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Philosophers on the Fringe: Albert Schweitzer, Liberty Hyde Bailey, Aldo Leopold, and the Wrongful Polarization of Environmentalist History

by

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A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Master of Science in Recreation

Department of Recreation, Parks and Leisure Studies

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
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Philosophers on the Fringe: Albert Schweitzer, Liberty Hyde Bailey, Aldo Leopold, and the Wrongful Polarization of Environmentalist History

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2017

This thesis includes three articles (chapters) intending to encourage clarification of an area of environmental history that has not received adequate attention since the publication of Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind*. Since its publication in 1967, little research has been dedicated to understanding the scholarly or philosophical influence Albert Schweitzer and Liberty Hyde Bailey had on Aldo Leopold. Since my undertaking of this topic, I have established two primary goals. First, I want to provide clarification to environmentalists, academics, and the populace at large that environmentalism does not have to be bound by rules and convention, but can instead be shaped on a personal basis. Said another way, you do not need to be the same kind of environmentalist as everyone else for it to "count." Second, I want to inspire readers of to think beyond what they know about the people and things they love, and realize that those people who influence their lives the most (such as Aldo Leopold) also had great influences of their own.

The first article builds on my previous research (2015), in which I aimed to uncover the influence of German theologian, musician, doctor, and philosopher Albert Schweitzer on the renowned American ecologist and philosopher Aldo Leopold. It provides a modest glance into the similarities between these early environmental philosophers while also clarifying their environmentalist leanings—not as biocentric purists but thinkers with both biocentric and anthropocentric considerations.

Article two continues to unveil the similarities between Schweitzer and Leopold but goes a step further to also draw parallels with Liberty Hyde Bailey, one of America's most well-known horticulturists and most oft-forgotten of environmental philosophers. This article takes a hard and fast approach to comparing the three men by providing a number of writing excerpts to show just how similar their ideas and writing styles truly were. This is an important contribution to the literature because while Leopold is often credited with a number of innovative ideas, those similar ideas are reflected in the writings of Schweitzer and Bailey—and often surface in writings years before Leopold's initial contribution to the literature. A timeline of important dates follows the list of key terms.

Article three uses the evidence provided in the preceding articles, in combination with the writings of zoologist and environmental ethicist Ben Minteer, to extricate Leopold, Bailey, and Schweitzer from the biocentric labeling they have been reduced to for the past seven decades. Each figure is reestablished within the environmentalist literature as “third-way” environmentalists. Third-way environmentalists use an integrated approach in understanding nature and culture and thereby reject the

polarization of ideas. Essentially, third-way thinkers embrace the beneficial contributions of both perspectives regardless of their biocentric or anthropocentric features.

This is by no means a comprehensive investigation of the works of Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold. It should instead spark some long-overdue conversation among environmentalists—a conversation which forces them to question where they stand in the environmentalist story. It should also inspire reconsideration of the motives of either group while serving as a reminder that human intervention does not necessitate environmental degradation. Perhaps the real issue here is how contemporary environmental thinkers have been taught to read and interpret the literature. For example, it is important for contemporary environmental thinkers to recognize the influence of such people as Lynn White Jr., whose “Roots of our Ecologic crisis” saw biocentric ideology as the only ethical choice. Regardless, may the investigation of those men to whom Leopold owes his most direct intellectual debt carry on; and may Schweitzer and Bailey’s contributions be salvaged from the fray of environmental history so that the most informed version of environmental ethics can take shape.

-Minnie Lauzon

Glossary of terms

Anthropocentrism: an approach to environmental ethics and education which tends to support a “humans-first” perspective; this term is often found alongside terms such as humanistic, utilitarian, and egocentric because of its association with placing man as superior to the natural world (Nash, 1989, p. 10).

Biocentrism: an approach to environmental ethics and education which tends to support a “nature-first” perspective; can be used in tandem with the term *nonanthropocentrism* which also infers a non-human focused perspective on the environment (Minteer, 2008).

Bioregionalism: a subset of environmentalist thought which concerns itself with the disconnection between society and nature; “bioregionalists aim to create decentralized, self-sufficient, self-ruling, sustainable communities” (Davidson, 2007, p. 319).

Biotic: relating to living things (Callicott, 1979).

Conservation: the practice of protecting natural resources through careful planning in an effort to avoid wrongful depletion; the general emphasis is to prevent human activity from causing irreparable harm to natural areas (Nash, 1989, pp. 8-9).

Deep ecology: Ecologists who view man in relation to the environment instead of as something inherently separate from it; deep ecologists tend to conceptualize nature “holistically rather than atomistically, as a self-regulating, interdependent whole rather than a collection of disparate elements” (Davidson, 2007, p. 314).

Ecology: a branch of biology which studies the relationship of organisms to themselves as well as their physical surroundings; the science of communities (Leopold, Flader, & Callicott, 1992).

Ethics: a set of ideas or beliefs which designate proper, responsible, or morally-sound action or thought. Ethics generally act as a guideline for making important decisions that affect a greater population (Nash, 1989, p. 5).

Monism: an approach to environmental thought which denies that a duality can exist and instead assumes there exists a single overarching truth or reality. For example, one cannot believe in evolution and divine creation (Norton, 1991, p. 208).

Pluralism: an approach to environmentalist thought which allows for holding more than one ethical system as valid. For example, a pluralist finds value in both land preservation and conservation (Minteer, 2008, p. 351).

Polarization: in relation to environmentalist thought, polarization refers to an either-or approach which influences individuals to adhere to strict ethical code without seeing value in the opposing perspective. For example, biocentrists disregard value in anthropocentric thought and *vice versa* (Minteer, 2008).

Preservation: the practice of restricting use of a natural area so it can thrive and exist for its own sake; designating lands as off-limits to human use in order to maintain ecological stability and preserve social and civic value. Wilderness areas are representative to American identity (Norton, 1991, p. 9).

Radical-center environmentalism: a term proposed by Curt Meine which reflects the ability of people to come together for the greater good of the land and the community regardless of their political and economic affiliations; this term is similar to *third-way environmentalism* because it transcends polarization of environmentalist thought and focuses on the well-being of the environment as a whole (including humans) (Meine, 2004, p. 61).

Third-way environmentalism: a term used when referring to the environmentalist approach which considers and respects both biocentric and anthropocentric concerns; it rejects the polarization of environmentalist thought and instead calls for an integrated understanding (Minteer, 2008, p. 357).

Chapter I

“DIRECT INTELLECTUAL DEBT” – DRAWING PARALLELS BETWEEN ALBERT SCHWEITZER AND ALDO LEOPOLD

As the 50th anniversary of the Wilderness Act being signed into legislation has passed, Roderick Nash’s position as the most recognized and respected environmental historian of the current age remains practically unshaken. First published in 1967, *Wilderness and the American Mind* served as Nash’s elegy to the burgeoning environmental movement of the 20th century. It provided readers with a less fantasized image of wilderness and ultimately shaped the direction of environmental history for the last 50 years. (Lewis, 2007; Miller, 2014).

The Wilderness Act (1964) began as a process of reviewing roadless areas under the jurisdiction of the United States Forest Service, National Park Service, and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Initially, the act preserved 9.1 million acres of wilderness—making it untouchable to those seeking economic gain while also creating an “enduring resource of wilderness” (Scott, 2004, p. ii). Since then, the amount of protected wilderness has skyrocketed to over 109 million acres and now includes some lands managed by a fourth agency, the Bureau of Land Management. Theodore Roosevelt recognized the need to protect natural resources as civilization continued to grow decades before the Act was passed: “...with what we call civilization and the extension of knowledge, more

resources come into use, industries are multiplied, and foresight begins to become a necessary and prominent factor in life” (Roosevelt, 1908, umd.edu). The logical next step, then, required active legislation to uphold the missions set forth by the Wilderness Act.

Aldo Leopold is widely regarded not only as one of the greatest forerunners of the environmental movement of the 20th century, but also as a prophet “in the evolution of a new relationship between man and land” (Callicott, 1987, p. 40). Among those influenced by his writings was Howard Zahniser—the primary drafter of the Wilderness Act. Because Leopold is seen as a trailblazer, those who influenced Leopold are often lost in the shadows of his veneration. Among those overshadowed were Albert Schweitzer and Liberty Hyde Bailey, to whom Nash (2014)¹ claims Leopold owes his “most direct intellectual debt” (p. 194). Despite this assertion, far too little attention has been paid to the ways in which Schweitzer may have contributed to the shaping of Leopold’s philosophy on land and environment.

In Callicott’s *A Companion to a Sand County Almanac* (1987), Nash again suggests the influence Schweitzer had on Leopold in a more punitive way by revealing how Leopold “nearly plagiarized” Charles Darwin among others, but once more Nash neglects to go into detail (Nash, 1987, p. 80). Callicott (1987) highlights Nash’s problem with scholars being “less aware of the historical antecedents of the land ethic than we ought to be” earlier in the same volume (p. 7), but then only chastises him for not

¹ Because references are being made to Nash’s 2014 (fifth) edition of *Wilderness and the American Mind*, the reader should note that the first 12 chapters and pagination are identical to the original, 1967 edition.

drawing cleaner lines between sentiency and Kantian-based ethics. For example, did Nash see Schweitzer and Bailey as individuals who explained moral imperatives in a new light, or was it their ideas on protecting *all* life that made them such important precursors to Leopold? Nash also criticizes Leopold for handling historical facts so loosely. This insight may be of value, however, considering how the historical record reveals that the writings of great minds, including Schweitzer, were readily available and at Leopold's disposal throughout his own career. With Nash aware of these facts as early as 1967, how has this gap in environmentalist history been left unfilled?

The aim of this investigation is not to confirm accusations of Leopold's "near-plagiarism," but rather to highlight the concepts in which Schweitzer and Leopold incontrovertibly overlap, thereby beginning to fill the gap left by Roderick Nash five decades ago. Despite the common belief that Schweitzer and Leopold are strictly biocentric, there was, in fact, some homogeneity in their ideas surrounding biocentrism and anthropocentrism. Specifically, Schweitzer and Leopold held both types of ideas simultaneously and did not feel the need to see one view as superior to the other. Even a brief review of the literature reveals the stark similarities in their ideas, word choices, and language. Considering how much of Schweitzer's work preceded that of Leopold, some readers will be left with the feeling that Leopold drew directly from Schweitzer's work in the formulation of his Land Ethic. This investigation is by no means comprehensive but intends to evoke deeper conversation on how Schweitzer and Leopold's ideas tie together. This analysis also raises but does not address the question of why Nash, as well

as decades of environmentalists who came after him, neglected to explain what may be a great intellectual debt.

Aldo Leopold's path (1887–1948) to becoming one of the greatest voices of ecology and environmental ethics manifested through the diverse set of educational and outdoor experiences he had across his lifetime. Born and raised in Burlington, Iowa, Leopold spent most of his time outdoors. He was especially close with his mother who nurtured Leopold's love of the outdoors. He took a special interest in ornithology, and during his early years, Leopold began to chronicle his observations outdoors—something he is well-known for today. Leopold graduated from the Yale Forest School in 1909 and immediately accepted a position with the United States Forest Service. Within four years he attained the position as head of game management (Nash, 2014).

Leopold stated that the United States needed a “definite national policy... advocating a system of wilderness areas involving both the national forests and the national parks” (Scott, 2001, p. 8). Unprotected lands meant political and economic engines would gain momentum and devastate all wild lands in their path. Prior to this assertion, Leopold was a conservationist in the most Pinchotian sense—he advocated for the wise use of the land and was affiliated first-hand with the extirpation of wolves in the southwest during his stint as the head of game management at Gila National Forest where he was stationed.

The philosophy put forth by Leopold in *A Sand County Almanac* was quite possibly a hybridization of not only his own life experiences but also the philosophies and writings of other great minds that came before him. While many believe him to be

the groundbreaking, innovative thinker of 20th-century environmentalism, Leopold's prose was equally critical to his success as a pivotal environmental thinker. American biologist James McClintock (1994), among other prominent Leopold scholars, found Leopold's writing so eloquent and compelling that he is widely seen as "the environmental movement's Isaiah, Moses, and patron saint" (p. 25).

