

The Historical, Pedagogical, and Philosophical Background of Kazimierz Twardowski's Project of Teaching Philosophical Propaedeutics

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Abstract: This paper aims to present the context and background of Kazimierz Twardowski's programmes of teaching the school subject of philosophical propaedeutics, which has not been done extensively before. We propose to categorize the programmes as follows: "minimalistic" (1921/1922), "maximalist" (1935) and "pragmatic" (1937). The article accompanies the first English edition of Twardowski's 1935 programme, as it is impossible to understand the meaning of this document without a broader context. We conclude that through the whole interwar period Twardowski influenced the programme that was officially in use, and in this way he shaped Polish intellectual culture. Twardowski and his philosophical school (the Lvov milieu) were the main actors in the development of philosophical propaedeutics in interwar Poland. Unfortunately, after World War II the communist regime eventually eliminated propaedeutics of philosophy as a fully-fledged school subject.

Key words: Kazimierz Twardowski, propaedeutics of philosophy, *Psychologie und Philosophie*, philosophy in school, education for democracy, critical thinking, informal logic

1. Introduction

Teaching philosophy as a path to a rational and fruitful human life has a long history, with various manifestations in successive historical periods under specific circumstances and adapted forms. In the history of Polish intellectual culture, the ideas developed among members of the Lvov-Warsaw School assume particular importance. It is often emphasized that Kazimierz Twardowski and his students played a key role in the development of philosophical propaedeutics in

Poland during the interwar period.¹ We want to confront this familiar vision with in-depth historical research. This research includes print and non-print archival sources and contextual studies.

In this paper, we aim to present the reconstruction, context and background of Twardowski's programmes for teaching philosophic propaedeutics, which has not been done extensively before. This study was inspired by the publication in this journal issue of an English translation of Twardowski's 1935 programme proposal. This proposal was not the only one prepared by Twardowski – manuscripts from 1921, 1922 and 1937 are also preserved.² This unique collection, only in its entirety, can give an adequate idea of how the concept of philosophical propaedeutics evolved and was adapted to its local and historical circumstances in interwar Poland. Thus, understanding these changing conditions is a necessary first step to achieving a deeper understanding of Twardowski's conception of philosophical propaedeutics. Twardowski's concepts not only have great historical value – they also introduce many topical issues in philosophical education that are worth studying.

¹ Brief analyses of the role and significance of Twardowski and his students for the development of philosophical propaedeutics in 1920–1939 have already been made; cf., e.g., R. Jadczał, *Z dyskusji nad propedeutyką filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Studia Filozoficzne" 1984, Nos. 11–12, pp. 151–159; M. Woźniczka, *Rekonstrukcja poglądów przedstawicieli Szkoły Lwowsko-Warszawskiej na proces nauczania filozofii*, in: *Polska filozofia analityczna. W kręgu Szkoły Lwowsko-Warszawskiej. Księga poświęcona pamięci Ryszarda Jadczała*, ed. W. Tyburski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 1999, pp. 155–157; J. Wojtysiak, *Edukacja filozoficzna w ujęciu szkoły lwowsko-warszawskiej*, in: *Filozofia i edukacja. Materiały z sympozjum z cyklu "Przyszłość cywilizacji Zachodu" zorganizowanego przez Katedrę Filozofii Kultury KUL*, eds. P. Jaroszyński, P. Tarasiewicz, I. Chłodna, Fundacja "Lubelska Szkoła Filozofii Chrześcijańskiej," Lublin 2005, pp. 189–200. These analyses were essentially based on major publications. Even these cursory analyses indicate the great importance of Twardowski and his school. In the present work, on the basis of a broader source base and taking into account wider contexts, we want to strengthen, detail and better ground these conclusions.

² Manuscripts of the programmes *Program psychologii. Projekt programu nauczania dla szkół średnich* [Psychology Programme: Draft Curriculum for High Schools] from 1921, *Projekt programu logiki* [Draft Logic Programme] from 1922 and *Szkieł programu nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w liceach ogólnokształcących* [Draft High School Curriculum for Teaching Propaedeutics of Philosophy] from 1935 can be found at the Kazimierz Twardowski Library (formerly known as Joint Libraries of WFiS UW, IFiS PAN and PTF) in Warsaw at Krakowskie Przedmieście 3, URL: <https://polaczonebiblioteki.uw.edu.pl/>. An unpublished manuscript of the programme *Propedeutyka filozofii – Wydział humanistyczny, etc.* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy – Faculty of Humanities, etc.] from 1937 can be found in Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz's documents in the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

Kazimierz Twardowski was a Polish analytical philosopher and a student of Franz Brentano,³ the founder of the largest Central European analytical school, namely the Lvov-Warsaw School⁴ (hereinafter: LWS). He was born into a noble family in Vienna belonging to the Polish minority, where he received his education first in the prestigious Theresianum gymnasium and later at the University of Vienna.⁵ After defending his habilitation thesis, he moved to Lvov, where he was appointed to chair a department at the university there.⁶ Lvov was historically Polish (then called Lwów, now Lviv in Ukrainian) and had a large Polish majority there. Twardowski raised “an army of intellectualists” who would significantly influence Polish culture in the 20th century.⁷

³ Twardowski was Franz Brentano's close student – along with Alexius Meinong, Edmund Husserl, Carl Stumpf and Anton Marty – at the University of Vienna. Alois Höfler was one of Brentano's school members. Although Brentano was a *Privatdozent* (he could teach but without salary or the right to supervise theses, and this is why Twardowski's official supervisor was Robert von Zimmerman, author of the Herbartian textbook for propaedeutics of philosophy used in the Theresianum), he managed to attract students who considered him an expert in the ancient style. Cf. K. Twardowski, *Self-Portrait*, in: *Kazimierz Twardowski on Actions, Products and Other Topics in Philosophy*, eds. J.L. Brandl, J. Woleński, trans. A. Szylewicz, Brill-Rodopi, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 17–31.

⁴ Cf. A. Brożek, F. Stadler, J. Woleński, eds., *The Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School in the European Culture*, Springer, Cham 2017; A. Chybińska et al., eds., *Tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School: Ideas and Continuations*, Brill-Rodopi, Leiden 2016.

⁵ Cf. A. Brożek, *Kazimierz Twardowski: die Wiener Jahre*, Springer, Wien 2011.

⁶ A. Brożek, *Wiedeńskie lata Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, “Filozofia Nauki” 2009, Vol. 17, No. 3(67), pp. 133–164.

⁷ Cf. K. Kijania-Placek, J. Woleński, eds., *The Lvov-Warsaw School and Contemporary Philosophy*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 1998; R. Poli, F. Coniglione, J. Woleński, eds., *Polish Scientific Philosophy: The Lvov-Warsaw School*, Rodopi, Amsterdam 1993; P.M. Simons, *Logical Philosophy, Anti-Irrationalism, and Gender Equality: Three Positives of the Lvov-Warsaw Enlightenment*, in: *The Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School in the European Culture*, eds. A. Brożek, S. Friedrich, J. Woleński, Springer, Cham 2017, pp. 3–14; J.J. Jadacki, *From the Viewpoint of the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Rodopi, Amsterdam 2003; J.J. Jadacki, *Polish Analytical Philosophy: Studies on Its Heritage. With the Appendix Containing the Bibliography of Polish Logic from the Second Half of the 14th Century to the First Half of the 20th Century*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2009; A. Brożek, *The Significance of Kazimierz Twardowski in Philosophy and Culture*, “Pro-Fil” 2014, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 32–46; A. Brożek, *Analiza i konstrukcja. O metodach badania pojęć w Szkole Lwowsko-Warszawskiej*, Copernicus Center Press, Kraków 2020; A. Brożek, *Wiedeńskie lata Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, op. cit.; A. Brożek et al., *Anti-Irrationalism: Philosophical Methods in the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2020; M. Będkowski et al., *Analysis – Paraphrase – Axiomatization: Philosophical Methods in the Lvov-Warsaw School*, in: *Formal and Informal Methods in Philosophy*, eds. M. Będkowski et al., Brill,

The work examined here refers to an influential period in Polish history, especially for Polish education. After 123 years, Poland finally regained its independence in 1918 after being divided into three partitions among Russia, Prussia, and Austria-Hungary. The main objective then was to reunite the nation and to build a new vision for education. Since there were so many challenges, the necessary reforms took almost the entire interwar period (i.e., 1918–1939). Although around a century has passed since these reforms began, making it seem an extremely distant period in cultural history, Twardowski's basic ideas about philosophical propaedeutics still seem relevant. In our opinion, these ideas from the noble Polish intellectual tradition could still be used today to strengthen and modernize Polish society. The first step on this path is to study the legacy of Twardowski's educational ideas and his school, which has not yet been fully explored in terms of archival resources. The present publication aims to complete this task in order to further develop the research on the adaptability of the idea of philosophical propaedeutics today.

We begin this article by outlining the history of how philosophy has been used in concepts of education and upbringing in Poland. We then present the main historical contexts that determined the development of the idea of philosophical propaedeutics in Poland at the beginning of the 20th century. We begin by tracing the challenges that arose in the context of Poland's regained independence and the need to build a cohesive, modern state. We then take a closer look at how educational policy, which was one of the most important external determinants of the development of philosophical propaedeutics, was changing. Next, we present the discussion on propaedeutics that took place in the circles of Polish philosophy, and then juxtapose specific curricula related to propaedeutics that were developed in the interwar period (1918–1939). The contributions of Twardowski and his students are then presented and Twardowski's programmes compared to other propositions. We also analyse the extent to which Twardowski's ideas were influenced by his Austrian background. Finally, general conclusions about the development of philosophical propaedeutics in Poland are drawn and a first attempt to classify Twardowski's programmes is made. Given the aims of this article, we do not seek to undertake a deep analysis of the programmes, because this is a task for a separate, in-depth study. This article concludes by summariz-

Leiden 2020, pp. 56–74; J.J. Jadacki, *Polish Philosophy of the 19th and 20th Centuries: Heritage Studies*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warsaw 2015.

ing the main determinants of how philosophical propaedeutics developed in Poland during the interwar period.

2. Philosophy in Education: The Polish Intellectual Heritage before World War I

To understand the significance of Twardowski's ideas in relation to the teaching of philosophy, one must first understand how local traditions of teaching philosophy developed. Indeed, views about what kind of philosophy should be taught and what educational roles it should fulfil have changed fundamentally over time, and Twardowski's proposals represent a historically important stage in this evolution.

Elements of philosophical education were present in Poland from the Middle Ages as part of the medieval school curriculum, and they played a typical role in introducing students to a higher intellectual culture.⁸ We cannot exactly trace the scope of the philosophy taught in cathedral schools, but it seems that some elements of philosophy were introduced in Poland together with the introduction of the whole medieval concept of education.⁹ Elements of scholastic philosophy were also taught in Polish schools from the time of the Enlightenment educational reforms of the 18th century.¹⁰

New concepts of philosophy in education, called *studia humanitatis* in Latin, appear in parallel to scholastic philosophy since the 16th century, with the philosophical part focused on moral philosophy.¹¹ The idea of using philosophy for education was also formulated in the local context of practical humanistic phi-

⁸ J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, "Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny" 1982, Nos. 3–4, pp. 3–4; Cf. also A. Karbowski, *Dzieje wychowania i szkół w Polsce w wiekach średnich. T. 1: Od 966 do 1363 roku*, nakł. Księgarni K. Grendyszyńskiego, Petersburg 1898, URL: <http://www.kpbc.ukw.edu.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=2004>; Z. Kałuża, *Lektury filozoficzne Wincentego Kadłubka. Zbiór studiów*, Instytut Tomistyczny, Warszawa 2014, pp. 14–21.

⁹ For more information about medieval school philosophy in Poland, see J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit., pp. 79–80.

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., Z. Ogonowski, *Filozofia szkolna w Polsce XVII wieku*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1985; J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit., pp. 81–83.

¹¹ A. Kamler, *Uwagi o edukacji moralnej synów szlacheckich w XVI-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Honestas et turpitude. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, eds. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, M. Kupczewska, K. Łopatecki, J. Urwanowicz, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Białystok 2019, pp. 189–201, URL: <https://repcyfr.pl/Content/18166/PDF/Kamler.pdf>.

losophy, starting with the sapiential role of philosophy in the *specula* of Mikołaj Rej and later in the educational concepts of Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski and Sebastian Petrycy of Pilzno.¹² Interestingly, even famous Polish politician and king's advisor Jan Zamoyski established a private academia in Zamość and there created a curriculum that emphasized philosophy teaching.¹³

Humanist ideas about the role of philosophy in education in the context of practical life resulted in a lasting educational tradition that served as a basis for the Enlightenment reforms of the Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (Commission for National Education, 1773–1794),¹⁴ although the pre-positivist attitude led to narrowing the scope of traditional philosophy in curricula.¹⁵ Despite the introduction of elements of logic and epistemology, as developed by Condillac, the elements of philosophical propaedeutics were still not systematically treated as a distinct subject of importance in the educational process.

