis from Berlin University. However, Kantorowicz’s scholarly career and contributions to demography after his flight from Germany to England and his subsequent emigration to the United States are much less studied and understood. One of the reasons is that he changed his name several times. In June 1934 he immigrated to Great Britain with a provisional visa. The spelling of his family name in this country was changed to Kantorowitsch and his publications were accordingly credited. In London he found temporary work as a statistician at the Jewish Health Organisation of Great Britain (JHOGB), where his good knowledge of general British population statistics and his previous interest in Jewish demography were combined and properly utilized. In 1936, Kantorowicz published two seminal articles resulting from the reports he had prepared for JHOGB. His findings were highly acclaimed by later generations of demographers of Anglo-Jewry. Later, in the course of his migrations he became a co-founder of American demographic Sovietology. When he became a U.S. citizen, he finally settled on the name Myron K. Gordon.

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The article shows how Kantorowitz’s scholarly career was re-moulded in the course of successive migrations.

**Keywords:** Anglo-Jewry; Demography; Germany; Jewish refugee scholars; Sovietology; United States

Miron Kantorowicz spent the fifteen years from 1919 to 1934 in Berlin, and later, in the course of his migrations became a recognized expert of Anglo-Jewish demography and co-founder of American demographic Sovietology. He is best known in contemporary Germany as “Alfred Grotjahn’s librarian”, as he was long-time assistant to Grotjahn, the founder of social hygiene, and his name is often mentioned among the scholars expelled by the Nazis from the Berlin University.\(^1\) However, Kantorowicz’s scholarly career and his valued input to demography after his flight in 1934 from Germany to England and his subsequent emigration in 1938 to the United States are much less studied and understood. One of the reasons for this lack of knowledge is the myriad changes which his name underwent; on his acquisition of American citizenship, he finally settled on the surname of Gordon. Therefore, the aim of my paper is to show a noteworthy example of a scholarly career which was re-moulded in the course of successive migrations. In this study, I will examine Kantorowitz’s demographic publications, including previously unknown ones, as well as those materials in which he and his works were mentioned and/or discussed. Based on these findings, I will analyse the circumstances, problems and achievements in the career of this migrant scholar.

**Berlin: Formative Years**

Miron Kantorowicz was born on 18 July 1895 in Minsk, Belorussia, which was then part of the Russian Empire.\(^2\) In 1915 he matriculated and started to study law at the Petrograd (now St. Petersburg) University. In 1917 Kantorowicz moved to the respective faculty of Moscow University. However, following the Bolshevik seizure of power, he left Soviet Russia in 1918. One possible reason for this emigration was the fact that he belonged to a wealthy family: his father was a manufacturer. All his closest relatives – parents, brother and sister – emigrated to Germany and then left the country, escaping the Nazis by re-emigrating to British Palestine in 1936.

As of 1919, Kantorowicz was reported as being stateless in Berlin and from 1920 to 1925, he continued his education at the Berlin University. There he studied political sciences, history and philosophy, and
specialized in population statistics and social policies in the Faculty of Philosophy. In 1921 he began to participate in the seminar of Alfred Grotjahn, the founder of social hygiene (about him, see, for example, Rabson 1936; Lischke 2007, 118-119), which strongly influenced and formed his professional path. Kantorowicz also tried to supplement his socio-economic education with the study of medicine in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the problems of social hygiene, but he dropped this due to the deteriorating economic situation.

Kantorowicz began working as Grotjahn’s assistant informally in the early 1920s, but he only became Grotjahn’s librarian in 1929 when Grotjahn received the funds to pay for such a position. Kantorowicz became integrated in the German culture and society. In 1929, he married a German Jew from Berlin, Ann Wolitzer. To all appearances, he did not frequent Russian immigrant circles – we do not find any reference to him in inventories of the activities of Weimar-era “Russian Berlin”. Nor did we find traces of his working collaboration with the circle of prominent experts in Jewish demography (Arthur Ruppin, Jacob Lestschinsky and others) for whom Berlin in the 1920s was the hub of their scholarly activity.