Leopold had an extraordinary ability to communicate the importance of land conservation with eloquence previously unknown to the movement, while also showing the possibility of ethical evolution—that it was possible to live in accordance with the land and to change the hearts and minds of Americans to live in such accordance. However, this still prompts the question— why have almost five decades lapsed without a proper investigation of Nash's claim regarding those to whom Aldo Leopold may owe a similar intellectual debt?

Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) tends to be less known among environmental scholars for two reasons—first, because he is so well-known for his work as a musician and medical doctor, and second, because his philosophical writings are often seen as radical or idealistic (Barsam & Linzey, 2000). Born in Gunsbach, Alsace-Lorraine (modern day Haut-Rhin, France), Schweitzer held advanced degrees in musicology, religion, philosophy, and medicine. As mentioned, he is well-known for opening a hospital in French Equatorial Africa (present-day Gabon). His second claim to fame is his groundbreaking idea of *Reverence for Life*. He first delivered his Reverence-for-Life philosophy, which eventually came to coincide with Schweitzer's image of the Christian message, in 1919 to his flock at St. Nicolai's church in Strasbourg (Ives & Valone, 2007,

p. 152). A more comprehensive study of Schweitzer's influences on environmentalism has the potential to establish him as a forerunning environmentalist of equal importance to Leopold (Ives & Valone, 2007, p.40). A more summative account of Schweitzer's environmental positioning follows in Chapter II.

Schweitzer is well-known for a large number of seemingly disparate accomplishments. As a theologian, Schweitzer is known for his book *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1906), which was translated into English by William Montgomery and published in 1910. In this book, Schweitzer reviewed historical writings on Jesus which dated back to the late 18th century and argued that Jesus' image continued to change over the decades to fit the personal agendas of the people who wrote them. Schweitzer was also a world-class organist and wrote *The Quest for the Historical Jesus* in tandem with *J.S. Bach: Le Musicien-Poète* (1905) for which he received his doctorate in musicology.

At the age of thirty, after establishing himself as a notable theologian, organist, and philosopher, Schweitzer decided to devote his life to humanity by studying medicine and establishing the hospital in Lambaréné, Gabon in 1913 (Cicovacki, 2012, p. ix). He spent the remainder of his life there and developed his keynote personal philosophy of *Ehrfurcht vor dem Leben*, or mentioned previously as "Reverence for Life." He was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 1953 for this philosophy (Barsam & Linzey, 2000).

Among the more obvious parallels that can be drawn between Schweitzer and Leopold were their interests in religion and spirituality. Schweitzer was more heavily focused on religion as a philosophical pursuit and career track than Leopold. He took his religious study upward into the world of academia, writing extensively on the life of

Jesus, and preaching at a Lutheran church in Strasbourg at the age of twenty-four (nobelprize.org). Religious scholar David Goodin lists Schweitzer as “one of the most imposing biographical figures of the twentieth century” (2007, p. 406). What Goodin means is that Schweitzer’s influence was far-reaching across many disciplines and affected many writers and academics most people do know. For instance, Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962) was dedicated to Albert Schweitzer.

While Leopold never officially committed himself to organized religion, he did attend Bible study during his years at Yale (Leopold, Flader, & Callicott, 1992, p. 71). His wife, Estella, was a Catholic, and the pair rarely separated once they relocated their family to the sand counties of Wisconsin. Estella played an integral role in reviving the land surrounding their shack and also in revising her husband’s writings. While raising their children, religion did not play a major role in the household. In the same way, when Leopold quoted and interpreted the messages of Biblical prophets, it was done lightly and in a way meant to guide—not to bind or restrict (Leopold, Flader, & Callicott, 1992).

Despite their religious influences, Schweitzer and Leopold managed to maintain secularized views of the natural world, especially in comparison to scholars of their time period. Within Schweitzer’s work was an ethical mysticism, which Bryan Norton explains as such in *Toward Unity Among Environmentalists* (1991): “The human species achieves self-perfection and complete vitality only in service to Being... This need for deeper and ultimate meaning is at the heart of Schweitzer’s concept” (p. 412). In other words, the need to make a contribution and aid the rest of humanity is an inherent human desire, and it is only through acts of service that humans become “complete.” Although

Schweitzer often alluded to Reverence for Life as resting at the heart of the Christian message, religion need not be added to the equation to believe in Reverence for Life. The same holds true with the Land Ethic. Leopold could easily be characterized as a religious man—or at the very least—a nature-loving romanticist. Such claims may be valid, but religion was never communicated by Leopold to be a prerequisite for expanding the boundaries of ethics beyond humans to the rest of life on the planet. Part of Leopold’s decision to choose a secular message may have resulted from his belief that “philosophy and religion [had] not yet heard of it” (Leopold, 1949, p. 246). It could be said that Schweitzer and Leopold saw necessity in the inclusion of philosophy and religion for any real land ethic to take shape.

The word *ethics* is used so frequently in the writings of both Schweitzer and Leopold that it is imperative a proper analysis is conducted of what they meant when using the term. Another advantage of such an analysis is the revelation of how much the two scholars overlapped in their characterizations of ethics. Schweitzer offers the following explanation of what *ethics* means beginning with human relationships:

“What do we mean when we speak of *ethics*, in a word borrowed from the Greek, and *morality*, in a word from Latin? We mean right human conduct. The assumption is that we should be concerned not only with our own welfare but also with that of others, and with that of the human society as a whole” (p. 9).

Essentially, Schweitzer was giving readers a more complex version of the Golden Rule—to treat others with same deference expected in return. Respecting and acting on behalf of all human welfare was the basic tenet of Schweitzer’s definition of ethics: “It is good to

maintain and further life — it is bad to damage and destroy life. And this ethic, profound and universal, has the significance of a religion. It *is* religion” (Schweitzer, 1947, p. 366). In his opinion, reverence for all life could begin to take form atop this foundation.

What exactly did Schweitzer mean by “Reverence for Life?” *Ehrfurcht vor dem Leben*, otherwise known as Reverence for Life, dawned on Schweitzer while boating down Africa’s Ogowe River in September of 1915. After three scorching hot days floating downstream and scribbling down ideas, Schweitzer described the moment the phrase came to him, both unexpected and unsought after: “The iron door had yielded. The path in the thicket had become visible. Now I had found my way to the principle in which affirmation of the world and ethics all joined together!” (Schweitzer, 1933, p. 185) In short, Reverence for Life demanded respect for all life and, when possible, helping it to thrive. When a choice needed to be made between two lives, those decisions should always facilitate the greater good and only be made when such decisions were absolutely necessary.

Schweitzer’s philosophy was put into more succinct terms in his *Philosophy of Civilization* (1923). He believed all people were capable of adhering to this philosophy with proper knowledge and focus, and he strove to lead by example. The only difference he saw between humans and other living things was that humans were conscious of the reciprocity present between all living things, which endowed them with the responsibility to live accordingly.

Leopold's definition of ethics does not stray far from the definition provided by Schweitzer. His *Sand County Almanac* addresses the meaning of the word directly: "An ethic, ecologically, is a limitation on freedom of action in the struggle for existence. An ethic, philosophically, is a differentiation of social from anti-social conduct" (p. 238). To be ethical, in Leopold's eyes, individuals had to place limitations on their interactions with the world—ecologically, by refraining from activities that cause too much harm to the land, and philosophically, by going forward in life with respect for others. The definitions of ethics given by Schweitzer and Leopold are clearly comparable—especially the recognition for cognizance of one's own behavior insofar as it affects other people. Despite this humanistic focus, as explained above, Schweitzer and Leopold intended for their conceptualization of ethics to extend beyond humans to also include the biotic community and animal life at large.

Schweitzer and Leopold also saw the importance of broader inclusion when exercising proper ethics. Moreover, the similarities in language in describing their ideas on the extension of ethics are numerous. The frequency of similarities in language are abundant between their writings and, in fact, some of Leopold's most oft-quoted passages line up extraordinarily closely with the philosophical writings of Albert Schweitzer. These parallels will be uncovered more in Chapter II.

The Land Ethic served as an appeal for individuals to expand the boundaries of ethics beyond humans to include plants and animals as well. However, few people are aware of when and how this same idea was stated prior to the publication of *A Sand County Almanac*. Attention must be paid to the philosophical underpinnings of

Schweitzer's ethical ideals. He argued that the following was required to successfully define the mystery of ethics:

“... [it] must widen the circle from the narrowest limits of the family first to include the clan, then the tribe, then the nation and finally all mankind. But even when it has established the relationship between man and every other man it cannot stop... it is compelled to declare the unity of mankind with all created beings” (Schweitzer, 1936, p. 261).

To any seasoned Leopold scholar, Schweitzer's beliefs on ethical expansion sound familiar. As stated previously, Leopold saw ethical behavior to include a differentiation between social and anti-social conduct. While this phrase elicits a more humanistic tone, it was meant to be inclusive of all life regardless of what type of life it was. In the foreword of his *Almanac*, Leopold stated that “land is a community is the basic concept of ecology, but that land is to be loved and respected is an extension of ethics (Leopold, 1967, p. xix). He expounded on this thought in the later chapters by stating that “The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land” (p. 239). This passage from Leopold's *Almanac* advocates the expansion of ethically-expedient boundaries to non-human life as well and is seen as one of Leopold's most revolutionary contributions to environmentalism as it is known today. However, because Schweitzer's article was originally published more than a decade before Leopold's *Almanac*, it is possible that in addition to having read and been influenced by writers such as Thoreau, Muir, Ouspensky, Evans, and Moore (Callicott, 1987, p. 79), Leopold also read Schweitzer's works. And, considering the likelihood of

Leopold having read their works, his own statements start to seem a bit less revolutionary.

When Aldo Leopold bought his abandoned farm among the sand counties of Wisconsin in the winter of 1935, he was faced with not only reviving a rundown farmhouse and chicken coop, but also a tract of land devastated by overfarming. Meine (1987) states that Leopold did not work alone in reviving the land around their shack:

“The shack was a family enterprise to which each member contributed: cutting and splitting wood, building bird houses for martins, screech owls, and wood ducks, planting prairie grasses and wildflowers, shrubs and trees. From April to October scarcely a day went by that someone did not plant or transplant something” (p. 53).

Leopold was not the first of the environmentalist forerunners to teach by example. David Goodin (2001) stated Schweitzer intentionally lived in a way that would be the “definitive final word on his philosophy” (2001, p. 409). For instance, Schweitzer converted to vegetarianism when he became elderly, stating that destroying another life was no longer justifiable as it was only fulfilling his appetite. He was also known for entertaining and feeding a colony of ants that invaded his office in Gabon (Meyer & Bergel, 2002, p. 22).

Similarities in language can also be seen in how Schweitzer and Leopold explained what it means to be truly ethical. First presented in an article titled “An Ecological Conscience” (1947) and then again two years later in “The Upshot” section of

A Sand County Almanac, Leopold takes defense of the community and ergo all life within that community by illustrating how individuals ought to treat it: “A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise” (p. 262). That is, humans should act in a way that is in conjunction with land health. This is among Leopold’s most quoted sections of the *Almanac*, and again, is rather evocative of Schweitzer’s writings. In *Teaching of the Reverence of Life* (1965), Schweitzer stated:

The essence of Goodness is: Preserve life, promote life, help life to achieve its highest destiny. The essence of Evil is: Destroy life, harm life, hamper the development of life... All the goodness one displays toward a living organism is, at bottom, helping it to preserve and further its existence (p. 26).

This idea shows up again in *The Philosophy of Civilization* (1949): “A man is truly ethical when he obeys the compulsion to help all life which he is able to assist, and shrinks from injuring anything that lives” (p. 310). Schweitzer and Leopold, in slightly different wording, communicate what it means to act ethically.

