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**The Polish years of Leon Radzinowicz:
A contribution to biography****Polskie lata Leona Radzinowicza.
Przyczynek do biografii**

Abstract: Hardly anything is known about the background and family of Sir Leon Radzinowicz or about his period of intensive academic activity in Poland between 1929 and 1938. Moreover, in his academic autobiography, entitled *Adventures in Criminology*, Radzinowicz is imprecise about details. This concerns both the dates of various events, notably that of his obtaining a doctoral diploma from the Jagiellonian University (Kraków, Poland) and his arriving in Poland from Geneva, and the names of various people cropping up in his biography. Similarly, the interesting works of Radzinowicz (until 1935, Rabinowicz) from his 'Polish period' are hardly known worldwide outside of a narrow circle.

Keywords: Radzinowicz, Radzinowicz and Polish criminology, Radzinowicz in Poland, Rabinowicz aka Radzinowicz, *Adventures in Criminology*

Abstrakt: Na temat życia prywatnego Leona Radzinowicza, a także okresu jego intensywnej aktywności akademickiej w Polsce w latach 1929–1938 wiadomo niewiele. W wydanej krótko przed śmiercią biograficznej książce *Adventures in Criminology* Radzinowicz przywołuje z pamięci niektóre fakty z tego okresu. Nie tylko czyni to bardzo skrótowo, ale też nie pamięta wielu szczegółów, w tym nazwisk osób, z którymi się stykał i pracował. Artykuł ten jest więc z założenia próbą uzupełnienia tego, co Radzinowicz sam o sobie napisał. Jest przyczynkiem do jego biografii, napisanym na podstawie polskich źródeł, na ogół nieznanych zagranicznemu czytelnikowi.

Słowa kluczowe: Radzinowicz, Radzinowicz i kryminologia polska, Radzinowicz i Polska, Rabinowicz vel Radzinowicz, *Adventures in Criminology*

Introduction

Sir Leon Radzinowicz (1906–99) was one of the most important criminologists in the twentieth-century Europe. An immigrant from Poland to the United Kingdom, from 1949 to 1959 he served as Director of the Department of Criminal Sciences at the University of Cambridge; he founded the Cambridge Institute of Criminology in 1959 to become the first Wolfson Professor of Criminology in the same year.¹ In 1970, Queen Elizabeth II appointed him Knight Bachelor (making him Sir Leon). Three years later, in 1973, Radzinowicz was elected a Fellow of the British Academy (FBA), and shortly before his death, in April 1999, he was appointed an honorary Queen's Counsel (QC). As it spanned multiple decades, from the 1920s until the 1990s, his scientific activity marked more than one epoch. During his long life and scientific activity, criminology marked the emergence and disappearance of numerous schools, views, and ideas – from Italian positivism to radical criminology.

Radzinowicz is the author of many books, including the fundamental *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750* (1948), *In Search of Criminology* (1962), *Ideology and Crime* (1966), and the autobiographical *Adventures in Criminology* (1999). This article is a small contribution of the Polish author to the biography of Sir Leon.

As Roger Hood noticed, Sir Leon Radzinowicz 'always carefully guarded his private life'.² Hood only states that Radzinowicz was born in Łódź (Poland), and that his father was Dr David Rabinowicz, 'distinguished physician and head of hospital', and quotes Radzinowicz's remark on his father as 'a man of property who led a cultivated social life'.³

Apart from some mentions in *Adventures in Criminology*, Radzinowicz wrote little about his academic activity in Poland, a fact which was even noted by the reviewers of his book.⁴ And yet his activity was not insignificant, as it resulted in a number of seminal works (see below). Not only did the scientist fail to mention his family and the years of his youth spent in Poland, but so too do his biographers.⁵

¹ R. Hood, *Leon Radzinowicz 1906–1999*, "Proceedings of British Academy" 2001, no. 111, pp. 637–655.

² *Ibidem*, p. 638.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ S. McConville, *Review of Adventures in Criminology, by Sir Leon Radzinowicz*, "Law Quarterly Review" 1999, no. 115, pp. 506–512.

