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ALDO LEOPOLD:
A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHY

FINAL REPORT

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This research report, entitled Aldo Leopold: A Bio-Bibliography, is presented as a competent treatment of the subject, worthy of publication. The United States Air Force Academy vouches for the quality of the research, without necessarily endorsing the opinions and conclusions of the author.

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Aldo Leopold: A Bio-Bibliography

by

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For Stuart Aubrey, former editor of The Burlington Hawk-eye,
who first recommended that I read A Sand County Almanac.

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Introduction

Biography

Aldo Leopold was named to the Conservation Hall of Fame in 1965, seventeen years after his death.¹ In the 1970's, his post-humously-published Sand County Almanac² was widely read and continues to be of interest now that his ecological-system perspective has become something of a shaping ideology in popular consciousness, evident in the widespread acceptance of the American Environmental Protection Act or the growth of the European Green Parties. Leopold did not lack prominence in his lifetime however, so considerable biographical material is available.

Rand Aldo Leopold was born 11 January 1887 in Burlington, Iowa.³ Although he resided in a virtual mansion⁴ on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi River, his boyhood pleasures apparently were simple.

He liked to walk and hunt along the Mississippi River, and the birds he observed led him to become interested in ornithology.⁵ His formal education included several years

1 "Aldo Leopold's Life Inspires Awe," Wisconsin State Journal, 19 Sept, 1965, p. 6, col. 1.

2 A Sand County Almanac: With Essays on Conservation from Round River (1949; rpt. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

3 Register of Birth for Rand Aldo Leopold, available from the Clerk of the District Court, Des Moines County, Burlington, Iowa 52601.

4 Interview with Marilyn Aubrey, former resident of Burlington.

5 Susan Flader, "The Person and the Place," in The Sand Country of Aldo Leopold: A photographic interpretation by Charles Steinhacker; Essay by Susan Flader; Selections from

at Lawrenceville Academy in New Jersey and undergraduate study at Yale's Sheffield Scientific School, where he "began a life-long practice recording his observations daily in a journal."⁶ He moved into Yale's new Graduate School of Forestry in 1908 and received a Master's degree in 1909.⁷

Even before that time Leopold had been involved in practical work outside the classroom. Records of the U. S. Forest Service show that Leopold broke twice from his Yale studies to work in Montana's Cabinet National Forest.⁸ After he had finished his professional education, the Forest Service hired Leopold full-time and assigned him on 1 July 1909 to New Mexico's Gila National Forest as a Forest Aide. After one year there, he did similar work in Arizona's

the writings of Aldo Leopold; Edited, with an introduction, by Anthony Wolff; Designed by Charles Curtis, ed. Anthony Wolff (New York: The Sierra Club, 1973), p. 29. Paul L. Errington, "In Appreciation of Aldo Leopold," Journal of Wildlife Management, 12 (1948), 342.

6 Flader, "The Person and the Place," p. 29. More precise information could be obtained from the school. Letter 8 November 1976, Office of the Dean, School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut 06511. Susan Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain: Aldo Leopold and the Evolution of an Ecological Attitude Toward Deer, Wolves, and Forests (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), p. 8. Jacqueline Lee remarks, "As far as I can tell, he first entered Yale in 1906." If true, Leopold completed his undergraduate work there in two years.

7 8 November 1976 letter.

8 24 November 1976 letter, National Personnel Records Center, 111 Winnebago Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63118. Leopold's official title was Forest Guard, from 23 Sept. 1907 to 5 Dec. 1907 and from 1 July 1908 to 16 Sept. 1908.

Apache National Forest until 13 May 1911, when he became District Forest Supervisor of Carson National Forest.⁹ In 1912 he married Estella Bergere; among his wedding gifts was an eleven-volume Riverside edition of Thoreau's works.¹⁰ He had sufficient time to read his books during an eighteen-month recuperation from a nearly-fatal attack of nephritis, contracted in April, 1913.¹¹ His activities limited after recovery, Leopold was assigned to sedentary work at the District Office in Albuquerque.¹² As his physical activity decreased, however, he began to write more and to become involved in wildlife conservation.¹³ In December 1915, he founded The Pine Cone, a quarterly newspaper which he edited for the New Mexico Game Protective Association.¹⁴ Until 1924, except for a nineteen-month interlude when he was secretary of the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce, Leopold worked for the Forest Service.¹⁵ During the last few years

9 Ibid.

10 Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain, pp. 9, 10. The marriage took place sometime after his 1911 promotion and before his 1913 illness.

11 Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

12 24 November 1976 letter.

13 Susan Flader makes the last point (about wildlife) in Thinking Like a Mountain, p. 10.

14 Ibid., p. 15. The newspaper lasted seventeen issues, until Dec. 1920, according to the Union List of Serials.

15 Ibid., p. 15.

he managed to have part of the Gila National Forest designated wilderness; the idea may originally been Arthur Carhart's, but Leopold seems justly to be regarded as the moving force behind the idea's adoption as a policy, which eventually led to the 1964 legislation preserving a system of roadless wilderness areas in the U. S.¹⁶

In July 1924 Leopold moved to Madison, Wisconsin, where he remained the Assistant Director of the Forest Service Products Laboratory until January, 1929.¹⁷ As his work became more technical, his articles tended also to be research oriented. He served on the Editorial Board of the Journal of Forestry in 1925 and on its Executive Council until at least October 1928, when issues ceased to list the names. During this period he took several vacations; his journals from trips to Canada and New Mexico form part of the posthumously-published Round River.¹⁸ Also while with the Forests Products Laboratory, Leopold helped to secure passage of Wisconsin's Conservation Act of 1927.¹⁹ But his primary interest during his spare time, according to Flader,

16 Donald C. Baldwin advances Carhart's claim to the accolade "father of the wilderness concept" in "Wilderness: Concept and Challenge," The Colorado Magazine 44 (1967), 224-40.