With the collapse of the independent Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, local intellectual traditions¹⁶ came under strong cultural pressure of the imperial powers of Austria, Prussia (Germany), and Russia. From 1867, the part of Poland within Austria's borders, which was known as Galicia, gained a large degree of cultural and political autonomy, thus allowing it to develop its own educational

¹² Cf., e.g., A. Michalkiewicz-Gorol, *Twórczość Sebastiana Petrycego jako most pomiędzy przed-zaborową i pozaborową polską myślą pedagogiczno-filozoficzną*, "Język. Religia. Tożsamość" 2022, No. 2(26)B, pp. 157–173. Other humanistic concepts of philosophy in education are described in A. Kamler, *Uwagi o edukacji moralnej synów szlacheckich...*, op. cit.

¹³ Cf. I. Dąmbska, *Filozofia w Akademii Zamojskiej w dobie Renesansu. Jan Zamoyski i jego koncepcja nauczania filozofii*, in: *Nauczanie filozofii w Polsce w XV–XVIII wieku*, ed. L. Szczucki, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1978; Dąmbska wrote also about teaching logic at the Academic Gymnasium of Gdańsk in the 17th century. Cf. I. Dąmbska, *Logika w Gimnazjum Akademickim Gdańskim w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, "Rocznik Gdański. Organ Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauki i Sztuki w Gdańsku" 1956, Vol. 15/16, pp. 199–223.

¹⁴ K. Bartnicka, K. Rozmus, *The Commission of National Education and Its Transformation in the Years 1773–1794*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty" 2018, Vol. 55, pp. 9–60.

¹⁵ For more details about philosophy in the Commission for National Education, see B. Pleśniarski, *Nauki filozoficzne w szkołach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Pedagogika" 1974, No. 4(65), pp. 47–68; cf. also S. Janeczek, *Epistemologia w dydaktyce fizyki Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, "Roczniki Filozoficzne" 2002, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 203–262. More about the philosophical culture of the Commission for National Education can be found in S. Janeczek, *Oświeceniowa kultura naukowa w kontekście filozoficznym. Z dziejów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (cz. 2)*, "Roczniki Filozoficzne" 2015, Vol. 63, No. 4, pp. 124–131.

¹⁶ For more on the Polish traditions, especially the concept of Polish national pedagogy, see R. Charzyński, *Kształt polskiej pedagogiki narodowej według Wiktora Wąsika*, "Polska Myśl Pedagogiczna" 2021, Vol. 7, No. 7, pp. 233–246.

concepts more freely. Nevertheless, the new ideas were strongly influenced by Austrian concepts, and the same applied to philosophical propaedeutics, the concepts and traditions of which derived from the Austrian educational system.

Propaedeutics of philosophy was introduced into the Austro-Hungarian curriculum in 1849 thanks to the involvement of Hermann Bonitz of Prussia, who helped Leo Thun-Hohenstein, minister for religious affairs and education,¹⁷ and Franz Exner to successfully reform education at the gymnasium and university levels: "That practical pedagogical project was deeply intertwined with the bureaucratic institutions of imperial-royal Austria-Hungary, concerned as it was with the improvement of what today we would call human capital, especially the bureaucrats who were defined as national assets, a special class of knowledge workers who ran the state."¹⁸

The idea came from Prussia, where it was introduced by Alexander von Humboldt's reforms, although it was not that successful. In 1849, two hours were dedicated to logic and psychology, but this was increased to four hours in 1858. Finally, the duration settled at three hours in 1908. There was constant dissatisfaction with the application of the subject and the need for reform. One of the reasons for limiting propaedeutics to psychology and logic, according to Austrian philosopher Alois Höfler, was the idea of the "bankruptcy of the philosophical systems" tied with idealistic philosophy.¹⁹ In Lvov, Salomon Igel²⁰ similarly mentioned that philosophy was discredited and inadequate for young minds, because the German philosophy of the early 20th century was too ready to construct systems regardless of scientific results.²¹ There was also a practical reason. The reforms from 1849 removed the Department of Philosophy from preparatory courses for law,

¹⁷ R. Melville, *Thun, Leo Graf von*, "Neue Deutsche Biographie" 2016, Vol. 26, pp. 222–224; cf. also, e.g., the Britannica entry: *Leo, count von Thun und Hohenstein*, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Leo-Graf-von-Thun-und-Hohenstein>.

¹⁸ K. Arens, *The Specter of "Austrian Philosophy": Ernst Mach and a Modern Tradition of Post-Philosophy*, in: *Ernst Mach – Life, Work, Influence*, ed. F. Stadler, Springer, Cham 2019, p. 30.

¹⁹ S. Schneider, *Sprawy bieżące. W sprawie propedeutyki filozoficznej*, "Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych" 1901, Vol. 17, No. 4, p. 299.

²⁰ Salomon Igel (1889–1942) was a pedagogue and philosopher who studied for a PhD under Twardowski and belonged to the LWS. He was director of the Jewish Society of Folk and High Schools in Lvov. He published on education and psychology, e.g., S. Igel, *O przedmiocie psychologii*, Nakładem "Księgarni Nowości," Lwów 1927. He committed suicide at the beginning of 1942 to avoid arrest by the Gestapo, Nazi Germany's secret police.

²¹ S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, in: *Encyklopedia wychowania. Nauczanie*, Vol. 2, ed. S. Lempicki, Nasza Księgarnia, Warszawa 1935, p. 4.

medicine and theology, and it became an independent research institution. The course was moved to the gymnasium level, where two extra grades were added. Thanks to Franz Exner, the philosophical basis of the reform was the “prominent educational philosophy associated with early receptions of Kant, Herbartianism, which was in fact the official pedagogy of the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Empires.”²² It was “assumed that the human mind could be influenced, if not transformed, by education.” This propaedeutics was intended to prepare for real scientific work “to inculcate and critique the ways of working and thinking inherent in and distinctive to each science.” Interestingly, the propaedeutics in Austria-Hungary also attained a social goal: “this critique included what is called ‘moral education’ in the literature today, but which is better described, using Kant’s terminology, as the ability to make moral judgments – to evaluate socially and ethically, not just logically. In this joint approach to education, epistemology and psychology are brought together in a dynamic relationship.”²³

Confirmation can be found in Robert von Zimmermann’s textbook *Philosophische Propädeutik* (1860): “At its foundation, then, the entire propaedeutics is a study of the mind, because [the object of this study] is the mind and the forms in which it appears. However, its first part stresses the psychic side of psychology, the latter, its logical side; the first treats thoughts exclusively as acts of mind, the second, as an attempt to grasp truth. Thus the first part, which describes to us the tools [used], must precede the second, which teaches how to use them.”²⁴ It is worth adding here that it was a canonical textbook that educated many Viennese intellectuals in the second half of the 19th century, including Twardowski.

Eventually, Zimmerman’s textbook was replaced by Höfler and Alexius Meinong’s *Philosophische Propädeutik* (1890), which represents the view of Brentano’s school: “What distinguished Höfler’s textbook was that in place of Herbartian psychological categories he introduced Brentanian distinctions and determinations.”²⁵ Such a Brentanian view of psychology in philosophical propaedeutics played a fundamental role for Twardowski’s own concepts.

²² K. Arens, *The Specter of “Austrian Philosophy”*, op. cit., p. 24.

²³ Ibid., p. 32.

²⁴ R. Zimmermann, *Philosophische Propädeutik*, 2nd ed., Wilhelm Braumüller k.k. Hofbuchhändler, Wien 1860, p. 6. English translation quoted after: K. Arens, *The Specter of “Austrian Philosophy”*, op. cit., p. 32.

²⁵ D. Fiset, F. Stadler, G. Fréchette, eds., *Franz Brentano and Austrian Philosophy*, Springer, Cham 2020, p. 140.

Due to the political and cultural dependency of Galicia on Austria-Hungary and the Viennese concepts of education that were inherited by Twardowski, this approach significantly influenced Polish philosophy teaching in the interwar period. Poland's regained independence in 1918 opened up new possibilities for developing the educational system.²⁶ Philosophical propaedeutics played an important role in this as its cultural significance came to be recognized, and it was regarded as an important tool for modernizing and strengthening society.

3. The Interwar Contexts of Philosophical Propaedeutics in Poland

3.1. The Challenges of Regained Independence

After regaining independence in 1918, the Polish school system, like many other aspects of the country's functioning, was divided into three post-partition systems. There was therefore not only a demand for unification²⁷ but also modernization. Although Galicia had the best conditions for developing the Polish high school, the conservativeness of the Rada Szkolna Krajowa (RSK, the State School Board, German: Landesschulrat) wasted that opportunity. In the Prussian partition, the system was dominated by Germanization (i.e., the imposition of German culture), and the situation was similar in the Russian partition (Russification). Nevertheless, the alternative private high school system that developed after the "school strike" of 1905 in the Russian partition introduced modern ideas that inspired the independent Polish education system.²⁸ During World War I,

²⁶ For more information on the Polish contributions to the development of philosophical propaedeutics in the period 1900–1920, cf. M. Woźniczka, *Nauczanie filozofii w Polsce w I połowie XX wieku*, in: *Studia z Filozofii Polskiej*, Vol. 1, eds. M. Rembierz K. Śleziński, Wydawnictwo „Scriptum”, Bielsko-Biała–Kraków 2006, pp. 305–307.

²⁷ "Aiming at the loss of the national identity of the Polish people, the German or Russian ruling classes tried to support the disintegration processes, using every opportunity to strengthen the distinctiveness of the individual Polish lands, applying differentiated economic, national, educational and cultural policies to them. [...] In addition to the influence of the economic and political system of the partitioners, the quality and character of education in the various Polish lands was also influenced by the Polish population itself – its economic situation, class structure, and social activities." W. Sieciński, *Administracja i organizacja szkolnictwa powszechnego i średniego w II Rzeczypospolitej*, "Studia Administracyjne" 2016, Vol. 8, pp. 80–81.

²⁸ F.W. Araszkiewicz, *Szkoła średnia ogólnokształcąca na ziemiach polskich w latach 1915–1918*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty" 1967, Vol. 10, p. 164; J. Niklewska, *Modele wychowawcze pry-*

as the possibility of Poland's independence arose, teachers and educators closely followed emerging modern pedagogical ideas and solutions worldwide to prepare the groundwork for education in a reborn Poland.²⁹

The significant achievement of the World War I period was that plans for an independent Polish school system were discussed, and preparations were made between 1915 and 1918. This was possible thanks to the work of grassroots, non-governmental organizations, and teachers' organizations, such as the important Stowarzyszenie Nauczycielstwa Polskiego (Association of Polish Teachers), which was established in November 1914 by the Komisja Pedagogiczna (Pedagogical Commission), and the teachers' congresses that were held between 1916 and 1918. In addition, this was possible thanks to the work of academic experts, including Twardowski's students, for example Bogdan Nawroczyński³⁰ (a representative of the Pedagogical Commission) and Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski³¹ (the director of the Komisja Planów i Podręczników Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych [Commission for Curriculum and Textbooks of the Society of High School Teachers]). Finally, the Provisional Council of State³² established the Departament Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (Department of Religious Affairs and Public Education) in 1917.

Aside from the unification of the school system, the greatest challenges were illiteracy and access to a quality education for all children, particularly for those from working-class or rural families. There was therefore considerable discussion on the role and accessibility of high schools, which were generally private,

watnych szkół polskich w Warszawie u progu pierwszej wojny światowej, "Almanach" 1997, Vol. 1, pp. 145–166; see also, e.g., W. Sieciński, *Administracja i organizacja szkolnictwa...*, op. cit., p. 83.

²⁹ G. Michalski, *Czasopiśmiennictwo pedagogiczne organizacji nauczycielskich u progu Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, "Nauki o Wychowaniu. Studia Interdyscyplinarne" 2020, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 82–95.

³⁰ Bogdan Nawroczyński (1882–1874) was a historian of pedagogy, pedagogue, and co-creator of Polish scientific pedagogy, and Twardowski was his PhD supervisor. From 1926, he was a professor at the University of Warsaw, where he helped to organize pedagogical studies. During World War II, he participated in conspiracy teaching. After the war, he was forced into retirement, but from 1958, he was allowed to teach again, and he continued his work on comparative pedagogy. He is admired for the clarity and accuracy of his pedagogical thought.

³¹ Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski (1881–1948) was a Polish professor, biologist, psychologist, pedagogue, and student of Twardowski, who was his PhD supervisor. He worked as a teacher at various gymnasiums. He was director of the Department of Science and Higher Education at the Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education) and the editor of the "Muzeum" magazine, as well as the first rector of the underground Polish University of the Western Lands during World War II.

³² It was established on 14 January 1917 by Prussia and Austria-Hungary.

as a gateway to university. High schools were elitist, accessible only to the rich, intellectual rather than practical, and focused on transmitting knowledge rather than upbringing. Memorization was the critical teaching method, and the curriculum was overloaded.

The main objectives of the Pedagogical Commission were the democratization of education and the creation of high-quality elementary schools. Moreover, education needed to be relevant to everyday life, with methods being applied that served students' individual work and engaged them. The overloaded curriculum also needed to be modernized and reduced in hours.

Finally, on 17 March 1921, the so-called March Constitution proclaimed free and obligatory school education (Articles 118 and 119). Nevertheless, it proved very challenging to comply with this proclamation. Before independence in Poland, only 16% of children attended school in the Russian partition, less than 40% in the Austrian partition, and around 81% in the Prussian partition, although this was mostly Germanized education.³³ Poland struggled with a lack of school buildings, overloaded multi-grade classes, and a lack of teachers during the entire interwar period. The initial period of independence was also a hectic time with rapidly changing governments, causing education to be neglected. Efforts focused on building primary schools, getting all children into school, and developing teachers' education. No general system reforms took place until 1932.

