

Wilhelm Ludwig and his Contributions to Population Genetics

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This article reviews the life and work of the German biologist Wilhelm Ludwig (1901–1959), whose contributions to population genetics have been largely ignored. Ludwig's work was a rich tapestry of population biology, spanning investigations into population growth, biological asymmetries, sex ratio, and paternity analysis. He was ahead of his time in explicitly combining the theory of population ecology and population genetics. His classic paper on annidation showed the possibility of population differentiation in the face of gene flow, and his early studies demonstrated the importance of selection in evolutionary change. Much of his work spanned the period of the Second World War in Germany, and interesting questions remain about his life during this turbulent period.

Wilhelm Ludwig's paper 'Annidation as a Fifth Evolutionary Factor'⁵⁰, published in 1950, has been frequently quoted, both as the source of the term 'annidation' (meaning evolution of niche divergence) as well as for its major conclusion, namely that genetic differentiation and speciation can occur without spatial separation. It was the first study to demonstrate the maintenance of polymorphism by niche differentiation, and well ahead of its time in suggesting that adaptation to alternative niches could lead to sympatric speciation. The conclusions of this paper have subsequently been confirmed by numerous theoretical models (for a recent example, see Wilson and Turelli⁶⁵), as well as by experimental and field observations (for a review see Thoday⁶⁶).

Other than this single paper, the literature has been remarkably silent about Wilhelm Ludwig or any of his other possible achievements. According to the Citation Index, his annidation paper has been quoted over 30 times since 1955, but his other papers go unmentioned. Felsenstein⁶⁷ in his *Bibliography of Theoretical Population Genetics* lists only two other papers by Ludwig (Refs 30 and 44). Rensch⁶⁸, in his review of the evolutionary synthesis in Germany, mentions four of Ludwig's papers but merely ascribes to him the bland-sounding opinion that 'evolution can generally be explained by the analyzed factors of

speciation, although other mechanisms are imaginable.'

My curiosity about Ludwig was not only fueled by a general interest in micro-differentiation and competition, but also by the rather uncanny way in which an example that he used in his seminal paper on annidation was a prelude to some of our work on genetic differentiation at metal mine boundaries nearly 20 years later (see Ref. 69). Thus, when discussing the possibility of genetic divergence in the face of gene flow, Ludwig⁵⁰ writes (p. 528): 'one thinks somewhat of two related grass species, one of which can germinate and grow on both bad and good soil, and the other which can germinate and grow only on the latter. Seeds are dispersed by the wind onto both types of soil. . . .' It therefore came as an additional surprise and delight later to discover that one of Ludwig's very first papers¹ had been on the effects of heavy metals on *Paramecium*. This paper includes a thorough discussion of similar work on plants!

Three summers ago, while at the Botany School of Cambridge University, UK, I took the opportunity to research both the work and the life of Wilhelm Ludwig. I was aided considerably by discovering that a number of his papers were in R.A. Fisher's reprint collection, now housed in the library of the Cambridge Genetics Department. This formed a focus from which to work backwards and reconstruct as complete a bibliography as possible. This account is therefore largely based on Ludwig's scientific work and on an obituary written by Keilbach⁷⁰.

Wilhelm Ludwig's career as a scientist was highly productive and diverse, with over 130 publications between 1926 and 1960, spanning subjects as different as physiology, ecology and population genetics. But in spite of this diversity, it is clear that particular ideas and interests form a common thread throughout his work. His intellectual development can be traced back to his first paper¹ on the effects of

heavy metals on *Paramecium*. This extensive study, and subsequent investigations on the growth and physiology of *Paramecium* and other protozoans^{2,3}, opened up his curiosity on two subjects that were to remain a passion for the rest of his life, and that led to his later interest in population genetics. The first area that intrigued him was the subject of resources, individual growth and population growth^{4,5,22,24}. His initial paper on this topic⁴ develops a theory of population growth under non-renewable resources. The model is based on the idea of a protozoan feeding on bacteria. The situation of infinite and constantly renewable resources is then treated as a special case and shown to agree with the formulations of Pearl⁷¹. Ludwig then shows that his theoretical models give a reasonable fit to previously published growth curves for protozoans.