⁵ R. Hood, *Leon...*, *op. cit.*

1. The father

Leon Radzinowicz's father, Dr Dawid Ber Rabinowicz, was born to Chan and Lejba Rabinowicz in 1870 in Telšiai (Polish: Telsze), Lithuania, which at the time was part of the Russian Empire. It may be worthwhile to explain that Rabinowicz (with varieties including Rabinowitz, Rabinowitch, Rabinovitsh, and Rabinovich) is a fairly widespread name among the Ashkenazi Jews of Eastern Europe (Russia, Belarus, Lithuania, and Poland) and, after the Second World War, in North America and Western Europe as well. Derived from Slavic languages, it literally means 'son of a rabbi'.

Dr David Rabinowicz graduated from medical studies, probably from one of the German universities, possibly in Berlin, and started his medical practice in Poznań (today in Poland, but at that time in Prussia). Early in the 20th century, he moved to Łódź (today in Poland, but at that time in the Russian Empire), married Maria (Hinda, Małka) née Braude, with whom he had two sons: Leon and Henryk, three years apart.

Dr Rabinowicz was a specialist in laryngology, head of the laryngology ward, and from 1933 director of a hospital in Łódź. He was also active among the local Jewish community: a co-founder of the Society for Jewish Secondary Schools, he was a member of B'nai B'rith from 1926. In 1938, after the death of his wife, Leon's mother, he moved to Tarnów, a city in the south of Poland, and was murdered during the extermination of the Tarnów ghetto in 1942.⁶

2. Leon Radzinowicz (alias Rabinowicz) in Poland: Doctoral diploma at the Jagiellonian University

The history of Leon Radzinowicz's academic career in Britain and the works he published there are generally known and have often been described. On the other hand, the years of Radzinowicz's academic activity in Poland are hardly known, as that is also the case with his works published there in the Polish language.

As has been mentioned, Leon Radzinowicz included some more insight into this field in his scientific autobiography, *Adventures in Criminology*. However, the information he provides is simply very limited; secondly, describing the distant past and having no access to archives, the author simply could not remember certain facts and names.⁷

⁶ A. Kempa, M. Szukalak, *Żydzi w dawnej Łodzi. Słownik biograficzny Żydów łódzkich i z Łodzią związanych* [Jews in Old Łódź. A Biographical Encyclopedia of Jews from Łódź and Those with Ties to Łódź], vol. 3, Oficyna Bibliofilów, Łódź 2003.

⁷ L. Radzinowicz, *Adventures in Criminology*, Routledge, London–New York 1999.

In 1929, having studied in Paris, Geneva, and Rome, and having published a book entitled *Mesures de sûreté*⁸ in Paris, with an introduction by an Enrico Ferri, Leon Radzinowicz returned to Poland, clearly with the intention of following an academic career. Radzinowicz mistakenly believes this took place in 1931.⁹ Hood repeats the mistake after Radzinowicz.¹⁰

That is why, following the rules applicable in Poland, he applied to the oldest university in Poland, founded in 1364 – the Jagiellonian University in Kraków – for ‘nostrification of a doctorate obtained in Rome’. The Council of the Faculty of Law and Administration of the Jagiellonian University agreed to grant ‘a bachelor of Law of the University in Geneva and a Dozent of the University in Geneva... recognition of the degree of bachelor he obtained at the University of Geneva without requiring additional examinations.’ In Radzinowicz’s own words:

Privat-Dozent is a term unknown in the English-speaking academic world, and as such, it calls for a brief explanation... As a general rule, no-one could become a professor unless, at some stage, that person had been a Privat-Dozent, and one could not become a Privat-Dozent unless one had obtained a doctorate and had written a special dissertation, the substance of which would be made use of in the inaugural lecture.¹¹

Moreover, he was permitted to take the new type of doctoral examination, with the main subject being criminal law and secondary ones being Polish administrative law and Polish political law. Radzinowicz’s doctoral dissertation, entitled *Mesures de sûreté*, was acknowledged as his doctoral dissertation on the grounds of Professor Wolter’s opinion.¹² At this time, Władysław Wolter (1897–1986) was professor of criminal law at the Jagiellonian University, the author of numerous publications on the doctrine of criminal law.

The minutes from the *rigorosum* doctoral exam of Leon Radzinowicz of 22 June 1929 have been preserved in the Archive of the Jagiellonian University. The document informs us that Radzinowicz’s examination in criminal law consisted of questions on the following topics:

- principles of minister Rocco’s Italian draft [of the criminal code] versus positivism;
- Ferri’s position on criminal danger and danger to society;

⁸ L. Rabinowicz, *Mesures de sûreté. Étude de politique criminelle*, Librairie des Sciences Politiques et Sociales, Paris 1929.

