

## From the Genealogy of the Environmental Thought: Marian Raciborski and Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski

### Z genealogii myśli ekologicznej: Marian Raciborski i Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski

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#### Abstract

The article presents the views of two pioneers of environmental thought: Marian Raciborski and Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski. The former was the author of a conservation programme of protecting nature which conceptualised valuable phenomena and objects of nature as natural monuments. The latter was the author of a peculiar *ecological manifesto* which demanded that nature should be treated as humans' partner in the world, a partner deserving respect combined with care for its existence. In Poland, these were the first autonomous reflections at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the necessity of protecting nature and of humankind's relationships with nature.

**Key words:** environmentalism, natural monument, nature protection, Pawlikowski Jan Gwalbert, Polish environmental thought, Raciborski Marian

#### Streszczenie

Artykuł prezentuje poglądy dwóch pionierów myśli ekologicznej: Mariana Raciborskiego i Jana Gwalberta Pawlikowskiego. Pierwszy z nich był autorem konserwatorskiego programu ochrony natury konceptualizującą wartości zjawisk i obiektów natury jako pomników przyrody. Drugi był autorem specjalnego *ekologicznego manifestu* domagającego się traktowania natury jako ludzkiego partnera w świecie, zasługującego na szacunek i troskę o jego egzystencję. W Polsce początku XX wieku były to pierwsze autonomiczne refleksje nad koniecznością ochrony przyrody i humanitarnych związków z naturą.

**Słowa kluczowe:** environmentalizm, pomnik przyrody, ochrona środowiska, Pawlikowski Jan Gwalbert, polska myśl ekologiczna, Raciborski Marian

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The contemporary idea of environmental protection first appeared at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It happened also in Poland<sup>1</sup> however environmental thought from this country is not so much known as it deserves. It was related to grassroots initiatives launched in Galicia, especially in Cracow and Lviv. It was then that Associations and organisations were founded which saw as their principal goal popularising the protection of the environment. The most im-

portant of them were: the Commission on Physiography at the Academy of Learning (1865), the Tatra Society based in Cracow (1873), the Polish Copernicus Society of Naturalists founded in Lviv in 1874, the Galician Society for the Protection of Animals, founded in 1876 and based in Lviv, and Galician Forestry Society (1882). Scientists and social activists concentrated in these organisations used the magazines they published (*Kosmos*, *Miesięcznik*,

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<sup>1</sup> Though Stanisław Staszic needs to be remembered here; in his *Ziemorództwo Karpatów i innych gór i równin Polski* from the year 1805 he included remarks concerning

taking care of nature, writing, among others, that it is a duty to *sacredly preserve the natural characteristic features of the Polish lands* (Lenkowa, 1986, p. 90-91).

*Sylwan*) or conference reports to signal the threats to the well-being of nature (e.g. erosion of soil caused by deforestation), they called for the protection of the endangered components of the natural environment (e.g. chamois and marmots in the Tatra Mountains); they also put forward projects of legal regulations in terms of the management of natural resources (e.g. in the question of afforestation; Szafer, 1973; Lenkowa, 1986; Łapiński i Abdurakhamanov, 2005).

These valuable actions undertaken in order to protect nature were at that time organised in an ad hoc manner and had a practical character. The theoretical framework for the idea of environmental protection was only constructed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The authors of the first Polish concepts of nature conservation were Marian Raciborski and Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski. To a large extent, their reflections referred to similar ones which emerged at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries around the world (R. W. Emerson, H. D. Thoreau, J. Muir) and in Europe (A. von Humboldt, H. Conventz) (Lenkowa, 1986a, p. 43-84).

Marian Raciborski<sup>2</sup>, a botany professor at Lviv and Jagiellonian Universities, is considered to be the pioneer of Polish in-depth reflection on the environmental protection. This opinion is based on his publications: *Ochrony godne drzewa i zbiorowiska roślin* [*Trees and Plant Communities Worth Protecting*], and the more important – *Zabytki przyrody* [*Natural Monuments*] (Raciborski, 1900; 1908). This work is treated as the first one in Poland presenting the programme of nature conservation (Szafer, 1947, p. 8). Apart from the description of Polish natural monuments, it puts forward three main ideas.