17 24 November 1976 letter.

18 Round River: From the Journals of Aldo Leopold, ed. Luna B. Leopold (New York: Oxford University press, 1953).

19 Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain, p. 27.

was working on a book-length manuscript, "Southwestern Game Fields."²⁰ He never published the book, but his work prepared him to leave the Forest Service in January 1929 to conduct game surveys in nine states for the Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturer's Institute.²¹

For two years he researched the possibilities on increasing supplies of game by manipulating the habitat or by means of artificial breeding instead of by restricting hunters.²² His nine volumes of results and the separately-published Report on a Game Survey of the North Central States provided a base of information for Game Management, written while Leopold was unemployed in 1932 and 1933.²³ The first important book on its subject, Game Management, led to the founding of the distinctly new profession of wildlife management.²⁴ Leopold was to become the "father" of this profession by assuming the Chair of Game Management, newly created for him by the University of Wisconsin on 15 August 1933.²⁵ For the next fifteen years, until his death,

²⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

²¹ 24 November 1976 letter.

²² Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain, p. 24.

²³ Report (Madison: Democratic Printing Company, Printers, 1931); Game (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933); employment and status in Errington, p. 348.

²⁴ Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain, pp. 22, 23.

²⁵ "New U. W. Department to Apply Farm Methods to Raising Game," Wisconsin State Journal, 15 April 1933, p. 1, col. 2.

Leopold was a university professor. It was in the early 1930's, feels historian Roderick Nash, that Leopold's feelings about land "acquired focus and clarity."²⁶ Certainly, most of his philosophical and ecologically-oriented writing emerged during the last fifteen years of his life.

The evolution of Leopold's thought generally was from seeing wildlife as game for hunters to seeing it as part of a larger eco-system. Susan Flader's book marks 1935 as a watershed year in his intellectual development. In January Leopold joined in founding The Wilderness Society, committed to preserving predators as well as game animals. In April he acquired "the shack," a weekend retreat in the Wisconsin sand counties and a site for observing, experimenting, and reflecting. In autumn he spent three months in Germany studying--and being appalled by--the highly artificialized German system for managing deer and forests. Flader cautiously warns that "no single event can cause a transformation in the intellectual development of so integral a thinker as Leopold," she sees the 1935 events as "signals," or "symbols."²⁷ These events are surely an indication of the shift in attitude which enabled Leopold to

²⁶ *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 192.

²⁷ Flader, *Thinking Like a Mountain*, pp. 29, 30.

find his mature voice and to write his most influential essays.

During the late 1930's and the 1940's Leopold continued to observe at his sand county shack, to teach, and to write. But he also became increasingly visible to the public. He assumed official duties with The Wilderness Society in 1936 and with The Wildlife Society in 1938.²⁸ In 1943 he was appointed to the Wisconsin Conservation Commission, where he served as an influential and often controversial figure; for example, his advocating deer herd reductions to protect forest vegetation enraged many of his former sponsors, the hunters of Wisconsin.²⁹

In 1945 he was elected vice-president of The Wilderness Society and, in 1947, president of the Ecological Society of America.³⁰

During World War II, while his teaching duties had been light, he had been writing and seeking a publisher for a book of his essays. Finally, on 15 April 1948, Oxford University Press telephoned Leopold to accept A Sand County Almanac.³¹ But only one week later Aldo Leopold died while

28 "Winning the Nation to Save Wilderness," The Living Wilderness, 2 (Nov. 1936), 16, and Rudolph Bennett, "Report of the Committee on Professional Standards," Journal of Wildlife Management, 3 (1939), 153.

29 Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain, pp. 168-206.

30 "Three Succeed Mr. Yard," The Living Wilderness, 14 and 15 (Dec. 1945), 4, Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain, p. 34.

31 Flader, "The Person and the Place," p. 47.

fighting a brush fire on a neighboring farm. The Madison newspaper that afternoon stated the cause of death as "burns received in fighting a small grass fire."³² But Leopold's death certificate listed "sudden heart failure" as the immediate cause of death and, underneath, entered "found dead in a field burned."³³ The coroner seems to have felt--justifiably--that an experienced forester would be less likely to fall victim to a grass fire than an excited, sixty-two year-old man would be apt to suffer a heart attack.

Aldo Leopold's ecological views transcended narrow fields of application and his writing, likewise, bridges the traditional gap between technical and humanistic thinking. At once instructive and delightful, his prose style appeals to a wide readership, much as what he writes encourages a whole-sighted, less species-centric view of life systems. For Leopold, present nature reveals all history. Since his literary power was gathering strength in the 1940's, one wished he had lived to write longer--not only to see his ideas become widely accepted but also, probably, to have hastened the recognition of their worth.

³² "Prof. Aldo Leopold, Burned Fighting Grass Blaze, Dies." Wisconsin State Journal, 21 Apr. 1948, p. 1, col. 8.

³³ Certificate of death of Aldo Leopold, 21 April 1948, available from the Resister of Deeds, Dane County, Madison, Wisconsin.

Textual Study

In order to understand how the text of Leopold's most important work was generated, I selected for analysis an excerpt from one of the "sketches here and there" in A Sand County Almanac. The full essay "The Sand Counties" was not published prior to the 1949 Oxford edition (C). Subsequent editions of the text have derived from that edition. The 1966 Oxford edition (D) added several essays but otherwise, like the 1968 Oxford paperback (E), was printed from identical plates. The 1970 Ballantine Book (F) resets the text and corrects one misprint that occurs in all the previous editions but otherwise preserves the substantives and accidentals of the first edition.