In the pursuance of a morally sound approach to ethics, the best interests of nature and politics do not always coincide. In fact, the dissonance between the two has been a consistent trend since the first Europeans dropped anchor in America. Especially within a capitalist society where “the bottom dollar” generally takes priority, it is not surprising that land health would suffer. Without having nature-minded citizens speaking in its defense, it remains a seemingly lifeless commodity for humans to use as they wish. Schweitzer highlighted this problem in *Out of My Life and Thought*: “The tragic fact is

that the interests of colonization and those of civilization do not always run parallel, but are often in direct opposition to each other” (p. 223)

Schweitzer went a step further in describing the problem with politically-driven thought. In *Out of My Life and Thought*, he described how organized bodies geared their writing toward doing the thinking *for* the people: “The organized political, social, and religious associations of our time are at work to induce the individual man not to arrive at his own convictions by his own thinking but to make his own such convictions as they keep ready made for him” (p. 220). Unless an individual’s opinions manifested themselves in a way congruent with political, social, and religious ends, Schweitzer believed the organized bodies took issue. It is, therefore, clear that he had no desire to stand in compliance with organizational end goals.

Leopold also saw the problem of land being seen as a commodity instead of a biotic community, and his writings also evoke a strong sense of distrust toward politics and the driving force of economics in everyday life. In *Correction Lines: Essays on Land, Leopold, and Conservation* (2004), Leopold’s contemporaries are described as seeing him as a “hard-headed critic,” albeit a fair and productive one (Meine, p. 165). He became more direct in his opinions regarding government toward the end of his life with his mounting distaste being especially evident in the “Ecological Conscience” section of the *Almanac*: “...Obey the law, vote right, join some organizations, and practice what conservation is profitable on your own land; the government will do the rest” (pp. 243-4). The fact that both Schweitzer and Leopold recognized significant problems with the all-controlling nature of government and politics, ipso facto, their wariness toward all-

powerful governing bodies is clear. Without such individuals willing to put up the fight for nature's right to exist, industrialization would continue to trample it underfoot. While Schweitzer and Leopold were not the only environmental thinkers to hold such an opinion, it is still worth noting that their ideas also ran parallel in this respect.

A final similarity worth noting between Schweitzer and Leopold regarding the biotic community can be seen in their take on the importance of all lifeforms. Anthropocentric interests have often overshadowed biocentric concerns—especially in the days since the Industrial Revolution. This human-centered focus has on more than one occasion led to disastrous consequences for animal and plant life. Such an error in judgment did not go unseen by Schweitzer in *The Teaching of Reverence for Life* (1965): “The ethics of reverence for life makes no distinction between higher or lower, more precious or less precious lives... How can we know what importance other living organisms have in themselves and in terms of the universe?” (p. 47). Schweitzer's opinion fell in line with Christian doctrine, which stated that humans have no place in deciding which forms of life are important. Instead, they have a critical place in helping all life to flourish.

Again, any Leopold scholar will see parallels between his writings and those of Albert Schweitzer. Respecting the biotic community, regardless of whatever anthropocentric value it may have, was among Leopold's basic principles of the Land Ethic. In another of his most quoted sections of the *Almanac*, “Thinking Like a Mountain,” Leopold gave his quite introspective opinion on the value of all living things: “Only the mountain has lived long enough to listen objectively to the howl of a wolf” (p.

137). Most people recognize this passage because it marked a turning point in Leopold's career as he watched the "fierce green fire" die in the eyes of a she-wolf he shot. While Leopold's assertion is often taken as setting a precedent, he was essentially expressing the same idea as Schweitzer—that humans cannot possibly know the value of every living thing, and it is morally wrong to make decisions on which forms of life are superior or inferior.

Within the idea of respecting the biotic community is the recognition of flaws in the anthropocentrically-driven view of the land. Schweitzer and Leopold, at the core of their philosophies, conveyed a deeper message regarding humans' place in the greater context of the planet. When humans assume they are qualified to make decisions regarding more or less important lifeforms, their anthropocentrically-driven mindset assumes their position as superior to all other life. Both scholars disagreed with this opinion of human superiority and expressed such in quite similar ways.

In *The Ethics of Reverence for Life*, Schweitzer (1936) stated: "When we consider the immensity of the universe, we must confess that man is insignificant... And certainly man's life can hardly be considered the goal of the universe" (p. 226). Schweitzer was expressly opposed to a human-centered view of the world, and this excerpt is enough to make scholars like Ben Minteer (2008) and Cicovacki (2012) wonder why he is not more widely recognized as one of the most important trailblazers of the environmentalist movement. Similarly, Leopold (1967) articulated his disagreement with the anthropocentric view of the planet. In the section titled "On a Monument to the Pigeon" in his *Almanac*, he states that "Above all we should, in the century since Darwin, have

come to know that man, while now captain of the adventuring ship, is hardly the sole object of its quest” (p. 117). Again, knowing that Schweitzer’s writings were available to Leopold at the time he compiled *A Sand County Almanac*, it is fair to wonder if he was at least aware of Schweitzer’s ideas if not directly influenced by them.

Understanding the parallels between Schweitzer and Leopold does far more than reveal how their ideas overlapped or how one may have influenced the other. It reveals a much larger issue within the environmental philosophical landscape—namely, the polarization of environmentalists into *biocentric* and *anthropocentric* categories. This either-or approach to understanding, utilizing, and protecting the land divides those people who care about the land and generally have the same objectives into entirely different cohorts.

Especially within modern-day environmentalism, there is a tendency for individuals to feel pressured into waving the biocentric “white flag” out of fear that having even the slightest sway toward anthropocentric attitudes might cast a dark shadow over themselves. Ben Minteer, one of the leading scholars in understanding the polarization of environmental ethics, stated that “Nonanthropocentrism is frequently viewed as *the* identifying mark of environmental ethics” (2008, p. 343). However, a basic understanding of the underpinnings of Schweitzer and Leopold’s *ethics* shows that neither of them agreed with the great divide that continues to grow among modern-day environmentalists. A more thorough investigation of their environmentalist leanings and “third-way” environmentalism follows in Chapter III.

In essence, Aldo Leopold was able to give language to an environmental philosophy that was in the making decades before *A Sand County Almanac* was published. The comparison provided here should cast light on the undeniable parallels between the writings of Albert Schweitzer and Aldo Leopold, while also giving merit to Roderick Nash's supposition of the intellectual debt owed to the great German philosopher. Leopold was also likely familiar with the writings of Thoreau, Muir, George Perkins Marsh, and Liberty Hyde Bailey, which makes the desire for endnotes within Leopold's writing even stronger. Credit should not be taken from Leopold for his success in articulating the Land Ethic to a wide audience, but those interested in the roots of environmentalist thought should press forward knowing the roots run deeper than the eminent and oft-quoted beacon of the sand counties. Simply, Schweitzer may have helped build the moral and philosophical ethic upon which Leopold was able to form his ecological ethic. Moreover, Leopold was able to take the seemingly idealistic philosophies provided by Schweitzer and others and put them into more cogent and applicable terms.

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Chapter II

THE “HOLY TRINITY” OF ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS: PARALLELS IN THE IDEAS OF ALBERT SCHWEITZER, LIBERTY HYDE BAILEY, AND ALDO LEOPOLD

Among ecologists and environmentalists alike, the name Aldo Leopold is synonymous with sainthood, ingenuity, and innovation—being saintly in his approach to land health, ingenious in his ecological and philosophical writings, and innovative in how so many of his ideas transcended time. Leopold’s educational training in tandem with his personal experiences resulted in the manifestation of his famous Land Ethic, which is often considered the single-most important appeal for the ethical treatment of earth to have ever been written. However, as third-way environmentalist thinker Ben Minteer reveals in *The Landscape of Reform* (2006), Aldo Leopold was, in fact, a second-generation environmentalist. It is, therefore, important to investigate ideas and philosophies of those thinkers who preceded Leopold.

In particular, the ideas of Albert Schweitzer and Liberty Hyde Bailey are deserving of special scrutiny. As Nash (1967) stated in his acclaimed *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Leopold’s “most direct intellectual debt” (p. 194) was owed to Bailey and Schweitzer. In the simplest terms, Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold can be conceptualized in one basic progression—Schweitzer provided the ethical and moral foundation from which decisions could be formulated in all realms—social, economic,

educational, and so on. Said another way, Schweitzer built the windows through which individuals looked out into the world. With that ethical and moral foundation, Bailey peered through those windows and painted a picture of what individual change could and should look like. By putting every individual back in touch with nature via their own personal relationship with the land (i.e.—gardens and farms), Bailey developed a “moral agricultural landscape” through which, assuming the voluntary participation of every person, people could personify their nature-conscious life philosophies (Kates, 2011, p. 214). It is at this point that Leopold entered the scene and amassed the unifying concept of a Land Ethic—by combining the living and non-living, urban and rural, and seeing how proper care for the land could be both economically *and* spiritually profitable. Aldo Leopold could be personified as the brain-child of the earliest nature-minded individuals to walk the American frontier. Thus, it is both necessary and expedient to hold the magnifying glass to two men to whom Leopold, as Nash so astutely observed, owes such substantial debt.

Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) is most commonly recognized for his contributions in the fields of music and medicine while his contributions within the philosophical and environmental realm tend to be overlooked. His seemingly radical ideologies have time and again been brushed aside as being entirely far-fetched and unrealistic. For example, in *Albert Schweitzer’s Reverence for Life: Ethical Idealism and Self-Realization* (2007), Mike Martin refers to Schweitzer as an “ethical idealist who systematically nudges moral values in a spiritual direction rooted in the sacredness of life... he is confident that moral ideas are ‘powers above all powers’” (p. 99). Because

Schweitzer's ideas were so grandiose and unadulterated, they often seemed impractical for those seeking to put their moral philosophy into action.

Born in Gunsbach, Alsace-Lorraine, Schweitzer wore many hats in the academic world. He attained degrees in musicology, theology, philosophy, and medicine and is often recognized for the hospital he established in French Equatorial Africa (present-day Gabon). Perhaps his second most widely-recognized achievement was his radical philosophy of "Reverence for Life." He served as a Lutheran pastor and first delivered this philosophy to his congregation at St. Nicolai's church in Strasbourg. A more comprehensive understanding of Schweitzer's philosophical writings has the potential to establish him as having equal importance to Leopold in the moral-environmental realm.

The Quest of the Historical Jesus (1906) is another of Schweitzer's most well-known works. Translated into English by William Montgomery and published in 1910, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* reviewed historical writings regarding Jesus Christ, which dated back to the late 18th century. Schweitzer argued that Jesus's image continued to change over the decades to fit the personal agendas of those people who wrote them. Schweitzer was also a world-class organist and wrote *The Quest* in tandem with *J.S. Bach: Le Musicien-Poète* (1905) for which he received his doctorate in musicology.

If these accomplishments are not impressive enough on their own, Schweitzer was an established theologian, philosopher, and musician before the age of thirty. It was in his thirtieth year that he decided to devote his life to humanity by studying medicine and establishing the hospital in Lambaréné, where spent the next six decades. He also

developed his cornerstone philosophy of *Ehrfurcht vor dem Leben*, previously cited as “Reverence for Life.” He was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 1953 for this philosophy (Barsam & Linzey, 2000).

Liberty Hyde Bailey (1858-1954) was born in South Haven, Michigan to Liberty Hyde Bailey Sr. and Sarah Harrison Bailey. He was raised in a farming family and lost both his mother and oldest brother to illness before his fifth birthday. The United States was on the cusp of no longer having a frontier during Bailey’s early years, as it was deemed to have ended around 1893 as hypothesized by Frederick Jackson Turner (Bailey & Jack, 2008, p. 8). Much like Schweitzer and Leopold, Bailey approached his study of horticulture with a more poetic and philosophical slant, understanding how the land could be both protected and utilized without a need for pledging strict allegiance to either cause. He entered Michigan Agricultural College (MAC) in 1877 and was quickly recognized as one of the most gifted students at the college.

Similar to Leopold, Bailey also had a passion for ornithology, which dated back to his childhood on the family farm. His prolific writing career began at MAC where he worked for the college newspaper. Bailey used journalism as a means of survival when during his junior year, he had to take time away from school and live with his brother in Springfield, Illinois due to a serious inner-ear condition. He returned to school a year later and again returned to Springfield to continue in journalism. This stint was short-lived, however, when esteemed botanist Asa Gray asked Bailey to work for him as a lab assistant at Harvard University. He met his wife Annette and the couple was married in 1883, just days before leaving for the lab position at Harvard (Bailey et al., 2008, p. 10).

After his time there he accepted the position as head of the horticultural at his alma mater.