The first one is a statement about the increasing destruction of the environment and the resulting necessity of nature conservation, together with an emphasis on its social significance. In an invocation, as it were, the Polish scholar writes: *Across the vast spaces of Europe, [man – lg] has transformed the old landscape, vegetation and animals. It is only now, and this is a significant detail, that the minds of our generation in many places around the globe almost*

*simultaneously understood the loss, and efforts began to be made in order to save what remains; it was understood what role the homeland landscape as well as our knowledge of it play in terms of education and science, as it is our duty to future generations to know and to preserve the monuments of our homeland nature* (Raciborski, 1947, p. 11). What deserves special attention here is Raciborski's manner of arguing, as he emphasises the value of pristine nature, which should be preserved for the future; he also highlights its role in the process of shaping the young generation and man's cognitive activity.

Secondly, Raciborski introduces in this text the notion of natural monuments, fundamental for his project: *Natural* monuments are these objects of inanimate nature and wildlife which provoke curiosity because of their rarity, and, at the same time, due to their advanced age they are witnesses of times and relationships long gone, sometimes even of climates past, and as valuable demonstrative specimens they deserve attention and care. We also count among them usual places which are made unique by the beauty of their location. These can be rocks, waterfalls, lakes, rare animals, gigantic or rare trees or even assemblages of plants differing from usual ones, such as the remnants of steppes, gypsum sinkholes, mires. They can be cared for only as long as we are aware of their value; otherwise, we will pass them indifferently as we have done so far (Raciborski, 1947, p. 12-13). This concept clearly uses an analogy to historical monuments. Therefore, it has been referred to as museum-like care for nature (Okraska, 2010, p. 21), or conservation activities. The latter term for an attitude towards nature preferred by Raciborski is especially accurate, as it was aimed at adopting measures limited to preserving and caring for the existing components of the environment which are deemed valuable. What lacks here, it needs to be mentioned, is the factor of actions taken up in order to *repair* the damages man has inflicted on nature.

Thirdly, the conservation approach to the problem of environmental protection as presented by Raciborski performed one more function apart from caring for natural monuments. It was to constitute, through

<sup>2</sup> Marian Raciborski (1863-1917) studied (1881-1891) natural sciences and medicine at the Jagiellonian University, and subsequently (1892-1896) at the universities in Berlin, Bonn, Munich and Wrocław. In the years 1896-1900, he studied the flora of Java. After his return to Poland, in the years 1900-1909, he was the head of the Chair of Botany at the Agricultural University of Dublany near Lviv. In the years 1904-1905, he was the president of the Polish Copernicus Society of Naturalists in Lviv. From 1909, as a botany professor at Lviv University, he organised the Biological-Botanical Institute. In 1912, he became a botany professor at the Jagiellonian University. From 1900 a corresponding member and from 1913 a working member of the Polish Academy of Learning. In the years 1915-1917 he was the chair of the Commission on Physiography at the Academy of Learning. In 1912, he was appointed the

director of the Botanic Garden in Cracow. In 1913, he created the Institute of Botany at the Jagiellonian University. Raciborski published over 300 works on the cytology, anatomy, morphology and physiology of plants. He also wrote works concerning floristry. He devised methods of propagating plants, growing tissues in trees, and he described in detail the phenomenon of photosynthesis. He also published pioneering works in the area of paleobotany and he was the creator of the Polish school of phytogeography. He was one of the forerunners of environmental protection in Poland, representing the conservation current. He introduced in Poland A. Von Humboldt's term of *natural monument*, extending it to include objects of inanimate nature (rocks, waterfalls, lakes), see: *Marian Raciborski: Studia nad życiem i twórczością naukową*, ed. Koronas J., the Jagiellonian University, Cracow 1986.

learning about the nature of one's homeland, a significant element of patriotic education. He wrote about it in the following words: *a nature-related manner of understanding life and its phenomena is entering our world more and more boldly, exercising young minds not only with a spiritual word, but also by making connections between observations, by performing experiments, with a final test of truth. Observations, in turn, must concern, self-evidently, mainly the homeland and its creations. The feeling of love for one's homeland, community with the society and the land, provoked only by tradition, reading, history or poetry, can be very strong indeed, but if one lacks a closer knowledge of things* [i.e. of homeland nature, it will turn out to be (lg)] *something vague and barren* (Raciborski, 1947, p. 12). In this perspective, environmental protection becomes a social and national duty.

