

SOCIOLOGICAL HERITAGE



The Presidium of the Hungarian Sociological Association laid a wreath on the grave of Lajos Leopold Jr at the Cservölgy of Tótvázsony on 15 November 2008. The memorial address on the occasion and a selected bibliography of Lajos Leopold Jr are published below.

Ernő CSEKŐ

AT THE GRAVE OF LAJOS LEOPOLD JR

Distinguished Gathering,

On the tombstones of Lajos Leopold Jr in front of us two dates of 1879 and 1948 can be read besides a cross and the inscription “*Anima Sola*”.

“Lonely soul”. And if now you happen to think that these two words were pronounced by Lajos Leopold Jr at a late age, looking back to his life, you are wrong. In fact several of his poems of youth were published under this pen name (*Anima Sola*) by *Tolnavármegye*, one of the journals of Szekszárd around the turn of the century (1903).

Some may say for sure that even if the poem was nice and a well written one it was nothing more than the sentimental lines of a young man holding to the literary fashion of the age. One may read early maturity out of his thinking belying his number of years and even being old for his years. Luckily posterity has the opportunity to overview the pen name of *Anima Sola* fitted into his entire career. On that basis it can be stated that the career of Lajos Leopold Jr seems to prove the rightfulness of the choice of pen name in his youth.

I had been pondering a great deal on what justified the use of the name *Anima Sola* by Leopold in his early twenties. For the social historian naturally explanatory causes and reasons deductible from the specificities of the history of Hungarian society may promptly emerge. For this audience it may not be unknown that Lajos Leopold Jr was born on 5 December 1879 at Szekszárd, as the last male child of a wealthy Jewish family. (His brother, Gusztáv Leopold was also a noted figure of the sociological movement of the early years of the century, he was a member of the Association for Social Sciences, and his papers were published by the *Huszadik Század* [*Twentieth Century*]). His father was a decisive figure together with the whole family of the society in the little town, and as chairman of the district religious community he was also member of the national leadership of the reform Jewish religious establishment. As he was characterized by *Egyenlőség* (*Equality*), the first periodical of the denomination, it was the deeply religious Jew and the Hungarian of patriotic sentiments that was infused in Sándor Leopold. And truly the entire family was permeated by the traditions of the Reform Age, the ideal of liberal thinking related to it

and even obtaining an institutional form after the Compromise as well as the cult of 1848. How strong were they in the case of Lajos Leopold Jr? One may quote as examples his essays written as a grammar school student and other writings as well as poems published in the *Tanulók Lapja (Students' Paper)* the topics of which were related to Lajos Kossuth and to the outstanding figures of national literature such as Mór Jókai, János Vajda, and Pál Gyulai. Before anyone would merely note an achievement of assimilation, let me refer to how consistently Leopold defended Kossuth's personality and historical significance against Ervin Szabó, further on in a book review (*Marx, Engels és Magyarország [Marx, Engels and Hungary]*) (1906) and also in a private letter. And he did it at a time when Ervin Szabó had the greatest influence on him in the first years of the century.

Going back to my point: Leopold, who attended the Faculty of Law and Political Science of the University of Sciences of Pest between 1897 and 1900, met and was enriched not only by the classes of Ágost Pulszky and Gyula Pikler, or by the acquaintance of Ervin Szabó, but also by ideas of anti-Semitic overtones surfacing in the student movements the years 1900 and 1901. And as I assume, if Lajos Leopold Jr's assimilation was basically unbroken up to the age of 18, presumably he had several such experiences and feedbacks that were not in harmony with the image of domestic liberalism determined by the nobility he cherished, nor with his emotions towards Hungarian culture.