Bailey eventually came to accept an offer to establish an entirely new horticulture program at Cornell University. It was at Cornell that Bailey's writing burgeoned—Macmillan alone published eleven of his books on topics such as plant genetics, gardening, and evolution (Bailey et al., 2008, p. 13). In total, Bailey wrote over sixty books and edited twice that number, not to mention the countless articles and shorter writings he contributed to his field. Bailey also accepted the chairmanship of Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission in 1908 after years of rejecting the offer based on his trepidation over becoming politically affiliated. The Commission worked to understand the social, economic, and educational implications for successful living in rural and agrarian areas (Kates, 2001, p. 212).

Bailey spent twenty-five years developing a horticulture program that continues to be one of the most highly esteemed worldwide. His contributions did not end upon retirement, however. In fact, *The Holy Earth* (1915) proved to be one of Bailey's most seminal works. Written during a summer abroad in New Zealand, the tome articulated how decisions on natural resource use should be rooted in religious and ethical values: "We come out of the earth and we have a right to use of the materials; and there is no danger of crass materialism if we recognize the original materials as divine and if we understand our proper relation to the creation, for then will gross selfishness in the use of them be removed" (Bailey, 1915, p. 3).

Bailey and his family stayed in Ithaca after his retirement, with nature observation, writing, and travel to keep him occupied. He kept to himself much of the time after leaving Cornell but his love for academia never ceased. Bailey was the recipient of numerous honorary doctorates and academic honors before passing away in 1954 at the age of 96. He is still highly celebrated at Michigan State, Cornell, and horticulture and agricultural programs across the nation. Bailey was one of the key people involved in the nature-study movement, which aimed to foster a love for nature among Americans. *The Nature Study Idea* was first published in 1903 and saw numerous editions of the publication. This book described what nature-study entailed, while also providing a detailed description of materials and approaches necessary for a nature-study teacher to be successful.

Aldo Leopold (1887–1948) is widely regarded as one of the greatest forerunners of the ecological and environmentalist movements as well as a prophet “in the evolution of a new relationship between man and land” (Callicott, 1987, p. 40). However, his path to such reverence was not so linear. It was instead the manifestation of his diverse educational and outdoor experiences throughout his lifetime. A short summary is provided here considering his high acclaim and the numerous other texts and articles recounting his life and accomplishments (Meine, 1988; Leopold, Flader & Callicott, 1992; Lorbiecki, 2016).

Leopold was born in Burlington, Iowa to Carl and Clara Leopold, and his love for the outdoors began at a young age with particular encouragement from his mother. He took a strong interest in birds, and it was during his early years that he began chronicling

his outdoor observations—something he is well-known for today. Upon graduation from the Yale Forestry School in 1909, Leopold accepted a position with the United States Forest Service and in a mere four years, attained his position as head of game management (Nash, 2014).

It could be argued that *A Sand County Almanac* was the ultimate hybridization of Leopold's life experiences, as well as the philosophies and writings of other great minds which preceded him. While a majority of environmental scholars see Leopold's land ethic as *the* pioneering work of 20th-century environmentalism, his ideas broke ground more in the way they were written than in their originality.

Many prominent Leopold scholars, including American biologist James McClintock, have found Leopold's writing to be so compelling that he is widely seen as “the environmental movement's Isaiah, Moses, and patron saint” (McClintock, 1994, p. 25). Leopold's astounding talent for communicating the importance of land conservation through writing was something relatively unknown to the movement. He was able to show the existing potential for ethical evolution—that living in accordance with the land and changing the hearts and minds of Americans to live in such accordance was possible.

As mentioned previously, Nash's claim that Leopold drew heavily from the ideas of Schweitzer and Bailey has not received the thorough investigation it deserves. Two decades after the initial 1967 publication of *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Nash again mentioned the influence Schweitzer and Bailey exacted on Leopold in J.B. Callicott's *A Companion to a Sand County Almanac* (1987), but in harsher terms. He

indicts Leopold for nearly plagiarizing the likes of Darwin and Ouspensky but neglected to provide further evidence of this claim (p. 77). Nonetheless, Nash rebuked Leopold for handling historical facts so loosely as to not cite his sources more consistently. A simple check of the dates of publication shows that the writings of Bailey and Schweitzer were readily available and at Leopold's disposal throughout his own career (see timeline in the introduction). Especially considering Nash's awareness of this fact, how has the investigation of Schweitzer and Bailey's influence on Leopold gone unfinished over the past five decades?

Perhaps the chief similarity among Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold was the immense gift they shared for writing. While all three possessed a background in science, each had the ability to transform dry, scientific jargon into poetry. In fact, Bailey published a book of poems in 1916 titled *Wind and Weather*. This tome reflected on the earth as a divine creation and aimed to inspire individuals to live with humility and in accord with nature. While Bailey did not prove to be a great poet, his writing had a "lucid quality and graphic imagery" that readers looked upon with great warmth (Dorf, 1956, p.193). For instance, a poem from *Wind and Weather* titled "Miracle" shows the raw nature of his work and his ability to personify the natural world:

Yesterday the twig was brown and bare;
To-day the glint of green is there
To-morrow will be leaflets spare;
I know no thing so wondrous fair
No miracle so strangely rare.

I wonder what will next be there!
(Bailey, 1919, p. 59).

As a Lutheran pastor, Schweitzer was required to deliver eloquent and meaningful sermons to churchgoers on a weekly basis. In a sermon delivered at St. Nicolai's Church in 1904, Schweitzer spoke of gratitude and the multifarious ways that God reveals it to those willing to see:

“It may be gratitude when the birds sing and the trees are in bud and a joyful noise sounds over the earth. It may be gratitude when the ripe ears of corn swish against each other and the vines swing heavy with purple fruit under the blue September sky” (Schweitzer & Fuller, 1966, p. 38).

Similarly to Bailey, Schweitzer's gift for writing was lifelong but improved even more in the later decades of his life. They each shifted to moral and philosophical pondering upon “retirement” from their primary careers—horticulture in the case of Bailey, and Schweitzer drifted back to deeply philosophical reflection during his time practicing medicine. Their shift never took a definitive turn into ecological ethics like that of Leopold, yet their writings can still be interpreted through the ecological lens.

Leopold's *A Sand County Almanac*, the capstone volume of his writing career, stands firm as one of the leading expressions of ecological philosophy. The numerous editions and continual publications of Leopold's *Almanac* stand as a testament in itself to his writing capabilities. By an intricate interweaving of facts and poetic prose, Leopold managed to express the moral necessity of taking care of the earth for both scientific and spiritual purposes. It takes the stage in environmental history as comparable to a Homeric epic poem and is generally considered the single most influential book among

environmentalists because of Leopold's ability to connect with readers on both an intellectual and emotional level.

In short, Leopold fostered the relationship between people and the land while also asking readers to heed the warning signs of environmental degradation, and did so with eloquence unknown to most conservation literature. However, the environmentalist movement was not devoid of talented writers before Leopold entered the scene. Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold each had an extraordinary talent for making ecology and conservation accessible by extricating the scientific nomenclature and personifying nature through the imagery derived from their words. They were each able to blend science with the humanities and began the hybridization of ecological and environmental ethics.

Because the word *ethics* is used so frequently by Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold, an understanding of how each man defined the word is a critical first step in understanding their given philosophies. Such an analysis also reveals how much the three scholars overlapped in their characterizations of ethics. In Schweitzer's *The Teaching of Reverence for Life*, he offered the following explanation of ethics insofar as it affects human relationships:

“What do we mean when we speak of *ethics*...? We mean right human conduct.

The assumption is that we should be concerned not only with our own welfare but also with that of others, and with that of the human society as a whole” (p. 9).

Seaver (1947) states that:

Schweitzer's explanation advocated for individuals to treat others in the way they would expect to be treated, and such is the precept of Schweitzer's definition of ethics: "It is good to maintain and further life — it is bad to damage and destroy life. And this ethic, profound and universal, has the significance of a religion. It *is* religion" (p. 366).

Therefore, Schweitzer's Reverence-for-Life philosophy was essentially a labeled and vocalized version of how he defined ethics. It aligned closely with the "Golden Rule" found in the Bible, and he believed all people were capable of adhering to this philosophy with proper education and commitment. There existed no hierarchy between living things—the only difference he noted between humans and other living things was the possession of consciousness in the former which held them responsible to live in ethical accordance with other life: "The most immediate fact of man's consciousness is the assertion: I am life which wills to live, in the midst of life which wills-to-live" (Schweitzer, 1948, p.186). It was not until 1923 in Schweitzer's *Philosophy of Civilization* that the Reverence for Life philosophy was put into more definitive terms.

As has been revealed in the preceding essay, attention should also be paid to the language Schweitzer used when describing ethics. In his book *Indian Thought and its Development* (1936), Schweitzer argued that the following was required to successfully define the mystery of ethics:

... [It] must widen the circle from the narrowest limits of the family first to include the clan, then the tribe, then the nation and finally all mankind. But even

when it has established the relationship between man and every other man it cannot stop... it is compelled to declare the unity of mankind with all created beings (p. 261).

This passage will sound particularly familiar to any person who has read Leopold's *Almanac*: "The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land" (p. 239).

Leopold's advocacy for the expanding ethical boundaries to all forms of life has typically been seen as one of his most revolutionary contributions to contemporary environmentalism. However, the passage above by Schweitzer (... It must widen the circle from the narrowest limits...) begins to give clarity to the origins of this idea of ethical expansion beyond the human community. Additionally, because Schweitzer was writing and publishing these ideas decades before Leopold's *Almanac*, it is certainly possible that Leopold had access to Schweitzer's writing prior to his own publications in the late 1930s and 1940s.

Liberty Hyde Bailey looked at land utilization as a moral rather than an economic issue—a perspective which Leopold echoes in his own philosophy. Recapitulating how Bailey has maintained little significance among environmentalists, Minter (2008) makes way for Bailey on the stage of environmental ethics by painting him as a philosopher who was able to combine "biocentric attitudes toward nature with more humanistic concerns about intergenerational fairness and civic responsibility" (p. 341). In combination with his religious background, which suggested the earth as God's creation, Bailey's approach to ethics focused on protecting life because it was the only morally sound option. *The*

Holy Earth has proven to be Bailey's most remembered and influential piece of writing and was the literary embodiment of his view on ethics, while also bearing a striking resemblance to Schweitzer's plea to assist all life: "The whole contrivance of nature is to protect the weak" (Bailey, 1915, p. 87).

John Linstrom, a leading Bailey scholar, curated an exhibit titled "*The Holy Earth* Centennial: Bailey's Vision at 100" in 2015. During the Bailey exhibition, Linstrom stated that "*The Holy Earth* made a bigger impact than most people realize... Aldo Leopold is one of the looming figures in the history of American environmental philosophy, and his most famous idea—the idea of a 'land ethic'—comes straight out of this slim 1915 book by our man Bailey" (Fiedorowicz, 2015, libertyhydebailey.org). For instance, Bailey speaks of the importance of coexisting with the earth within the first few pages of *The Holy Earth*:

"To live in right relation with his natural conditions is one of the first lessons that a wise farmer or any other wise man learns. We are at pains to stress the importance of conduct; very well: conduct toward the earth is an essential part of it" (p.7)

Leopold's definition of ethics is one of the most oft-quoted sections of *A Sand County Almanac* and shows similarity to the definition provided by Schweitzer (see preceding essay for more information). He defined ethics as such: "An ethic, ecologically, is a limitation on freedom of action in the struggle for existence. An ethic, philosophically, is a differentiation of social from anti-social conduct" (p. 238). To

Leopold, being ethical required individuals to place limitations on their interactions with the world. Callicott (1979) reminds readers that without social organization, or more simply, a group of people who need a consensus on right or wrong action, an ethic could not exist: “Ethics are peculiarly (though perhaps not uniquely) the human means of achieving social organization” (p. 73). So, the limitations on human existence must be deemed appropriate and manageable by the humans themselves in order for the ethic to be effective.