Supposedly, Kantorowicz’s German was perfect, and Grotjahn would not have tolerated any other level of fluency in an assistant. What is more, Grotjahn can be characterized as a chauvinist of the German language who reportedly even told his son that “no Grotjahn would ever learn how to speak any foreign language” (Grotjahn 1987, 18). Kantorowicz’s linguistic skills were an important factor in his academic career in Germany.

Kantorowicz’s dissertation Mortality from Tuberculosis and its Social Causes was approved with honours (opus laudabile) by both of its readers and on 4 June 1930 his Doctorate was officially approved. The dissertation was devoted to social aspects of tuberculosis, especially its occurrence among different occupational groups. This infection was frequently associated with Jews (see Hart 2000, especially chapter 4; for a contemporary presentation of this problem in the wider context, see Gilman 1995, especially chapter 4). However, Kantorowicz did not address to the Jewish aspect of the problem. His study was general, and suited to Berlin University’s requirements of that period.

In 1948, the newly established British demographic journal Population Studies published its first overview of the mortality problem and the author cited this dissertation, noting moreover that Kantorowicz’s position differed from that of Grotjahn (Peller 1948, 436); that is, Kantorowicz appeared in his dissertation as a mature scholar. Also notable was Grotjahn’s tolerance for a different opinion in the work of his
assistant, as this was rather unusual for a German professor of his status during that period (see Ringer 1969, especially chapter 1).

Grotjahn was a progressive person and philosemitic (Weikart 2006, 107; on Jewish connections of Grotjahn, see also Eifert 1994). Politically active, he played a prominent role in the Social-Democratic movement of the Weimar Republic. For example, he was one of the main contributors to the health-related policy of the SPD and a member of the Reichstag from 1921 to 1924. Many of his co-workers were Jewish scholars, as was Kantorowicz (see Schneck 1994; Willich, Etzold and Berghöfer 2007). Therefore, it is understandable that Kantorowicz so admired Grotjahn both as a scholar and a person, and after his death in 1931 he published at least six articles devoted to his memory.

Grotjahn was a prominent figure in the history of demography who belongs to a long tradition of cooperation between medicine and statistics/demography. Programmatically, the journal that he edited changed its name in 1914 to Archiv für Soziale Hygiene und Demographie where both social hygiene and demography appeared in the title. In addition to his study of social hygiene problems like morbidity and mortality, Grotjahn published a good many articles on purely demographic topics such as fertility (Mackensen 2003, 226-227); his works devoted to fertility are not forgotten even today and they attract attention of the contemporary scholars (see, for example, Van Bavel 2010). Therefore, Kantorowicz, as a disciple of Grotjahn, was well equipped when, in his later countries of exile – Great Britain and the United States – demography became the major topic of his scholarly activity.

To be sure, Kantorowicz could not have foreseen such a future in demography. In Berlin, he was devoted to the study of social hygiene and in 1931 he published a special article devoted to the bases and principles of this scholarly discipline (Kantorowicz 1931). However, the circumstances of his academic migration let him revisit this subject only at the end of his life, long after retirement (Kantorowicz Gordon 1977). After the Nazi takeover of power Kantorowicz was dismissed from the University as a “non-Aryan” in May 1933; he was not able to find other work in Germany and was forced to emigrate. The Nazis regarded Kantorowicz as a classic “Jewish enemy”. In addition to his origin, his left wing political orientation, as expressed in numerous publications written for the leading theoretical Social-Democratic journal Die Gesellschaft as well as the socialist book review Die Bücherwarte, made him a detested political opponent (see Institut zum Studium der Judenfrage 1935, 143; Schulz 1934, 164, 169-170; the second antisemitic book was republished for the last time as late as 1944!).

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In June 1934 Kantorowicz immigrated to Great Britain with a provisional visa; he was financed by the Professional Committee of the Central Committee for Jewish Refugees. The spelling of his family name in this country was changed to Kantorowitsch and his publications were accordingly credited. However, this change did not save him from Nazi surveillance.