⁹ L. Radzinowicz, *Adventures...*, op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁰ R. Hood, *Leon...*, op. cit., p. 640.

¹¹ L. Radzinowicz, *Adventures...*, op. cit., p. 27.

¹² Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, WP II 86, Protokoły posiedzeń Rady Wydziału Prawa z lat 1927–1939 [Minutes from the session of the Council of the Faculty of Law 1927–1939].

- preventive measures in the Austrian criminal acts; and
- the act on conditional suspension of sentences.¹³

Radzinowicz's answers at his *rigorosum* exam earned him the grade of 'excellent' (*celujący*), which was the highest available at the time.

Therefore, it is imprecise to claim that Leon Radzinowicz had his doctoral diploma recognised by the Jagiellonian University. Nostrification extended to his bachelor diploma from Geneva, while his doctoral degree was obtained not through recognition but for the merit of passing the *rigorosum* exam, as required for the conferral of a doctorate in Poland at the time, while the aforementioned *Mesure de sûreté* was recognised as his doctoral dissertation. Thus, all things considered, Leon Radzinowicz held two doctorates: one from Rome and another from Kraków. Why such a procedure was chosen remains unknown.

Perhaps the Italian doctorate was considered deficient in meeting the Polish standards after the change in regulations that imposed the writing of doctoral dissertations. Until 1920, no such theses were written in Poland, and a doctorate was obtained on the virtue of having passed the final examination concluding one's studies. It cannot be ruled out that Radzinowicz's Italian doctorate did not require the writing of a doctoral dissertation, as was the case in Poland before 1920, which would be why it was repeated rather than recognised.

The information contained in some works on Radzinowicz's alleged higher doctorate (*habilitacja*) obtained in Kraków¹⁴ is not true, as the procedure of conferring a higher doctorate in Poland at the time required a doctoral degree from the candidate, who furthermore had to present a published work (this could be a book or even an article), pass the *colloquium* (*viva voce* examination) before the council of the faculty, and finally deliver a higher doctorate lecture, known also as a 'trial'. After the procedure, the academic received *veniam legendi*, that is, the right to lecture and could apply for the post of *Dozent*. Without doubt, Radzinowicz did not follow this procedure at the Jagiellonian University. He signed most of his publications with the title of 'b. doc.' (literally: 'former Dozent') of the University of Geneva.

It is worth mentioning that Leon Radzinowicz was only 23 years old when he obtained his doctorate from the Jagiellonian University. Having arranged all the matters connected to the doctorate, the young scholar went for a short time to Geneva, returning to Poland in 1931.

¹³ Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, S II 523, The *rigorosum* doctoral exam of Leon Rabinowicz.

¹⁴ K. Krajewski, *Recenzja: Leon Radzinowicz, Adventures in Criminology, Londyn–Nowy Jork 1999* [Review: Leon Radzinowicz, *Adventures in Criminology, Londyn–Nowy Jork 1999*], "Państwo i Prawo" 2000, no. 6, pp. 88–92.

3. Criminology in Poland: Radzinowicz's critical opinion

Between the two world wars, there was no recognised criminological centre in Poland. There were no lectures on the subject at the universities, and only a handful of academics dealt with it, usually treating it as a minor subject. One of those people who was involved in criminology was a professor of forensic medicine, Leon Wachholz, the author of a number of noteworthy works in criminology that allow him to be placed among those who promoted the theory of multiple factor causation, which was current in positivist criminology at the time.¹⁵ Another professor of criminal law from Lwów (at the time in Poland, today Lviv, Ukraine), Juliusz Makarewicz, had a scientific interest in the doctrine of criminal law, and Professor Waław Makowski from Warsaw wrote a number of works on criminology, albeit of lesser significance. Of the young generation of contemporary Polish criminologists, Radzinowicz mentions an unnamed 'thoughtful assistant' at the University of Warsaw who 'held both a medical and a law degree' (the academic in question is Stanisław Batawia [1898–1980], later professor and long-time head of the Department of Criminology of the Polish Academy of Sciences) and another unnamed criminologist, who studied with Sutherland in the USA just before the war, but was murdered by the Nazis soon after his return. That man was Tadeusz Kuczma (1905–40). A graduate from the University of Poznań (1927), Kuczma was conferred a doctorate in 1930, and left on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship for the United States, where he studied with Edwin Sutherland. He was murdered by the Nazis in 1940.