Between 20 January 1919 and December 1919, distinguished philosopher, logician, and former Twardowski student Jan Łukasiewicz was Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education in Ignacy Paderewski's non-partisan and temporary government. There were rumours that Twardowski would be offered the position, but this did not transpire. Łukasiewicz introduced a decree of obligatory education for those aged seven to fourteen and teacher education through the creation of five-year teacher seminars.³⁴ He also managed to regulate salaries for teachers and establish rules for minority schools. Three new universities were also founded in Poznań and Vilnius, as well as the Szkoła Główna Gospodarstwa

³³ I. Kość, E. Magiera, *Polityka oświatowa wobec szkolnictwa powszechnego w okresie międzywojennym (1918–1939)*, in: *Polityka oświatowa w Polsce w XX wieku. Historyczne tradycje i współczesne odniesienia*, eds. I. Kość, E. Magiera, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin 2008, pp. 29–30.

³⁴ The requirement was six years of primary school, with the programme being similar to high school and with added pedagogical subjects. However, these seminars did not give access to university. They were replaced by pedagogical high schools with the reform of 1932, allowing access to university.

Wiejskiego (University of Life Sciences) in Warsaw. Łukasiewicz promoted many clerks to become ministerial staff.

3.2. Educational Policy: Between National, Civic and State Upbringing

In the interwar period, two main aims for upbringing collided and intertwined in Polish education policy. One was dominant in the pre-World War I period when Poland was still partitioned. The pressures of cultural colonization fostered the idea of national upbringing, whereby the nation was perceived as the greatest social reality and good. The main idea was to promote patriotism and the unifying power of a nation that survived despite Poland not being a sovereign state. Education therefore sought to maintain awareness of Polish traditions and culture and resist the influence of the Germanic and Russian imperial cultures. It also deferred to the strong position of the Catholic Church and the idea of Catholicism as a source of national identity and destiny.

After 1918, when Poland regained its political, economic, and cultural independence, the national upbringing continued to dominate, although the Second Republic of Poland was multicultural. This was supported by a political movement called Endecja (National Democracy) and the famous politician Roman Dmowski. Ideas of national upbringing were represented in the LWS by figures like Irena Pannenkowa.³⁵

In 1919, an initial attempt was made to reform high school in order to make it less about teaching and more about upbringing, with this being more achievable with fewer hours. The aim was to fulfil the objectives of the national education policy. However, high school ultimately remained elitist and intellectualist.

At the beginning of the interwar period, when Endecja was governing, there was no time for significant changes in the wider structure of the school system. The first reform in 1919 began with a programme for high schools aimed at “nationalizing high school.” In other words, it sought to connect high schools more with the contemporary situation of Poland, because the teaching was considered too universally applicable, so it needed to change its character to one of Polish up-

³⁵ Irena Pannenkowa (1879–1969) was born in Warsaw and educated in Warsaw and Lvov. She was a philosopher (she earned her doctorate under Twardowski), teacher, journalist, and an independence, social and educational activist. See I. Pannenkowa, *Myśli o wychowaniu narodem*, nakł. Polskiego Towarzystwa Pedagogicznego, Lwów 1918, URL: <http://pbc.up.krakow.pl/dlibra/publication/5396/edition/5287>; I. Pannenkowa, W.A. Szykowski, *Nowe myśli o wychowaniu. Reforma szkolna*, Drukarnia W.A. Szykowskiego, Warszawa 1925.

bringing.³⁶ It was to be modernized following the New Education movement's³⁷ ideas by rejecting verbalism and any kind of encyclopaedic learning. However, little progress was made in changing its elitist character, being separated from the rest of the school system, which was already in transition to egalitarianism. The only measurable change was in dividing the eight-year gymnasium into a three-year lower gymnasium (preparatory) and a five-year higher gymnasium, but access for underprivileged children was not improved.

A further step was taken by a subsequent government to emphasize the "national upbringing" role of high school more strongly. A new subject was therefore introduced called "Learning about Contemporary Poland" in order to teach the practical aspects of being a citizen. Some other subjects were also granted priority, such as geography, history, and the Polish language.³⁸ The position of philosophical propaedeutics, which focused on psychology and logic,³⁹ seemed less essential in this sense, because it was not clear how it could contribute to fulfilling the desired goals.

A more precise vision of education began to be formulated between 1923 and 1925, with it shifting more towards civic education with solid elements of national and religious values. Student councils were encouraged and considered to be an initial attempt at social and political life.⁴⁰ However, Stanisław Grabski, Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education, proposed a new law that rejected the modernist vision of education in high school and sought to sustain its elitist and intellectual profile to prevent the "overproduction of intelligentsia (*nadprodukcja inteligencji*)."⁴¹ He faced severe criticism for discriminating against the children of the working class and farmers, and his bill was ultimately rejected.⁴¹

³⁶ MWRiOP, *Program naukowy szkoły średniej*, Warszawa 1919.

³⁷ The New Education movement was influenced by, among others, John Dewey, and was the European counterpart to progressive education. It distinguished itself from the traditional curricula of the 19th century focused on the preparation for the early-industrial university. Students should learn "by doing," while the teacher should rather facilitate the learning process, focusing on the students' interests. Additionally, it aimed to contribute to building a better society. After World War I, a new social order appeared, not so much differentiated by social class, and the movement was a response to that.

³⁸ W. Leżańska, *Edukacja obywatelska w szkołach średnich ogólnokształcących w Polsce międzywojennej*, "Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy" 2019, Nos. 1–2, pp. 204–223.

³⁹ MWRiOP, *Program naukowy szkoły średniej*, op. cit., p. 83.

⁴⁰ Among others, Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski, Józef Mirski and Aleksander Patkowski wrote about school councils. Cf., e.g., L. Jaxa-Bykowski, *Zagadnienie naszej polityki szkolnej*, "Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych" 1926, No. 1, pp. 3–42.

⁴¹ I. Kość, E. Magiera, *Polityka oświatowa...*, op. cit., pp. 39–40.

Another idea came into force after the May 1926 *coup d'état* organized by first Marshal of Poland Józef Piłsudski, and it was promoted by the Sanacja (the Sanation movement, where the name derived from the Latin *sanatio*, meaning healing). The main task was to heal Polish politics and the economy. One way to achieve this was the state upbringing model, albeit with it being more civic-oriented. The argument behind this was that independent Poland comprised 30% national and religious minorities. Thus, while the national upbringing model had fulfilled its role in unifying Poles before independence, it did not suit the contemporary situation of a state that was not exclusively populated by Catholic Poles. Indeed, what worked before the war in serving the nation's unification under the partitions was outdated in the new reality. The new model was also closer to trends of a modern vision of the state that focused on well-educated, rational citizens who were aware of their rights and religious freedoms and could facilitate the cultural and economic growth of the neutral state. Nevertheless, these citizens needed to also be loyal to the state, with the state being the overriding priority.⁴² The most significant theoreticians of state education were Sławomir Czerwiński, who synthesized the romantic ideal of a warrior with the positivist ideal of the employee/worker, and later Janusz Jędrzejewicz, with both men becoming Ministers of Education. Nevertheless, the students of Twardowski, Nawroczyński and Kazimierz Sośnicki,⁴³ also significantly enriched the discussion.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the model also aimed to educate the elite to excel in intellectual and moral aspects, engage in social life, be loyal to the state, and become hard-working employees. This was the role of high school, with the vision being to create a citizen warrior-employee. This model paid off during World War II, with there being plenty of patriotic engagement, determination, and devotion among the Polish people to fight for their country. It was criticized, however,

⁴² Cf. W. Jamrożek, *The Educational Practice and Thought of the Second Polish Republic on the 90th Anniversary of Regaining Independence*, "Biuletyn Historii Wychowania" 2019, No. 38, pp. 301–307.

⁴³ Kazimierz Sośnicki (1883–1976) studied philosophy (with Twardowski as his PhD supervisor), pedagogy, and mathematical and natural sciences in Lvov and later in Paris, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna and Zurich. Between 1929 and 1939, he lectured general didactics and pedagogy at the University of Lvov. He later worked at the universities in Toruń and Gdańsk. See K. Sośnicki, *Podstawy wychowania państwowego*, Książnica – Atlas, Lwów 1933.

⁴⁴ S. Sztobryn, *Badania z zakresu historii filozofii wychowania w twórczości Bogdana Nawroczyńskiego i Kazimierza Sośnickiego. Prekursorzy współczesnej historiografii myśli pedagogicznej*, "Przegląd Pedagogiczny" 2014, No. 1, pp. 122–130.

especially by the Catholic Church,⁴⁵ for leading to secularization and an upbringing that was controlled by the ideals of one party, because worshipping the state meant worshipping the Sanacja leader, Marshal Piłsudski.

There were two ideal types of state upbringing, however – positive and irrational. Representatives of the positive, like Sośnicki, demanded a rational reflection on the concept of the state. Their sociological vision of the state included a social structure, where citizens are actively creating and working for the state's good. The second type, meanwhile, aimed for fanaticism, mysticism, and fetishism with regards to the state.⁴⁶ This was one of the main objections against Sanacja's direction.

Following the May 1926 *coup d'état*, Sanacja was busy with the transfer of power, so educational issues were again postponed, this time until 1929. Teachers awaited the promised school system reforms and an improvement in their status. Sanacja introduced a new concept of upbringing that was not so different from Endecja, with the model shifting from a civic-national upbringing to a state-civic upbringing. Loyalty to the state and its leaders, especially Piłsudski, became the priority, but civic values were also emphasized, such as hard work, responsibility, respect for work, and the sacrifice of personal goals for the common good. Intellectual education was not crucial, but character formation was. High school was therefore supposed to prepare the elite leaders of the future to take responsibility for the country. Interestingly, there was no need to significantly change the system or its programmes. All that was needed was for the cult of Piłsudski and state-centred pedagogy, as well as the abovementioned values, to be introduced. Thus, the revised programmes were published in 1930 and 1931.

The school was to become a place of civic upbringing, with students coming to love the country, becoming willing to sacrifice for it, and working hard for its prosperity. This was essential because it was not yet 20 years since the regaining of independence and Europe was becoming unstable in the run up to World War II.

⁴⁵ Cf. J. Szczepaniak, *Spór pomiędzy Kościołem a państwem o katolicki charakter szkoły polskiej (1926–1939)*, "Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum" 2019, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 115–133; J. Szczepaniak, *Próba podporządkowania władzom oświatowym nauczania i wychowania religijnego w szkole (1926–1937)*, "Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum" 2020, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 283–309.

⁴⁶ E. Magiera, *Wychowanie państwowe w szkolnictwie powszechnym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin 2003, pp. 24–26.

On 11 March 1932, Jędrzejewicz's reform was introduced, bringing fundamental changes to the system, programme and methods, and upbringing aims. The basis of the new system was a seven-grade primary school with a systematic programme that enabled talented pupils to continue their education in a four-year gymnasium that in turn facilitated entry, after exams, to a two-year high school. On the one hand, this supposedly made high school more accessible, but in practice, it remained elitist. The new programmes were intended to strictly fulfil the new aims of upbringing, with school being relatable to the reality of everyday life.⁴⁷ The role of student councils was emphasized, and the discussion of key issues in students' lives was one of their particular aims.

Interestingly, before the war, Twardowski was a promoter of a national school that nurtured Polish values; he taught Polish culture, language, and history, and protected his students from Germanization by removing the German language from primary school and reducing the German literature in high school. In addition, schools were to provide a high level of education, reducing illiteracy and offering higher salaries for teachers. Schools should also nurture "rozumny patriotyzm polski" (rational Polish patriotism), for example, by celebrating national holidays, supporting Polish products, and promoting unity among Poles. Twardowski also understood that some national weaknesses should be addressed, such as a lack of conscientiousness and discipline. Acquiring independence required the "collective work of the society," so teaching conscientiousness and discipline was an ethical, pedagogical and national duty: "Poland is a great thing, and one of the greatest pieces of this great thing – is Polish school."⁴⁸

In the 1930s, Twardowski was tasked with creating a programme of philosophical propaedeutics, which would fulfil the aims of Jędrzejewicz's reform. It must have been difficult for him to align the programme with the political requirements. Twardowski did not support the Sanacja government and strongly criticized the reform, especially the part related to university. This is evident in his "testament" text, which was placed in his coffin when he was buried, *The Majesty of the University*.⁴⁹ He defended the university's independence from the cur-

⁴⁷ Ustawa z dnia 11 marca 1932 r. o ustroju szkolnictwa, URL: <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19320380389>.

⁴⁸ K. Twardowski, *Przemówienie podczas wiecu rodzicielskiego w sprawie unarodowienia szkoły (1905)*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, Vol. 2, eds. A. Brożek, J.J. Jadacki, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2014, p. 393.