The difficulties of assimilation, however, cannot fully justify his choice of pen name in his youth. A further explanation may be found in his personality traits deriving from his mental constitution and disposition, from his characteristic features and abilities which were becoming emphatic also by his position in life. What were the former ones? He had a way of thinking more profound than that of his environment, a true sense of social responsibility, coupled with problem sensitivity, a sense of reality; and he had an unbroken desire to preserve intellectual independence. I think these traits had a significant role in that Lajos Leopold Jr had found his intellectual home in those days in the Association for Social Sciences and in the circle of Twentieth Century, and perhaps the two or three personality traits mentioned later had an even greater role in that he distanced himself from *Twentieth Century* moving in the direction of ideological education by the early 1910s. Surely differences of outlook and content had emerged even earlier between Leopold and Oszkár Jászi, Ervin Szabó, or the bourgeois radical agrarian theorists (such as Arnold Dániel). And though during the period linked to the Twentieth Century he produced a series of important papers, such as *Vallás és agrárszocializmus [Religion and Agrarian Socialism]* (1905), still taught at the universities, and *Az aratógép szociológiája [The Sociology of the Harvesting Machine]* (1906), or the polemic writing *A kisbirtok eszményesítése [The Idealisation of Small Holdings]* (1907), the two works still kept in mind were written in the 1910s, in the decade of loneliness in scientific activities: at first he wrote *A presztíz [Prestige]* in 1912, and next *Színlelt kapitalizmus [Simulated Capitalism]* in 1917. Though the noted literate Mihály Babits, also born in Szekszárd, wrote with some primness about *Nyugat [West]*, the eminent literary periodical, Leopold's expectations about his book were justified by the reception of its English and German editions. Though the effects of *Prestige* were stronger and more lasting on German sociology, as it is also testified by the selection by László Bertalan published in the 1997/1 issue of *Szociológia [Sociology]*, in his time the response to the English edition

gave him much joy. The number of detailed reviews reached about fifty already in the year of the English edition (1913), published among others in such organs like *The Economist*, *New York Times*, *The Observer*, or the *Times*. It is beyond doubt, however, that in the recent decade(s) it was *Simulated Capitalism* that had a broader effect than *Prestige*, to which even current journalism, crossing over the borders of science, often refers when presenting the transformation of the late 1980s, the development of capitalism (market economy) and its domestic operation.

It is true that his loneliness and standing apart, coinciding with the period of the birth of his major works, can partly be attributed to his situation in life, for Leopold lived in the country, at Szekszárd up to the early 1920s. Hence he only partially shared the institutionalized scientific and intellectual life focused at that time to Budapest. “A genius outsider”, said Oszkár Jászi about Leopold on the occasion of *Prestige*. One should not think that Leopold was not hurt and was not preoccupied with being outside the circle to some extent, for in his letter of 18 December 1917 written to his friend, Bódog Somló, the scholar of law he said the following: “As to what you write about me why I do not teach at the university, I should only note that recently even a colleague from Berlin did not want to believe that I did not teach. This is really a mistake...” And a few lines later: “My relationship to science is the same as a Gypsy band leader playing without music notes to those of the philharmonics.”

The unfolding of the scholarly ambitions of Leopold was limited by the operation of the economic interests of the family, and first of all by the management of the rented farm of Ózsák near Szekszárd. On the other hand it offered proper existential security and also an eminent basis to Leopold to retain his freedom of opinion, of assessing the situation and of decision-making even in his political manifestations during World War I as well as during the People’s Republic. His separation from the bourgeois liberals, despite several points of linkage, the consequences of his position in life different from the average radicals, such as his position in his social stratum deriving from family background, the high status occupied in the local elite, the inherited set of social relations, or just the daily life in a small town and in the country may have also played an important role. For instance, he was delegated even to three specialist committees (agrarian reform, reform of public administration, economics) of the National Council after the revolution in the autumn of 1918, and Leopold supported openly the incumbent ‘old’ Lord Lieutenant Count Rezső Apponyi in Tolna County in the face of the official nominee of the National Council and the Károlyi government. But the local bigwigs of the Károlyi party had already labeled him supporter of the ‘ancien régime’ (!) because he motioned the expression of sympathy towards the German people and the wording of an application to the representatives of the press so that they should not fan but moderate the public mood when he saw the multiplying anti-German manifestations at the general assembly of the County on 30 October 1918. Leopold argued that the spread of violence would prepare the ground for tyrannical dictatorship.