Most Polish professors of law – and especially criminal law – were rather conservative at the time, and sociology was only being born as an academic discipline,¹⁶ therefore the environment there was hardly suitable for starting, and even less so for developing, the discipline. No Polish university housed a chair of criminology. In 1933, Professor Waław Makowski began to publish a quarterly (in fact, an annual) entitled 'Criminological Archives' ('Archiwum Kryminologiczne', with the aforementioned Stanisław Batawia as its editor). The magazine was nonetheless dedicated not only to criminology, but also to criminalistics and criminal law. Radzinowicz quite graphically described the contemporary situation of criminology in Poland, mentioning that 'a small criminological window, but a very small one, had been opened at the University of Warsaw'.¹⁷

¹⁵ J. Widacki, E. Działek, *Poglądy kryminologiczne Leona Wachholza* [Leon Wachholz's views on criminology] [in:] J. Widacki (ed.), *Leon Wachholz*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 2019, pp. 41–48.

¹⁶ N. Kraško, *Poznań a początki socjologii w Polsce* [Poznań and the beginnings of sociology in Poland], "Nauka" 2011, no. 1, pp. 17–31.

¹⁷ L. Radzinowicz, *Adventures...*, op. cit., p. 71.

Criminology was only considered a separate academic discipline at the Free Polish University in Warsaw (Wolna Wszechnica Polska [WWP], a private establishment enjoying the status of a state institution of higher education). As Radzinowicz noted, even the WWP had no separate Faculty of Law, but only offered law as one of the majors in the Faculty of Political and Social Studies.¹⁸ Moreover, it operated an independent Chair of Criminology, with the discipline being listed among 20 others taught at the faculty.¹⁹ Radzinowicz believed that criminology practised there was significantly 'stultified' by the fact that the 'professor in charge was an orthodox, monolithic Marxist to whom criminology and criminal policy pursued within the context of a capitalistic, class-ridden society was a farce, an illusion, an escapade.'²⁰ 'The professor' was Adam Ettinger (1878–1934), a socialist activist, and later a member of the Communist Party, an associate professor (starting 1918) and later, since 1923, professor at WWP in Warsaw. I believe that the opinion Radzinowicz presented here may be too extreme and perhaps unfair to Ettinger, the author of the books *Zbrodniarz w świetle antropologii i psychologii* (*The Criminal in Terms of Anthropology and Psychology*) (1924), *Adolf Quetelet – twórca naukowej statystyki i socjologii oryginalnej* (*Adolf Quetelet – Creator of Scientific Statistics and Original Sociology*) (1925), and *Przestępca zawodowy a polityka kryminalna* (*The Professional Criminal vs Criminal Policy*) (1930). A Marxist as he certainly was, Ettinger seems to have presented balanced views, especially when compared to Marxist criminology of the late 20th century.

A number of the professors working at the Free Polish University were of moderately or purely left-wing disposition. Many were also Marxists. One of them was Ludwik Krzywicki, the doyen of Polish sociology and a professor of sociology between the two world wars. Before the 19th century was out, he published a number of works challenging Lombroso and charging the Italian with disregarding social and economic factors in his considerations of the reasons for crime. At the time Radzinowicz referred to, Krzywicki was no longer involved in criminology, yet he certainly had an influence on the intellectual atmosphere of the WWP, which evidently did not satisfy Radzinowicz. Of all the professors serving at the university, Radzinowicz appreciated only the one who was

a judge of the Supreme Court, had in his younger years studied in Paris under Émile Garçon, and had written at that time an interesting book on the *Lutte des écoles*; he, however, had discontinued scholarly work a long time ago and, now merely diligently, followed the official criminal policy.²¹

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ *Szkoły Wyższe Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [Schools of Higher Education in the Republic of Poland], 2nd ed., Wydawnictwo Kasy im. J. Mianowskiego. Instytut Popierania Nauki, Warszawa 1930.

²⁰ L. Radzinowicz, *Adventures...*, op. cit., pp. 71–72.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 72.