⁴⁹ K. Twardowski, *The Majesty of the University*, in: *The Idea of the University*, eds. L. Nowak, J. Brzeziński, trans. O. Wojtasiewicz, Rodopi, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 9–17.

rent political fights and state influence on scientific investigation. On the other hand, Twardowski aligned with some values promoted by Sanacja in the public education programmes, but he had a particular understanding of these issues. He believed that universities should raise students in the spirit of searching for objective truth, above all differences and in cooperation for the good of society; however: “This is not to say that the university shapes the souls of those young people in a given social or political way or develops in them a certain inclination or certain approach to their practical life goals.”⁵⁰

4. Visions of Philosophical Propaedeutics in the Second Republic of Poland (1918–1939)

Many concurrent visions of philosophical propaedeutics existed in Poland in the interwar period. Other than for Twardowski, it was not evident that psychology and logic should be the only means to teach philosophy in school, so this view had to compete with many others. One of the most comprehensive summaries was prepared by a Jewish philosopher engaged in the subject, Ignacy Halpern (later Myślicki),⁵¹ in 1919. The first division in attitudes towards teaching philosophy was whether it should be taught as part of other school subjects or as a separate subject. The first option seemed one-sided, with it being supported by humanists and language and science teachers, while the second option positioned philosophy as “unifying, complementary and crowning teaching.” Nevertheless, this option also had seven variants: theological, systematic, problem-oriented (*zagadnieniowy*), historical, encyclopaedic, logical/logic-based, psychological/psychology-based, and mixed (Halpern’s vision).⁵²

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

⁵¹ Ignacy Halpern-Myślicki (1874–1935) was a historian of philosophy, translator and researcher of the works of Baruch Spinoza, a pedagogue. He received his PhD under Wilhelm Dilthey and studied in Lipsk and Berlin. He lectured at Wolna Wszechnica Polska (the Free Polish University) in Warsaw. He was also a member of the Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne (the Polish Philosophical Society) since its inception. After World War I, he changed his surname to Myślicki.

⁵² I. Halpern, *O propedeutyce filozofii w szkole średniej*, “Przegląd Filozoficzny” 1919, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 223–250. More on this will be presented in our next paper, *Philosophy for Modernizing and Strengthening Society: Kazimierz Twardowski’s Contribution to the Discussions about Propaedeutics of Philosophy in Poland* (forthcoming in “Edukacja Filozoficzna”).

The discussion among Polish scholars developed from 1900 over three phases, namely, before independence in the Austrian partition of Galicia, after regaining independence in 1919–1920, and from 1926 until the Jędrzejewicz reform.⁵³ The first phase was centred on a questionnaire that was sent to teachers and later published.⁵⁴ It was followed by Jagiellonian University Professor Maurycy Straszewski's analysis of the state of propaedeutics in Galicia and by Twardowski's recommendations. In 1919, Kazimierz Sośnicki proposed different programmes for various school types – namely humanistic, mathematical-natural sciences and philological (classical) – due to the different types of thinking involved.

The most heated discussion, however, was that of the mid-1920s to 1930s, which was initiated by Stanisław Ossowski⁵⁵ of the Warsaw branch of the LWS. Bohdan Zawadzki,⁵⁶ Regina Rajchman-Ettingerowa,⁵⁷ Bolesław Gawecki,⁵⁸ Helena

⁵³ Cf. R. Jadczał, *Z dyskusji nad propedeutyką filozofii...*, op. cit.; J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit.

⁵⁴ *Ankieta w sprawie nauczania propedeutyki filozoficznej w gimnazjach*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1903, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 241–244.

⁵⁵ S. Ossowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1926, Vol. 29, pp. 230–234.

⁵⁶ B. Zawadzki, *Propedeutyka filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1927, Vol. 30, pp. 207–211. Bohdan Zawadzki (1902–1966) was a psychologist and a student and collaborator of Władysław Witwicki (PhD supervisor), as well as a professor at the University of Vilnius. After its closure, he moved to the USA and worked among others at the City College of New York.

⁵⁷ R. Rajchman-Ettingerowa, *Propedeutyka filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1930, Vol. 33, pp. 131–135. Regina Rajchman-Ettingerowa (1879–1931) was a Polish philosopher and translator. She studied in Berlin, Bern and Zurich. Her philosophy was described like this: "[She] represents critical realism and monistic parallelism, which is complemented by historical materialism in the field of social phenomena." F. Ueberweg et al., *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie. 5: Die Philosophie des Auslandes vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart*, Mittler, Berlin 1928, p. 325. Unless stated otherwise, all translations are our own.

⁵⁸ B. Gawecki, *W sprawie propedeutyki filozofii*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1930, Vol. 33, Nos. 1–2, pp. 135–139. Bolesław Gawecki (1930–1933) was a Polish philosopher. He studied mathematics, physics and philosophy at the University of Munich and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. He worked as a gymnasium teacher and at the underground Polish University of the Western Lands during World War II. He was interested in the philosophy of nature. In 1930, Gawecki became the Instructor of Propaedeutics of Philosophy at the Ministry of Education and made organizational changes. He supposedly prepared the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education (MWRiOP) publication *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania i wychowania oraz administracji w szkołach ogólnokształcących*, Książnica – Atlas, Warszawa 1934.

Leleszówna,⁵⁹ and Bohdan Kieszkowski⁶⁰ also contributed to the debate.⁶¹ Unlike previous discussions, this one focused on criticizing the existing programme, which, as we will see in the following section, turned out to be authored by Twardowski.

Kazimierz Twardowski participated in the discussion about the reform of philosophical propaedeutics from the beginning of his academic career in Lvov.⁶² As Igel remarked,⁶³ Twardowski published a few texts about teaching propaedeutics of philosophy. The most extended of these was *Filozofia w szkole średniej* [Philosophy in High School],⁶⁴ in which he complained about underestimating the role of philosophical propaedeutics as “one of the most significant subjects in the high school curriculum.” The text does not refer to practical issues (like number of hours, programme) but is rather “apologetic.” Other than claiming that it prepares students to “think independently and rigorously,” the most inspiring presentation of Twardowski’s emotional attitude to the problem was reflected in the following argument: “Contact of the youth with the propaedeutics of philosophy has a similar meaning in their cognitive development as the emergence of philosophy had in human history for the cognitive development of the whole of

⁵⁹ H. Lelesz, *Cel nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w szkołach średnich*, “Przegląd Filozoficzny” 1931, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 51–52. Helena Lelesz (Leleszówna) (1893–1972) was a Polish philosopher, psychologist, and teacher of French and philosophy. She studied philosophy in Paris (as André Lalande’s student) and published there her dissertation *La conception de la vérité* (1921). She then returned to Poland (Warsaw). Lelesz was involved in child psychology, e.g., she conducted a survey among schoolgirls about the professional characteristics of teachers. She published a textbook for teaching propaedeutics of philosophy: *Podręcznik propedeutyki filozofii dla klasy drugiej liceów ogólnokształcących*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1938.

⁶⁰ B. Kieszkowski, *Zagadnienie programu propedeutyki filozofii*, “Przegląd Filozoficzny” 1931, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 53–60. Bohdan Kieszkowski (1904–1997) was a historian of philosophy and a student and later assistant to Prof. Władysław Tatarkiewicz in Warsaw.

⁶¹ This discussion and the text *Filozofia w szkole średniej* [Philosophy in High School] have been described in our forthcoming article in “Edukacja Filozoficzna”, *Philosophy for Modernizing and Strengthening Society: Kazimierz Twardowski’s Contribution to the Discussions about Propaedeutics of Philosophy in Poland*.

⁶² It should be noted here that Twardowski was actively involved in the reform of Galician education, especially during his presidency of the Society of High School Teachers. See E. Grądzka, *Kazimierz Twardowski’s Philosophy of Education: Attempting a Reconstruction*, “Logos i Ethos” 2020, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 7–39.

⁶³ S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, op. cit., p. 5.

⁶⁴ K. Twardowski, *Filozofia w szkole średniej*, “Ruch Filozoficzny” 1919, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1–6; English translation: K. Twardowski, *Philosophy in High School*, trans. E. Grądzka, “Edukacja Filozoficzna”, forthcoming.

humanity: it is a moment of emergence of scientific self-awareness; it is a moment of turning from the sensual world that had attracted the investigative thought until then towards one's spirit and how it works and creates. This turn is being prepared before but becomes fully aware and systematic here."⁶⁵

5. Contributions of Twardowski and His Students to Works on the Philosophical Propaedeutics Programme during the Interwar Period

The history of the development of philosophical propaedeutics in independent Poland should begin several years before the full restoration of independence in November 1918. As a result of World War I, starting in 1915, a part of the Polish lands from the Russian partition gradually gained limited independence under the control of the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary). At that time, an important question arose concerning the introduction of a new Polish education system in the region. In the programme for Królestwo Polskie (the name of the former Russian partition core) published in 1917, we can find information about 13 school subjects. Among them was "Psychology and Logic," with two hours for a four-year high school.⁶⁶ Interestingly, the subject was not called "Propaedeutics of Philosophy." Nevertheless, the programme for independent Poland was called "Propaedeutics of Philosophy," with three hours being dedicated to the subject.

In mid-August 1920, following a year of discussions about the number of hours, themes, and criticism connected with the programme proposed by the Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (MWRiOP, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education), the Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne (PTF, Polish Philosophical Society) put forward its own programme of philosophical propaedeutics to MWRiOP but it only concerned psychology. This proposal was later published in the journal "Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych" [Museum: Journal of the Society of High School Teachers] as *Program nauczania psychologii w szkole średniej* [Programme

⁶⁵ K. Twardowski, *Filozofia w szkole średniej*, op. cit.

⁶⁶ F.W. Araszkiewicz, *Szkola średnia ogólnokształcąca...*, op. cit., p. 178.

of Teaching Psychology in High School].⁶⁷ According to the content of the article, a detailed programme was prepared based on Twardowski's presentation. This paper was followed by a publication by Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski, a student of Twardowski, titled *Szkic programu ćwiczeń praktycznych z psychologii w gimnazjum* [Draft Programme of Practical Exercises in Psychology in Gymnasium].⁶⁸

On the other hand, in Twardowski's archive at the Kazimierz Twardowski Library,⁶⁹ we can find a draft programme of psychology (from 1921)⁷⁰ and logic (from 1922).⁷¹ It is possible that these served as the foundation for the PTF programme, although a comparison reveals some significant differences. Moreover, it seems that Twardowski's programme, rather than the PTF's programme, eventually became canonical. We have conducted a detailed comparison of Twardowski's programmes from 1921 and 1922 and the one officially published by the MWRiOP: *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział Humanistyczny. Propedeutyka filozofii* [Programme for Public Gymnasium: Humanities. Propaedeutics of Philosophy]⁷² from 1922 (1st ed.),⁷³ 1924 (2nd ed.),⁷⁴ 1926 (3rd ed.),⁷⁵ 1928 (4th ed.)⁷⁶

⁶⁷ Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, *Program nauczania psychologii w szkole średniej*, "Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych" 1921, Vol. 36, Nos. 1–2, pp. 28–33.

⁶⁸ L. Bykowski, *Szkic programu ćwiczeń praktycznych z psychologii w gimnazjum*, "Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych" 1921, Vol. 36, Nos. 1–2, pp. 34–51.

⁶⁹ URL: <https://polaczonebiblioteki.uw.edu.pl/index.php/en/main-page-2/library/>.

⁷⁰ Published as: K. Twardowski, *Projekt programu psychologii dla szkół średnich* (1921), in: *Dydaktyka*, ed. A. Brożek, Wydawnictwo Academicon, Lublin 2023, pp. 243–250.

⁷¹ Published as: K. Twardowski, *Programy logiki gimnazjalnej* (1922), in: *Logika. Cz. 1*, ed. J.J. Jadacki, Wydawnictwo Academicon, Lublin 2023, pp. 35–47.

⁷² The officially published programme does not differ in content between editions except for the order of teaching logic and psychology (in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd eds. logic is first and psychology second, whereas in the 4th and 5th eds. psychology goes first and logic next).

⁷³ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny*, Książnica Polska Tow. Naucz. Szkół Wyższych, Warszawa 1922, URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/c5737d15-2dae-4c03-849c-8fce2cd3d846>.

⁷⁴ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny*, 2nd ed., Książnica Polska Tow. Naucz. Szkół Wyższych, Warszawa 1924, URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/377775b3-1e79-4e94-aabe-0c6a341af767>.

⁷⁵ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny*, 3rd ed., "Książnica-Atlas" Tow. Naucz. Szkół Wyższych, Warszawa 1926, URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/43121dfb-d58c-443c-a18d-7895696ce2b5>.

⁷⁶ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny*, 4th ed., "Książnica-Atlas" Tow. Naucz. Szkół Wyższych, Warszawa 1928, URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/339bd34f-a07a-4d44-b7ab-54404d920d74>.

and 1931 (5th ed.).⁷⁷ As a result, we discovered that the MWRiOP programme almost entirely replicates Twardowski's proposals from 1921 and 1922. The subject was allocated three hours⁷⁸ – which Twardowski and the PTF considered insufficient for conducting experiments and exercises, and so the PTF restricted the programme to just psychology and logic – in the eighth grade of gymnasium.⁷⁹

The comparison shows that it was Twardowski's vision (significantly inspired by his Austrian experience and Brentano's philosophy, which will be discussed further on) that dominated propaedeutics teaching in interwar Poland until at least 1931. Consequently, the significant debate that took place between 1926 and 1931 on the inadequateness of the programme to contemporary expectations, which was mentioned above, referred to Twardowski's ideas.