The Nazis continued to regard Kantorowicz as a dangerous enemy throughout his years of exile in England; they were aware of the new spelling of his family name. The proof of this is that he was included in the “Sonderfahndungsliste GB” [Special Wanted List GB], a roll of persons, British and exiles, to be arrested should the Germans succeed in occupying Great Britain: “Kantorowitsch, Miron, Dr., 1895” (Schellenberg 2001, 206). This list contained only 2,820 persons, including Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden and other leaders of war-time Great Britain, as well as prominent authors such as Herbert Wells and Virginia Woolf along with many other noteworthy British figures. Inclusion of an exile such as Kantorowicz must have had a good reason. This is a puzzle worthy of a special study.

In 1933 and the first half of 1934, Great Britain was one of the favourite destinations of Jewish academics from Germany who, like Kantorowicz, lost their positions as a consequence of the Nazi “Aryan” legislation of spring 1933 (see Niederland 1988). For Kantorowicz migration to London led to some real opportunities because his training and work in Germany had provided him with solid ground for a successful new start.

Kantorowicz had established personal contacts with some British colleagues at least ten years prior to his arrival in London. For example, he stated that “as long ago as the year 1924”, he had been corresponding with Edgar L. Collis, a pioneer of industrial medicine in Great Britain (Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 101(4) (1938), 704; on Collis, see Bedford 1958). The vital statistics of Great Britain were already well known to Kantorowicz; in 1930, he had authored a sizable special publication devoted to the mortality from tuberculosis in England and Wales in which he presented findings from his dissertation, the statistical section of which included much British data (Kantorowicz 1930b). Clearly, the English language did not present problems for him.

In London Kantorowicz found work as a statistician at the Jewish Health Organisation of Great Britain (JHOGB), where his good knowledge of British population statistics and his previous interest in Jewish demography were combined and properly utilized. Kantorowicz’s
earliest known publication is a review of the demographic-related articles of a Yiddish-language journal *Bleter far yidisher demografiye, statistik, un ekonomik*, which was the official organ by the Society for the Statistics and Economics of the Jews (Kantorowicz 1925/26; on the Society, see Hart 2000, 71). This review contained a bibliography and it was the first of many bibliographies those were compiled by Kantorowicz in the course of his scholarly career (see below).

One should be noted that the work of JHOGB, although non-university organization, was based on high scholarly standards (see Endelman 2004, 75-81). For many years lack of funds had prevented JHOGB from counting the Jewish population in the country. However, as a refugee from Nazi Germany, Kantorowicz was temporary funded by an outside source. He received a grant from an organization founded to assist Jewish and other academics forced to flee the Nazi regime, usually known under its later name – the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL). This gave to JHOGB the happy possibility to take a much-needed estimate of the size of British Jewry. In fact, in mid-October 1934 at the 9th annual meeting of JHOGB, Redcliffe Nathan Salaman, the President of the organisation, could already report that the statistical work had been performed “quite actively in the last four months in close cooperation with Dr. Kantorowitsch” (*The Jewish Chronicle*, 19 October 1934, 25).

In 1936, Kantorowicz published two articles in prestigious journals resulting from the reports he had prepared for JHOGB. The first of these was devoted to an estimate of the size of the Jewish population of London based on the Jewish death records (Kantorowitsch 1936a). To further these findings Kantorowicz also analysed Jewish marriage statistics from England and Wales (Kantorowitsch 1936b). Kantorowicz’s approach to this issue as well as his findings were highly acclaimed by later generations of demographers of Anglo-Jewry. However, British Jewry was only able to consolidate Kantorowicz’s efforts much later, once he had already left London for the United States. In 1965 they established the Statistical and Demographic Research Unit, which was renamed the Community Research Unit in 1987. Marlena Schmoool, former Director of the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, remembers: “When I first started working on British Jewry in the 1960s, Kantorowitsch’s works were really the only statistically robust papers…” (electronic mail from Marlena Schmoool to the author, 1 February 2010). In fact, in an article she co-authored she wrote that “one of the main tasks of this paper may be said to be to bring Kantorowitsch’s estimate up to date” (Prais and Schmoool 1968, 5).
In addition to the two articles on Anglo-Jewry cited above, during his stay in London Kantorowicz authored an encyclopaedic overview of the world Jewish population (Kantorowitsch 1938). Thus, in England demography became the main field in which Kantorowicz was able to successfully apply the knowledge which he had accumulated in Germany. Of course, when a scholar counts people he is termed a demographer. Migration transformed Kantorowicz’s scholarly course.