A reference to Emil Stanislaw Rappaport (1877–1965), professor of criminal law, Supreme Court judge from 1919 to 1951, professor at the Free Polish University (until 1939), and later professor at the University of Łódź (1948–60). Rappaport translated the work of Cesare Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, into Polish. The first Polish translation from 1772 was not made from the original, but from a French translation.

As the words of Radzinowicz himself prove, the philosophical and ideological atmosphere of the WWP, the only institution of higher education in Poland where criminology could develop, did not suit him well.²² Despite that, early in 1932 he accepted a proposal of employment as a *Dozent* of criminal policy at the university's Faculty of Political and Social Studies. Similarly, the general political atmosphere, which in post-1926 Poland was clearly drifting towards an authoritarian state, did not satisfy the young academic.

Radzinowicz was critical of two successive Polish ministers of justice, whose names he does not mention. The context, however, proves that he meant Stanisław Car (1882–1938), minister of justice and public prosecutor general from 1928 to 1930, and later the Marshal (Speaker) of the Sejm (the Lower House of Parliament), and his successor Czesław Michałowski (1885–1941), minister of justice and public prosecutor general from 1930 to 1936. Radzinowicz believed them to have had close political connections to the Piłsudski camp, interested in the transformation of the 'machinery' of the ministry and judiciary to suit the 'new order' Piłsudski had introduced. Radzinowicz found more appreciation for criminology, criminal policy, and preventive custody and prison sciences in the lower levels of the ministry.

Recapitulating his considerations on that time in Poland, Radzinowicz noted that 'the academic and ministerial world was closed to criminology'.²³ Yet, he must have clearly considered the option of staying in Poland and, should his academic career fail, start practising as a barrister or working for the judiciary as he completed his 'juridical practice' at the Court of Appeals in Warsaw. In contemporary Poland, such a residency (called *aplikacja*) was required after legal studies to work as a lawyer. Should Radzinowicz have planned an academic career abroad, he would not have needed either a doctorate from a Polish university or the 'juridical practice'.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Ibidem.

4. Anti-Semitism in Poland before the Second World War

In his autobiography, Radzinowicz discreetly glosses over the situation in Polish society and contemporary Polish anti-Semitism, of which he must have had painful experience himself. Anti-Semitism in Poland was clearly aggravated after the death of Marshal Piłsudski in 1935. On their own accord, the senates of individual universities approved limits for the enrolment of Jewish students, especially to law and medicine (*numerus clausus*), and in the final years before the Second World War even passed prohibitions on admitting Jews to universities (*numerus nullus*). Jewish origin also made it difficult for one to follow a career in administration, the military, or academia – like in many European countries of the time, especially in Eastern and Central Europe. On the one hand, such a situation must have discouraged Radzinowicz from staying in Poland, which he had certainly planned as the above-mentioned facts suggest; on the other hand, his works were the first books on criminology to be published in Poland, and as such they made a significant contribution to the development of the discipline in Poland.

Moreover, despite the hardly favourable atmosphere, Radzinowicz embarked on cooperation with the director of the Penal Institution of the Ministry of Justice and with the director of the ministry's Statistical Office.

The Criminal Code, whose main author was Professor Juliusz Makarewicz, went into effect in Poland in 1932. It made use of the achievements of positivism, in particular assuming that a penalty has a utilitarian, practical goal and not, as the representatives of the old, classical school in criminal law believed, a metaphysical purpose. It is the criminal and not the crime that must be punished. Therefore, the penalty that the court administers, as well as the subsequent treatment of the convict in prison, must be adjusted to each specific criminal, with respect to personal traits, the level of mental development, etc. Thus, the criminal code, modern for its times, imposed a range of new duties on judges and on the preventive sector, for which they were not prepared. Radzinowicz understood this and tried to assist. This was the purpose of his works, which were designed to explain the modern solutions used in other states of Western Europe to Polish judges and the prison management service.

5. Early position on criminology

On 31 January 1929, in Copernicus Hall at the Collegium Novum of the Jagielloonian University (its largest lecture hall at the time), Radzinowicz delivered a lecture on '*The Crisis and the Future of Criminal Law*' (*Kryzys i przyszłość prawa karnego*). It was his first address to such a large audience in Poland. Its content was later published in '*Przegląd Współczesny*' (1929, no. 85). As Radzinowicz explained later,

he initially delivered his inaugural lecture in Geneva;²⁴ this time however, it was in Polish.