There are in my sample, however, sixteen variants between the first edition (C) and Professor Leopold's typescript (B). One variant is inadvertent: Oxford printed known instead of the grammatically correct know (typescript page 18, line 6). Three other variants are substantive. Oxford changes which to the less formal that (18.12) and, somewhat inconsistently, would to the more formal, first-person should (18.26). The third substantive variant smoothed out a possibly awkward construction by making explicit the elliptical phrase that is (18.22). Because all three changes appear deliberate--as do Oxford's twelve routine emendations of accidentals--I am confident that the first edition (C) was set from typescript (B), and not from any inferential intermediary.

With the correction of Oxford's misprint the most recent edition, the Ballantine paperback (F), now agrees with the typescript at 18.6. But that correction is the only variant not common to C, D, E, and F. The fact that Ballantine preserves all fifteen of Oxford's deliberate emendations indicates that the Ballantine text was reset from one of the earlier editions, not from Leopold's typescript.

So the text of "The Sand Counties"-- and presumably of the whole book--evolved by simple transmission from the holograph (A) to the latest printing (F). Ordinarily, then, one would choose the earliest published edition for a copy-text since, theoretically, subsequent texts degenerate through transmission and earlier manuscripts do not necessarily reflect the author's final intentions. In this case, however, Professor Leopold died only seven days after Oxford had telephoned its intent to publish A Sand County Almanac.³⁴ Because he had no opportunity to see galley proofs and to approve the publisher's emendations, the typescript embodies what must be considered the author's final intentions and, hence, provides the best copy-text.

I have chosen not to emend the copy-text (B) except

34 Susan Flader, "The Person and the Place," in The Sand Country of Aldo Leopold: A photographic interpretation by Charles Steinhacker; Essay by Susan Flader; Selections from the writings of Aldo Leopold; Edited, with an introduction, by Anthony Wolff; Designed by Charles Curtis, ed. Anthony Wolff (New York: The Sierra Club, 1973), p. 47.

where it contains an obvious error. Only one such emendation was necessary for the selected passage, at 17.21, where Leopold misspelled benighted by placing a k before the n. Since the description of the farmers as ignorant is ironic, I had to consider whether he might deliberately have re-spelled benighted to affect the reader with the positive connotations of the visible word knight, within. Deciding that such verbal play was uncharacteristic, I emended Leopold's spelling.³⁵

For the other fourteen emendations by Oxford, the justifications were not compelling. The comma after farm (18.20) is desirable, perhaps, but certainly not necessary. And for Leopold to capitalize Sandwort (18.17) but not pasque (18.13) is inconsistent, perhaps, but not problematical enough to warrant editorial interference. Oxford understandably wished to modernize Leopold's hyphenated spelling of bathtub (17.15), but there was no good reason to change a U.S. author's spelling of percent to per cent (17.22).

Even if the result is occasionally idiosyncratic, a new collation would better preserve the personal idiom as well as the final intentions of Aldo Leopold.

35 I did not encounter any end-of-line hyphenations by Leopold of possible compound words. If I had, the variant list would note the decision made at the precedent, if any. A publisher should try to avoid introducing any such ambiguity into a printing of the text.

Sample Collation from "The Sand Counties"

Every profession keeps a small herd of epithets, and needs a pasture where they may run at large. Thus economists must find free range somewhere for their pet aspersions, such as submarginality, regression, and institutional rigidity. Within the ample reaches of the Sand Counties these economic terms-of-reproach find beneficial exercise, free pasturage, and immunity from the gadflies of critical rebuttal.

Soil experts, likewise, would have a hard life without the Sand Counties. Where else would their podzols, gleys, and anaerobics find a living?

Social planners have, of late years, come to use the Sand Counties for a different, albeit somewhat parallel, purpose. The sandy region serves as a pale blank area, of pleasing shape and size, on those polka-dot maps where each dot represents ten bath-tubs, or five women's auxiliaries, or one mile of black-top, or a share in a bloodied bull. Such maps would become monotonous if stippled uniformly.

In short, the Sand Counties are poor.

Yet in the 1930's, when the alphabetical uplifts galloped like forty horsemen across the Big Flats, exhorting the sand farmers to resettle elsewhere, these benighted folk did not want to go, even when baited with three percent at the federal land bank. I began to wonder why, and finally, to settle the question, I bought myself a sand-farm.

Sometimes in June, when I see unearned dividends of dew hung on every lupine, I have doubts about the real poverty of the sands. On solvent farmlands lupines do not even grow, much less collect a daily rainbow of jewels. If they did, the weed-control officer, who seldom sees a dewy dawn, would doubtless insist that they be cut. Do economists know about lupines?

Perhaps the farmers who did not want to move out of the Sand Counties had some deep reason, rooted far back in history, for preferring to stay. I am reminded of this every April when the pasque flowers bloom on every gravelly ridge. Pasques do not say much, but I infer that their preference harks back to the glacier which put the gravel there. Only gravel ridges are poor enough to offer pasques full elbow-room in April sun. They endure snows, sleets, and bitter winds for the privilege of blooming alone.

There are other plants who seem to ask of this world not riches, but room. Such is the little Sandwort that throws a white lace cap over the poorest hilltops just before the lupines splash them with blue. Sandworts simply refuse to live on a good farm, even on a very good farm complete with rock-garden and begonias. And then there is the little Linaria, so small, so slender, and so blue that you don't even see it until directly underfoot; who ever saw a Linaria except in a sandblow?

Finally there is Draba, beside whom even Linaria is tall and ample. I have never met an economist who knows Draba, but if I were one I would do all my economic pondering lying prone on the sand, with Draba at nose-length.