In 1923, the first Polish Philosophical Congress was held in Lvov. One of its postulates was the significant extension of the programme of propaedeutics of philosophy, advocating for more hours to be dedicated to it. Additionally, it was emphasized that there was a "a burning need for textbooks" for propaedeutics as well as methodological guidelines for teachers.⁸⁰

After the congress, the PTF together with the Warsaw Philosophical Institute, the Philosophical Commission of the Poznań Society of Friends of Science, the Polish Philosophical Society in Warsaw and the Philosophical Society in Kraków⁸¹ sent a memorial to the MWRiOP, requesting more hours for propaedeutics of philosophy as well as competitions for propaedeutics teachers' positions and training courses for propaedeutics teachers to upgrade their qualifications.⁸²

⁷⁷ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny*, 5th ed., Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1931, URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/ec7a2a56-f53e-413c-9b00-ed3b240c9ee2>.

⁷⁸ F.W. Araszkiewicz, *Szkola średnia ogólnokształcąca...*, op. cit., p. 226.

⁷⁹ The system was as follows: seven years of obligatory primary school were followed by an optional eight-year gymnasium divided into a three-year lower high school and a five-year higher high school that concluded with a final "matura" exam that enabled access to university without further exams. If a student wanted to continue education in the gymnasium, it was already possible after finishing the fifth grade of primary school and passing the entrance exams.

⁸⁰ *Księga pamiątkowa Pierwszego Polskiego Zjazdu Filozoficznego*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1927, Vol. 30, p. 360.

⁸¹ Warszawski Instytut Filozoficzny, Komisja Filozoficzna Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne w Warszawie and Towarzystwo Filozoficzne w Krakowie; see G. Głuchowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii w czasach II Rzeczypospolitej*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1988, Vol. 45, No. 3, p. 242.

⁸² *W sprawie propedeutyki filozoficznej w szkole średniej*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1924, Vol. 8, p. 157.

The MWRiOP replied that it would take into consideration the increase in the number of hours, and would organize competitions together with competitions for other subjects and would prepare training courses for unskilled propaedeutics teachers.⁸³

In 1930, the MWRiOP established a new post of Instructor of Propaedeutics of Philosophy and entrusted it to Bolesław Gawecki, a philosopher from Kraków. He soon decided to organize a conference in Lvov, inviting teachers and professors of philosophy.⁸⁴ Gawecki presented his goals, which included organizing teachers' training (six days long) and methodological conferences (one to two days long) with open lessons, exercises, and lectures by specialists in methodology and contemporary scientific achievements. The second goal was to publish a guide for teachers, *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania i wychowania oraz administracji w szkołach ogólnokształcących* [Guide to Teaching, Upbringing and Administration in High Schools].⁸⁵ Interestingly, contrary to the discussion that was mentioned above, the guide aimed to justify the programme and its goals in their present form. It focused more on providing instructions on how to apply the programme, listing books and textbooks, and suggesting psychology exercises, which will be explained more thoroughly later on. Additionally, plans were made to establish a psychologist position at school, launch a new journal, and create an association for propaedeutics teachers.

Gawecki also limited the discussion at the conference to four main aspects, namely, the number of hours, the order of teaching psychology and logic, the unification/diversification of the programme for all types of schools, and the type of digressions into other disciplines of philosophy. The meeting was led by Twardowski, but Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz⁸⁶ was the keynote speaker who began

⁸³ Cf. R. Jadczyk, *Z dyskusji nad propedeutyką filozofii...*, op. cit.; *W sprawie nauczania propedeutyki*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1925, Vol. 9, p. 27.

⁸⁴ *W sprawie nauczania propedeutyki*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1930, Vol. 12, pp. 269–270.

⁸⁵ MWRiOP, *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania...*, op. cit.

⁸⁶ Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz (1890–1963) was one of the closest students of Twardowski and privately his son-in-law. In 1921, Ajdukiewicz was nominated as vice-director of the Pedagogical Institute in Lvov and worked to establish Studium Pedagogiczne (Teachers' College), like at Jagiellonian or Warsaw University, and prepared its teaching programme. He was supposed to take the position of director at the Studium. He was also a teacher at the III Public Gymnasium in Lvov until 1925. He was, among others, head of the 2nd Chair of Philosophy at Warsaw University (1925–1928), later head of the Chair of Logic at Lvov University (1928–1939), and finally head of the 2nd Chair of Logic (1957–1961) at Warsaw University. During World War II, he lectured at the secret academic teaching centre of Lvov University. Between 1948 and 1952, he was rec-

the discussion. He was critical of the old programme and expressed a need for change, especially in the part relating to logic, since the methods of reasoning used there were not useful in everyday life, so semantics should be added and the part on definitions should be redeveloped. There was no mention of psychology. The digressions into other disciplines of philosophy could be dedicated to scepticism, idealism, criticism, realism, conventionalism, and rationalism.

Other speakers at the event included Leopold Blaustein,⁸⁷ Salomon Igel, Roman Ingarden,⁸⁸ J. Kardasz, Muller, Artur Rappaport, Roth, Świerczyński, and Miron Zarycki. However, there is no information available on their suggestions. Four resolutions were made: two hours in the seventh and two hours in the eighth grade of gymnasium should be dedicated to propaedeutics of philosophy; logic should be taught first and psychology second; the programme should be uniform for all types of gymnasium, although an extension of the programme could vary; and the digressions mentioned by Ajdukiewicz in the case of logic should be made. In addition, in the classical gymnasium, some history of ancient philosophy should be taught, and as part of psychology lessons, when the character is discussed, ethical issues should be included. When aesthetical feelings are mentioned, aesthetics should be discussed, and some aspects of social psychology. Concepts such as materialism, spiritualism, and so on should also be explained.

Jędrzejewicz's reform finally began in the 1930s. The MWRiOP efforts to reform the programmes went through two stages. First in 1930, when the school reform was still at a preparatory stage, two commissions on upbringing and didactics were set up to prepare guidelines for the creators of the future programmes

tor of the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań. He received an honorary doctorate from Clermont-Ferrand University in 1962. He was the editor of "Studia Philosophica" (1934–1950) and "Studia Logica" (1954–1963) and a member of the editorial committee of "Erkenntnis" and "Logique et Analyse."

⁸⁷ Leopold Blaustein (1905–1942/1944) was a Polish philosopher, phenomenologist, aesthetician and psychologist, as well as a student of Twardowski and an expert and critic of Edmund Husserl's philosophy. He wrote, among others, about children's laziness, the youth's self-esteem and discipline in modern upbringing.

⁸⁸ Roman Ingarden (1893–1970) was a Polish philosopher and student of Twardowski, but he did not belong to the LWS. Edmund Husserl was his PhD supervisor. He studied philosophy and mathematics in Lvov and Göttingen. During the interwar period, he was a gymnasium teacher in Lublin, Warsaw and Toruń. From 1933, he was a professor at the University of Lvov. During the war, he participated in secret teaching and worked on his main work entitled *Controversy over the Existence of the World*. After World War II, he was a professor at universities in Toruń and Kraków.

for primary school. Interestingly, the first part provided information about children's cognitive development,⁸⁹ but there were no guidelines for high schools. Polish philosophers therefore acted on their own initiative and began preparing a programme of propaedeutics of philosophy without any guidelines.

In Twardowski's diary, in the entry for 15 September 1932, there is information about a meeting he called about Ajdukiewicz's initiative to discuss a programme of a future propaedeutics. Ajdukiewicz, Blaustein, Izydora Dąmbska,⁹⁰ Igel, Ingarden, Maria Jędrzejewska, Stanisław Kaczorowski, Maria Kokoszyńska and Sośnicki were present, but not Mieczysław Kreutz, who was away from Lvov at the time. Ajdukiewicz and Ingarden learned from Balicki⁹¹ that the critical problem was whether the programme should focus on logic and psychology with "philosophical digressions" or rather just a discussion based on philosophical text. It was decided that the first option was best, with only Sośnicki dissenting. Next, a commission was chosen to prepare a submission to the MWRiOP.⁹² On 27 September 1932, the diary entry read: "All were present – Ajdukiewicz, Igel, Ingarden,"⁹³ as well as Twardowski.

⁸⁹ MWRiOP, *Wytyczne dla autorów programów szkół ogólnokształcących. Szkoła powszechna. Gimnazjum*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1933, pp. 7–39.

⁹⁰ Izydora Dąmbska (1904–1983) was a Polish philosopher, logician, translator and epistemologist, as well as a student of Twardowski (her PhD supervisor) and later his close collaborator. She taught in high schools in Lvov. After Twardowski's death, together with Daniela Gromska, she took over the journal "Ruch Filozoficzny." She also visited, among other places, Vienna, where she established contact with the Vienna Circle, especially Moritz Schlick. In 1936, she participated in the 2nd International Congress for the Unity of Science, which was organized by the Vienna Circle in Copenhagen. She worked voluntarily as a nurse in a war hospital and later organized underground teaching in Lvov. After World War II, she was forced to leave Lvov and move to Gdańsk, where she worked in a library. Like many other LWS members, she was denied access to teaching and publishing. Finally, in 1956, she was offered a chair at the Jagiellonian University. She gathered many students and travelled abroad to conferences, but since she rejected Marxism, she was again barred from teaching. However, in 1964, at the request of her students, she created a *privatissimum*, reviving the Austrian tradition of private seminars. Her name was censored, but Pope John Paul II was among those of her students who remembered her "love of truth." Zbigniew Herbert, a significant Polish poet, dedicated a poem to her called *Potęga smaku* [The Power of Taste].

⁹¹ Twardowski probably had in mind Juliusz Balicki, who was head of the programme department at the MWRiOP. Cf. W. Jamrożek, *Kongresy i zjazdy pedagogiczne w rozwoju polskiej myśli i praktyki edukacyjnej (do 1939 roku)*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2015, p. 17.

⁹² K. Twardowski, *Dzienniki. Cz. 2: 1928–1936*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2001, p. 241.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

Many, especially Sanacja supporters, believed there was a need for urgent reform, as it was mentioned above. The programme, as we propose, prepared by Twardowski, was considered overloaded, disconnected from real-life issues, lacking in civic education problems, unfavourable to active teaching methods, devoid of leading ideas, influenced by partitions, ignorant of modern findings in psychology, and lacking in integration of the material. Additionally, the programme should help to secularize society, find one's worldview, and support a state-based upbringing.

The programme was criticized by many because there were many visions of propaedeutics teaching, as presented in the discussion above. A response to the programme's criticism can be found in the *Poradnik...*⁹⁴ from 1934, also mentioned above. The first part tries to explain the role of philosophical propaedeutics in high school and counter the scepticism as to whether it can "contribute to expanding the student's mental horizon, bring him closer to understanding life and understanding human relationships, training him in correct reasoning, teaching him healthy criticism."⁹⁵ Nevertheless, this scepticism led to underestimating and negating the subject, resulting in reduced hours. However, a "properly understood and well taught" (*dobrze nauczana*) propaedeutics could and should play a crucial role in teaching and upbringing, but the problem was a lack of well-prepared teachers. Although psychology and logic served as the basis, teachers needed to refer to philosophical elements in other school subjects, with this being a starting point for other philosophical issues that were related to the interests of pupils. "The entire course of teaching is intended to develop students' ability to think factually, clearly, precisely and critically, and to appropriately express their thoughts in words and writing."⁹⁶ The aim was to achieve a philosophical synthesis of the material taught in high school. This should be a critique of concepts, scientific assumptions and synthesis (i.e., general view) of the results of science, thus helping to form a view about the world and humans' role in it. Nevertheless, teachers were not to provide a ready-made worldview but rather prepare students for a "critical analysis of possible views" in order to make mature choices. This would help provide the state with enlightened, educated and valuable citizens.⁹⁷ The most appropriate method involved lectures and *heuresis* rather than just asking guiding questions in a seminary-style discussion. This ap-

⁹⁴ MWRiOP, *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania...*, op. cit.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

proach ensured nothing was imposed from above. Instead, it stemmed from the students' interests, did not provide dogmatic solutions, encouraged independent thinking under the guidance of the teacher, and so on. However, "Under no circumstances should we allow pseudo-philosophical, superficial and chaotic sophistry at school."⁹⁸ Psychology must be life-related, and introspection should be a source of knowledge. The argumentation provided closely mirrored the expectations of the state-upbringing programme. It seems that the author intended to explain the old programme in light of new political circumstances while avoiding major changes. Remember, this was still a programme similar to Twardowski's from 1921 and 1922. However, it seems that the *Poradnik*... did not play its role in saving the programme from reform, and work on a new programme started. Although Jędrzejewicz's reform began in 1932, the *Poradnik*... was published in 1934, whereas Twardowski's new programme was prepared only in 1935. The *Poradnik*... likely provides clues as to why there was such a long gap between the 5th edition of the programme (1931), the beginning of the reform, and the work on a new programme. It seems that there were intentions to keep it unchanged.

