

Philosophy for Modernizing and Strengthening Polish Society: Kazimierz Twardowski's Contribution to the Discussion on the Development of Philosophical Propaedeutics

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Abstract: This paper is an introduction to the first English translation of Kazimierz Twardowski's article *Filozofia w szkole średniej* [Philosophy in High School], published in 1919 as part of a greater discussion on the significance and content of the school subject called propaedeutics of philosophy in Polish education at the beginning of the 20th century. Papers that contributed to three major periods of the debate (early 1902 discussion in Galicia; 1919–1920 discussion in newly reborn Poland; mid-1920s until mid-1930s discussion) will be presented. A reconstruction of these exchanges reveals that many Polish philosophers participated, and most of the contributors were members of the Lvov-Warsaw School. Finally, Twardowski's involvement in the discussions will be examined.

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

1. Introduction

Propaedeutics of philosophy as a school subject was the focus of attention of many prominent 19th-century philosophers, like Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Alois Höfler. It was associated with important social and cultural roles.

The importance of philosophical propaedeutics was recognized in Polish philosophy at the beginning of the 20th century. It was a peculiar time, when Poland had been divided for more than a century between Russia, Prussia, and Austria-Hungary, and most Poles felt an acute lack of independence, both political and

cultural. In 1867, in the lands of the former Polish Commonwealth, taken over by Austria, the region of Galicia was granted a large degree of administrative and political autonomy. As a result, the province became the centre of the ideas of national revival and development, and attempts were made to lay the foundations of modern Polish society. After World War I, as Poland regained independence in 1918, the challenge was to unite the three former partitions and build new systems, including the educational system. Philosophical propaedeutics was one of the most important contributions of Polish philosophers to the reconstruction and modernization of their country in the early 20th century.

The introduction of philosophical propaedeutics to the school curriculum, initially thanks to the Humboldt reforms in Prussia in the 19th century, sparked off a significant and long-lived debate. That debate centred on the position of propaedeutics in the curriculum, the number of hours allocated to it, its content, and the propriety of teaching philosophy to young minds. The controversy was further fuelled by the perceived “bankruptcy” of previous philosophical systems in the neo-Kantian tradition, accused of ignorance of science. While the subject was not commonly taught in Prussia, it became part of the regular curriculum in Austria in 1849.¹ Galicia, which belonged to Austria before 1918, was subject to the Austrian educational system, and thus philosophical propaedeutics was taught there as early as the 19th century. Philosophical propaedeutics was also taught in the Russian partition (so-called Kingdom of Poland or Vistula Land; Russian: Priwislinskij kraj – Привислинский край) following the reforms of the 1905 revolution. Philosophical propaedeutics at that time was a combination of psychology and logic.

Kazimierz Twardowski, a prominent figure in Polish academic philosophy, played a pivotal role in the discourse on the importance of philosophical propaedeutics for personal development, socio-cultural progress of the country, and democracy. His influence was felt from the early days of his career in Lvov (in Polish Lwów; now Lviv, in Ukraine), Galicia. As his student, Salomon Igel, a Jewish scholar, aptly put it: “Prof. Kazimierz Twardowski, a relentless advocate of philosophical culture and philosophy, has been struggling for a high level of teaching of philosophy in high schools for 33 years.”² This testament to Twardowski’s dedication underscores the significance of his contributions.

¹ The Empire of Austria united with the Kingdom of Hungary in 1867 to form the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a result of Austria’s defeat in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866.

² S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, in: *Encyklopedia wychowania. Nauczanie*, Vol. 2, ed. S. Łempicki, Nasza Księgarnia, Warszawa 1935, p. 429. Unless stated otherwise, all translations of citations are our own.

The discussion about the future of philosophical propaedeutics and its reform spanned almost the whole academic career of Twardowski. During that time, the status of philosophy, social problems, political situation, and approaches in pedagogy changed considerably. The amount of information and analysis provided in the discussion, as well as the wealth of perspectives offered, inspires us to think of the subject as problematic on one side and, on the other, full of possibilities that could be embraced even today. Some arguments continue to be valid, while others do not. However, the relevance of these arguments has not been sufficiently addressed,³ and the issue of the philosophical background of philosophical propaedeutics still requires in-depth analysis. Additionally, the discussion presented has not previously been available in English, and so our goal is to familiarize international readers with its content in greater detail and to inspire further research in this area. We aim to fill these gaps. We also think that the discussion from that time remains relevant even today, in light of the current deficiency of good philosophical propaedeutics. Contemporary proposals for teaching philosophy ignore the Polish achievements in this matter and repeat errors already identified by our predecessors a century ago.

The publication of the first English translation of Twardowski's article entitled *Filozofia w szkole średniej* [Philosophy in High School]⁴ provides an opportunity to undertake a deeper analysis of his role in the formulation and promotion of philosophical propaedeutics in Poland.

The structure of our article is as follows: we begin with an overview of the historical background of the discussion on propaedeutics of philosophy. Next, three major periods of Polish debates (early 1902 discussion in Galicia; 1919–1920 discussion in reborn Poland; mid-1920s until mid-1930s discussion) will be described. Finally, Twardowski's contributions will be reconstructed and reviewed. The paper will conclude with some general observations regarding Twardowski's position.