Without prejudice to the Polish scientist's views on nature protection, it needs to be noted that he followed to a large extent the German pioneer of nature conservation, known in Europe at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries – Hugo Conwentz from Gdańsk (Lenkowa, 1986, p. 61-63), with whom, by the way, he worked in close scientific cooperation. Such a conservation attitude in the understanding of care for nature was at that time a dominant phenomenon in Europe and North America. He is the one to whom we owe, among others, developing in that period the idea of natural national parks and nature reserves, which is still popular today.

A few years after Raciborski's ideas were first presented, a much richer concept of protecting the environment was developed by his associate from the Agricultural University of Dublany – Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski<sup>3</sup>. In *Lamus* yearbook in 1913, he published a text entitled *Kultura i natura* [Culture and nature] (Pawlikowski, 1913), which, according to later researchers, deserves to be considered the first ecological manifesto in Poland due to its broad and deep perspective on the matter (Sebesta, 2001, p. 53; Okraska, 2010, p. 20-22).

Pawlikowski's starting point was the conviction that *Contemporary culture includes elements which contribute to the degeneration of man to a much higher degree than it used to be in former times* (Pawlikowski, 2010, p. 49). This conclusion was based on a crisis, widely felt in Europe at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, which revealed the decline of the traditional society and the related values, as well as the appearance of entirely new phenomena, such as rapidly growing industrialisation and urbanisation. It was especially these processes that, according to the Polish writer, were the causes endangering, on the one hand, human physical and psychological life, and on the other – they were the factors of the destruction of the environment. At the same time, he noted the mental trend prevalent in Europe, dated from the times of Rousseau and especially the age of romanticism, which added a considerable emotive significance to nature in human life. In relation to that, he wrote: *One of the reasons why the feelings*

<sup>3</sup> Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski (1860-1939) was the leading Polish intellectual figure of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He studied law at the Jagiellonian University, where he was awarded a Ph.D. in 1885. In the years 1885-1887, he studied agricultural sciences and economy in Dublany and Vienna. From 1887, he managed a large family estate near Medyka. At the same time, in 1889 he began his research and teaching work at the Agricultural University of Dublany near Lviv as a lecturer in agricultural and economic subjects. That was where he began his cooperation with M. Raciborski. Living in Lviv, he was active in various areas. In the field of economy, he worked in agricultural organisations and in banking; as an activity organiser of educational and cultural life he was the founder of the School of Political Science in Lviv (1907), he supported publishing companies and the initiatives of theatrical movement in Galicia; he was active in the political life in Galicia, representing the moderate wing of the local National Democracy party as its vice chairman; he was a prolific author of numerous scientific texts in the field of agricultural sciences, but also literary studies, which brought him great acclaim in the country, especially for his distinguished knowledge of the works of Słowacki (*Mistyka Słowackiego/The Mysticism of Słowacki*, 1909) – for the achievements in this area he became a member of the Polish Academy of Learning; finally, he was a very devoted member of the Tatra Society and a leading ideologist of mountaineering in the Tatras (he is remembered in this