Texts

- A: holograph, dated 15 June 1946
- B: typescript, updated
- C: 1949 Oxford edition (hardbound)
- D: 1966 Oxford edition (hardbound)
- E: 1968 Oxford edition (hardbound)
- F: 1970 Ballantine edition (paperbound)

Variants

17 title] lower case except for initial letters A, C, D, E;
lower case except for initial letters and italicized F

17.2 pasture] place A

17.2-17.6 Thus economists. . . terms-of-reproach] Thus economists exercises its particular collection of terms-of-reproach in the Sand Counties. Within their ample reaches such terms as sub marginality, regression, and institutional rigidity A

17.5-17.6 terms-of-reproach] terms of reproach C, D, E, F

17.8 before soil] agronomy, animal-husbandry, and canceled A

17.8 Soils experts] Soils-experts A

17.8 life] time A

17.10 after living?] (Incidentally, any biomial professor, whose vocation is not reducible to a singular noun, has special need of a vigorous herd of professional epithets. Without them an inferiority complex would surely ensue). A

17.13 sandy region] Sand Counties A

17.15 bath-tubs] bathtubs C, D, E, F

17.15 women's] women's A, womens' canceled B 14.17 stippled uniformly canceled A 14.17 after uniformly.] all over; moreover the draftsman would surely get eye-strain. A

17.21 benighted] beknighted A, B,

17.22 three] 3 C, D, E, F 17.22 percent] per cent C, D, E, F

17.24 I. . . why,] Ever since then, I have been wondering why. A

17.24-25 and . . . questions] To this end

17.25 sand-farm] sand farm C, D, E, F

18.2 doubts] misgivings A

18.3 sends] sand-blows A

18.4 did,] did A

18.6 know] known C, D, E

18.7-9 Perhaps . . . stay] Unlike the farmers who did not want to move out of the Sand Counties, the pasque flowers insist on moving in A

18.9-10 I. . . ridge] Every April I see them, marching quietly down the gravelly ridges toward new homesteads in the sand A

18.10 pasque flowers] pasque-flowers C, D, E, F

18.11-12 infer . . . there] gather that sand-farmers offer them more hospitality than Carrington-loam farmers. Pasques and cows let each other alone but pasture renovations (the better-to-please the bovines) are not to their liking A

18.12 which] that C, D, E, F

18.12-13 gravel . . . are] in the Sand Counties are the ridges A

18.13 pasques] them A 18.13 sun.] sun, with no possibility of alfalfa, brown grass, giant (illegible word) or other intrusive competitors for the favor of cows. A

18.14-27 They. . . nose-length.] omitted A

18.17 riches,] riches C, D, E, F

18.17 Sandwort] sandwort C, D, E, F

18.18 white lace] white-lace C, D, E, F

18.20 farm] farm, C, D, E, F

18.20 rock-garden] rock garden C, D, E, F

18.22 until directly] until it is directly C, D, E, F

18.26 would] should C, D, E, F

Chronology

This list of published writings by Aldo Leopold, arranges books, pamphlets, journals, transactions, essays, articles, notes, and poems in what is probably the order in which he composed them. Book reviews and editorial correspondence are excluded here but appear in the bibliography. Titles followed by one asterisk are essays from A Sand County Almanac or Round River which were never published separately during the author's lifetime, so they do not appear separately in the bibliography. Titles followed by a second asterisk were composed in part by others--usually other members of the Leopold family.

"Resolutions of a Ranger"

"Blue River"

"The Tourist and the Ranger"

"Mesa de los Angeles"

"Spare Time"

"The Busy Season"

"The Mystery"

"Ho! Compadres Pinoneros!"

"Do Purple Martins Inhabit Bird Boxes in the West?"

"Forestry and Game Conservation"

"Are Red-headed Woodpeckers Moving West?"

"Notes on Red-headed Woodpecker and Jack Snipe in New Mexico"

"Notes on the Behavior of Pintail Ducks in a Hailstorm"

- "Notes on the Weights and Plumages of Ducks in New Mexico"
- "Relative Abundance of Ducks in the Rio Grande Valley"
- "A Breeding Record for the Red-headed Woodpecker in New Mexico"
- "Differential Sex Migration of Mallards in New Mexico"
- "The National Forests: The Last Free Hunting Grounds of the Nation"
- "Forest Service Salaries and the Future of the National Forests"
- "City Tree Planting"
- "Destroying Female Trees"
- "Wanted--National Forest Game Refuges"
- "Determining the Kill Factor for Blacktail Deer in the Southwest"
- "'Piute Forestry' vs. Forest Fire Prevention"
- "The Game Situation in the Southwest"
- "The Forestry of the Prophets"
- "Range of the Magpie in New Mexico"
- "Further Notes on Differential Sex Migration"
- "A Complaint"
- "What is a Refuge?"
- "A Hunter Notes on Doves in the Rio Grande Valley"
- "A Plea for Recognition of Artificial Works in Forest Erosion Control Policy"
- "Weights and Plumage of Ducks in the Rio Grande Valley"
- "The Wilderness and Its Place in Forest Recreational Policy"
- "Erosion As a Menace to the Social and Economic Future of the Southwest"
- "Road-runner Caught in the Act"

"Wild Followers of the Forest--the Effect of Forest Fires
on Game and Fish--the Relation of Forests to
Game Conservation"

"The 'Following' Habit in Hawks and Owls"

"Pioneers and Gullies: Why Sweat to Reclaim New Land When
We Lack Sense Enough to Hold On to the Old
Acres?"

"Canada, 1924"***

"Grass, Brush, Timber, and Fire in Southern Arizona"

"Coot Caught by Turtle"

"A Seven-Year Duck Census of the Middle Rio Grande Valley"

"The Utilization Conference"

"Conserving the Covered Wagon: Shall We Save Parts of the
Far Western Wilderness from Soft
'Improvements'?"