If the similarities between Bailey and Leopold are not yet clear, a passage from *The Holy Earth* draws an undeniable link between the two ethicists—the fact it comes from a section of the book titled *The Struggle for Existence: War* also stands as indisputable evidence. Bailey’s volume was published decades before Leopold formulated his definition of ethics (first in the early 1930’s and in its final form in the *Almanac*), it is safe to suggest the influence Bailey had on Leopold’s thought: “If one looks for a moral significance in the struggle for existence, one finds it in the fact that it is a process of adjustment rather than a contest in ambition” (Bailey, 1915, p. 78). However, it should be noted that Bailey and Leopold were equally influenced by the writings of Charles Darwin, who titled the third chapter of *The Origin of Species* (1859) as “struggle for existence.”

The definition of ethics by Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold are clearly comparable—especially in how they each recognized human consciousness as a precept for ethical behavior. Furthermore, the similarities in their ideas on the extension of ethics are incontestable. While Schweitzer’s writings were translated into English and his

writing style may have been affected in the process, the similarities in language are still too numerous to ignore. Please see Chapter I for further investigation of these similarities.

The ethical foundations constructed by Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold not only implied proper conduct toward the currently living but also all future life. Minter (2008) stated that Bailey's environmentalist thought emphasized the "human duty to practice a benign and environmentally responsible dominion over a valuable earth," endowing them with such dominion simply because of human consciousness (p. 353). The belief that humans have a civic duty to protect life, both past and present, are ideas that course through the writings of Schweitzer and Leopold as well.

There are clear parallels in philosophy regarding the moral obligation to proper conduct toward all living things between Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold. A simple comparison will also suggest the influence Schweitzer and Bailey appear to have had on Leopold. For the sake of ease, Table 1 on the following page provides excerpts from each man from which readers can draw their own conclusions regarding the similarities in ideas and phrasing (see Table 1).

These excerpts suggest a few things. First, each man saw the need for humans to live and work in harmony with other life as a member of a living community; second, each understood the interconnectedness of all life and how it would surely influence all future life; and third, each man recognized the inability to place humans atop the socially-

constructed biotic hierarchy because humans could not possibly know for sure which forms of life were more or less important than another.

In a pilot presentation of this information to a class of graduate students familiar with Leopold's work, some of the above quotes by Bailey and Leopold were presented by the author. The students were asked to select who authored which excerpt and there was unanimous uncertainty among the class—many were surprised at how similar writing styles were between Bailey and Leopold. However, very few of the students were familiar with Bailey's work and even fewer were aware of Schweitzer's existence. The writing samples above speak for themselves; the investigation of those individuals to whom Leopold owes his most direct intellectual debt is long overdue. Seeing environmentally ethical conduct as important to future generations did not begin with Leopold. In fact, it could easily be contended that its modern conceptualization has roots in Bailey and Schweitzer, perhaps among others.

Land aesthetics refers to how the land has value because of its beauty. While there is an entire section in Leopold's *Almanac* dedicated to this topic, it is often overshadowed by the Land Ethic. However, giving land value based on how it delights the senses is seen as anthropocentric by many contemporary environmentalists and often loses credibility as a result. This invalidation is a dangerous mistake when trying to change the hearts and minds of individuals because if a person can appreciate the land for the happiness it instills from its purely sensual attributes, that appreciation could possibly be translated into real behavioral change. It is also inaccurate to attribute indifference to nature's beauty as an essential characteristic of a "true" environmentalist.

Table 1: Comparative Excerpts

<u>Schweitzer</u>	<u>Bailey</u>	<u>Leopold</u>
<p>“For what are we doing, when we establish hard and fast gradations in value between living organisms, but judging them in relation to ourselves, by whether they seem to stand closer to us or farther from us? This is a wholly subjective standard. How can we know the importance other living organisms have in themselves and in terms of the universe?” (Schweitzer, 1965, p. 47)</p>	<p>“Dominion does not carry personal ownership. There are many generations of folk yet to come after us, who will have equal right with us to the products of the globe. It would seem that a divine obligation rests on every soul... a society that is founded on an unmoral partition and use cannot itself be righteous and whole.” (Bailey, 1915, p. 16)</p>	<p>“Above all we should, in the century since Darwin, have come to know that man, while now captain of the adventuring ship, is hardly the sole object of its conquest” (Leopold, 1949, p. 117)</p>
<p>“When we consider the immensity of the universe, we must confess that man is insignificant... And certainly man’s life can hardly be considered the goal of the universe.” (Schweitzer, 1936, p. 226)</p>	<p>To live in sincere relations with the company of all men now and yet to come, must be of the essence of righteousness.” (Bailey, 1915, p. 15)</p>	<p>“Everyone and everything subsists on leavings.” (Leopold, 1949, p. 122)</p>
<p>“Who among us knows what significance any other kind of life has in itself, and as a part of the universe?” (Schweitzer, 1949, p. 233)</p>	<p>“May we consider even further... the nature of the struggle for existence in its spiritual relation. It would be violence to assume a holy earth and a holy production from the earth, if the contest between the creatures seems to violate all that we know as rightness” (Bailey, 1915, p. 80)</p>	<p>“Only the mountain has lived long enough to listen objectively to the howl of a wolf.” (Leopold, 1949, p. 137)</p>

Not only did Leopold attest to the importance of appreciating the landscape, but Schweitzer and Bailey voiced the same sentiments in their own philosophies of nature. The term *husbandry* was also used frequently, especially in the writings of Bailey and Leopold, when referring to pastoral and agricultural land management. While the three men were undisputedly environmental thinkers, they were first and foremost agrarian thinkers. Schweitzer's ethic was absolute and more encompassing without direct focus on the land, yet his writings indicate an understanding of the need for individual communities to be self-sustaining, which included successful farm practices: "The real wealth of these peoples would consist in their coming to produce for themselves by agriculture and handicrafts as far as possible all the necessities of their life" (Schweitzer & Roy, 1967, p. 174). Bailey's connection to agriculture is far more obvious—having founded the horticulture department at Cornell University, acting as chair of the Country Life Commission under President Theodore Roosevelt, and working within the nature-study movement; Bailey can be best understood as a moral agriculturalist. As for Leopold, the plot of ruined farmland he worked to revitalize in one of the sand counties of Wisconsin stands as a testament to his agrarian positioning.

Understanding their thoughts on agriculture is important because, by its very nature, agriculture entails manipulating the landscape for anthropocentric ends. Similarly, aesthetics often implies the need for human intervention of the human hand. However, human intervention did not mean the land was unpleasing to the eye but instead offered a different form of natural beauty. Humans have been shaping nature in ways they find beautiful or useful since the beginning of civilization, and to see the Industrial Revolution

as the beginning of the degradation of nature is a shortsighted view. As mentioned previously, Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold saw how promoting appreciation for the land aesthetic could indirectly translate into real behavioral change in how people cared for the earth.

Aside from his words on community sustainability through agriculture, Schweitzer voiced his appreciation for land aesthetics through the use of imagery; this is especially true of the sermons he delivered as a Lutheran pastor. By Schweitzer's token, the earth was God's creation and should be respected on those grounds alone: "Whether we will or no, all of us here live under the influence of the daily repeated experience that nature is everything and man is nothing" (Schweitzer, 1948, p. 150). In a sermon given at St. Nicolai's Church in November of 1904, Schweitzer preached that to be grateful for earthly gifts was one of the highest levels of gratitude an individual could pay to God. He used nature's beauty as a literary tool to stimulate his flock's thanks for God while also somewhat indirectly endorsing a love for the land:

It may be gratitude when the birds sing and the trees are in bud and a joyful noise sounds over the earth. It may be gratitude when the ripe ears of corn swish against each other and the vines swing heavy with purple fruit under the blue September sky... the physical must become spiritualized before it can reach him (Schweitzer, 1966, p. 38).

Similar examples of Schweitzer's appreciation of nature's beauty often surfaced during his sermons. In another sermon delivered in 1904, Schweitzer stated: "This promise is

like the sunrise. It is as though we were standing on a high mountain and saw the farthest peaks and valleys lighted by a ray of the morning sun” (Schweitzer & Fuller, 1966, p. 32). In combination with his testament to self-sustaining communities through agriculture, his appreciation for land aesthetics was a concept that considerably intertwined with his overall environmental philosophy.

While Schweitzer’s ethic is more absolutist, Bailey’s can be seen as a stewardship ethic. He was similar to Schweitzer in that he saw the earth as God’s creation but also expressed the need for humans to have responsible dominion over that earth. Bailey was more forthright about the importance of aesthetics and lived in accordance with that view—gardening was among Bailey’s favorite activities when he retired from Cornell. Regarding human manipulation of the land, Bailey (1915) stated the following in *The Holy Earth*:

...there is unfortunately a feeling abroad that any modification of a striking landscape is violation and despoliation... but a work of either farming or of construction may add interest and even lines of beauty to a landscape and endow it with the suggestion of human interest (p. 117).

Like Bailey, Leopold’s thoughts are quite obvious as an entire section of the *Almanac* is dedicated to the subject. The tree farm he started on his land in Wisconsin also made him an agriculturalist of sorts, and his entire family was involved in mending the land there. Leopold, like Schweitzer, had a gift for eliciting feelings of connectivity between the land and his readers through the use of imagery. Specifically, Leopold had a

gift for personifying elements of nature—making them seem even more alive and real—so that readers would begin to see themselves as a member of the natural community as opposed to assuming superiority over it. Being able to appreciate nature’s beauty was, therefore, a critical component in promoting land health: “Our ability to perceive quality in nature begins, as in art, with the pretty. It expands through successive stages of the beautiful to values as yet uncaptured by language” (Leopold, 1949, p. 102). In short, by encouraging individuals to appreciate the seeable beauty within the landscape, Bailey, Schweitzer, and Leopold readily worked upon that appreciation to reach an even greater end goal of appropriate land utilization.

The influence of religion on the lives and philosophies of Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold is clearly recognizable. Schweitzer attained one of his four doctoral degrees in theology and began his career as a Lutheran pastor at the age of twenty-four (“Albert Schweitzer-Facts,” nobelprize.org). As mentioned previously, he is also remembered for his book *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1906) which reviewed historical writings on Jesus dating back to the late 18th century and revealed the skewed personal agendas of the authors who wrote them. Similarly, Bailey was raised by a Puritan father but took on broader Christian ideals as an adult. Schweitzer and Bailey both viewed the earth as God’s creation. Leopold was a nondenominational believer in God and attended a Bible study during his years at the Yale Forest School (Leopold, Flader, & Callicott, 1992, p. 71). His wife Estella was a Catholic, but religion did not play a meaningful role in their children’s upbringing. Leopold did include quotes and interpretations of Biblical verses

in his own writing, but it was done with a level of poetic license and as a tool for guidance and imagery.

Despite their religious influences, Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold were able to communicate secularized philosophies of the natural world. Much like any sermon given at a Sunday worship service, the underlying message aims to instill sound moral and ethical values. This is arguably part of the reason why Schweitzer and Bailey have been left out of the environmentalist jurisdiction. Bailey was a farmer, which seems to contradict land health and preservation. Schweitzer was clearly an accomplished figure in many areas of academia, but his Reverence-for-Life philosophy has often been written off as unfeasible and idealistic—he himself claimed Reverence for Life to be the root of the Christian message. However, Schweitzer and Bailey’s voices should not be mere echoes reverberating off the walls of a heavily Leopold-leaning environmental ethic, lost to history because they lacked a more secular, accessible vision.

A final similarity worth mentioning is the agreed sense that political and economic motivations consistently superseded ethical land utilization. Capitalist societies created a number of issues on which Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold agreed. One of these issues included the disinterest in maintaining land health in favor of economic gain. The Industrial Revolution ushered in an era of people flocking to urban areas and losing touch with the land. Lastly, these men were apprehensive of how politically-driven systems gradually rob citizens of their voice and ultimately control over their own land. Schweitzer voiced these concerns as such in his autobiography, *Out of My Life and Thought* (1933):

The organized political, social, and religious associations of our time are at work to induce the individual man not to arrive at his own convictions by his own thinking but to make his own such convictions as they keep ready made for him (p. 220).

Essentially, Schweitzer's concern centered around the idea of societies successfully convincing individuals of what they want and need, when those wants and needs are in fact those within the political, social, religious associations delivering said message (*Do I want x, y, and z, or does the political system want me to want x, y, and z?*).