In the famous “List of Displaced German Scholars” (Autumn 1936; republished in: Anonymous 1993, 57) compiled by the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland [The Emergency Association of German Scholars in Exile] to help them obtain appropriate appointments he appeared as follows:

KANTOROWITSCH, Dr. Miron; [Last university rank in Germany] Librarian; b. 95., married. [Knowledge of languages, not including German] (English, French, Russian.) [Last three positions] 1921/33: Researcher, Assistant, later Librarian Sozialhygieneses Seminar, Berlin University; since 1934: Statistician Jewish Health Organisation of Great Britain, London. SPEC.: Social Hygiene; Statistics. [Duration of present position] Temp.

The major undisputed potential advantage among the presented characteristics was his knowledge of four languages (English, French, German and Russian), knowledge which would eventually help Kantorowicz in finding a permanent position albeit only following his next move, to the United States, and even there only several years after his arrival. In Germany the position of “scientific librarian” – Kantorowicz’s last university rank – was rather respectable, and two-thirds of all Jewish librarians held Ph.D. degrees, as did Kantorowicz (Müller-Jerina 1989, 551). However, his last university position in Germany did not sound particularly impressive to potential employers abroad. Nor was a specialisation in social hygiene an advantage for a refugee scholar in Great Britain of the 1930s, as social medicine only developed as a specialisation in the following decade there. The loss of Kantorowicz as a prospective progenitor in the development of the discipline in Great Britain was later noted with regret (see Weindling 1991, 252).

Kantorowicz established many important and intensive professional contacts in Great Britain, and acted as a representative of the JHOGB to the Royal Statistical Society (see Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 99(2) (1936), 296; ibid. 99(4) (1936), 774), where he was an active participant in its meetings. Furthermore, some of his reactions to the discussed presentations at these meetings were published, proving that
they were valued (*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 101(1) (1938), 48-49; *ibid.* 101(4) (1938), 704-705). During his stay in London Kantorowicicz took a course in epidemiology and medical statistics at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, receiving his certification in 1936 (APHA 1979, 256).

The chairman of the Statistical Committee of the JHOGB from 1931 to 1939 was the noted statistician Leon Isserlis, a direct descendant of Moshe Isserles, one of the greatest Ashkenazi legalists of the 16th century. In Leon Isserlis’ obituary it was noted – meaning that this was surely an important point of this scholar’s biography – that “he initiated the enquiry which led to the estimate of the Jewish population of London made by M. Kantorowitsch” (Irwin 1966, 615). Isserlis, who was himself born in the Tsarist Empire and had arrived in Great Britain in 1892 at age of ten with his widowed mother and siblings, provided his German-educated Russian-Jewish refugee-colleague with other support as well. Together with Joseph O. Irwin, the leading theoretician among British medical statisticians (about him, see, for example, Armitage 2001), Isserlis helped Kantorowicz in his preparation of an English translation of the seminal German-language book by the world class Russian statistician Alexandr A. Chuprov [Tschuprow] (Tschuprow, 1939).\(^5\)

Working on the translation of Chuprov’s book was Kantorowicz’s last scholarly accomplishment in Great Britain. This translation was published in 1939, by which time he was already in the United States. Kantorowicz’s funding in Great Britain was based on temporary sources. He shared the fate of many other fellow emigrants from Nazi Germany for whom Great Britain was only a transitory stop because of shortage of the country’s resources for permanent scholarly positions in that time.