His other main interest, in left- and right-handedness, came directly from the observation of the spiral locomotion of *Paramecium*; in particular, from the fact that *Paramecium* is predominantly, though



Wilhelm Ludwig

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not exclusively, 'left-handed'⁶⁻⁸. This led him to investigate all forms of left- and right-handedness in the natural world^{10,11,14,17,21,23}, and eventually other biological 'dichotomies', such as sex ratio²⁰ and behavioral choice^{13,15,18,19}.

Ludwig continually returns to these themes in later papers. He re-examines his theories of protozoan growth, taking into account auto-toxic effects²⁸. He continues his interest in sex ratio by examining the various factors that affect sex ratio²⁹, especially the increase in male-biased sex ratios during wartime^{33-35,39,40,43,51}. And in his later work he again re-examines spiral locomotion⁵² and left- and right-handedness^{36,48,49,54,60,62}.

Although Ludwig's first paper on population genetics¹² appears quite early in his career, it is not immediately obvious why he became interested in evolution and eventually became one of the strongest advocates of neo-darwinism. In general, his interest in population genetics would seem to be a natural extension of his earlier investigations on population growth and biological dichotomies (of which alternative alleles would be another example). Moreover, his involvement with *Paramecium* had extended to a consideration of its systematics⁹, and his interest in locomotion asymmetries led him to examine these asymmetries in relation to protozoan phylogeny⁶. These papers hint at some interest in evolution. Moreover, a report published later²⁵ describes experiments that he had already started in 1933 to test (with subsequent negative results) lamarckian effects using *Drosophila* populations. However, it was probably the realization that his mathematical talents could easily be applied to these highly controversial issues of the time that led him into the field of theoretical population genetics.

His first paper on this subject¹² addresses a topic that had intrigued other theoretical evolutionists before him, including R.A. Fisher and J.B.S. Haldane. It was undoubtedly a topic of lively general debate. The subject was the efficacy of selection in causing the spread of mutations that gave only a very low selective advantage. In his paper, Ludwig develops equations for rates of gene frequency spread under selection,

and shows that even small selective values can result in substantial changes in gene frequency. His model is particularly interesting in that it represents a special case of density-dependent selection. It is therefore one of the first, if not the first, that explicitly combines ideas of population regulation with gene frequency change. He assumes a constant population, with the result that mortality is proportional to offspring number. Selection then acts to offset this mortality, yet the level of selection and gene frequency in turn affect the overall mortality. He calculates the expected mortality of each genotype as a function of offspring number, the gene frequency, and the differential survival of the genotypes. This is then used to predict gene frequency change. Here (and later – see Ref. 30) he contrasts his model with that of Haldane⁷², and points out that while the results are quantitatively similar, a major difference is that the offspring number will affect the rate of gene frequency change. The two models converge approximately when each individual produces two offspring.

In his discussion, Ludwig points out the importance of his results in showing how small selective advantages are sufficient to explain phyletic change. He also emphasizes a point made much later by Haldane⁷³ (see also Charlesworth⁷⁴), namely, that increased adaptation need not result in greater population size, a result that follows clearly from his model. Expressed in modern-day jargon, Ludwig's model assumes that a selective advantage involves a decrease in the density-dependent mortality, rather than a decrease in density-independent mortality as assumed by classical population genetic models. Even now we have little direct evidence as to which assumption is more reasonable⁷⁵. Ludwig's focus on density dependence has its source in his own earlier work on population growth models.

Ludwig's other papers on evolution form a broad-ranging medley. They include vigorous defenses of neo-darwinism^{30,31,41,46,47,59,63} and considerations of particular issues such as character loss in cave dwellers^{38,56} and evolution of adaptive traits in sterile workers of social insects⁶¹. They include other specific population genetic models

showing, for example, how recurrent mutation greatly accelerates the spread of beneficial recessive genes³⁷. He was aware of the major evolutionary issues being considered at that time; for example, in a book review²⁷ he assails the author for failing to quote Sewall Wright, and therefore failing to realize that gene frequencies would not change in a consistently directional manner following population subdivision. His other work on population genetics concerns problems of linkage analysis^{16,26}, inbreeding^{42,44}, pedigree analysis and genetic relatedness^{32,45,57}, and paternity analysis^{53,55,58}.