"Canada, 1925"***

"The Last Stand of the Wilderness: A Plea for Preserving
a Few Primitive Forests, Untouched by Motor Cars
and Tourist Camps, Where Those Who Enjoy Canoe
or Pack Trips in Wild Country May Fulfill Their
Dreams"

"Wilderness as a Form of Land Use"

"Reunion"***

"Red Fox Day"***

"A Plea for Wilderness Hunting Grounds"

"The Way of the Waterfowl: How the Anthony Bill Will Help
Ducks and Duck Hunting: An Example of New
Mexico's Refuge System in Actual Operation"

"Current River, 1926"***

"The Whistling Note of the Wilson Snipe"

"Forest Products Research and Profitable Forestry"

"A Man's Leisure Time"

"The Gila, 1927"***

"Pineries and Deer on the Gila"

"The Home Builder Conserves: One-third of Our Wood Waste
in Home Building May be Saved by Close
Utilization"

"The Delta Colorado"***

"The Lily"*

"Some Thoughts on Forest Genetics"

"The Gila, 1929"***

"Environmental Controls for Game through Modified
Silviculture"

"Game Management in the National Forests"

"Who's Who in the National Forest Number"

"The Decline of Jacksnipe in Southern Wisconsin"

An American Game Policy

"The Forester's Role in Game Management"

"Game Methods--the American Way"

"The Quail Shortage of 1930"

Report on A Game Survey: Submitted to the Game Restoration
Committee, Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturer's
Institute

Report on a Game Survey of the North Central States

"The Role of Universities in Game Conservation"

"A History of Ideas in Game Management"

"Game Range"

"British and American Grouse Cycles"

"British and American Grouse Management"

"Game Food and Cover in the Cornbelt"

"Game and Wild Life Conservation"

"A Flight of Franklin's Gulls in Northwestern Iowa"

"The Conservation Ethic"

"The Mockingbird in Wisconsin"

"Weatherproofing Conservation"

Game Management

"Conservation Economics"

"Country"*

Report of the President's Committee on Wildlife

"Goose Music"*

"An Outline Plan for Game Management in Wisconsin"

"Feathered vs Human Predators"

"Coon Valley: An Adventure in Cooperative Conservation"

"Leopold on Waterfowl"

"Why the Wilderness Society?"

"Smoky Gold"*

"Wild Life Research in Wisconsin"

"Threatened Species: A Proposal to the Wild Life Conference
for an Inventory of the Needs of Near-Extinct Birds and
Animals"

"Naturschutz in Germany"

"Deer and Dauerwald in Germany: History"

"Deer and Dauerwald in Germany: Ecology"

"Franklin W. Schmidt"

"Conservationist in Mexico"

"White-winged Scoter in Missouri"

"1936 Pheasant Nesting Study"

"Deadening"*

"Natural History: The Forgotten Science"*

"Marshland Elegy"

"Sierra Madre, 1937"*

"Conservation Blueprints"

"The Chase Journal: An Early Record of Wisconsin
Wildlife"

"Teaching Wildlife Conservation in Public Schools"

"Wisconsin Pheasant Movement Study, 1936-37"

"Conservation Esthetic"

"The Alser Fork"

"Report on Huron Mountain Club"

"Wildlife Food Patches in Southern Wisconsin"

"Game Policy--Model 1930"

"Academic and Professional Training in Wildlife Work"

"The Farmer as a Conservationist"

"A Biotic View of Land"

"Spread of the Hungarian Partridge in Wisconsin"

"The State of the Profession"

"Origin and Ideals of Wilderness Areas"

"Song of the Gavilan"

"History of the Riley Game Cooperative, 1931-1939"

"Escudilla"

"Cheat Takes Over"

"Clandeboyce"

"Wilderness as a Land Laboratory"

"Prairie Birthday"

"Lakes in Relation to Terrestrial Life Patterns"
"A Raptor Tally in the Northwest"
"The Last Stand"
"On Top"*
"The Thick Billed Parrot of the Chihuahua"
"The Role of Wildlife in a Liberal Education"
"The Deer Swath"*
"'Control' of the Golden Eagle in Texas"
"Wilderness Values"
"Flambeau: The Story of a Wild River"
"Wildlife in American Culture"
"The Excess Deer Problem"
"Wilderness"*
"Population Turnover on a Wisconsin Pheasant Refuge"
"Gus's Last Hunt"*
"Deer Irruptions"
"Post-War Prospects"
"Thinking Like a Mountain"*
"What Next in Deer Policy?"
"Odyssey"
"Red Legs Kicking"*
"Six Points of Deer Policy"
"Good Oak"*
"The Distribution of Wisconsin Hares"
"The Green Lagoons"
"A Mighty Fortress"

"January Thaw"*

"Come High Water"*

"Draba"*

"Bur Oak"

"Sky Dance"

"Back from the Argentine"*

"The Sand Counties"*

"Great Possessions"*

"The Deer Dilemma"

"The Green Pasture"*

"The Choral Copse"*

"Too Early"*

"Red Lanterns"*

"On a Monument to a Pigeon""If I Were the Wind"*

"Axe in Hand"*

"Home Range"

"65290"*

"The Round River"*

"The Geese Return"*

"A Survey of Over-populated Deer Ranges in the United States"

"Illinois Bus Ride"*

"Conservation"*

"The Ecological Conscience"

"Mortgaging the Future Deer Herd"

"Pines Above the Snow"

"The Land Ethic"*

"Flambeau" (revised)*

The probable accuracy of this chronology varies from work to work. Only the few excerpts from journals in Round River and the works whose manuscript versions I examined are assigned with full confidence, based on a precisely documentable date of composition. In each other case, unable to use physical evidence or to trace the evolution of Aldo Leopold's handwriting, I used all available evidence, both internal and external to the text.