*America: New Homeland*

Kantorowicz arrived in the United States in October 1938 with an immigrant’s visa, supported by the Jewish Refugees Committee, and again changed his name: first to Myron Kantorovitz and later, when he attained American citizenship, to Myron K. Gordon (Etzold 2007, 79). The late 1930s were a very difficult time to enter the American scholarly world for Jewish refugee scholars. The effect of the Great Depression on the academic job market was still manifest and antisemitism was at a rather high level in American society as a whole, and in the universities in particular (see, for example, Coser 1984, 7; Krohn 1993, 23). In the month after his arrival, November 1938, the Nazis organized *Kristallnacht* to pressure Jewish emigration en masse, and in the following year, 1939, for
the first time in the 1930s the annual German-Austrian immigrant quota to the United States was completely filled (Strauss 1971, 68). Among the immigrants were many highly qualified scholars who were to compete with Kantorowicz on the academic job market.

Unlike in Great Britain, Kantorowicz had no long established contacts with American colleagues. His extensive knowledge of German and British statistics was also of little help to him in his search for a position in the United States. Moreover, counting Jews in this country was very different, and since the type of data that had been available in Great Britain did not exist in the United States, the methods Kantorowicz had developed for Anglo-Jewry could not be applied. Nor was social hygiene as a specialisation an advantage for him in the United States, as had been the case earlier in Great Britain. Therefore his start in the United States was rather difficult: after his arrival he at first had only short-lived positions at Princeton University and the Carnegie Corporation.

However, Kantorowicz’s close ties with the late Grotjahn secured him Frederic Osborn’s request to write about Grotjahn – this would become his first American article (Kantorovitz 1940). Osborn was a Wall Street banker who was very active in the institutionalization of American demography (Notestein 1969). He was also a prolific author. Moreover, after America’s entry into World War II he ran the Army’s Morale Division first as Brigadier and later as Major General. Thus, in Osborn Kantorowicz acquired contact with a very influential American. In 1940, Kantorowicz received the position of Research Associate of the Milbank Memorial Fund in New York. This was great luck for a refugee scholar at that time in the United States; however, the character of his responsibilities there – a study of the statistics of nutrition – was very far from his main specialization. Nevertheless, by 1942 Kantorowicz had as usual successfully met his obligations and he had co-authored an article which was the outcome of this study (Wiehl and Kantorovitz 1942).

In January 1939, the Council of the League of Nations appointed a committee to study demographic problems. Then World War II erupted and the League initiated a cooperative arrangement with the Office of Population Research of Princeton University, thus initiating an extensive scholarly program of demographic research (see Anonymous 1947, 280). Due to the enormous difficulty of the study of the Soviet population, this task became a special sub-project for which the famous American demographer Frank Lorimer was responsible (about him, see Van de Walle 1985). However, he was not fluent in the Russian language. In fact, when the project was published Lorimer (1946, XIII–XIV) wrote:
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The author is deeply indebted to his colleague, Dr. Myron Kantorovitz Gordon. The undertaking required the collaboration of a person with statistical experience and with high standards of scholarship who was also familiar with the Russian language. The author was peculiarly fortunate in obtaining the aid of a friend with these particular qualifications. Among other services, Dr. Gordon accepted primary responsibility for the preparation of the Bibliography.

Lorimer recruited Kantorowicz for the Soviet population project because he had been looking for a person – and this is to be understood from his acknowledgement – “with statistical experience and with high standards of scholarship who [is] also familiar with the Russian language”. The quality of Kantorowicz’s publications in Germany and Great Britain was indisputably high, and the years spent in Petrograd and Moscow universities had provided him with sufficient knowledge of Russian scholarly terminology. Of course, the first task in the implementation of the Soviet population project was to compile a bibliography which would serve as its basis. Kantorowicz could prove his ability to fulfil this task: he had published two very impressive bibliographies on population problems before his flight from Nazi Germany (Kantorowicz 1933a; Kantorowicz 1933b). In 1935, Lorimer had, in his capacity as the Secretary of the Population Association of America, initiated the demographic reference journal Population Literature (renamed Population Index in 1937). Thus, Lorimer was well placed to understand Kantorowicz’s potential, and Lorimer made no mistake in choosing the person who became the main project investigator. The book that resulted from the Soviet population project became the seminal source for demographic Sovietology (see, for example, Barron 1959, 81). Indeed, after the end of the Cold War, this book was acclaimed in Russia and it is still highly respected there (Anonymous 2006).