In 1933, he published a sizable monographic work entitled ‘*Rudiments of the Science of Prisons*’ (*Podstawy nauki o więziennictwie*, 455 pages) in Warsaw, and two articles in ‘*Archiwum Kryminologiczne*’: ‘*The Belgian institution for implementing preventive measures*’ (*Belgijskie zakłady zabezpieczające*, 1933, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 131–37) and ‘*Preventive measures in theory and practice*’ (*Środki zabezpieczające w teorii i praktyce*, 1933, vol. 1, nos. 3–4, pp. 385–96). In the same year, he delivered a paper on the ‘*Contemporary Evolution of Criminal Anthropology*’ (*Współczesna ewolucja antropologii kryminalnej*) at the 14th Congress of Polish Physicians and Natural Scientists in Poznań, whose text was expanded and published as a 134-page monographic work in Warsaw in 1934.

The title of the work may seem slightly misleading. From today’s perspective it can be construed as being devoted to the evolution of Lombroso’s theory, which took place in the 1930s. However, to Radzinowicz, criminal anthropology was more than just Lombroso’s theory. To him, the theory had long and obviously been falsified already.²⁵ Yet, he certainly acknowledged that Lombroso’s greatest merit was to point out successfully that crime cannot be approached the way the classical school did so – that is, as if it were an infringement of the legal order – but it needs to be treated and investigated as a human deed. That is why attention must be paid first and foremost to personality. ‘Lombroso moved “the criminal” to the prominent place previously held by the “crime”’.²⁶ Doing so, he quoted a sharp and accurate phrase of van Hamel, in which the classical school tells people to become familiar with justice while the positivist school tells justice to get to know people.²⁷ Another timeless merit of Lombroso’s work lay in the application of the empirical method. ‘For the partisans of the old course, the criminal was an abstract entity, and Lombroso was the first to enter prison to study living criminals’.²⁸ Radzinowicz considers ‘criminal anthropology’ the part of criminology that deals with the investigation of all the personality traits of a criminal as well as the causal relations of the criminal’s personal traits with their criminal deeds or activity.²⁹ Thus construed, criminal anthropology deals holistically with the person of the criminal, testing the influences of heritability, bodily condition (including the actual construction of the nervous system), as well as psychological, psychopathological, and

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

²⁵ L. Rabinowicz, *Współczesna ewolucja antropologii kryminalnej* [The Modern Evolution of Criminal Anthropology], Biblioteka Prawnicza, Warszawa 1934, p. 16.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ G.A. van Hamel, *Lanthropologie criminelle et les dogmes du droit penal* [in:] G. Amadei [et al.], *L'opera di Cesare Lombroso nella scienza e nelle sue applicazioni*, Fratelli Bocca, Milano–Torino–Roma 1908, p. 265.

²⁸ L. Rabinowicz, *Współczesna...*, op. cit.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

characterological properties, and – even further – of the social environment. The last one is significant because, as Radzinowicz claims, ‘with the exception of rare cases, in reality, you cannot put a clear border between exogenous and endogenous factors, as in every case these are present jointly and together, although connected to a different degree.’³⁰ That is why, while investigating a criminal,

criminal anthropology cannot abstract from his environment, cannot move him away from it, but on the contrary, it must investigate him in his environment to learn what impact it has made on his personality and how he has reacted to the stimuli coming from those environments.³¹

Lombroso’s error, then, was to limit his studies to criminals extracted from their social environment.³²

A year later, the scientist published two large texts. The first appeared in ‘Głos Sądownictwa’ (1935, nos. 7–8) entitled ‘*Crime in Poland in 1934 according to police statistics*’ (*Przestępczość w Polsce w roku 1934 w świetle policyjnej statystyki kryminalnej*) and another, very long one (132 pages!) called ‘*Crime in Poland in the period 1924–1933*’ (*Przestępczość w Polsce w latach 1924–1933*) (*Archiwum Kryminologiczne* 1935, vol. 2, nos. 1–2). They were the first extensive studies in Polish criminal statistics. In 1935 ‘Criminological Archives’ published yet another of his articles: ‘*The reform of the Prison Service in Germany*’ (*Reforma więziennictwa w Niemczech*) (vol. 2, nos. 1–2, pp. 276–88).