Bailey's distaste for political alignment was most evident in his actions. In *Liberty Hyde Bailey: Essential Agrarian and Environmental Writings* (2008), editor Z.M. Jack described him as a liberal who was "repeatedly asked to run for political office as a member of Teddy Roosevelt's post-presidential party" (p. xiii). In 1908, he finally agreed to accept the chair position on Roosevelt's Country Life Commission; it could be argued that his lifelong desire to reconnect people with the land drove him to accept this position. Bailey witnessed numerous instances of political injustice throughout his life. Those experiences, in combination, with his father's distaste for the politics, surely influenced his tendency to steer clear of heavy involvement. He abided by a kind of "separate soul" philosophy, and while his personal and career interests intertwined, he enjoyed his privacy and distance from academia upon retirement. His most enjoyed hobby, gardening, is a great example of how individuals should continually work to keep a close relationship with the earth without political or economic agendas in mind.

A quick reading of Leopold's *Sand County Almanac* provides readers with sufficient evidence to categorize him as someone not only in disagreement with political and economic leanings, but as a man with significant disdain for a system that works so often in opposition to ethical land use. Leopold's contemporaries are described as seeing him as a "hard-headed critic," albeit a fair and productive one (Meine, 1988, p. 165). The overshadowing of land health in the interest of economic prosperity is vocalized within the first few pages: "But wherever the truth may lie, this much is crystal-clear: our bigger-and-better society is now like a hypochondriac, so obsessed with its own economic health as to have lost the capacity to remain healthy" (Leopold, 1949, p. xix). He was again forthright with his political and economic contempt in the "Ecological Conscience" section of the *Almanac*: "...Obey the law, vote right, join some organizations, and practice what conservation is profitable on your own land; the government will do the rest" (pp. 243-4). The decisive similarity between Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold here is the apprehension that at the end of the day, political and economic interests would always struggle to align with practices that promoted land health. It should be noted, however, that current evidence is insubstantial to determine Schweitzer and Bailey's influence on Leopold regarding political and economic dissonance.

Upon further scrutiny of the writings of Albert Schweitzer and Liberty Hyde Bailey, Roderick Nash's (1967) claim that Aldo Leopold owes his "most direct intellectual debt" (p. 195) to those men is supported. Each wrote in a style and about issues that transcended their own lifetimes. Delineations between their views of ethics,

aesthetics, moral obligation and politics often blur. The analysis above is a mere scrap of the literature by each man and merits further investigation. Schweitzer established a moral-philosophical ethic, regardless, however much it has been overlooked or invalidated as idealistic, upon which Bailey and Leopold were able to successfully establish their respective versions of environmental ethics.

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Chapter III

THIRD-WAY ENVIRONMENTALISM: THE WRONGFUL ETHICAL POLARIZATION OF ALBERT SCHWEITZER, LIBERTY HYDE BAILEY, AND ALDO LEOPOLD

“We are led astray by the fatal habit of making comparisons, contrasting one epoch with another. There may be inflexible souls among the investigators who see little or nothing beyond the set of facts in a little field, but surely the greater number of scientific men are persons of keen imagination and of broad interest in all conquests.”

—Liberty Hyde Bailey, *The Holy Earth* (1915)

The narrative of environmental thought has seen a stark transformation of ideas in the past two centuries. To the Europeans who first arrived in America, wilderness was a formidable entity; to look out into the mysterious frontier also stirred pioneers to conquer the natural world. In other words, wilderness was *bad* and the progression toward civilization was *good*. In the 19th century, that thinking began to change as the ideas of romanticism and transcendentalism, reinforced by the quest for national identity, led some to call for preservation of wilderness (national parks).

As the frontier began to close, an understanding of land degradation had begun to take hold. It was clear that seemingly untouched wilderness areas were disappearing and that land resources were being excessively exploited. If the land conquest was not restrained, wilderness would disappear and other resources would be in short supply.

Those concerned with wilderness and national parks were guided by John Muir and those concerned with resource commodities by Gifford Pinchot. If not for conservation-minded leaders figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, who oversaw the protection of 230 million acres of National Forests, National Parks and Monuments, and National Wildlife Refuges, today's environmentalist narrative would likely look entirely different. Roosevelt's position as President aided in the validation and legitimacy of land and environmental protection (Nash, 2014, pp. 44-108).

The typical Muir-Pinchot-Leopold storyline, which Nash (2014) speaks of in *Wilderness and the American Mind*, is not necessarily inaccurate but does reinforce an oversimplification of how environmentalist thought has evolved over the past 200 years. This idealized version of environmentalist thought involved a shift from highly preservationist in the likes of John Muir, to highly anthropocentric in the likes of Gifford Pinchot, and finally to a less polarized, middle ground of thought. While land conquest in the name of civilization was the main objective on the new frontier, a number of the first-generation, philosophically-inclined environmentalists have barely remained on the fringe. Furthermore, as the fight between preservation and conservation intensified in the early 20th century, a deep polarization developed between individuals regarding what environmentalism looked like. The polarization resulted in two main conceptualizations—first, the nature-first, biocentric group; and second, the utilitarian, anthropocentric group (Minteer, 2008, p. 343).

Environmentalists familiar with Leopold's writings may find it easy to label him a biocentrist. His aims for land health did not always entail promoting human interests,

which is the easiest way to underscore this seemingly biocentric leaning— his plea to protect the “integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community” included no hierarchy of living things (Leopold, 1949, p. 262). Albert Schweitzer and Liberty Hyde Bailey, who are often unrecognized in environmentalist literature, could also be wrongly labeled as biocentric much in the same way Leopold has been labeled. This type of labeling does a disservice to their contributions to the literature because each man showed understanding of the need to *also* consider human interests. The real problem here—in essence—is the seeming necessity to pledge allegiance to one outlook or the other. Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold were biocentric *and* anthropocentric thinkers who spoke passionately to each issue. They understood that a division of environmentalist thought could not bring about unified, meaningful change and therefore did not allow it to define how they approached their conceptualizations of ethics.

The aim of this paper is three-fold. First, the presentation of a “third-way” approach to environmental ethics will be provided with considerable support from the work of Ben Minteer. Second, a disentanglement of ideas from Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold will support that they were neither biocentric nor anthropocentric thinkers but instead fell somewhere in the middle of the polarization. Third, ideas will be presented regarding why such polarization has occurred at all. This paper should, at the very least, introduce readers to the third-way approach to environmentalist ideas and establish Albert Schweitzer, Liberty Hyde Bailey, and Aldo Leopold among the earliest of these third-way environmentalist thinkers. A deeper investigation of how such polarized views of environmentalist thought hinder real social change is needed.

Ben Minter is a contemporary environmentalist whose work focuses on the “intersection of environmental ethics, ecology, and conservation, [and] especially the impact of global environmental change on our understandings of environmental responsibility” (“Ben Minter,” n.d.). He has written extensively on the intellectual history of conservation and environmentalism with particular emphasis on pragmatism within American environmental history. Among his most popular publications are *Ecological Ethics: Building a New Tool Kit for Ecologists and Biodiversity Managers* (Minter & Collins, 2005) and *Landscape of Reform: Civic Pragmatism and Environmental Thought in America* (2006). Minter also had the hindsight to include some of the earliest American philosophers, such as John Dewey, in his analysis of environmentalist thought. His work in reviving the voice of Liberty Hyde Bailey in the environmentalist rhetoric has been a valuable addition to the literature and has continued to spark conversation in the highly polarized, either-or dynamic that continues to exist among contemporary environmentalists.

Minter is a self-proclaimed pragmatist—meaning he determines truth or worth based on practical application and success. Environmental pragmatists tend to maintain secularized views regarding proper human-nature conduct, but Minter brings American philosopher John Dewey to the table as an example of a writer who used religious thought as a tool to enhance nature appreciation (2008a, p. 179). Minter’s pragmatic method drives him to agree with such an approach.²

² While Minter’s analysis of Liberty Hyde Bailey includes references to the influence he had on Aldo Leopold, the oft-neglected philosophical value of Albert Schweitzer has again been omitted from the

Pragmatist ideas favorably tie in with Minter's primary characterization of Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold as "third-way" environmentalists. Third-way environmentalism" provides sanctuary for environmentalists who defy the polarization and fall into both categories. In other words—were these men biocentric or anthropocentric? Did they value ethics or aesthetics? Did they strive for preservation or social progress? The answer is yes—they were each able to combine these values in their overarching philosophies of how humans and nature come together.

Minter (2008) defines third-way environmentalism as being marked by a number of features, which include an "ethically pluralistic approach toward environmental values that defies the dualisms (anthropocentric-nonanthropocentric, conservation-preservation, nature-culture, etc.) commonly used by environmental ethicists and historians over the years. The thinkers in this tradition are also geographically ecumenical, writing approvingly about the countryside, the city, and the region as well as the wilderness... third-way writers in environmental ethics view environmental values not as freestanding expressions of 'nature philosophy,' but as normative commitments thoroughly wrapped up with American civic life, including such concerns as community identity, social regeneration, and the public interest" (p. 357-358). Approaches to environmental sustainability must, therefore, be sought not just ethically, but also pragmatically.

investigation. This is not a condemnation of Minter—rather, it suggests that even the most enlightened of contemporary environmentalist writers neglect to see both the value of Schweitzer's philosophical ideas and how closely his ideas run parallel to those of Bailey and Leopold.

To summarize, third-way thinkers have three main characteristics. First, they are able to maintain several ethical viewpoints despite the seeming contradiction that presents. Second, they speak fondly of the land regardless of whether or not it has been shaped by human hands. Third, they understand environmental thought should be reflected in *action* instead of just *ideas* and that healthy social progress requires such an approach. Herein lies the root problem with environmentalist polarization—those people with ideas and those with the capacity for initiating change often stand on separate sides of the room. Focusing on ecological ethics and how to initiate change, Minter and Collins (2005) write of the need to bring “ethicists, scientists, and biodiversity managers together in a collaborative effort to study and inform the methods of ethical analysis and problem solving in ecological research and biodiversity management” (p. 1803).

Especially since the 1990s, a number of different terms have been proposed that follow the same line of thinking as third-way environmentalism. Much of the environmentalist literature spanning the 1950s until the 1980s took a heavily biocentric approach, and this allegiance to biocentrically-focused thought has taken such a stronghold among American environmentalist thinkers that a shadow has been cast over those with human-centered concerns regarding land utilization. A prominent voice in this third-way movement is Bryan Norton, who has written a number of well-known books including *Toward Unity Among Environmentalists* (1991) and *Sustainability* (2005). These books, in combination with a number of his articles, spoke to the need for an ethic that integrates the ecological and philosophical. He refers to the polarization of environmental values as *moral monism* and instead advocates for *moral pluralism*, which

allows for holding more than one ethical system as valid—allowing them to coexist and rejecting the existing duality (1991, p. 208).

The pluralist concept is popular among environmentalist thinkers including Meine (2004), Varner (2008), Goodin (2007), Kates (2011), Brown (2004), Cicovacki (2012), and many others. Meine's book *Correction Lines* (2004), while its focus lies primarily on Leopold, succinctly addresses the alternative view of environmentalist philosophy and refers to it as *radical center*. This *radical center* is actually a reflection of the ability of people to come together for the greater good of the land and the community, regardless of their political and economic affiliations—they “point toward a new concept of economic freedom—one that realizes there can be no freedom without responsibility, and no definition of sustainability that does not embed the circle of human social and economic relationships within the greater sphere of nature” (p. 61). In short, the seemingly disparate realms of ecological and social issues must converge so an economically and ethically sound approach to land utilization can be derived. For example, a third-way approach would be preferable when determining visitor capacity for a national park area. Visitor capacity refers to the number of people an area can hold before unmanageable or permanent damage is done to that area and the experience of people visiting it (Haas, 2001, p. 1). Not only does land maintenance need to be considered, but also how enjoyable the area can continue to be given the number of people using it.

Viewing the division of the environmentalist movement in terms of *conservationists* and *preservationists*, Norton (1991) notes that “there has emerged within the movement no shared, positive understanding of the human relationship to the natural

world; consequently, environmentalists lack a consensually accepted set of ideals and values” (p. 9). In his mission to challenge the belief that no common ground is held among environmentalist groups, Norton simultaneously gives way to a deeper conceptualization of the third-way approach toward which many environmentalist thinkers are beginning to shift. Perhaps most importantly, Norton lifts the veil from the critical environmentalist forerunners (including Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold) and forces readers to stop and think—has the narrative of environmentalist history *actually* been so preservationist heavy, or are we just reading it wrong?