Kantorowicz joined the Soviet population project in 1942, and he was appointed to a position of Research Associate in Population Studies of the American University in Washington, D.C., where Lorimer was a professor. Kantorowicz’s responsibility in the project was challenging. As a discipline, demography was crushed by Stalin’s regime in the 1930s. The two special demographic research institutes in the Soviet Union were closed, and many experts in the field were arrested and executed. Most demographic data were kept secret and/or falsified (see, for example, Tolts 2001). However, demography was not an exception. In fact, in the war period the U.S. Interdepartmental Committee for the Acquisition of Foreign Publications “got more information out of Germany than the Soviet Union” (Abrahamsen Dessants 1996, 740).
Despite all these obstacles, Kantorowicz compiled a bibliography which included 512 titles in four languages — Russian, English, German and French — some of these titles being the names of series with many volumes (Kantorovitz Gordon 1946). He not only found most of these sources, but selected from them the relevant parts necessary for the project and translated huge amounts of this material from Russian to English. The accuracy of citations of the Soviet figures in non-Russian publications was checked against the original Russian sources and corrections were made where necessary.7

The role of Kantorowicz in the project was not merely technical. In 1945 the special issue of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science devoted to world population problems was published, and it became a seminal publication in the history of American demography; Kantorowicz’s contribution to the special issue analysed Soviet demographic problems (Kantorovitz Gordon 1945). Thus, in the process of his work on the project, Kantorowicz became a recognized expert in the field of Soviet demography.

In 1945, work on the project was finished and the book went to press. In the same year Kantorowicz obtained American citizenship, and in August he became a research analyst of population studies for the U.S. Department of State. One year later, in the same capacity, he moved to the Preventive Medicine Division of the Surgeon General’s Office of the U.S. Army. From 1954 till his retirement in 1963, Kantorowicz served as Chief of the East European Section of the U.S. Army Medical Information and Intelligence Division. Thus, the post-World War II Soviet-American confrontation opened advantageous employment possibilities for him.

One of Kantorowicz’s most important professional contacts in the United States was Eugene M. Kulischer, an outstanding scholar of migration problems who coined the term “displaced persons” (see Jaffe 1962). In two of his books he thanked Kantorowicz for his help (Kulischer 1943, 5; Kulisher 1948, VI–VII), and in turn, Kantorowicz authored a comprehensive review of Kulischer’s last book (Gordon 1949). In this period Kantorowicz occupied a unique place in American demographic Sovietology as a scholar who combined solid German training in the field of population studies with fluency in the Russian language.

In 1949, Kantorowicz received the very prestigious Meritorious Civilian Service Award (Cattell 1956, 252). A year later, his name appeared as one of several authors of an article on epidemiology (Crocker, Bennett, Jackson, Snyder, Smadel, Gauldand and Gordon 1950). The affiliation of the co-authors of this work was noted as Department of Virus and Rickettsial Diseases, Army Medical Department Research and Graduate School, Army Medical Center, Washington, D.C. This
publication shed light on the character of the work with which Kantorowicz was involved as a highly qualified translator of Soviet literature – as noted above, in Great Britain he took a course in epidemiology – in this period and possibly may be a clue to the reason he was granted the Meritorious Civilian Service Award. With this award Kantorowicz’s position as a civilian employee of the U.S. Army was decidedly strengthened. Thus, the process of his adaptation to America was successfully finished. Moreover, even his new name – Myron K. Gordon – sounded very American.