Another interesting thing to note, in as much as the texts from 1934 were still signed with the name ‘Rabinowicz’, is that beginning in 1935 the young scientist signed all texts as Leon Radzinowicz. The fact of changing his name may be worth a moment’s attention, as it proves two things: first, that, as can be guessed, Leon Radzinowicz did not want to use the name Rabinowicz, of typically Jewish provenance, in an increasingly anti-Semitic Poland; and secondly, that he clearly did not intend to continue his career in the West, where, unlike in Poland, a classic Jewish name like ‘Rabinowicz’ not only posed no obstacle to his career, but on the contrary, it may have even helped it. Moreover, the name Radzinowicz (pronounced ra-dji-noh-vitch) is difficult to pronounce by speakers of most Western European languages.

Leon Radzinowicz was extremely active in the dispute on the reform of the prison service as such, and Polish prisons in particular. He tried to transfer the new ideas of the European correctional system and criminal policy to Poland. He published his works in ‘Gazeta Sądowa Warszawska’ and ‘Przegląd Więziennictwa Polskiego’. The two articles he published in the former in 1935 were ‘*Crisis of the*

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 12.

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 12–13.

³² Ibidem, p. 13.

Polish prison system’ (*Kryzys polskiego ustroju penitencjarnego*) (1935, no. 24) and ‘*The question of the so-called “correctional law”*’ (*Zagadnienie tzw. ‘prawa penitencjarnego’*), which consisted of a handful of remarks on an article of Jerzy Śliwowski entitled ‘*The birth of correctional law*’ (*Narodziny prawa penitencjarnego*) (1935, no. 15).

Two further articles were also published in 1935 in ‘*Przegląd Więziennictwa Polskiego*’. They were ‘*The question of the individualisation and classification of prisoners*’ (*Zagadnienie indywidualizacji i klasyfikacji więźniów*) (1935, no. 2) and ‘*Comments on the evolution of the prison system*’ (*Uwagi w związku z ewolucją ustroju więziennego*) (1935, no. 11), published in two parts. Further articles were published in the following years: ‘*The question of disciplinary punishments in a modern correctional system*’ (*Zagadnienie kar dyscyplinarnych w nowoczesnym ustroju więziennym*) (‘*Przegląd Więziennictwa Polskiego*’ 1936, no. 1), ‘*Remarks on a reformatory facility for incurable criminals*’ (*Uwagi o zakładzie zabezpieczającym dla niepoprawnych przestępców*) (‘*Gazeta Sądowa Warszawska*’ 1937, no. 19), and ‘*The structure of criminality in Poland on the base of court statistics*’ (*Struktura przestępczości w Polsce w świetle statystyki sądowej*) (‘*Archiwum Kryminologiczne*’ 1937, nos. 3–4, pp. 361–439).

In 1938 he published his last article in Poland: ‘*Contribution to research on crime development in clusters of locations*’ (*Materiały do badań nad ukształtowaniem się przestępczości w grupach miejscowości*) (‘*Przegląd Więziennictwa Polskiego*’ 1938, no. 2). It is worth mentioning that the Polish translation of Radzinowicz’s paper – originally published in England in 1939 and called ‘*The influence of the economic conditions on crime rate in Poland 1928–1934*’ (*Wpływ warunków ekonomicznych na przestępczość w Polsce w latach 1928–1934*) was published in the Polish journal ‘*Czasopismo Historyczno-Prawne*’ (vol. LXX, pp. 135–163) in 1969.

At the time, Radzinowicz was becoming the top name in the Polish criminal and prison sciences, despite the fact that no university had granted him a chair or professorship, and he was still only a *Dozent* at the Free Polish University.

Soon before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Poland delegated Radzinowicz to the United Kingdom so he could become familiar with the British correctional system. Authors differ on the dates of his educational visit. Hood believes it to be 1936,³³ and the same incorrect date is also given by Krzysztof Krajewski, who was most likely quoting Hood.³⁴ In an article mentioning the death of Professor Radzinowicz in ‘*The New York Times*’ on 10 January 2000, Nick Ravo more credibly suggests 1938.³⁵ This must be so, as

³³ R. Hood, *Leon...*, op. cit., p. 640.

³⁴ K. Krajewski, *Recenzja...*, op. cit., p. 90.