Often a work contained helpful internal evidence. In the first part of A Sand County Almanac, for example, Leopold refers to specific years in a few of the almanac essays. In doing so, he reveals that the entries were probably not recorded during a single calendar year, as the arrangement by month suggests. The February entry "Good Oak" describes the felling of a tree with eighty growth rings, about which Leopold remarks, "the seedling from which it originated must have laid its first ring of wood in 1865."³⁶

That entry, then, must have been written in 1945--presumably in his February journal. But the December entry titled "65290" was written in 1946. The chickadee banded with that number is said to have been one of seven

³⁶ A Sand County Almanac: And Sketches Here and There, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949), p. 6.

"constituting the 'class of 1937. . . .' During his sixth winter 65290 failed to reappear, and the verdict of 'missing in action' is now confirmed by his absence during four subsequent trappings."³⁷ If the 1937 reference is also to December, Leopold appears to have composed "65290" twenty-two months after "Good Oak." And in "Flambeau," originally published in 1943, a reference to the year 1947 led me to discover that, shortly before his death, Leopold rewrote the ending.³⁸ Because of such complexities, I had to list separately each of the essays in A Sand County Almanac and Round River.

A less-precise kind of internal evidence was the reference to a datable event. In "Marshland Elegy," Leopold's references to the departure of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps places this piece sometime after Roosevelt's Depression measures of 1933.³⁹ Study of local histories might reveal more precisely when the workers departed. The vivid picture of an abandoned farm helps to date "Smoky Gold": Leopold says of an elm seedling that blocked the barn door, "Its rings date back to the drouth of 1930."⁴⁰ Since a seedling is less than three feet tall,

³⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 115-16. The last five paragraphs are new.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 101.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

this experience could not have occurred after mid-decade.⁴¹ In the absence of better evidence, I assumed that the essay, written in present tense, was composed in 1934.

I have made little use of literary or social history to illuminate internal evidence for this chronology because, usually, more precise means were available. But social history was useful in dating, for example, Leopold's statement about whether conquest of the wilderness would extend to its elimination: "The question is new because in America the point of elimination has only recently appeared on the horizon of foreseeable events."⁴² Recognition of this issue does not precede 1919, when Arthur Carhart restricted the development of Trapper's Lake, Colorado, for the greater good of preserving its wild state.⁴³ Leopold's statement was published in the Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics in October 1925; so that is the latest date for possible composition. The forum Leopold chose and his tone of advocacy suggest that this article is his first attempt to gain public, legislative approval for the concept endorsed--perhaps just previously--in 1924 by the Forest Service designation of part of the Gila National Forest as

⁴¹ The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, s. v. "seedling."

⁴² "Wilderness as a Form of Land Use," Journal of Land Use and Public Utility Economics, 1 (1925), 398.

⁴³ Donald N. Baldwin, "Wilderness: Concept and Challenge," The Colorado Magazine, 44 (1967), 224-40.

wilderness. So internal evidence, social history, and the date of publication in this instance point to a composition date from late in 1924 to early in 1925 for "Wilderness as a Form of Land Use."

Another kind of internal evidence which I often relied on has to do with Leopold's "technique," as an increasingly philosophical style accompanied his parallel shift to more philosophical subject matter. Early in his career Leopold published short observations of interest, like "Notes on the Behavior of Pintail Ducks in a Hailstorm" or "Road Runner Caught in the Act" (of stealing eggs).⁴⁴ He assumed a limited audience of other naturalists and wrote in a matter-of-fact style. During his years with the Forest Service and into the 1930's, when he wrote Game Management, Leopold's articles dealt with wildlife issues in economic, rather than philosophical terms.⁴⁵ In the 1918 article "Forestry and Game Conservation," for example, he justified conservation primarily as a boon to the hunter: "There is a demand for every head of killable big game in the United States."⁴⁶ As late as 1920 he expressed hope for total eradication of predators.⁴⁷ By the 1930's his goals were often more

⁴⁴ The Condor, 24 (1922), 183.

⁴⁵ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

⁴⁶ Journal of Forestry, 16 (April), 408.

⁴⁷ "The Game Situation in the Southwest," Bulletin of the Game Protective Association, 9 (April 1920), 5.

visionary and his tone less polemical. But his underlying emphasis, seen in articles like "British and American Grouse Management," for example, was still on wildlife control as a means, as a tool for sportsmen--rather than as an end in itself.⁴⁸ By the end of the decade, his attitude towards predators had become more ecologically oriented, and articles like "Escudilla," written sometime prior to 1940, recognized the need for bears at the top of the biotic food chain.⁴⁹ This changed attitude helps to place some writings in the last fifteen years of Leopold's life, after he began to write from a more idealistic standpoint such essays as "The Conservation Ethic" (1933),⁵⁰ "Conservation Esthetic" (1938),⁵¹ or "Odyssey"--whose playfulness as it describes an atom's biotic journey through the eons makes it likely to have been written during World War II, when Leopold had few graduate-student demands on his time.⁵² So Leopold's shifts in technique, to a more spiritual tone and to more synthetic content, provide another kind of internal evidence from

48 American Game, July-August and Sept.-Oct. 1931 [pages unk.]

49 American Forests, 46 (1940), 539-40.

50 Journal of Forestry, 31, 634-43.

51 Bird Lore, 40, 101-09.

52 Susan Flader, Thinking Like a Mountain: Aldo Leopold and the Evolution of an Ecological Attitude toward Deer, Wolves, and Forests (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1974), pp. 33, 34 contain the biographical information.

which to date the probable composition of a particular piece of writing.

In a few cases, external evidence was extremely helpful, also. A footnote to the 1946 article "Erosion as a Menace to the Social and Economic Future of the Southwest" explained that Leopold had originally read the manuscript at a 1922 meeting of the New Mexico Association for Science.⁵³ Rudolph Bennett's "Report of the Committee on Professional Standards"⁵⁴ describes Aldo Leopold's appointment to chair the Sub-committee on Professional Qualifications in February 1938 whose meetings eventually resulted in Leopold's sending the first draft of "Academic and Professional Training"⁵⁵ to other members of the Subcommittee on 24 May 1938. Based on such external information, a tentative composition date of 20 May can be assigned with virtual certainty that it is accurate to within several days.