We have very little information on Kantorowicz’s activities in the 1950s. However, we do know of two of his reports, which can shed some light on his professional responsibilities: “Standard of Living and Public Health in the U.S.S.R.” (1955), and “The Red Cross and Red Crescent Association of the U.S.S.R.” (1956) (see Etzold 2007, 78). To these we can add a third report: “Physical Standards for Military Service, USSR” (1962) (cited in Wheeler 1965, 915).

When, after Stalin’s death, the Soviet Union resumed publication of demographic data, the prestigious Population Index chose Kantorowicz to write of them (Gordon 1957). This clearly reflected his respectable position in American demographic Sovietology of that time. He also took part in scholarly discussions regarding the Soviet population (see, for example, Milbank Memorial Fund 1960, 64-65, 218-220). In both these cases Kantorowicz cited German authors in his analyses. Thus, till the end of his demographic career in the United States his inclination toward German scholarship and his dissemination of its results persisted.

We do not know the precise date of his death, which appeared in published sources as being after 1977 (see, for example, Weder 2000, 419). However, at the last he became an object of a demographic study as a survivor within the world community of demographers (see Bourgeois-Pichat 1983, 478): Kantorowicz appeared in the listing as one of only a dozen members of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population who were aged 80 and above in 1975. In 1981 he was not listed among the living in the same study; we must therefore assume that he died before that year.

**Concluding Remarks**

Our study presented an important case of a Jewish scholar’s biography moulded and re-moulded under the tragic circumstances of the twentieth century by successive migrations. Russian-born Kantorowicz received excellent academic training in Germany and there he became a prolific scholar. However, after the Nazi takeover of power, he was treated as a
classic “Jewish enemy” and he was forced to emigrate. Moreover, as we discovered Kantorowicz was under Nazi surveillance even after he left Germany.

Fortunately, Great Britain provided him with temporary shelter. Our study for the first time analysed his very prominent role in the development of the Anglo-Jewish demography at the period of his stay in Great Britain. Subsequently, Kantorowicz’s encyclopaedic knowledge in the field of world demographic literature helped to bring knowledge of Soviet population studies to American soil. The United States ultimately became home to this long-time Jewish outcast.

Flight to any other country usually retarded a scholarly career (Krohn 1996, 184). For Kantorowicz, this factor was strong: he had to adapt to three new countries over the course of his life. However, as we have seen from our study, he successfully overcame these and other obstacles and his contribution to the development of demographic knowledge of Anglo-Jewry and the Soviet Union is very respectable.

Kantorowicz’s Publications


**Bibliography**


Notes

1 Kantorowicz’s story from this perspective was presented in: Tutzke 1972; Etzold 2007, 75-85.

2 Kantorowicz’s biographical information here and hereafter, if not stated otherwise, is drawn from the following sources: Tutzke 1972 (based on archival material of Berlin University as well as his correspondence with Kantorowicz); Röder and Strauss 1980, 236 (based mainly on Kantorowicz’s answers to a questionnaire); and a Curriculum Vitae that appeared in his dissertation (Kantorowicz 1930a, 58).

3 For a listing of these publications, see Tutzke 1972, 507.

4 Originally named the Academic Assistance Council (AAC). I would like to thank Catherine Andreyev who discovered this information about Kantorowicz in materials of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (electronic mail from Catherine Andreyev to the author, 23 September 2013). For the Catalogue of the Archive of the Society where Kantorowicz’s file is preserved, see: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwms/wmss/online/modern/spsl/spsl.html (last accessed 20 January 2014). On the history of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, see, for example, Bentwich 1953, IX-XIV.
5 For the translator’s acknowledgement, see p. VI. On Chuprov, see Sheynin, 2011. For a positive evaluation of the translation, see, for example, Neyman 1939.

6 I am greatly indebted to Stephen Wheatcroft who drew my attention to this point during our personal communication at the seminar “Histoire de la statistique démographique” (Paris, 16-18 December 1996).

7 For an example of such a correction, see Lorimer 1946, 120, note 18.