On 18 September 1934, Twardowski met with Prof. Konstanty Chyliński, the Undersecretary of State for the MWRiOP, who asked him to prepare a propaedeutics programme. Twardowski responded that the PTF had already been working on one but had stopped due to a lack of guidelines from the MWRiOP. Nevertheless, he promised to resume the endeavour. Twardowski deduced that Chyliński favoured the "systematic teaching of propaedeutics and not limiting it only to reading philosophical text and having a philosophical talk."⁹⁹

In "Ruch Filozoficzny," a report was published stating that in January 1935 the PTF had sent to the MWRiOP a document titled *Memorial of the Polish Philosophical Society in Lvov on the Guidelines of the Curriculum of Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High Schools (Manuscript by Kazimierz Twardowski)*¹⁰⁰ along with a draft for a programme of philosophical propaedeutics. The *Memorial*... and the programme from 1935¹⁰¹ can also be found in Twardowski's archive. The

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

⁹⁹ K. Twardowski, *Dzienniki*, op. cit., p. 362.

¹⁰⁰ K. Twardowski, *Memorial of the Polish Philosophical Society in Lvov on the Guidelines of the Curriculum of Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High Schools (Manuscript by Kazimierz Twardowski)*, ed. R. Jadcak, trans. E. Grądzka, "Edukacja Filozoficzna" 2025, Vol. 77, pp. 249–254.

¹⁰¹ K. Twardowski, *Szkic programu nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w liceach ogólnokształcących*, 1935, AKT T-16-56, Biblioteka im. Kazimierza Twardowskiego w Warszawie, URL: <https://archiwum.poznan.biblioteki.uw.edu.pl/akt/dokumenty/projekty/skic-programu-nauczania-propedeutyki-filozofii/>.

MWRiOP confirmed that it would use the documents in its work but did not allocate the necessary hours to implement the programme. It required three hours in both high school grades, but the Ministry offered only two hours in the last grade. Consequently, the PTF sent another memorial in September 1935 to emphasize the need for increased hours. As a result, the programme draft was accepted as “guidelines” for future programme authors, and the three hours, as previously established, were retained.¹⁰²

The 1935 draft programme of teaching propaedeutics of philosophy in high school, which can be found in Twardowski’s files in the archive (and which is published in translation in this issue),¹⁰³ was comprised of nine chapters and had two versions. Here we present the main sections/chapters/leading ideas.

- I. SUBJECTIVITY–OBJECTIVITY OF SENSORY COGNITION OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD (2nd version – SENSORY COGNITION OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD)
- II. RATIONAL COGNITION (2nd version – THINKING)
- III. THE QUESTION OF TRUTH (2nd version – THE QUESTION OF LOGIC)
- IV. THE QUESTION OF SCIENCE
- V. HUMANITIES (2nd version – SPIRITUAL WORLD AND NATURAL WORLD)
- VI. THE QUESTION OF HUMAN PERSONALITY (2nd version – HUMAN INDIVIDUAL)
- VII. SOCIETY
- VIII. THE QUESTION OF GOOD
- IX. THE QUESTION OF BEAUTY¹⁰⁴

Interestingly, after some critical political events in 1935 – such as the new April Constitution, the death of Piłsudski, the new compromised government, and so on – a change in pedagogy occurred. The focus shifted from state upbringing to national and moral-religious upbringing. The increasing threat from Nazi Germany also emphasized the need for a military upbringing.

¹⁰² *Sprawozdanie w sprawie programu nauczania propedeutyki filozofii*, “Ruch Filozoficzny” 1935, Vol. 13, Nos. 5–10, p. 166.

¹⁰³ K. Twardowski, *Draft of High School Curriculum for Teaching Propaedeutics of Philosophy*, trans. E. Grądzka, “Edukacja Filozoficzna” 2024, Vol. 77, pp. 243–248.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

However, already in 1930 Gawecki acknowledged that philosophical propaedeutics as a school subject dated back to the Austro-Hungarian period and had been adopted in independent Poland mostly unchanged. Nevertheless, it seems that this happened without any deep conviction from the school authorities responsible for curriculum decisions. Indeed, there was no belief that this subject could be an important component of secondary education and a crucial factor in the upbringing of young people.¹⁰⁵

In 1936, in a paper submitted in 1934 and published two years later, also Igel mentioned that the propaedeutics programme had not been reformed since the beginning of independence and was still based on the Austrian programme, which caused a lot of dissatisfaction: "However, there is general dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs and voices are increasingly heard demanding either more philosophy or a complete change of the current programme."¹⁰⁶

In Kazimierz Twardowski's archive,¹⁰⁷ there is a document sent by Chyliński on 16 January 1936 inviting Twardowski to prepare a propaedeutics programme based on the guidelines already drafted by a group of academic consultants. It is quite probable that this refers to the programme from 1935 and the *Memorial...* sent to the MWRiOP by the PTF. However, Twardowski was asked to prepare the programme not alone but with Ajdukiewicz and Kreutz.¹⁰⁸ Twardowski accepted the proposal, and although the deadline was 15 March 1936, there were delays. This suggests that until a new programme was published, the programme from 1922 was still in use, reflecting Twardowski's vision.

¹⁰⁵ B. Gawecki, *W sprawie propedeutyki filozofii...*, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁰⁶ S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Kazimierz Twardowski's Archive – AKT-K-02-1-25 k. 29 (letter from the MWRiOP to Twardowski) and AKT-K-02-1-25 k. 30 (answer from Twardowski to the MWRiOP)

¹⁰⁸ Mieczysław Kreutz (1893–1971) is considered one of the most significant Polish psychologists of the 20th century. He was one of Twardowski's closest students, and in 1928 he became the head of the Zakład Psychologii (Department of Psychology) after Twardowski, and later head of the Chair of Psychology that Twardowski helped to create for him. He was also a teacher at the III Public Gymnasium in Lvov. After World War II, he worked at the University of Wrocław until he finally arrived in Warsaw, where he worked until the end of his life. He educated a new generation of psychologists and remained a dominant figure until his death. His interests focused on the issue of introspection (following Twardowski) and a critique of psychological tests. He proposed "interrogative introspection," which was inspired by witness interrogation, based on a fixed questionnaire in experimental settings. One of his publications is still valid today: *Kształcenie charakteru. Wskazówki praktyczne*, Nasza Księgarnia, Warszawa 1946. Both topics of introspection and character seem to be neglected in contemporary psychology. Introspection was heavily criticized by schools in psychology that emphasized unconsciousness and behaviourism.

Twardowski's health was deteriorating, and in 1933, he had already rejected another proposal from the ministry to review all the proposed programmes for primary and high schools. Therefore, the suggestion to collaborate with Ajdukiewicz and Kreutz could have been due to Twardowski's health issues (he died in February 1938), as well as a desire to modernize his proposals to fit contemporary expectations. However, it is puzzling why Igel was not invited to help prepare the programme, given that he was part of the commission in 1932 and had prepared an extensive entry in the *Encyklopedia wychowania. Nauczanie* [Education Encyclopaedia: Teaching] entitled *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii* [Didactics of Propaedeutics of Philosophy],¹⁰⁹ which was the most comprehensive analysis of the state of propaedeutics of philosophy in Poland at that time. Indeed, Igel frequently referenced Twardowski in his publication. Nevertheless, while Igel's ideas differed from Twardowski's in some aspects, they were remarkably close in others, such as the justification for extending the programme beyond logic and psychology.

Finally, in 1937 the MWRiOP published *Program nauki (tymczasowy) w państwowym liceum ogólnokształcącym z polskim językiem nauczania. Propedeutyka filozofii* [Programme of Teaching [Temporary] for Public High School with Polish Language Teaching: Propaedeutics of Philosophy].¹¹⁰ It significantly differs from the 1935 programme in Twardowski's archive. It is based on the two pillars of cognition and behaviour, and it is designed for three hours only, whereas Twardowski prepared a programme for six hours (three hours in both first and second grade). Thus, Twardowski's programme was not used in the form he had offered it. However, in the archive of Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, at the Polska Akademia Nauk (Polish Academy of Sciences), we found an unpublished and undated manuscript of a draft programme titled *Propedeutyka filozofii – Wydział humanistyczny, klasyczny, matematyczno-fizyczny, i przyrodniczy*¹¹¹ [Propaedeutics of Philosophy – Faculty of Humanities, Classics, Mathematics-Physics, Natural Sciences]. Importantly, after conducting a detailed comparison, we found it to be

¹⁰⁹ S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, op. cit.

¹¹⁰ MWRiOP, *Program nauki (tymczasowy) w państwowym liceum ogólnokształcącym z polskim językiem nauczania. Propedeutyka filozofii*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1937.

¹¹¹ K. Ajdukiewicz, *Propedeutyka filozofii – Wydział humanistyczny, klasyczny, matematyczno-fizyczny, i przyrodniczy*, Materiały Kazimierza Ajdukiewicza, III-141, j.a. 137, PAN Archiwum, Warszawa.

very similar to the temporary one, leading us to surmise that Ajdukiewicz had a hand in its preparation. Additionally, in his collection, we found part of a letter¹¹² sent to Twardowski on 12 April 1937 in response to his letter with the draft of the programme (though the draft itself was not found attached to the letter in the collection) from 8 April 1937. He expressed excitement about Twardowski including the issue of the sources of conviction in the programme. Ajdukiewicz participated in a radio talk on this topic, and Twardowski disagreed with him on whether all those sources of conviction could be treated equally. Ajdukiewicz claims that he emphasized this problem a year earlier in a paper on criticism at a meeting of a Didactic Section.¹¹³ He also believed that these issues should not be covered at the beginning of the programme but later, after discussing the act, memory, perception, and so on. He also mentions the goals of teaching in the letter, but we cannot find them in either the 1935 programme or Twardowski's archive. Ajdukiewicz also refers to a discussion he had with others at Blaustein's house.

It seems that despite his poor health, Twardowski continued working on the programme until 1937. We propose that the programme found in the Ajdukiewicz collection, which is similar to the one published as temporary, is Twardowski's programme, which he revised with the help of at least Ajdukiewicz to fit the three-hour limitation and respond to the criticisms and expectations. In the Ajdukiewicz collection, there are also two other programmes: one prepared by Gawecki (no date provided) and one published by the MWRiOP, *Program nauki w liceum ogólnokształcącym. Filozofia (projekt)*¹¹⁴ [Programme of Teaching for High School: Philosophy (Draft)] in 1937. Despite their significant differences, psychology and logic remain the foundation of each programme.

¹¹² K. Ajdukiewicz, *List do Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, 12.04.1937, Materiały Kazimierza Ajdukiewicza, III-141, j.a. 137, k. 15, PAN Archiwum, Warszawa.

¹¹³ Ajdukiewicz does not clarify which Didactic Section but we can assume it was that of the Warsaw Philosophical Society. Didactic Sections functioned as subgroups in various Polish philosophical organizations: Warsaw Philosophical Society (since 1930) and Vilnius Philosophical Society (since 1932) both had a Didactic Section; the PTF had a Philosophy Teaching Section (since 1930) and a Methodical Group of Teachers of Philosophy Propaedeutics in Lvov. See "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1939, Vol. 15, pp. 66–68; S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, op. cit., p. 5; G. Głuchowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii...*, op. cit., pp. 243–244.

¹¹⁴ MWRiOP, *Program nauki w liceum ogólnokształcącym. Filozofia. Wydział humanistyczny, klasyczny, matematyczno-fizyczny i przyrodniczy (projekt)*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1937.

Interestingly, in 1938, Nawroczyński wrote in the publication *Program szkolny* [School Programme] that it was only for primary school, because the high school programme was still a work in progress: “At the time of writing this work, the Ministry has issued programmes only for these two general schools. However, the programmes for primary and secondary schools, as well as for high schools, have not yet been developed.”¹¹⁵ He had probably written that before the temporary programme was announced.

In 1938, Ajdukiewicz published the textbook *Propedeutyka filozofii dla liceów ogólnokształcących* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy for High School],¹¹⁶ and this was accepted by the Ministry as fulfilling the requirements of the temporary programme. On 6 February 1939, at the initiative of W. Auerbach, PhD, the textbook was discussed at a meeting of the Didactic Section of the Warsaw Philosophical Society.¹¹⁷

Leleszówna too prepared a textbook, *Podręcznik propedeutyki filozofii dla klasy drugiej liceów ogólnokształcących* [A Textbook for Propaedeutics of Philosophy for the Second Grade of High School] (1938),¹¹⁸ as did Tadeusz Czeżowski: *Propedeutyka filozofii: podręcznik dla II klasy wszystkich wydziałów w liceach ogólnokształcących* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy: A Textbook for Second Grade of All Departments of High School] (1938),¹¹⁹ and B. Gawecki: *Propedeutyka filozofii. Podręcznik dla kl. drugiej liceów ogólnokształcących* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy: A Textbook for Second Grade of High School] (1938).¹²⁰ Interestingly, Gawecki’s textbook was later republished under the changed title *Myślenie i postępowanie* [Thinking and Behaviour]¹²¹ in 1975. Leleszówna’s and Gawecki’s textbooks show that after the reform, philosophers outside the LWS became more actively involved in the development of propaedeutics, although Twardowski’s school remained the main source of ideas.

¹¹⁵ B. Nawroczyński, *Program szkolny*, Nasza Księgarnia, Warszawa 1938, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ K. Ajdukiewicz, *Propedeutyka filozofii dla liceów ogólnokształcących*, Książnica – Atlas, Lwów 1938.

¹¹⁷ *Sekcja dydaktyczna*, “Ruch Filozoficzny” 1939, Vol. 15, p. 68.

¹¹⁸ H. Lelesz, *Podręcznik propedeutyki filozofii dla klasy drugiej liceów ogólnokształcących*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1938.