The most helpful form of external evidence useful in dating more often took the form of biographical material. As one might expect of a writer on environmental issues, Leopold's surroundings often affected what he wrote and when. Because of its subject, the essay "City Tree Planting,"⁵⁶ for example, can be assigned with confidence to

⁵³ Journal of Forestry, 44 (1946), 627, n. 1.

⁵⁴ Journal of Wildlife Management, 3 (1939), 153.

⁵⁵ Journal of Wildlife Management, 3 (1939), 156-61.

⁵⁶ American Forestry, 25 (1919), 1295.

the short interlude in Leopold's forest work when he worked for the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce. The essay "A Man's Leisure Time,"⁵⁷ which discusses bow-making, was probably written near the time that "someone at the Forest Products Laboratory had given Leopold a length of yew, launching a whole family of champion archers."⁵⁸ And perhaps the most often-used piece of biographical information was the purchase date of "the Shack": 17 May 1935.⁵⁹ At least a half-dozen compositions can be tentatively dated from internal references to Leopold's Shack experiences. In "Prairie Birthday," for instance, he remarks, "This year I found the Silphium in first bloom . . . a week later than usual; during the last six years the average date was 15 July."⁶⁰ He presumably noticed the Silphium his first summer, so he probably wrote "Prairie Birthday" in 1941. At least some helpful biographical evidence was available for most of the 184 articles listed in the chronology.

57 Round River: From the Journals of Aldo Leopold, ed. Luna Leopold (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1953), pp. 3-8.

58 Susan Flader, "The Person and the Place," in The Sand Country of Aldo Leopold: A photographic interpretation by Charles Steinhacker; Essay by Susan Flader; Selections from the writings of Aldo Leopold; Edited, with an introduction, by Anthony Wolfe; Designed by Charles Curtis, ed. Anthony Wolfe (New York: The Sierra Club, 1973), p. 34.

59 Ibid., p. 42. He had leased the Shack by that date.

60 A Sand County Almanac, p. 46.

The most difficult writings to date precisely were the more philosophical ones in A Sand County Almanac. Of the twenty-one essays in part one, for example, only one-third can be approximately dated based on internal evidence. Of those seven, however, six were written after 1940, and five of those six between February 1945 and December 1947. Because Leopold seems to have done so much of this kind of writing during the last few years of his life, I have tentatively assigned 1946 as the year of composition for the remaining fourteen. There is fair probability that they were written within a year of that average time.

A Wisconsin State Journal interview with one of his colleagues reveals that Leopold customarily put writings in his desk drawer, which he called his "cooler," and "'he would leave a manuscript there for a month or so and then take another look at it.'"⁶¹ As a result, publication dates are not precise indicators of when a work was written, and I have relied on them only when no other evidence is available.

⁶¹ "Aldo Leopold's Life Inspires Awe," Wisconsin State Journal, 19 Sept. 1965, p. 6, cols. 3-4.

Attribution Study

There would be sufficient physical, external, and internal evidence to attribute "The Sand Counties" to Aldo Leopold if its authorship were in doubt.

The holograph copy of "The Sand Counties" which I have examined is signed "Aldo Leopold," with a distinctive small p, whose upstroke reaches as high as an upper-case letter. The small p's within the text of the manuscript are made in the same way, as are the p's in the 1944 pencil draft of "Thinking Like a Mountain," reproduced in Susan Flader's study.⁶² So the same hand apparently wrote another work attributed to Leopold. And, in addition, the distinctive p is present in the signature of the father on the birth certificate of Aldo Leopold's first son, born 22 April 1913.⁶³ So the handwriting provides strong physical evidence for Leopold's authorship of the passage.

External evidence is also strong. Aldo Leopold's name on the title page of A Sand County Almanac is evidence that Leopold's publishers attributed the contents, including "The Sand Counties," to Leopold. And this first-person description of a piece of land is a type of essay which Leopold often wrote for publication. Even the title itself

⁶² Thinking Like a Mountain: Aldo Leopold and the Evolution of an Ecological Attitude toward Deer, Wolves, and Forests (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1974, p. xvi.

⁶³ Record of Birth for Aldo Starker Leopold, available from the Clerk of the District Court, Des Moines County, Burlington, Iowa 52601.

is evidence: "sand counties" is Leopold's often-used phrase to describe south-central Wisconsin, the setting for much of Leopold's free time after he obtained "the Shack" in 1935,⁶⁴ the probable biographical source of the statement, "I bought myself a sandfarm." (17.3, above)

With such compelling physical and external evidence, arguments from internal evidence need only to be acceptable. But there are also remarkably strong stylistic similarities between this passage and the writings of Aldo Leopold.

Paul Errington, a professional acquaintance of Leopold's, writes of Leopold that "he exhorted [his students] to strive for the maximum simplicity consistent with the subject written upon."⁶⁵ "Simplicity" is hardly a unique characteristic, but one could show that the style is not complex in ways which Leopold's similar essay "Marshland Elegy"⁶⁶--also describing central Wisconsin--is not complex, either. Three stylistic qualities usually not associated with "maximum simplicity" are long sentences, polysyllabic words, and periodic sentences. The average sentence length

64 Susan Flader, "The Person and the Place," in The Sand Country of Aldo Leopold: A photographic interpretation by Charles Steinhacker; Essay by Susan Flader; Selections from the writings of Aldo Leopold; Edited, with an introduction, by Anthony Wolff; Designed by Charles Curtis, ed. Anthony Wolff (New York: The Sierra Club, 1973), p. 42.