The nature versus culture dualism needs to be addressed. Preservationists generally find their home in the *nature* camp while conservationists are, by association with human-centered interests, strong-armed into the *culture* camp. By forcing this ultimatum— to choose whether nature or culture is more important—environmentalists feel mandated to think that one takes precedent over the other, which then leads them to read and approach environmental ethics with preconceived biases. Those in the nature camp have since been labeled biocentrists while those in the culture camp have been labeled anthropocentrists. The nature-culture duality can be understood another way: the preservationists believe nature should remain untouched because human intervention is seen as a selfish, anthropocentric act, while conservationists value nature but make it take a back seat when human needs are great. The term *nature*, much like the term *wilderness*, is an entirely subjective term and only bears meaning because humans have assigned it with such.

While Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold are often seen as being of the more biocentric persuasion, their writings indicate a more balanced, third-way approach to nature and culture. Schweitzer (1949) proposed his Reverence for Life philosophy as a “realistic answer to the realistic question of how man and the world are related to each other” (p. 230). When Schweitzer traded in music and theology in favor of being a jungle doctor in equatorial Africa at the age of 38, he created a space for communal living where the community was self-sufficient, where race, socioeconomic status, and religion played no role, and where humans and animals were treated equally (Cicovacki, 2012, p. x). What is most commonly overlooked—and perhaps because it is most obvious—is that Schweitzer’s (as well as Bailey’s and Leopold’s) conceptualization of life was not built on a moral hierarchy that placed humans at the top (or bottom); it entailed respectful coexistence and recognized that preventing *all* harm was impossible (Barsam & Linzey, 2000, p. 170).

Bailey also struck a balance between nature and culture and in more apparent ways than Schweitzer. As Minter (2008) has stated, Bailey was “first and last an agrarian, rather than a wilderness thinker” (p. 358). Having attended Michigan Agricultural College, worked with renowned botanist Asa Gray, and developed Cornell University’s horticultural program from the ground up, Bailey’s career was characterized by how humans affect the land. But, he showed concern for nature’s well-being as well as the prosperity of current and future generations of individuals—and above all, saw it as the people’s moral obligation to maintain a respectful dominion over the natural world (Bailey, 1915, p. 16). Bailey spearheaded President Theodore Roosevelt’s Country Life

Commission (CLC) and was a leading voice in the nature-study movement, both of which intended to inspire rural Americans (such as farmers, housewives, and children) to reconnect with land in meaningful ways through such avenues as agriculture and gardening. Another way in which Bailey's consideration for culture was evident was how he referred to proper land use as "civic duty." Like Schweitzer, Bailey recognized that an appreciation for nature by the society at large was instrumental in maintaining land health.

Minteer (2008) gave a solid characterization of Bailey as the father of agrarian environmentalism: "Bailey's marriage of conservation and agriculture, in which an ecologically defined notion of good husbandry was invested with great moral and civic virtue, suggests a liberal understanding of environmentalism in which a concern for the intergenerational community is directly tied to the good of the earth" (p. 359). This statement speaks to Bailey's capacity to see both nature and culture as positive forces. Bailey had marked concern for how people often left the countryside in favor of urban living, which ultimately led to the deterioration of life and progress in rural areas. This concern also included how economic and political interests often favored those within the urban landscape, and he feared the consequences for rural America. As part of his philosophy, he insisted that a personal love for the land was central to land stewardship and overall societal health. In short, fostering ecological stewardship meant *involving* humans in nature... not removing them from it.

A principal theme of Leopold's *Sand County Almanac* is the problem of viewing the land as a commodity instead of as a place of community. Among the leading

challenges in establishing a nature-minded culture, as opposed to a commodity-based culture, is the necessity to delineate what a nature-based culture would entail.

Specifically, including the soils, waters, plants, and animals within that context would be the simplest way such a culture could be realized: “In country, as in people, a plain exterior often conceals hidden riches, to perceive which requires much living in and with” (Leopold, 1974, p. 180). As can be concluded, Leopold saw the importance of people maintaining regular contact with the land to understand its mysteries and importance to humankind that were not solely basic on economic interests.

Leopold, like Schweitzer and Bailey, saw the land as a biotic community of interdependent parts in which each member relied on each other in the struggle for existence. For example, he insisted on measures of land *preservation* which is evident from the effort he contributed in establishing the nation’s first wilderness area in 1924. However, Leopold’s writings are also indicative of his effort in forming an integrative understanding—how ecology could take a “functional approach to the *total* environment (Leopold, Flader, & Callicott, 1992, p. 4). This is not to mention his extensive contribution to the literature on such topics as conservation and land health decades before the *Almanac* even saw publication.

To break down Leopold’s conception of nature and culture into more obvious terms, he wrote prolifically of both the necessity of land and soil health *and* conservation measures. Conservation, by its very nature, necessitates a human component. He believed the real threat to the land was in forcing individuals to choose one or the other: “... we see repeated the same basic paradoxes: man the conqueror versus man the biotic citizen;

science the sharpener of his sword versus science the searchlight on his universe; land the slave and servant versus land the collective organism” (Leopold, 1949, p. 261).

Regardless of the small differences in philosophies and world views, Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold saw how farming and land management could be used as tools for protection of the biotic community—to help life *prosper* and maintain the land’s integrity. Human intervention does not necessitate earthly destruction.

Closely related to the nature-culture duality is that of ethics and aesthetics. Land ethics focuses on the requirement to act in a moral manner toward the land because it is wrong to do otherwise, while aesthetics sees value in the land because of its outward beauty—ethics are seemingly more biocentric while aesthetics take on a more anthropocentric characteristic. The polarized views of environmental ethics presuppose that any versions of ethics given are absolute. For example, John Muir is generally seen as a poster child for biocentrism and preservationist ethics, so much so that he is often credited with coining the term *biocentric* (Minteer, 2008, p. 341). Gifford Pinchot, on the other hand, is often credited as being Muir’s anthropocentric opposite because of his “wise use” or utilitarian philosophy toward the land. There is a much larger gray area when it comes to Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold; each had a different yet similar ethical basis—Schweitzer developed a social ethic while Bailey and Leopold developed stewardship and land ethics, respectively.

Schweitzer’s idea of Reverence for Life stood as the capstone philosophy of his life and work. To review, the Reverence-for-Life philosophy was Schweitzer’s absolutist version of ethics to which he believed all people were capable of adhering to with proper

education and commitment. He also declared it to be the root of the Christian message and an ethic of universality and love—no hierarchy existed among living things. The key differentiator between humans and other living things was that the possession of consciousness in humans necessitated their ethical conduct toward the land and all other lifeforms. While he did strive to create an absolute ethic, he recognized that society saw it as largely unrealistic: “philosophy... has simply tried to ignore absolute ethics, because such ethics cannot be fitted into tabulated rules and regulations (Schweitzer & Roy, 1967, p. 241). Regardless, Schweitzer believed an absolute ethic could be developed and realized with the proper education and commitment.

Vasileios Pantazis (2009) indirectly made an instrumental contribution to the third-way literature in an article that reviewed Albert Schweitzer’s *Reverence for Life* philosophy and its possibility to serve as a basic bioethical principle. Pantazis makes a number of observations about Schweitzer’s writings—that he saw individuals as a member of a greater interdependent community, how hindering current life also hinders the life of future generations, and the importance of preservation as a cultural task. He also noted Leopold as saying that humans can be ethical “only in relation to something we can see, feel, understand, love, or otherwise have faith in” (Pantazis, 2009, p. 261). Conserving natural life was considered the greatest tool in conserving human life.

Schweitzer’s definitive view on ethical behavior as a key to land health should not overshadow his appreciation for land aesthetics. He spoke of the value of communities being self-sustaining, which includes an agricultural component. This is worth noting because generally within non-anthropocentric writing, the need for human survival is

overshadowed by the need to protect nature. Agriculture is the single most beneficial way communities can be self-sustaining, and Schweitzer was an active member within the commune he developed around his hospital in Lambaréné. Basam and Linzey (2000) called Schweitzer's hospital a "model of ecological responsibility" (p. 172) because of his efforts to preserve trees, reuse materials, and refuse to use any technology that would have caused environmental degradation (Barsam & Linzey, 2000, p. 172).

The clearest indication of Schweitzer's appreciation for nature's beauty comes from the use of imagery in his writings and sermons. Many of Schweitzer's views were clearly influenced by his reading of the Old Testament. He viewed the earth as God's creation and on those grounds alone he saw ethical conduct toward the earth as a moral imperative. Instead of characterizing nature as something sacred and untouchable by humankind, he used it as a tool to foster God-loving (and nature-loving!) sensibilities: "It may be gratitude when the birds sing and the trees are in bud and a joyful noise sounds over the earth. It may be gratitude when the ripe ears of corn swish against each other and the vines swing heavy with purple fruit under the blue September sky... the physical must become spiritualized before it can reach him" (Schweitzer, 1966, p. 38).

As one of America's most well-known horticulturists, Bailey's positioning among environmental ethics and aesthetics also lands somewhere in the middle. He was immersed in farm life from an early age, starting with the apple orchard his father tended at his Michigan home. Minter (2008) described Bailey's integrative approach to environmental ethics as a blending of elements of a "traditional Jeffersonian agrarianism with a mix of progressive-era conservation ideas, resulting in a distinctive expression of

what we might today call an ethically pluralistic stewardship ethic” (p. 351). Bailey, because of his heavy presence within academia, is generally seen as the brain of agricultural development rather than the brawn.

Bailey’s approach to ethics was one of stewardship rather than preservation, but to assume Bailey had no regard for maintaining pristine nature is an oversimplification of his perspective. His regard for nature was evident in numerous efforts to reconnect people to the land by such means as the nature-study movement and involvement with the Country Life Commission. Bailey was also an avid gardener, especially in the years following his retirement from Cornell University. He wrote a number of articles and books on the subject and suggested even the smallest acts of care for the land had the potential to blossom into deep interpersonal relationships between individuals and the land. Bailey’s concept of civic duty and responsible dominion can be considered a testament to his ethical positioning, while activities such as gardening or even the publication of his poetry book titled *Wind and Weather* stand as a testament to his valuation of land aesthetics.

Leopold’s perspective on ethics and aesthetics was also integrative, which is evidenced in his *Almanac* by his address of each topic individually. The Land Ethic stands as Leopold’s most celebrated contribution to environmental ethics and resounds in the works of nearly every contemporary environmentalist, regardless of whether they are nature or culture focused in their views. The terms *land ethic* and *land aesthetic* both appeared for the first time in a 1935 lecture titled “Land Pathology.” According to Flader

and Callicott, the lecture served to express Leopold's desire to "reconcile and integrate the utility and beauty of the landscape" (Leopold, Flader, & Callicott, 1992, p. 10).

While Leopold's focus in "Land Pathology" adheres to the social and political issues related to land aesthetics in the 1930's, the *Almanac* takes to the topic with more intrinsically-motivated vigor: "It is clear... that these economic and ethical manifestations are results, not causes, of the motive force. We seek contacts with nature because we derive pleasure from them" (Leopold, 1967, p. 283). He follows this statement by also stating that a "sense of husbandry exercised in the production of crops may be quite as important as the crops themselves is realized to some extent in agriculture, but not in conservation... the pleasures of husbandry in the wild are as yet unknown both to the farmer and to ourselves" (p. 293). Leopold's work echoes that of Bailey in promoting the value of husbandry across the rural landscape. Such sentiments may seem contradictory considering Leopold's considerable involvement in preservationist projects, including his work in establishing the Gila tract of land in New Mexico as the world's first designated wilderness area in 1924. Looking at the bigger picture of Leopold's career reveals his integrated approach, however. His career began with the education he took from Yale Forest School—a characteristically Pinchotian education—which led directly to game management efforts, including the extirpation of wolves in the White Mountains of eastern Arizona. The "fierce green fire" dying in the eyes of a wolf is where environmentalists generally mark Leopold's transition from anthropocentrist to biocentrist, but again, this suggests an oversimplified view of his

perspective. He continued to work toward an integrated ethical approach which addressed human need and biocentric concern even after this transformational experience.