area as an excellent climber). It is this last area of Pawlikowski's activities that his work for the protection of the environment is related to. As a leading activist of the Tatra Society, he was instrumental in founding as its part the Tatras Protection Section (1902), later transformed into the Mountain Protection Section (1930). It was the first formal initiative in Poland whose main aim was to protect the environment. He was one of the co-founders of the League for the Preservation of Nature (1926), a mass organisation guarding the natural heritage. In independent Poland, he performed the function of the vice-president of the Polish State Council for Nature Conservation, significantly contributing to passing the environmental protection law (1934) as well as numerous legal acts in this respect. He was a long-time editor of magazines which popularised the idea of conservation: *Wierchy* (from 1923) and *Ochrona Przyrody* (from 1920). He wrote many press articles devoted to the care for the environment; his special concern in these was the inviolability of the natural state of the Polish Tatras. For these activities, he received state awards (e.g. the Order of Polonia Restituta), and by the decision of the Polish State Council for Nature Conservation, a collection of his works was published in 1938, entitled *O lice ziemi. Wybór pism Jana Gwalberta Pawlikowskiego* and including his most important treatises in such areas as: protection of nature, of the environment, of landscape and of folk culture. See: Okraska R., *Rycerz przyrody*, 2010; *Dom pod Jedłami i jego twórca. Studia i wspomnienia*, ed. W. A. Wójcik, Znak, Cracow 1997.

for nature are presently being rekindled is the awoken awareness of how much we have distanced ourselves from it (Pawlikowski, 2010, s. 58) and subsequently adds that *today's emotional attitude to nature has the feature of being opposed to culture* (Pawlikowski 2010, p. 48). In the light of that last remark, the title of Pawlikowski's work *Culture and nature*, it may seem, is of contradictory character. Culture, as the whole of humankind's civilizational achievements in the spiritual (mental) sphere, material sphere (the whole of the creations of human activeness) and social sphere (forms of collective life), stands in contradiction to nature – to the natural environment humans come from and with which they are still connected. Indeed, Pawlikowski particularly emphasised the fact that in his times the relation between culture and nature was asymmetrical and brought unfavourable results to both its elements. But the Polish writer goes much further and puts forward the fundamental thought that a new, non-contradictory relationship between man and nature needs to be built. This appeal, arguing against the opposition between nature and culture, concludes his manifest.

A way of implementing the idea of combining nature and culture into a harmonious whole is, according to Pawlikowski, taking up activities aimed at protecting nature as the weaker and mercilessly exploited side of the discussed relationship. At the same time, these relationships are to serve humans, contributing to the improvement of their living conditions. This project constitutes the foundation of his multifaceted ecological reflection.

One of the more important threads of the ecological thought of the Galician author was his strong criticism of the utilitarian treatment of nature. In relation to that, he wrote: *The idea of protection of nature begins only when the one who protects does not do so for material gains or for historical or other sentimental value related to a creation of nature and alien to it as such, but for nature itself, for one's liking for it, for the ideal values found in it* (Pawlikowski, 2010, p. 69-70). He sees as an ideal value all that is untouched by human interference. In relation to nature, objects of ideal value are old trees, wild forests, uncommon geological formations (natural monuments) or natural landscapes. The rarer such objects, the greater their ideal value. Nature's ideal values are, according to Pawlikowski, the fundamental basis of the protection of the environment. He considered a misunderstanding the demands for protecting

nature made due to economic reasons (as natural resources will become exhausted too fast) or utilitarian reasons (the values of nature need to be preserved as they are beneficial for people's holiday trips). Nature should be protected exclusively on the basis of the autotelic values of which it is an autonomous bearer. From this axiological point of view, Pawlikowski developed his stance on the conservation concept of protecting nature. In his view, the idea of natural monuments and nature reserves is insufficient. Care for natural monuments only does not amount, after all, to the protection of entire nature; creating nature reserves (*national parks, islands of protection*) makes entire areas of the country which are not subject to special care fall outside the requirement of protecting nature (Pawlikowski 2010, p. 76). The idea of caring for nature should assume, according to him, treating it as a whole and taking into account all its manifestations.

The idea which was much closer to his views was that of preserving the values of the natural landscape<sup>4</sup>. According to Pawlikowski, this concept was treated as a link between culture and nature. On the one hand, it has to take into account transformations of landscape resulting from human activities (e.g. power lines, roads, tracks, industrial landscape). On the other, he wants the natural environment to be preserved in the most pristine state possible. Thus the necessity of such a way of shaping the landscape (land use planning) that would combine these two considerations. In relation to that, his words (which, it needs to be pointed out, were written in 1913) sound visionary indeed: *The art of adapting oneself to the aesthetic character of landscape (...) should be introduced in schools. What might have seemed impossible or even ridiculous yesterday will become a serious requirement tomorrow* (Pawlikowski, 2010, p. 87). And it was what happened: presently, a subject called *The Protection and Shaping of Landscape* is taught at universities.