¹¹⁹ T. Czeżowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii. Podręcznik dla II klasy wszystkich wydziałów w liceach ogólnokształcących*, K.S. Jakubowski, Lwów 1938; 2nd edition under new title: T. Czeżowski, *Główne zasady nauk filozoficznych*, 2nd ed., Nakł. Księgarni Naukowej T. Szczęsny i S-ka, Toruń 1946.

¹²⁰ B. Gawecki, *Propedeutyka filozofii. Podręcznik dla kl. drugiej liceów ogólnokształcących*, Inst. Wydaw. “Biblioteka Polska,” Warszawa 1938, URL: <https://pbc.gda.pl/dlibra/publication/88515/edition/79994>.

¹²¹ B.J. Gawecki, *Myślenie i postępowanie*, Pax, Warszawa 1975.

Before 1938 there was a general problem with the availability of an appropriate textbook for philosophical propaedeutics in Poland written by a Polish author for the Polish programme. Although there were some different propositions, these were mostly translations and aimed at an academic level, or they were separate textbooks for psychology or logic.¹²² In his *Self-Portrait*, Twardowski negatively refers to the Austrian school textbook by Robert von Zimmermann titled *Philosophische Propaedeutik*, which Twardowski had to study from in gymnasium. He envied the classes with Alois Höfler and later recommended Höfler's textbook in a positive review.¹²³ In 1927, Zygmunt Zawirski, a student of Twardowski, finally translated it into Polish. Twardowski criticized also the lack of a Polish textbook for philosophical propaedeutics even before independence and perceived it as an unacceptable passiveness of the Polish philosophical and teaching community: "I did not know until now that writing a textbook requires official authorization and encouragement from the authorities. [...] It would be high time to break once and for all with this constant waiting for 'salvation' from the authorities; one must rely on one's own strength and initiative; the fact that the authorities do nothing in a given direction should not encourage individuals to do nothing either."¹²⁴ Only in 1928 did Władysław Witwicki, another of Twardowski's students, publish *Zarys psychologii* [Introduction to Psychology].¹²⁵

Twardowski died on 11 February 1938. The following year, World War II began, ushering in a tragic period of persecution for Polish people and culture, first by Nazi Germany and then by the communist Soviet Union. After World War II, attempts were made to return to the teaching of philosophical propaedeutics, but it was excluded from the curricula by the communists for ideological reasons. Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz and Tadeusz Kotarbiński¹²⁶ tried to rescue philosophy from communist exclusion from education and even agreed to close philosophi-

¹²² Cf. M. Woźniczka, *Nauczanie filozofii w Polsce...*, op. cit.

¹²³ K. Twardowski, Alois Höfler. *Psychologie*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, Vol. 2, eds. A. Brożek, J.J. Jadacki, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2014, pp. 171–179.

¹²⁴ K. Twardowski, *Nauka propedeutyki filozoficznej w gimnazjach*, "Tygodnik 'Słowa Polskiego'" 1902, No. 14, p. 6.

¹²⁵ W. Witwicki, *Zarys psychologii. Podręcznik dla uczniów szkół średnich i seminarjów nauczycielskich*, Książnica – Atlas, Lwów 1928.

¹²⁶ Tadeusz Kotarbiński (1886–1981) was a Polish philosopher, logician and ethicist, as well as a student of Twardowski (PhD supervisor) and a prominent member of the LWS. He was a professor of philosophy at the University of Warsaw from 1919. His students included Alfred Tarski, the Chairman of the PTF (1927–1975). After World War II, he co-organized the newly established University of Łódź, of which he became the first rector. He was also President of the Polish

cal journals just to keep propaedeutics of philosophy within the high school curriculum. Nevertheless, these efforts were in vain. First the subject was reduced to logic only in 1949 (one hour in the ninth grade). Finally, in 1954 it was removed from the school curriculum.¹²⁷ The efforts of Ajdukiewicz and Kotarbiński demonstrate, however, the high status that philosophical education had for members of the LWS as part of Twardowski's heritage, and that it was considered problematic for the communist regime.¹²⁸

6. Twardowski's Philosophical Propaedeutics Programmes in the Context of the Curricula Proposed during the Interwar Period

To better understand how important the contribution of Twardowski and his school was, it is worth taking a closer look at the development of the programmes in the interwar period.

Twardowski's 1935 programme, which was prepared for a two-year high school, was considered elitist from the beginning. This type of school had been introduced by the MWRiOP on 11 March 1932 by the Jędrzejewicz reform.¹²⁹ This reform was eventually abandoned after World War II by the new Soviet-dependent government in 1948.¹³⁰

The reform was based on modern psychological and pedagogical research under the influence of the New Education movement. Its theoretical weaknesses were soon uncovered, however, and further investigation by Sośnicki, among others, appeared to strengthen the reform and avoid ideologizing and fetishizing the concept of the state.

Academy of Sciences (1957–1962). His second wife was Janina Kotarbińska, another member of the LWS. He was the founder of reism, and his main works relate to praxeology.

¹²⁷ More on the fate of propaedeutics of philosophy after World War II can be found in J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit.

¹²⁸ R. Kuliniak, M. Pandura, Ł. Ratajczak, *Filozofia po ciemnej stronie mocy. Krucjaty marksistów i komunistów polskich przeciwko Lwowskiej Szkole Filozoficznej Kazimierza Twardowskiego. Cz. 1: Lata 1945–1951*, Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, Kęty 2018; R. Kuliniak, M. Pandura, Ł. Ratajczak, *Filozofia po ciemnej stronie mocy. Krucjaty marksistów i komunistów polskich przeciwko Lwowskiej Szkole Filozoficznej Kazimierza Twardowskiego. Cz. 2: Problem reformy szkolnictwa wyższego w świetle partyjnej ofensywy ideologicznej*, Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, Kęty 2019.

¹²⁹ Cf. W. Jamrożek, *The Educational Practice and Thought of the Second Polish Republic...*, op. cit.

¹³⁰ Cf. S. Wołoszyn, *Nauki o wychowaniu w Polsce w XX wieku. Próba syntetycznego zarysu na tle powszechnym*, 2nd ed., Strzelec, Kielce 1998.

Twardowski worked during a period of changing attitudes towards education. He was a graduate of the prestigious Viennese Theresianum gymnasium. On the one hand, he clearly exemplified its excellence, discipline, and rigour (e.g., he learned Greek and Latin). On the other hand, he experienced the painful cost of an upbringing that resembled military service and the forced memorization of large volumes of material. Indeed, he considered it to be a close-minded, disempowering experience, and so he viewed the traditional Herbartian school as outdated and favoured more progressive approaches. He also advocated for school being more related to the economy and everyday life and more oriented towards promoting patriotism by at least teaching Polish history and culture and referring to the traditions of the Commission for National Education. However, the New Education movement¹³¹ began to influence Polish educationalists with its psychological attitude and child-centred pedagogy. Twardowski had reservations about its ideas, but at the same time, he understood the need to adjust the programme to the “laws” of child development and to make it more utilitarian. He saw education as a process of character formation that should not be individualistic but rather oriented to the needs of society.¹³²

In the interwar period, there was an ongoing discussion and a degree of controversy over the state of philosophy in high school, such as whether it should be accessible to lower classes or remain elitist; whether it should be intellectual or inspired by the New Education movement; how many hours should the programme encompass (i.e., was a reduction necessary and possible?); whether it should provide teaching or upbringing; and whether it should be taught independently or during other subjects. With societal changes, access to high school education became increasingly important, and its economic utility was a growing topic of discussion. Until then, it had been oriented towards teaching ancient languages and cultures and universal knowledge. Twardowski was aware of this outdated policy and highlighted the increased importance of teaching science and mathematics and giving education a more Polish nature, such as by teaching Polish history.¹³³

¹³¹ The progressive education movement in Europe became known as the New Education movement. E. Wolter, *Nowe wychowanie*, “Kwartalnik Naukowy” 2014, No. 4(18), pp. 36–49. After World War I, a new social order emerged, and the old class-dominated system based on preparing students for university started to appear unsatisfactory. Ellen Key, Maria Montessori, John Dewey, Georg Kerschensteiner and Jean Piaget are considered some of the adherents of this movement.

¹³² More on Twardowski’s vision of education can be found in E. Grądzka, *Kazimierz Twardowski’s Philosophy of Education*, op. cit.

¹³³ K. Sośnicki, *Kazimierz Twardowski jako pedagog*, “Nowa Szkoła” 1959, No. 4, pp. 24–26.

Table 1. Programmes of teaching philosophical propaedeutics in Poland during the interwar period (1920–1939)

No.	Year	Title	Author
1.	1921 (memorial from 10.08.1920)	<i>Program nauczania psychologii w szkole średniej</i> ^a [Programme of Teaching Psychology in High School] <i>Szkic programu ćwiczeń praktycznych z psychologii w gimnazjum</i> [Draft Programme of Practical Exercises in Psychology in Gymnasium] ^b	Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne (PTF, Polish Philosophical Society) L. Jaxa-Bykowski (Lvov)
2.	1921	<i>Program psychologii. Projekt programu nauczania dla szkół średnich</i> [Psychology Programme: Draft Curriculum for High Schools] ^c	K. Twardowski
3.	1922	<i>Projekt programu logiki</i> [Draft Logic Programme] ^d	K. Twardowski
4.	1922 1924 1926 1928 1931	<i>Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział Humanistyczny. Propedeutyka filozofii</i> [Programme for Public Gymnasium: Humanities. Propaedeutics of Philosophy] (1st ed., pp. 96–103, ^e 2nd ed., pp. 94–101, ^f 3rd ed., pp. 90–97, ^g 4th ed., pp. 123–130, ^h 5th ed., pp. 75–80 ⁱ)	Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (MWRiOP, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Edu- cation)
5.	1934	<i>Poradnik w sprawach nauczania i wychowania oraz administracji w szkołach ogólnokształcących</i> [A Guide to Teaching, Upbringing and Administration in High Schools]	MWRiOP
6.	1935	<i>Szkic programu nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w liceach ogólnokształcących</i> [Draft High School Curriculum for Teaching Propaedeutics of Philosophy] ^j <i>Memorial of the Polish Philosophical Society in Lvov on the Guidelines of the Curriculum of Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High Schools (Manuscript by Kazimierz Twardowski)</i> ^k	K. Twardowski PTF
7.	1937	<i>Program nauki w liceum ogólnokształcącym. Filozofia (projekt)</i> ^l [Programme of Teaching for High School: Philosophy (Draft)]	MWRiOP

^a Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, *Program nauczania psychologii...*, op. cit.; K. Twardowski, *Program nauczania psychologii w szkole średniej*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, Vol. 1, eds. A. Brożek, J.J. Jadacki, Copernicus Center Press, Kraków 2013, pp. 524–529.

^b L. Bykowski, *Szkic programu ćwiczeń praktycznych...*, op. cit.

^c K. Twardowski, *Projekt programu psychologii...*, op. cit.

^d K. Twardowski, *Programy logiki gimnazjalnej...*, op. cit.

^e MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1922).

^f MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1924).

^g MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1926).

^h MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1928).

ⁱ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny...*, op. cit. (1931).

^j Published as: K. Twardowski, *Projekt programu propedeutyki filozofii dla liceów ogólnokształcących* (1935), in: *Dydaktyka*, ed. A. Brożek, Wydawnictwo Academicum, Lublin 2023, pp. 251–256.

^k K. Twardowski, *Memorial of the Polish Philosophical Society in Lvov...*, op. cit.

^l MWRiOP, *Program nauki w liceum ogólnokształcącym. Filozofia*, op. cit.

8.	(no information provided)	<i>Propedeutyka filozofii – Wydział humanistyczny, klasyczny, matematyczno-fizyczny, i przyrodniczy</i> ^m [Propaedeutics of Philosophy – Faculty of Humanities, Classics, Mathematics-Physics, Natural Sciences]	K. Twardowski/ K. Ajdukiewicz (found in K. Ajdukiewicz's archival collection)
9.	1937	<i>Program nauki (tymczasowy)</i> [Programme of Teaching (Temporary)]	MWRiOP
10.	(no information provided)	<i>Projekt rozkładu materiału nauczania propedeutyki filozofii</i> [Draft of the Distribution of Teaching Material for Propaedeutics of Philosophy]	B. Gawecki (found in K. Ajdukiewicz's archival collection)

^m K. Ajdukiewicz, *Propedeutyka filozofii – Wydział humanistyczny...*, op. cit.

Source: own work.

The list of programmes presented in Table 1 related to propaedeutics of philosophy reveals the complexity of the problem and work undertaken, highlighting several interesting facts. First, although Poland was already independent and united, the centre for the development of propaedeutics remained in Lvov, which was then the strongest intellectual centre of the former Galicia region. Consequently, Polish programmes clearly followed the Austrian¹³⁴ traditions of propaedeutics, with modifications to meet the changing needs and goals of the educational system. Twardowski, his students, and their associated institutions were at the centre of developing the Polish concepts of philosophical propaedeutics in the interwar period.