The ecology-divinity dualism within environmentalist thought is a final idea worth investigating in this short appraisal. As mentioned previously, moral monism is an approach to thought that denies a duality can exist and instead assumes a single overarching truth or reality exists. In the case of environmentalists, monism usually refers to the acceptance of ecology and evolution, or of religion and divine creation.

Henry Clark referred to Schweitzer's religious viewpoint as "ethical mysticism" in a book titled *The Philosophy of Albert Schweitzer* (1962). An interesting element of Schweitzer's religiosity was his disbelief in Jesus Christ as a messiah—he instead believed Jesus to be an inspiring example of moral goodness. Despite the fact that he called his Reverence for Life philosophy the root of the Christian message, Schweitzer was able to communicate a sound version of social philosophy to people regardless of their religious affiliation. His experience as a theologian and Lutheran pastor stood apart from his ecological viewpoint. In *The Ethics of Reverence for Life* (1936), Schweitzer discussed the place of humans within the greater ecological context: "When we consider the immensity of the universe, we must confess that man is insignificant... And certainly man's life can hardly be considered the goal of the universe" (p. 226). By definition, ecology is the science of communities—how organisms relate to one another and their physical surroundings. A divinity-based viewpoint might not worry about future generations because God is the central commander and copilot of the earth.

Bailey took ecology and divinity and made them ecumenical terms. A staunch Christian in his own right, he moved through the field of ecology and horticulture with his religious beliefs aiding his work instead of allowing it to stand in contradiction. Because of its social power, religion had the capacity to cultivate nature-loving sensibilities in Americans regardless of their rural or urban locale. He was an enthusiastic Darwinian thinker who, according to Zachary M. Jack, exuded a unique brand of “energetic, environmentally minded interdisciplinarity” that anticipated the ideas of such great contemporary environmentalists as Richard Louv and Michael Pollan (Bailey & Jack, 2008, p. xiii) and, as suggested in the previous chapter, directly influenced the ideas of Aldo Leopold

Leopold’s religious leanings were less formal than Schweitzer or Bailey’s but nonetheless evident in his writings. He attended bible study during his years at Yale and his wife Estella was a Catholic. Like Schweitzer and Bailey, Leopold saw the potential for religion to promote an appreciation for the natural world. He included quotes and interpretations of Biblical verses frequently in his own writing but did so with a level of poetic license and as a means of providing meaningful imagery. Despite their religious influences, Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold were able to communicate secularized philosophies on the natural world and therefore, religion should be seen as one of the ingredients mixed into their respected philosophies rather than the single most important consideration.

The three primary characteristics of third-way environmentalists are being ethically pluralistic, being “geographically ecumenical,” and understanding how

environmental values should be actively worked toward on a societal level instead of being mere philosophy (Minteer, 2008, p. 358). Clearly, Albert Schweitzer, Liberty Hyde Bailey, and Aldo Leopold each align with these three characteristics even within this brief investigation. Third-way thinkers possess moral, economic, and aesthetic values without restricting themselves to one camp of environmentalist thinking. Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold each transcended the limits of science-only or philosophy-only approaches to ethics, and each was successful in both the sciences and humanities.

American environmentalism has taken on a particularly biocentric flavor over the past 100 years. Especially among the newer generation of environmentalists pouring out of universities and stepping into jobs with environmental advocacy groups, state parks, and community sustainability programs, many feel obligated to wave the biocentric flag and not reveal a speck of anthropocentric or utilitarian estimation in their approach. The polarization of ideas is clearly not a problem unique to environmentalists, but crosses into all walks of life—and television and social media tend to reinforce the black and white approach to any issue in which opinions are existent or important. Leopold should not lose his position as one of the greatest environmentalist forerunners in American history. Instead, readers should ask themselves if they truly understand his viewpoint and take interest in who inspired his work. Bryan Norton said it best when he interpreted one of Leopold's most famous sections of the *Almanac* to mean that “learning to think like a mountain is learning to think pluralistically” (Norton, 2008, p. 585).

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Conclusion

The foregoing articles were written with a single goal—to encourage scholars to see American environmental history through a broader lens. Roderick Nash’s *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967) stands as the precedential story on environmentalism and will likely hold that position for many years to come. Aldo Leopold was undoubtedly one of the most pivotal figures in communicating the importance of land conservation in the earliest days of realizing the earth was not an invincible, self-sustaining commodity. But even the greats are influenced and driven by others.

The first article in this series aimed to highlight the intellectual relationship between Aldo Leopold and Albert Schweitzer. It suggested that Leopold and Schweitzer were not purely biocentric thinkers, but also found anthropocentric concerns to have significance. Also, and perhaps most importantly, it began to approach Nash’s claim that Leopold’s “most direct intellectual debt” (Nash, 2014, p. 194) was owed to Albert Schweitzer and Liberty Hyde Bailey. The second article went a step further to include Bailey’s ideas and the similarities between the three men – not just in their ideas but also in their language and phrasing.

As mentioned in the introduction, this is only a brief look into their similarities aimed at sparking conversation. The third article looked at “third-way” environmentalism, prominent voices in the field, and how Leopold, Bailey, and

Schweitzer fit within a third-way context. It is my hope that understanding the similarities in their language and phrasing will help to inform readers of characteristics they share in common—among those characteristics, their shared ability to be objective.

These articles were not intended to be a comprehensive investigation of the literature. The study contributes significantly to the literature because of the surprising lack of investigation into the relationships between Leopold, Bailey, and Schweitzer. While some of Leopold's biographers (such as Susan Flader, J.B. Callicott, and Curt Meine) somewhat ambiguously point out the connection between Leopold and Bailey, to my knowledge, his biographers never made the Leopold – Schweitzer connection. Consequently, I hope my research encourages readers to dig deeper, toss aside assumptions, and see these forerunning thinkers with a fresh pair of eyes. The major limitation of these articles is the lack of existing research, which ultimately led to what could only be a brief overview.

Another notable limitation is the necessity for translation of Albert Schweitzer's writings. It was difficult not only to find dates of original publication, but also to decipher how much of his message was altered or lost in translation. Another limitation of this study is the narrow literary focus. While I have included numerous books and articles written by Schweitzer, Bailey, and Leopold, there are many left out that still require investigation.

My academic background in history was quite important in this study because it informed me of the equal importance of understanding both the history and

historiography of American environmentalism. This is especially true in the case of Leopold's historiographical approach. How did Leopold understand and interpret the materials he read, and how did those materials inform his Land Ethic? How did his approach influence the historiographical approach of the many academics and environmentalists who so value his work? How did the environmental narrative shift away from the acceptance of multiple viewpoints (or *third-way*) to become so highly polarized (*biocentric/anthropocentric*)? Did Leopold's approach encourage or inhibit this shift?

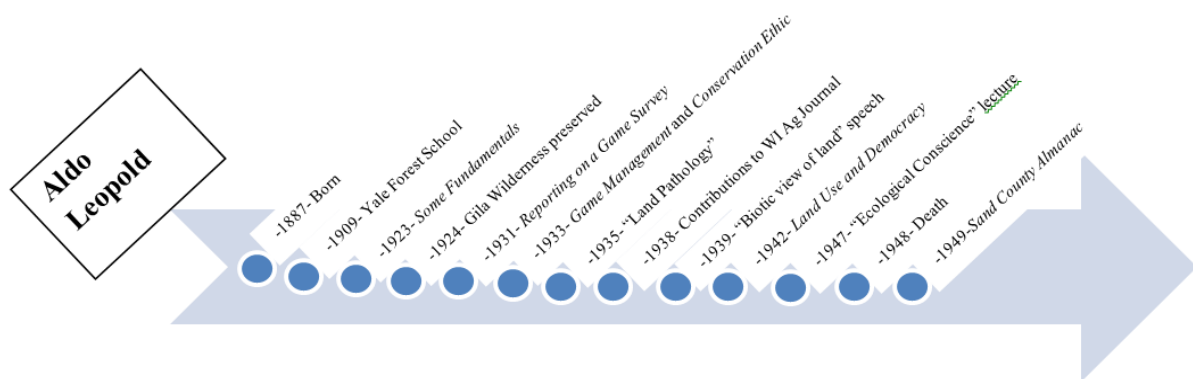
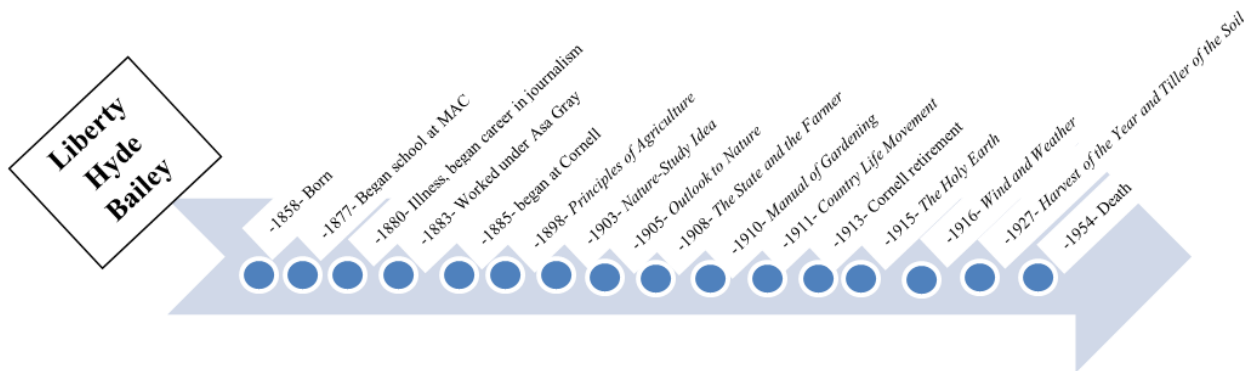
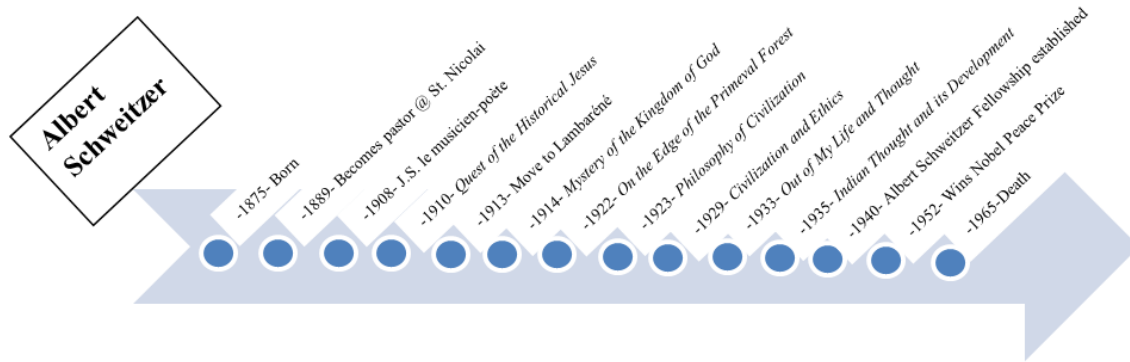
Historically, polarization tends to be bad. People choose sides and find it necessary to defend their viewpoint at all costs. What we are not often taught is that it is possible to accept and reject things on either side. This robs so much from the environmentalist movement, from both its *history* and its *ability*.

To read the literature through a polarized lens removes its breadth and objectiveness. Perhaps even worse, polarization instills a false notion that there can only be one right way to be a good environmentalist. Therefore, understanding Nash's claim of Leopold's intellectual debt to Schweitzer and Bailey became important to me as both an environmentalist and historian. To inspire current and future readers of these men's work to understand them through a more objective lens could change the dialogue of environmentalism as we know it.

For those scholars dedicated to having a thorough and multidimensional understanding of American environmental history, an amazing opportunity awaits. There

is still a considerable amount of literature left for scholars to explore and with that, a whole host of varying opinions and approaches to be developed. It is a blessing that the writings of Leopold, Schweitzer, and Bailey are largely available to those people interested in reading them. With that in mind, I hope that my research will prime those future readers will approach the research with an open mind.

Appendix A: Important dates—Schweitzer*, Bailey, and Leopold



*Note: Schweitzer's dates are indicative of their English-language publications