Nature protection is not only the question of caring for the landscape, but also for plants and animals, threatened by the civilizational development of agriculture and industry, as well as the growing demand for materials obtained from animals (meat or skins). In this respect, Pawlikowski appeals for moderation in using green areas for agricultural, industrial or urban purposes, for preserving the flora and fauna characteristic for a given area and for care for all species of plants and animals and not only for those which are endangered (Pawlikowski 2010, p. 94-99).

<sup>4</sup> In Poland, this concept was later popularised especially by Adam Wodziczko (1887-1948), a botany professor at Poznań University (from 1920), a distinguished activist and promoter of nature protection. He was the first in Poland to introduce university lectures in nature protection called *physiotactics* – a new science he suggested, dealing with the process of shaping people's proper attitude to the natural environment. He was the initiator of founding na-

tional parks: Wielkopolska, Wolin and Słowiński. As a result of his efforts, the first Department of the Protection of Nature and Landscape Management was created in Poland at the Chair of General Botany at Poznań University (1945). He was the author of over 200 scientific works and articles on the subject of conservation. See: Łoborzewska A., *Adam Wodziczko, Zarząd Główny LOP* (League for the Preservation of Nature), Warsaw 1981.

To use modern language, he calls for preserving natural biodiversity to the largest extent possible; it is what constitutes for him the primary objective of conservation activities. It is a programme which is still applicable to the contemporary concepts of nature conservation.

The author of *Culture and nature* was especially critical of tourism, quickly developing in his times, and of the fashion for visiting places with attractive natural environment. He did not oppose this social tendency, but he disapproved of behaviours which sometimes accompanied it, such as littering the natural environment or *decorating* the places one visited with tourists' initials carved in tree bark or rocks and other *souvenirs* of their stay; he drew attention to the practice of blazing hiking trails with brightly coloured signs; all this together had a negative influence on the state of local natural environment, its flora and fauna. He was especially critical of the quickly developing *tourist industry* manifesting itself, among others, in erecting hotels in more picturesque areas, or in building aerial tramways facilitating the movement of masses of tourists up to mountain peaks. On the other hand, it needs to be added that as far as the work of protecting nature is concerned, Pawlikowski saw an ally in responsible tourism that is conscious of threats to nature. He especially emphasised such an attitude of respect and self-restraint in mountain tourism and Alpinism he promoted, arguing that destroying nature means that these forms of humans' presence in the world of nature should be eliminated (Sebesta 2001, p. 58).

Pawlikowski's journalistic activeness concerned to a large extent the questions of exploiting nature by *tourism economy* (Pawlikowski 2010a), his writings in this respect were provided with a primary motto: *The values discussed here are the values which are still growing as the spiritual culture is advancing; are we allowed to reject in the name of the society this constantly growing rent [here in the sense of 'costs' (lg)] for a momentary minor benefit of just one or a few generations? It is a robbery committed on the future – an economy of until-tomorrows* (Pawlikowski, 2010, p. 107). The motto speaks directly about *generational egalitarianism*, or about the responsibility for the state of nature left in legacy for the future generations – one of the main slogans of the contemporary environmentalist thought.

When presenting Pawlikowski's environmental reflections, it is necessary to draw attention to his clear perception of the values of people's direct contact with nature. The significance of the natural environment (as intact as possible) for human existence cannot be overestimated. He also used on occasions this argument to propagate the idea of protecting nature, even though he criticised the utilitarian approach in this respect. It could be presumed that in doing so, he tried to present the favourable influence nature has on culture. Conservation activities, according to

him, are favourable from the individual, social, national and moral point of view.