The now-classic paper on annidation appears in 1950, but a footnote indicates that the manuscript was completed in 1943 and subsequently revised in 1947. (There is mention⁶¹ of a follow-up paper⁶⁴ on population size changes during annidation, but I have been unable as yet to locate this.) The conclusions of the paper are perhaps worth quoting verbatim:

- (1) Ecomutations can lead to differentiation of new races and species in *one locality and without spatial separation*.
- (2) Closely related species can *coexist permanently* within one region.
- (3) The average population ranges of the coexisting species *must be different*.
- (4) The spread of a new mutant, even race or species, by annidation can occur much *more rapidly* than by selection because the new types enter unoccupied niches, and don't have to gradually displace those already present as in the case of selection.
- (5) An ecomutation may have a strong competitive (selective) disadvantage, but it cannot be displaced from its own niche.
- (6) The origin of many selectively neutral and harmful mutations is therefore explainable, because they would not be possible in the competitive environment of the original form.
- (7) Ecomutations may also be responsible for the *extinction* of taxa if the habitat of a newly arisen mutation or immigrant species includes the particular niches of a long specialized species or species group.

Many of these conclusions are extensions of Gause's law. Indeed, Ludwig's theoretical argument be-

gins, as in his earlier paper on selection¹², by considering two non-interbreeding mutants: he then shows that by simple extension his results can also be applied to interbreeding genotypes. In this recognition of a similarity between ecological and evolutionary theory, Ludwig was well ahead of his time. The paper was first cited, as far as I can tell, by Da Cuhna *et al.*⁷⁶, who refer to it as 'a little known paper'. It is most extensively cited by Mayr⁷⁷, who refers frequently to the 'Ludwig effect', or 'Ludwig's Theorem'. However, Mayr does not mention that the paper also argues strongly (as its main conclusion!) that sympatric divergence and speciation are likely outcomes of such a process. Subsequent citations seem often to have been derivative: beyond citing the source of the term 'annidation', the other conclusions of the paper have been ignored. It is not quoted in much of the later important theoretical work on multiple niche polymorphism⁷⁸ or sympatric divergence⁷⁹.

Looking at Ludwig's work as a whole, one gets the impression of a highly versatile, broad and productive scientist. It is not clear to me why his work has remained so unnoticed, but the reason is probably a combination of unusual circumstances. All of his work was in German, and much of it was published during the war, when German articles were unavailable. There may also have been a post-war antipathy towards reading such articles. Many of his reprints were received by R.A. Fisher in the mid 1950s, but Fisher did not read German (G. Cox, pers. commun.) and therefore may never have translated them. With the exception of a series on sex ratios with Charlotte Boost, most of his papers are single-authored. As a consequence, he does not seem to have left a large academic legacy. Population genetics is no longer a flourishing discipline in Germany.

The brief obituary of Ludwig⁷⁰ tells us more about his life. He was born in 1901 of Austrian nationality. He studied Biology and Mathematics in Leipzig, Freiburg and Kiel. He obtained his Doctor of Philosophy with J. Meisenheimer in Leipzig, and then worked as an assistant with B. Klatt in Halle. There he obtained a lectureship in 1930, and a professorship just prior to the war. He also

became a German citizen. In 1941, as a result of the decisions of 'those in responsibility', he left Halle, and moved to a paid lectureship in Mainz. During the war he entered the Luftwaffe and was a prisoner of war. After the war he returned to Halle as Professor. In 1948 he became Professor and Director of the Zoological Institute, University of Heidelberg. He died in 1959 during a meeting of the German Biometric Society in Leipzig.

Many intriguing questions remain about his life and work. Certainly, if the reader has any other information on Wilhelm Ludwig I would be grateful to receive it. What was it that made him a fervent champion of darwinism? What influence did he have after the war, and why, in spite of his work, was there in Germany almost a total demise of population genetics as a science? He lived through some of the most turbulent times of this century. It is remarkable that he remained academically active throughout wartime Germany, entered or was drafted into the air force, was imprisoned, and then returned to an academic appointment in East Germany. From there he ended up at one of the most prestigious universities in West Germany. One cannot but wonder how all these events transpired.

In many ways Wilhelm Ludwig's work has much in common with that of our more familiar and accessible heroes such as Haldane, Fisher or Wright. It is characterized by enormous originality, biological understanding and intellectual breadth. And above all, it resulted in major contributions to evolutionary theory, many of which were far ahead of their time.

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