Lajos Leopold Jr was not a politician by nature. Therefore the events of the autumn of 1918 did not lure him to see the justification of his earlier political manifestations in their light or to make them seen as such, and he wanted to utilize them even less for political advancement. He did not utilize the changing mood of the masses, and he was not swept away by political passions either. Charity and humanitarian role suited his sense of responsibility, mental constitution and social sensitivity. Leopold was at first

the deputy government commissioner for the Red Cross next to Mrs Károlyi, and from late January 1919 on he was its commissioner. Here, however, it was not titles that mattered. During the course of my researches I could clearly see that one should speak about his commitment to this cause comparable to his sociological work and about his 'oeuvre' in this context. In fact a large part of Leopold's attention and energy was taken up by mitigating the pain, deprivation and poverty caused by the war and the subsequent events between 1914 and 1921, more over, every minute of his was taken up by this between 1914 and 1916, and next between 1918 and 1919. From the autumn of 1914 he was commissioned by the Red Cross, and from early 1916 on he was a deputy chief commissioner at the Eastern front. Though he resigned a few days before 21 March 1919 from his chief commissionership of the Red Cross in the People's Republic, but presumably due to the request of and under the pressure of the associations of relatives of prisoners of war he accepted the job of heading the international department of the Red Cross a couple of days later, already during the Republic of Councils. When he resigned from the government commissionership the paper of interest representation entitled *Olasz Hadifogoly [Italian Prisoner of War]* wrote in its 20 March 1919 issue that one of the most fortunate steps of Mrs Mihály Károlyi's two months of government commissionership was to win over Leopold as her associate. The paper characterized Leopold as "a man constantly working and living for the cause with nerve and intelligence, heart and soul".

On the other hand, the possibility and terrain of the kind of public activity he could undertake was offered to Leopold by the Red Cross, for he carried on his activities from 1914 on up to 1921 and 1922 under entirely different political constellations: he consistently insisted on the proper use of the organization independent of politics. At the same time Leopold took also steps the same way for the protection and release of political hostages during the Republic of Councils, and also in the interest of a more humane treatment of political prisoners locked up after 1919. There is no opportunity here to give details of his large-scale charitable and humanitarian activities, manifest in monetary donations and those in kind, as well as utilizing even his set of international contacts in the Red Cross that have, without exaggeration, decisively contributed to the mitigation of social crisis after World War I, and even more after the Republic of Councils, and to helping the population suffering from deprivation.

So far I have spoken about the career of Lajos Leopold Jr, and about his human aspect, and perhaps less about his scientific oeuvre, and particularly about his sociological work because it has been surrounded by appreciation from the mid-80s on, after a silence of several decades. Though the sociologist László Bertalan and the literary historian István Gál each tried to keep up the memory of Leopold in a publication, he was truly returned to scientific public awareness only by the new edition of his major works in the second part of the 80s. This process was obviously promoted by the fact that *Prestige, Simulated Capitalism or The Idealisation of Small Holdings* were included in several readers of higher education and included in university education. In the first part of his career Leopold dealt with the issues of emigration and return, or the issues of right to vote among others besides his sociological and agrarian sociological works which have important aspects for psychology as well.

Leopold could obtain inspiration to his activities in the field of agrarian sociology in the 1900s, as well as to his work on agrarian economy after 1920 partly from his situation in life: for he managed the rented farm at Ózsák near Szekszárd of the family operating a large set of rented farms from the early 1900s to 1920. In the early 1920s he moved to Budapest, and subsequently got inside the framework of institutionalized science: from 1928 on he was a lecturer of the faculty of economics of Pázmány Péter University of Sciences, and next of the József Nádor University of Technical and Economic Sciences. He was a member of the Hungarian Association of Economists and of the Darányi Ignác Association of Agrarian Science; in the 1920s he was a permanent associate and editor of *Köztelek [Public Estate]*, a periodical of the National Hungarian Agricultural Association, an agrarian interest representation organization, and also of *Gazdasors [Farmer's Destiny]*, a supplement of the newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap*. It is perhaps the book *Aranykapu [Golden Gate]* (1926), elaborating on his experiences gained during his travel in the United States, and the chapters on agrarian economy of volume III (1938) of the series of volumes entitled *A mai világ képe [The Image of the Contemporary World]*, edited by Lóránt Hegedűs that are outstanding pieces of the period.