7. How Strong Was Austrian Philosophical Influence? Twardowski's Understanding of Philosophy and Psychology for Propaedeutics

We have repeatedly pointed out that the Polish interwar concept of philosophical propaedeutics grew out of Austrian pedagogical concepts absorbed during the period of Galician autonomy. The special role played by philosophers from the former Galicia in the development of propaedeutics in the interwar period also

¹³⁴ Interestingly, Austria continues to teach the subject, but it is now called *Psychologie und Philosophie* (PuP). Psychology is taught first, in the seventh grade, followed by philosophy in the eighth grade of the *allgemeinbildende höhere Schule* (AHS).

suggests a strong Austrian influence.¹³⁵ The key figure is, of course, Kazimierz Twardowski, who served as the link between Vienna and Lvov. Thus, it is worth at least sketching what elements of Viennese philosophy influenced the interwar concepts of propaedeutics of philosophy and how strongly they are visible in the Polish concepts.

Franz Brentano, who taught at Vienna University, influenced¹³⁶ Twardowski's conception of philosophy in that it should be "scientific philosophy," and any questions about the inner or external experience should be solved using an empirical method. Philosophy is a set of disciplines, including the history of philosophy, psychology, logic, ethics, aesthetics, the theory of knowledge, metaphysics, and other areas like the philosophy of religion. Philosophers opted for realism, searched for absolute truth, and were reluctant to speculate, with the foundation being psychology and the analytic method. Analysis enabled clarification, and this was also fundamental for Twardowski, who believed there was a straightforward relationship between clear thinking and the clear expression of thoughts.¹³⁷ He was against using obscure language that made philosophy obscure. Although logic played a role in that fundamental process, he warned against *symbolomania* and *pragmatophobia*, which refer to the detachment of logic from reality.

Over time, Twardowski became more sceptical about the position of metaphysics and considered questions like "essence, beginning, the aim of all beings and destiny of humans," which is more of a worldview than philosophy. He believed that metaphysics should be the final reflection on the results of science, rather than the starting point, as is the case in many systematic philosophies. A worldview is a personal matter, and it is best if everyone has one, but it should be based on rational, critical reflection.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Of the participants in the discussions and drafters, apart from Twardowski, the vast majority were educated in Lvov during the Austrian partition. Another key figure, Gawecki, was educated in Kraków during the period of Galician autonomy.

¹³⁶ Cf. A. Betti, *Twardowski and Brentano*, in: *The Routledge Handbook of Franz Brentano and the Brentano School*, ed. U. Kriegel, Routledge, New York 2017, pp. 305–310; A. Betti, *Brentano and the Lvov-Warsaw School*, in: *The Routledge Handbook of Franz Brentano and the Brentano School*, ed. U. Kriegel, Routledge, New York 2017, pp. 334–340.

¹³⁷ K. Twardowski, *On Clear and Unclear Philosophical Style*, in: *Kazimierz Twardowski on Actions, Products and Other Topics in Philosophy*, eds. J.L. Brandl, J. Woleński, trans. A. Szylewicz, Brill-Rodopi, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 257–259.

¹³⁸ Cf. R. Kleszcz, *Metoda i wartości. Metafilozofia Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2013.

Psychology is considered part of philosophy¹³⁹ because it originates from theories of knowledge and ethics. Importantly, psychology is not a part of our physiology, despite claims to the contrary by figures like August Comte. Mental phenomena (i.e., our thoughts, feelings, images, decisions, concepts, wishes, desires, beliefs) are therefore not a particular type of physiological phenomenon, as they do not occupy any physical space. We also gain knowledge about them not through the physical senses but rather an “inner experience” through the so-called introspective method. This inner experience is possible because we can *perceive* mental phenomena, even if we cannot *observe* them. Observation (like with Comte) is not fundamental to this experience (like in the case of the lightning). Additionally, introspection refers only to our own mental phenomena, making it a *subjective method*. We can also use our memory to aid introspection or experiment by repeating the experience to remember it better. Herbert Spencer divided psychology into the subjective and objective types, with these effectively complementing each other.

The emphasis on psychology in philosophy led to a problem known as *psychologism*. Jan Woleński identified two types of psychologism: methodological and ontological.¹⁴⁰ The first refers to applying methods from psychology that give us access to the inner experience. The second makes creations like logic, art, and so on part of psychology, because they are products of the mind. Twardowski neglected this version in his 1902 text following criticism from Edmund Husserl. To address the problem, Twardowski proposed distinguishing between the actions and the products of the mental processes. Psychology investigates the acts (i.e., the thinking), whereas the product (i.e., the thought) would be of interest to other disciplines, such as the humanities.

The concepts of upbringing and education were analysed according to this division,¹⁴¹ namely the action (i.e., the process of upbringing/educating) versus the product (i.e., the achieved upbringing/education). In Polish, the two terms upbringing and education refer to different areas. Education is concerned with

¹³⁹ K. Twardowski, *Psychology vs. Physiology and Philosophy*, in: *Kazimierz Twardowski on Actions, Products and Other Topics in Philosophy*, eds. J.L. Brandl, J. Woleński, trans. A. Szylewicz, Brill-Rodopi, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 41–64.

¹⁴⁰ J. Woleński, *Filozoficzna Szkoła Lwowsko-Warszawska*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1985, pp. 40–42.

¹⁴¹ K. Twardowski, *On the Notion of Education*, in: *On Prejudices, Judgments, and Other Topics in Philosophy*, eds. A. Brożek, J.J. Jadacki, Rodopi, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 121–129.

developing the mind, whereas upbringing focuses on the moral development of the human will. The latter should provide the ability to make sound decisions, so it needs psychology and logic to achieve that goal, while ethics helps to understand precisely what decision-making depends upon.

There are three significant phases of upbringing. First, there is the establishment of reasonable order, absolute obedience to a consistent and coherent teacher, and the use of punishment. This is followed by intellectual development, where a teacher must seek motivations beyond just punishment, such as values. Finally, there is self-upbringing, because moral upbringing never ends and continues throughout life, requiring us to practice our will in correct decision-making. Thus, Twardowski proclaimed: "Teach less, educate more, but above all upbringing!" This is also what his students recall. He raised through education, and he was considered a sage with very high moral standards, often being compared to Socrates. Personal contact with the master is the key to the success of Twardowski's didactics. Dąmbska recognized that friendship or even love arose among the students and the professor.¹⁴² He formed their character through high expectations of duty, conscience, accuracy, and reliability. His ethos outlived him, and he remains symbolic of Polish philosophical culture to this day. Tadeusz Czeżowski, another of his students, distinguishes three aspects of Twardowski's creative attitude as an academic teacher: "ideal of philosophically educated person, method of teaching and its implementation."¹⁴³

It should be remembered, however, that for Twardowski this ethos was a continuation of the ethos of the Brentano school. Twardowski masterfully adapted this Viennese philosophy from the second half of the 19th century to create the foundations of modern Polish intellectual culture.¹⁴⁴ This unique example of a fruitful combination of local and global values deserves further analysis. It is

¹⁴² Cf. I. Dąmbska, *Filozofia na Uniwersytecie Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie w latach 1918–1939*, in: *Wybór pism psychologicznych i pedagogicznych*, ed. M. Decewicz, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warszawa 1992, p. 482.

¹⁴³ T. Czeżowski, *Kazimierz Twardowski jako nauczyciel*, in: *Kazimierz Twardowski. Nauczyciel, uczony, obywatel. Przemówienia wygłoszone na Akademii Żałobnej urządzonej w Auli Uniwersytetu J.K. w dniu 30 IV 1938 przez Senat Akademicki, Radę Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza i Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne*, eds. S. Lempicki et al., Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Lwów 1938, p. 477.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. R. Kleszcz, *Twardowski – racjonalność, geniusz organizacyjny i mistrzostwo w nauczaniu*, in: *Rozum i wola. Kazimierz Twardowski i jego wpływ na kształt kultury polskiej XX wieku*, ed. J.J. Jądacki, Wydawnictwo Academicum, Lublin 2021, pp. 49–96.

worth emphasizing that this aspect of Twardowski's activity, underestimated by historians of philosophy, was of key cultural importance and should be counted among the major achievements of Twardowski and the LWS.¹⁴⁵

8. Conclusions

Kazimierz Twardowski was the main figure in developing propaedeutics of philosophy during the interwar period and therefore his influence on the intellectual culture of Poland was significant. His own ideas were important, and these arose from his personal experience of education in Vienna and his engagement in organizing a gymnasium education system in Galicia, as well as his philosophical background as a student of Franz Brentano and colleague of Alois Höfler. Although there was a lively discussion from the beginning of Polish independence (with input from Stanisław Ossowski, Bohdan Zawadzki, Regina Rajchman-Ettingerowa, Bolesław Gawecki, Helena Leleszówna, Bohdan Kieszkowski, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Salomon Igel, and Kazimierz Sośnicki) criticizing ideas included in the programme eventually published in 1922 by the MWRiOP (which, as we exposed, had been prepared by Twardowski), the Austrian form of limiting propaedeutics of philosophy to teaching psychology and logic dominated until the publication of a new programme in 1937.

Propaedeutics of philosophy was originally introduced to the Austrian, and consequently Galician, curriculum during the significant educational reforms of 1849. It replaced an introductory course at university, so its main aim was to prepare future students, thus determining the subject's format and content. With time, its psychology content moved from a Herbartian viewpoint to a Brentanian one (it can be observed in the change in textbooks from Zimmerman's to Höfler's and Meinong's one). For Twardowski, like for Brentano, psychology was a fundamental science of philosophy that taught how the experimental method works, whereas logic prepared for theoretical, analytical thinking. However, in the new reality of independent Poland, together with changes in the educational system following Jędrzejewicz's reforms from 1932 at organizational, ideological (Sanacja political ideals) and methodological levels (New Education movement), Twardowski had to adjust his programme to meet contemporary expectations.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. J. Wojtyśiak, *Edukacja filozoficzna w ujęciu szkoły lwowsko-warszawskiej*, op. cit.

Whether he was eager to do this is unclear, but his preparation of the 1935 programme shows that he made an effort to meet the expectations while keeping the original idea of focusing on psychology and logic in the first year, when there was more time available. The programme was then developed further in the second year, which was before final exams and therefore had less time available. He divided the programme into problems in response to the postulates of the New Education movement. For the second year, he introduced aspects of aesthetics, ethics, and sociology. The programme seemed to be more oriented towards everyday problems than before. Nevertheless, apparently it did not meet the expectations of the MWRiOP and another version was published as temporary in 1937. Although this version is almost the same as the programme found in Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz's archive, it is highly possible that it was mainly prepared by Twardowski. Nevertheless, it was organized into two main areas, namely cognition and behaviour. The main challenge in the interwar period was justifying the need for keeping propaedeutics of philosophy in the high school curriculum. Indeed, there were two opposing tendencies: one wanted to maintain the elitist character of high school as the building ground for the future intelligentsia, while the other wanted to follow the New Education movement with its practical vision of a more egalitarian education based around life issues. In addition, there was a demand for a state upbringing that promoted the state's values. Twardowski tried to satisfy all these expectations and argued for the practicality of propaedeutics for life in a democratic society, because thinking influences action, shows the value of criticism and proper justification of one's opinions, thus strengthening growth and prosperity of society. We can find such a justification of propaedeutics also in the *Poradnik*..., a guide for teachers published by the MWRiOP in 1934. It seems that Twardowski and the content of the *Poradnik*... point to keeping the subject unchanged, especially due to no change in the number of hours (three hours per week).

A comparison of Twardowski's three main proposals can be a way of categorizing them. The first programme from 1921 (psychology) and 1922 (logic) could be called "minimalistic." The second from 1935 could be referred to as "maximalist." Finally, the one that is supposedly his, from 1937, could be called "pragmatic." These various proposals demonstrate how the concept of philosophical propaedeutics evolved and adapted to local and historical circumstances.

Additionally, it is important to add that Twardowski's work was accompanied by the contributions of the PTF and Twardowski's students. The PTF actively discussed and referred to the MWRiOP via memorials, trying to influence the ministry's decisions and plans. In 1921, the PTF even published its own programme, though only for psychology. In 1935, the PTF published the *Memoorial...* that referred to Twardowski's programme of the same year. There was also the position of Instructor of Propaedeutics of Philosophy at the MWRiOP since 1930, entrusted to Bolesław Gawecki, a philosopher from Kraków. His aim was to support teachers and to work on the vision of propaedeutics, which was fulfilled partly by a conference to discuss the future of propaedeutics in Lvov or the publication of the *Poradnik...* in 1934. Twardowski's students, despite supporting him as members of the PTF, also disagreed with the vision of their master, which can be seen in Sośnicki's article or the critique of the programme from 1922 presented by Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz at a conference organized by Gawecki. Therefore, when the MWRiOP finally decided to reform the programme and entrust it to Twardowski, they asked for Ajdukiewicz and Mieczysław Kreutz's assistance.

Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War II stopped the work on teaching propaedeutics, and it was later dismissed by the communist state and its Marxism-Leninism ideology. However, this significant Polish heritage could inspire a contemporary discussion of the necessity and aims of programmes of teaching philosophy in schools. The 1935 programme seems a particularly interesting vision that, on the one hand, focuses attention on something that is nowadays referred to as critical thinking but with a particular approach (i.e., cognitive psychology, biases, logic, philosophy of science). While it attractively extends the foundations to more philosophical topics, after some modernization, it could serve as a broad introduction to questions in philosophy that relate to everyday life and the formation of a worldview. Except for ethical issues that are widely accepted, what is also significant is that paying attention to aesthetics and social issues from a philosophical perspective would create more space for discussion.

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