People's contact with nature, especially with the value of *the inherent beauty of the landscape*, satisfies their aesthetic sensitivity; at the same time, it gives them respite from everyday cares, which is indispensable for the human psyche. *Nature is a refreshing bath which restores the strength exhausted in the human world; it is a secluded temple in which the soul, away from everyday tasks, meets itself face to face and reflects on itself; it is a place of purification from all that has clung to us as something alien and imposed. It is a place of looking from the distance with respect to seeing the eternity. Finally, it is a place where one's own free thought, rested, not shrunk or shrivelled by considerations and circumstances can soar (...). Only thoughts – as Nietzsche says – reached by walking (ergangene Gedanken) in free nature have value* (Pawlikowski 2010, p. 48). Pawlikowski was especially fond of quoting this maxim from Nietzsche's *Twilight of the Idols*, and he did so a number of times, seeing in it an adequate description of one of the sources of intellectual creativity. Contact with nature has also, according to the writer, a socio-economic character – rest in natural surroundings regenerates strength and makes a person willing to work. It contributes, through learning about one's homeland nature, to strengthening the love of one's country; it is a very important factor of the sense of national identity. It is also manifested on the moral plane – the loss of nature's values leads to upsetting the moral balance (Pawlikowski 2010, p. 89-90).

The introduction to Pawlikowski's abovementioned remarks on nature protection includes his words about the crisis of culture, resulting among others in the degradation of the natural environment, and about the simultaneous raise in the awareness of man's breach with nature. They refer the reader to a broader theoretical context, which is presented in the final parts of his ecological manifesto.

To begin with, the writer from Galicia draws a vision of the human evolution and of the history of the relationship between culture and nature: *The primitive men lived with nature and from nature. They constructed their houses like beavers do, they hunted their prey like a lynx or an otter, they fed on fruit and seed like birds, they stored provisions like a hamster and processed them like a bee. They lived from nature, but they did not destroy it. But once they bred excessively and became more powerful, they became what mice or locust are to it. Then, seeing it stripped of the cheerful greenery, they realised what they had done and stopped. They decided to protect it from their own pillage and restore its beauty and health. But what they wanted to achieve cannot be achieved – the former state is gone forever; the one that will come will be quite different* (Pawlikowski 2010, p. 100). This quotation highlights an outline of three

stages of human development assumed by Pawlikowski: 1. man's unity with nature – the stage of harmonious coexistence; 2. the emancipation of the human species from the natural environment and gaining control over it – this is the stage of exploitation of nature according to the *Old Testament* principle of *subdu[ing] [the earth]* and the utilitarian attitude; 3. reevaluation of the humans' place in the world and their relation with nature – renunciation of anthropocentrism in the relationship between man (culture) and nature in favour of equivalence of both these components of existence, though it does not amount to an automatic return to the first stage. The new attitude of man to nature is *filtered* through culture, or through the whole of what humans have achieved through the ages in the spiritual and technological sphere. [By the way, an identical three-stage plan was employed by Henryk Skolimowski in his ecophilosophy (Gawor, 2012)].

The most significant part of this scheme is the third stage. It is about it that Pawlikowski writes: *Culture originated in nature and had its features for a long time: later, it turned against it. And now that it is making an alliance with it again under the modern slogan of 'protection', then, under the influence of this trend the renewed nature will not be what it used to be: it will inevitably have the characteristics of a product of culture* (Pawlikowski, 2010, p. 100). It needs to be noted that the Polish writer accurately predicted the direction in which the culture of his times would evolve, determined by the perspective of an increasing exploitation of nature and the growing significance of the idea of protecting it. According to this direction, the attitude to nature and the demand for its protection are to give culture its future shape. The contemporary fruit of this process is ecologism – a more and more common mental and cultural attitude emphasising relationships between humans and nature, and endowing these relationships with a dimension of a moral obligation to protect nature (see entry *ekologizm*, in: [encyclopedia.pwn.pl](http://encyclopedia.pwn.pl)). In this context, Pawlikowski was especially accurate in saying that *the idea of protecting nature, like a moral principle, is like salt which does not constitute a separate dish, but should be added to every dish* (Pawlikowski, 1938, p. 32). These words are a significant motto of the contemporary culture. They indicate that the tendency to return to nature does not amount to fighting culture; it only indicates (or it even indicates) making the idea of protecting nature an immanent component of culture with moral undertones.