As it can be seen, Leopold's career stretches from sociology to agrarian economics, from the years of youth linked to *Twentieth Century*, and even coquetting with anarchism to agrarians of a conservative outlook. All this seems to be a major change but living through decades it may not be so big. Particularly if it is remembered that he could retain his originality all along, or that the structure and style of his writings did not change an iota if one keeps in mind the descriptive and analytical parts rich in data and founded on statistics, and their alteration with essay-like paragraphs of lyrical wording.

Distinguished audience! We are here in a hidden corner of the highlands of Lake Balaton, in Cservölgy. The orchard of Cservölgy formerly established with Belgian capital sometime around 1923, the farm, together with the manager's house (manor) came into the possession of the Leopold family, more exactly of Éva Leopold, the only child of Lajos Leopold Jr. It was managed by Éva's husband, the agrarian economist József Badics, who was the director of the Agricultural Museum of Pest from 1937 on. Lajos Leopold Jr and his wife, Lívia Jacobi only came here to rest and for summer vacations up to the autumn and end of 1944, when Cservölgy became their hiding place and later on residence. Though Lajos Leopold Jr and Lívia Jacobi embraced the Roman Catholic faith at the time of their daughter, Éva's wedding, the anti-Jewish laws and orders extended over them as well. In Leopold's person a man was persecuted who, during World War I and the subsequent years had taken up extensive charitable and humanitarian activities to mitigate suffering and deprivation. We may also take it as historical injustice, or, on the contrary, as adequately symbolic that remembering the author of *Prestige* we can place the wreath of remembrance at an abandoned grave, though benevolently covered up by the surrounding vegetation.¹

We are standing at the grave of Lajos Leopold Jr the immediate vicinity of which was his favored place of rest during the last years of his life: in those days the view was still free to the Tihany-peninsula from the hilltop north of the manor. After his death on

1 The formerly also neglected manor is a hotel today. We thank the owner for allowing us to lay our wreath here.

**SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE WORKS OF LAJOS LEOPOLD JR**

- 1903: Az olasz szocializmus. [Italian Socialism.] *Husadik Század*, 1: 298–317, 431–453, 505–531.
Az olasz mezőgazdaság [Italian Agriculture.] *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 2: 696–701.
La rivelazione della camorra ungherese. *Rivista Popolare*, 18: 496–498; 21: 573–575.
- 1904: A gyermek-munkás védelme Németországban. [The Protection of Child Labourer in Germany.] *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 2: 621–626.
- 1905: A holnap egyeteme. [The University of Tomorrow.] *Husadik Század*, 1: 467–473.
Vallás és agrárszocializmus. [Religion and Agrarian Socialism.] *Husadik Század*, 2: 97–119.
Parasztygyermekünk és a tehéntej. [Our Peasant Children and Cow Milk.]: *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 1: 355–369.
La situation du paysan en Hongrie. Conférence. La Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles, le 24 février 1905, Bruxelles.
- 1906: Marx, Engels és Magyarország. [Marx, Engels and Hungary.] *Husadik Század*, 1: 151–156.
Az aratógép szociológiája. [The Sociology of the Harvesting Machine.] *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 2: 73–109.
Gyermekmunka a mezőgazdaságban. [Child Labour in Agriculture.] *A Jövő* (Nagyvárad), 9: 225–229.
- 1907: *Gyárak nélkül. Egy pusztuló vármegye emlékirataiból.* [Without Factories. From the Memoirs of a Decaying County.] Szekszárd.
Tolna- és Baranya vármegyék nagyiparának feltételeiről. [On the Conditions of Large-Scale Industry of Tolna and Baranya Counties.] Pécs.
A kisbirtok eszményesítése. [The Idealisation of Small Holdings.] *Husadik Század*, 1: 319–335.
- 1908: Kivándorlás. [Emigration.] *Husadik Század*, 1: 81–87.
A visszavándorlás mérlege. [The Balance of Return.] *Husadik Század*, 1: 143–162.
Törvényjavaslat a kivándorlásról. [A Bill on Emigration.] *Husadik Század*, 1: 578–582.
Az állami függés és a választójog. [Dependence on the State and the Right to Vote.] *Husadik Század*, 2: 625–631.
A nyilvános és többes választójog. [Public and Multiple Right to Vote.] *Tolnavármegye*, 15 November: 1–3.
- 1909 A politika aszkétái. [The Ascetics of Politics.] *Husadik Század*, 2: 307–312.
- 1910 A senki Dunája. [No One's Danube.] *Husadik Század*, 2: 257–268.