³⁵ N. Ravo, *Leon Radzinowicz, 93, Leader in Criminology*, *The New York Times*, 10.01.2000, <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/01/10/world/leon-radzinowicz-93-leader-in-criminology.html> [access: 25.08.2019].

Radzinowicz was still actively publishing in Poland in 1937 and 1938 (see above), and the outbreak of war on 1 September 1939 is known to have surprised him in the UK, and it is not very likely that a foreign study visit would have lasted over one year.

For obvious reasons, after the outbreak of war, Radzinowicz could not return to a Poland under invasion by the Germans, where – as a person of Jewish origin – he would have been killed by the Nazis.

6. In the United Kingdom – Conclusions

Thus staying in England, Radzinowicz joined the faculty at Cambridge in 1941,³⁶ where he helped to establish a department of criminal sciences. He was granted British citizenship in 1947. As mentioned above, he was Director of the Department of Criminal Science at the University of Cambridge from 1949 to 59, and in 1959 he founded the Cambridge Institute of Criminology, serving as its director until his retirement in 1972. In 1959, he also became the first Wolfson Professor of Criminology and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II at a ceremony in Buckingham Palace in 1970.

During his stay in the United Kingdom, Leon Radzinowicz initially stayed in touch with circles of Polish émigrés, as proved by the fact that, as a member of the faculty at Cambridge University, he was already lecturing on ‘English Criminal Policy’ (*Angielska polityka kryminalna*) to the Association of Polish Lawyers in the United Kingdom (*Stowarzyszenie Prawników Polskich w Zjednoczonym Królestwie*)³⁷ in London on 3 June 1942. The Association circulated the text of his lecture in a small number of copies. One of them found its way to Poland after the war, and is today in the keeping of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków. It was the last work Leon Radzinowicz wrote in Polish, and has a certain symbolic dimension, as it is a specific report from his study visit in the United Kingdom that Radzinowicz submitted to Polish lawyers.

As Radzinowicz reminisced after the war, the Polish communist authorities wanted him to return to Poland in 1945.³⁸ He was tempted by visions of his own chair at the university, and a high-level post in the Ministry of Justice, but he did not pursue the opportunity. He did not have ties to communist Poland and

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ The Association of the Polish Lawyers in the United Kingdom (*Stowarzyszenie Prawników Polskich w Zjednoczonym Królestwie*) was established in London in 1940, and brought together around 200 Polish lawyers whom the winds of war had cast into the United Kingdom. They included professors of law and barristers. Some of them returned to Poland after the war.

³⁸ L. Radzinowicz, *Adventures...*, op. cit., p. 78.

maintained practically no contact with Polish scientific circles living behind the Iron Curtain. Incidentally, the situation in Polish criminology hardly changed in the first few years following the war, as compared to the pre-war years. There were still no chairs in criminology at the universities, the theme was not the subject of lectures to students of law, and the only research unit was the minuscule Department of Criminology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, with the aforementioned Professor Stanisław Batawia at its helm. Moreover, Marxism, in its capacity as the binding doctrine in philosophy and the social sciences, did not favour the development of theoretical criminology.

Radzinowicz also recollects visiting Poland in 1978 to lecture to a small group.³⁹ His visit did not result in establishing any closer contact with Polish academic circles.

In 1988 he met a group of Polish scientists at the Max Planck Institute in Freiburg (West Germany). He refers to them with respect, and he mentions the name of Professor Andrzej Wąsek from the Maria Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin (with the name misspelt as 'Wąsik').⁴⁰ One of the other participants was Professor Krzysztof Krajewski from the Jagiellonian University, who remembers they talked in their native language, and he admired the perfect Polish that Radzinowicz spoke.⁴¹ After Radzinowicz's death in 1999, his obituary by Krzysztof Krajewski was published in the Polish journal 'Państwo i Prawo' in 2000 (no. 12, pp. 88–92).

It goes without saying that before 1939 Leon Radzinowicz was the most eminent Polish criminologist. He managed to win that acclaim in a very short time, from 1929 to 1938. The young scientist left Poland at the age of only 32, when his whole career was still ahead of him. Had he stayed in Poland in 1939, he would most likely not have survived the Holocaust. Should he have returned to Poland after 1945, in turn, the reality of a communist state and the circumstances of practising science within it would have certainly barred him from the world-class career he had the opportunity to follow in the United Kingdom.

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