In his manifesto, Pawlikowski did not confine himself to highlighting the significance of the idea of nature protection and its moral dimension. He ascribed great significance to nature conservation activities based on legislation and the involvement of the administrative organs on the scale of the whole country. What he saw as a good example of such an approach was the administrative model of nature pro-

tection functioning at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Prussia and constructed by Conwentz (Pawlikowski, 2010, p. 71-75). This dimension of Pawlikowski's activeness was fully revealed in the years of the Second Polish Republic, when from the year 1919 he strove to create a legislative framework of nature protection in Poland. His actions found their culmination in the year 1934, when a nature protection act was passed which he was the main creator of (Okraska 2010, p. 17-18). The act was quite innovative for its times, and Pawlikowski's text *Culture and nature* constituted its important ideological element.

The threads of Pawlikowski's ecological reflection discussed here show unambiguously its pioneering character not only on the scale of his native country. The significance of contacts with nature for the quality of human existence; the negative effects for the natural environment caused by thoughtless economy oriented solely on profit; endowing the idea of protecting the natural environment with the dimension of moral duty; the perspective of shaping a new stage of the development of culture, taking into consideration the protection of the natural environment – all that sounds surprisingly modern. If only for that reason, and for his literary achievements as well, Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski deserves a prominent place in the historic and cultural memory of the future generations.

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Władysław Szafer (1886-1970), an eminent Polish botanist, a distinguished activist in the field of the protection of the natural environment in the times of the Second Polish Republic and after the Second World War, wrote in 1946: *Marian Raciborski finds together with Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski the Polish ideology of protecting nature, which both of them – with a joint effort of spirit – construct like a golden bridge linking the natural and the humanistic culture* (Szafer, 1947, p. 7). These words pay due tribute to the pioneers of Polish environmental thought, and accurately present the significance of their concepts concerning the theoretical bases of nature protection in Poland.

Indeed, Raciborski and Pawlikowski combined the principles of Haeckel's ecology with human sciences. Their concepts of protecting nature clearly accentuate *the humanistic factor*, be it in highlighting the significance of the natural environment for the social (national) awareness, or in placing a strong emphasis on the moral obligation to care for nature. Moreover, both authors point to the role pristine natural environment plays for the psychological and physical condition of contemporary people, who already in the times of the two scholars lived largely in the surroundings of an industrial landscape. Preserving an attitude of pietism towards pristine nature, Raciborski and Pawlikowski at the same time real-

ised that its transformation happening as a result of human activity is inevitable. Being aware of it, they put forward the principle of respecting both sides of the relationship between nature and humans, which should have the character of a harmonious marriage. Raciborski with his idea of conservation care for natural monuments and Pawlikowski with his project of the protection of the natural environment based on axiological foundations created the basis for future Polish reflections on protecting nature. It was thanks to their concepts that in later years Polish environmental thought was enriched by such scientists as, among others, the author of the theory of landscape protection – Adam Wodziczko (1887-1948, see *Na straży przyrody/ Guarding Nature*, 1946); the creator of the idea of sozology (a science concerning itself with environmental protection) – Walery Goetel (1889-1972, see *Sozologia – dział nauki, jej treść i zadania/ Sozology – a Branch of Science, Its Content and Objectives*, 1971); the promoter of the prevention of diseases of affluence through nature protection – Julian Aleksandrowicz (1908-1988, see *Sumienie ekologiczne/ Ecological Conscience*, 1979); or a world-class thinker, a co-founder of modern eco-philosophy – Henryk Skolimowski (1930, see *Ekofilozofia jako drzewo życia/ Living Philosophy: Eco-philosophy as a Tree of Life*, 1981).

Moreover, it needs to be noted that the concepts of the Polish forerunners of environmental thought, especially Pawlikowski's manifesto, are still relevant, which proves their profundity as well as the accuracy of the diagnoses they give and the demands they make in terms of conservation activities, which both scholars considered to be a fundamental necessity. In this respect, it needs to be sadly concluded over one hundred years after their ideas were first presented that not much has changed for the better.

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