- 1912 *A presztízs. [Prestige.]* Szociológiai Könyvtár. Budapest: Athenaeum.
Presztízs és osztálytagozódás. [Prestige and Class Articulation.] *Új Élet (Népművelés)*, 1: 36–50.
- 1913 *Prestige. A Psychological Study of Social Estimates.* London: T. Fischer Unwin.
Prestige. A Psychological Study Of Social Estimates. New York: Dutton & Comp.
- 1916 *Prestige. Ein gesellschaftspsychologischer Versuch.* Berlin.
- 1917 *Elmélet nélkül. Gazdaságpolitikai tanulmányok. [Without Theory. Studies in Economic Policy.]* Budapest: Benkő Gyula Könyvkereskedése.
A választójog és a magyar értelmiség vezető szerepe. [The Right to Vote and the Leading Role of Hungarian Intellectuals.] *Pesti Napló*, 15 August: 6–7; 19 August. 10–11.
- 1918 Magyarország keleti frontja. [Hungary's Eastern Front.] *Budapesti Szemle*, 176.: 45–86; 242–283.
- 1926 *Aranykapu. [Golden Gate.]* Budapest.
- 1927 Die ungarische Landwirtschaft im Wirtschaftsjahr 1926. *Die Volkswirtschaft im Jahre 1926*, Budapest, 136–219.
- 1928 Standard und Überschuss. *Ungarisches Wirtschafts-Jahrbuch 1928*, Budapest, 62–66.
- 1931 Az ismeretlen fogyasztó. [The Unknown Consumer.] *Mezőgazdasági Közlöny*, 2–3. 60–71.
Agrarkrise und Arbeitssystem. *Ungarisches-Wirtschafts-Jahrbuch 1931*, Budapest–Berlin–Wien, 39–55.
- 1933 A Tisza és az Óceán. Búzánk sorsa a világválságban. [The Tisza and the Ocean. The Fate of our Wheat in the Global Crisis.] *Mezőgazdasági Közlöny*, 1: 1–25.
- 1934 Munkabér és nagybirtok. [Wages and Large Estates.] *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 445–479.
- 1935 Koplal-e Olaszország? Szükség van-e a kolóniákra? [Does Italy Starve? Are Colonies Needed?] *Búvár*, 11: 737–741.
- 1936 Ízlik. A tanácstalan gyümölcsös. [Tasteful. The Orchard at a Loss.] *Búvár*, 6: 375–381.
- 1938 A világ éléskamrája. [The Granary of the World.] In Hegedüs L. ed.: *A mai világ képe. [The Image of the Contemporary World.]* Vol. III: Gazdasági élet. [Economic Life.] Budapest, 77–187.
A földosztó háború. [The War of Land Reform.] In Hegedüs L. ed.: *A mai világ képe. [The Image of the Contemporary World.]* Vol. III: Gazdasági élet. [Economic Life.] Budapest, 213–252.
Az agrárius lélektana. [The Psychology of the Agrarian.] *Független Újság (Kolozsvar)*, 5 March: 5–6.; 12 March: 6.

1939 Államosított mezőgazdaság Oroszországban [Nationalised Agriculture in Italy.] *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 638–644.

(Based on the bibliography compiled by László E. Bártfai in Leopold L. (1987[1912]): *A presztízs*. [Prestige.] Budapest: Magvető, 440–443.)