65 Paul L. Errington, "In Appreciation of Aldo Leopold," Journal of Wildlife Management, 12 (1948), 347.

66 A Sand County Almanac: And Sketches Here and There (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949), pp. 95-101.

in the 513-word passage from "The Sand Counties" is twenty words--not particularly short or long; the average sentence length for the first 514 words of "Marshland Elegy" is also moderate: sixteen words each. More individually characteristic--although again hardly unique--is the variety of sentence lengths: "The Sand Counties" varies from a sentence of five words to one of forty-three, and "Marshland Elegy" varies comparably from three to thirty-seven words per sentence. Each passage uses one interrogative sentence. Although "The Sand Counties" contains some difficult, short words, the vocabulary does not tend to be polysyllabic there either, where thirty-one words out of 513 contain three or more syllables, or in "Marshland Elegy," where the same amount of prose has forty-three large words. Like most twentieth-century prose, both passages rely predominantly on loose rather than periodic sentence structure. In "The Sand Counties" there are only three sentences out of twenty-six which contain even one dependent clause that precedes the main clause elements; in "Marshland Elegy" there is none. And, like most polished prose, there is use of rhetorical devices such as parallelism in both. In "Marshland Elegy" mist advances, "riding over phalanxes of tamarack, sliding across bog meadows heavy with dew"; and in "The Sand Counties" *Linaria* is described as "so small, so slender, and so blue" (18.21-22). But these are characteristics would be of little use except to disprove an attribution if they were

inconsistent with Leopold's style elsewhere. Even the less universal, heavy reliance on adjectives in both writings (137 in "The Sand Counties," 125 in "Marshland Elegy") is not unique. Larger samples of prose would, of course, be necessary for any conclusive analysis.

Other, more personal elements of style would be more useful. In A Sand County Almanac, four essays other than "The Sand Counties" refer to Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps or CCC, as an example of ecological blundering.⁶⁷ In "Marshland Elegy," one such paragraph notes that "a roadless marsh is seemingly . . . worthless to the alphabetical conservationist."⁶⁸ This use of the word "alphabetical" as a term of derision is probably not unique, but it is unusual enough to suggest that probably it was the same person who referred in "The Sand Counties" to New Deal programs with the phrase "alphabetical uplifts." (17.19) Less striking, perhaps, but still noteworthy, is the parallel between the emphasized idea of the economic emptiness of the sand counties--expressed here with the words "poverty" (18.2), "poor" (17.17, 18.13), and "poorest" (18.18)--and the phrase in Leopold's essay "Draba" describing the same terrain as "sand too poor . . . for

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 95.

⁶⁸ "Marshland Elegy," p. 100; "Conservation Esthetic," p. 172; "Wilderness," p. 191; and "The Land Ethic," p. 208. All these essays appear in A Sand County Almanac.

bigger, better blooms."⁶⁹ A more general idea which appears repeatedly in Leopold's writings is one implied in "The Sand Counties": the specialist need not divorce himself from the general. The economist short-sightedly sees no monetary value in the sand counties because of his specialized orientation; the writer, on the other hand, examines Draba at nose-length (18.27) but still can see the pasque-flowers in terms of "the glacier that put the gravel there (18.12). One parallel in Leopold's writings to this idea that the perception can be focused without losing its quality is the remark in "Conservation Esthetic" that "the weeds in a city lot convey the same lesson as the redwoods."⁷⁰

One reviewer describes Leopold's style as "poetic."⁷¹ The term is rather vague, but it points to Leopold's frequent use of metaphor. The passage from "The Sand Counties" which I used in the textual study is "poetic" in this sense: only paragraphs four and nine do not employ some implicit or explicit comparison between a literal thing and a dissimilar, figurative thing. The other seven paragraphs, in turn, compare word to animals, soils to laborers, maps to art objects, government agencies to horsemen, dew to jewels and jewels to colors, pasque-flowers to solitary people, and sandworts to sand county farmers.

⁶⁹ A Sand County Almanac, p. 26.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 174.

⁷¹ Canadian Forum, 30 (April 1950), 23.

This metaphorical mode of expression, in itself, is not an unusual enough characteristic to use as evidence for attribution; but its absence might have weakened the case. Another, more particular comparison of a map of Wisconsin to an esthetically-pleasing art object is unusual, and a parallel metaphor in Leopold's "Bur Oak" would be significant evidence for attribution, as Leopold describes "the rich mosaic of prairie and forest soils which look so decorative on a map."⁷² Leopold's ability to get pleasure from variety on a map is the same unusual quality possessed by the writer of "The Sand Counties," where the poor region brings "a pale blank area, of pleasing shape and size, on those polka dot maps" of social planners. (17.13-14) The writer, who continues, "Such maps would become monotonous if stippled uniformly" (17.16-17), would share an unusual perception with Aldo Leopold if she or he were not the same person. This parallel, consistent with the ecological relation between diversity and quality, would further help to attribute "The Sand Counties" to Aldo Leopold.

Finally, "The Sand Counties" contains the same singular voice found throughout A Sand County Almanac, a voice whose tone a New York Times reviewer describes as "not without a certain wry humor and gnomic quality."⁷³ The good-natured

⁷² A Sand County Almanac, p. 27.

prodding of experts by describing their means as ends in the first few paragraphs, the writer's recognition of his kinship with them and their shortcomings have parallels in Leopold's writings. Another attitude implied here and in Aldo Leopold's writing is the sense that the speaker is part of a small minority which sees the value in the sand counties, or in wilderness, but which also recognizes the paradox that the value would disappear if these lands were not different, or if everyone shared those values by moving in.

A full analysis of Leopold's tone would fill many pages, but even without that kind of study, the combination of evidence here makes a sufficient case for attributing "The Sand Counties" to Aldo Leopold.

73 Hal Borland, "The Land is Good," rev. of A Sand County Almanac: And Sketches Here and There, The New York Times Book Review, 16 July 1950, p. 10.

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