³ For some interesting insights, see R. Jadcak, *Z dyskusji nad propedeutyką filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Studia Filozoficzne" 1984, Nos. 11–12, pp. 151–159; J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, "Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny" 1982, Nos. 3–4, pp. 79–106; M. Woźniczka, *Nauczanie filozofii w Polsce w I połowie XX wieku*, "Studia z Filozofii Polskiej" 2006, Vol. 1, pp. 293–328; J. Wojtyśiak, *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.

⁴ K. Twardowski, *Filozofia w szkole średniej*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1919, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1–6.

2. Kazimierz Twardowski: Philosopher, Psychologist and Educationalist

Kazimierz Twardowski was one of the most significant Polish philosophers, a student of Franz Brentano,⁵ and founder of the largest Central European analytical school – the Lvov-Warsaw School⁶ (hereinafter LWS). He was born into a Polish noble patriotic family in Vienna in 1866, where he received a thorough education at the prestigious gymnasium Theresianum.⁷ He graduated from Vienna University, where he received his PhD, supervised officially by Robert Zimmermann, though his actual mentor was Brentano, who held the position of *Privatdozent* at the time. Notably, Zimmermann authored a textbook on propaedeutics of philosophy, which Twardowski had studied earlier during his education at the Theresianum. However, Twardowski recalled in his *Self-Portrait*⁸ that he did not enjoy that textbook and regretted not having classes with Alois Höfler, a member of Brentano's School, who later became his colleague and author of a propaedeutics textbook that became canonical in Austria-Hungary.⁹ After receiving his habilitation (*venia legendi*) at Vienna University, Twardowski moved to Galicia,

⁵ 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; J. Czerny, *Kazimierz Twardowski – współtwórca brentanowskiego programu filozofii*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1990; I. Dąbmska, *Franciszek Brentano a polska myśl filozoficzna. Kazimierz Twardowski i jego szkoła*, “Ruch Filozoficzny” 1979, Vol. 37, Nos. 1–2, pp. 1–10; D. Fisette, F. Stadler, G. Fréchette, eds., *Franz Brentano and Austrian Philosophy*, Springer, Cham 2020.

⁶ Cf. A. Brożek, F. Stadler, J. Woleński, eds., *The Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School in the European Culture*, Springer, Cham 2017; A. Brożek, A. Chybińska, J. Jadacki, J. Woleński, eds., *Tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School: Ideas and Continuations*, Brill-Rodopi, Leiden 2016.

⁷ Cf. A. Brożek, *Wiedeńskie lata Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, “Filozofia Nauki” 2009, Vol. 17, No. 3(67), pp. 133–164; A. Brożek, *Kazimierz Twardowski. Die Wiener Jahre*, Springer, Wien–New York 2011.

⁸ K. Twardowski, *Self-Portrait*, in: *Kazimierz Twardowski on Actions, Products and Other Topics in Philosophy*, eds. J.L. Brandl, J. Woleński, trans. A. Szylewicz, Rodopi, Amsterdam–Atlanta 1999, pp. 17–31.

⁹ Cf. A. Höfler, *Grundlehren der Logik und Psychologie. Mit einem Anhang. Zehn Lesestücke aus philosophischen Klassikern*, G. Freytag, Leipzig, 1903; D. Fisette, *Robert Zimmermann and Herbartianism in Vienna: The Critical Reception of Brentano and His Followers*, in: *Herbartism in Austrian Philosophy*, ed. C. Maigné, De Gruyter, Berlin 2021, pp. 33–62.

where he was appointed to chair a department at Lvov University.¹⁰ Since then, he dedicated a lot of effort to promoting philosophy education at the primary and secondary levels, as well as within broader society.¹¹

Twardowski was a great teacher, who raised “an army of intellectuals” (around 30 professors in various disciplines) that dominated Polish philosophy for many years and significantly influenced Polish culture and education, as we will see.¹² The main guiding principles of the LWS were: clarity of expression, reliable justification, criticism (towards others and especially oneself), and cooperation.¹³ This ethos was propagated by the school’s members not only within academic circles but also by their work for education and society, reflecting their understanding of philosophy teaching.¹⁴

It should be mentioned here that Twardowski was also a pioneer of modern psychology, which he introduced as an academic subject in Lvov.¹⁵ Twardowski’s involvement in pedagogical activities should also be emphasized: he was not only

¹⁰ Cf. A. Brożek, ed., *Kazimierz Twardowski we Lwowie. O wielkim myślicielu, nauczycielu i obywatelu*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Epigram, Bydgoszcz 2015. Lvov was largely Polish at the time.

¹¹ Cf. E. Grądzka, *Kazimierz Twardowski’s Philosophy of Education – Attempting a Reconstruction*, “Logos i Ethos” 2020, No. 2, pp. 7–39, <http://doi.org/10.15633/lie.3806>.

¹² Cf. A. Brożek, *The Significance of Kazimierz Twardowski in Philosophy and Culture*, “Pro-Fil” 2014, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 32–46; A. Brożek, F. Stadler, J. Woleński, eds., *The Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School...*, op. cit.

¹³ Cf. A. Brożek, A. Chybińska, J. Jadacki, J. Woleński, eds., *Tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School...*, op. cit.; A. Brożek, M. Będkowski, A. Chybińska, S. Ivanyk, D. Traczykowski, *Anti-Irrationalism: Philosophical Methods in the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2020; 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; A. Brożek, *The Significance of Kazimierz Twardowski...*, op. cit.

¹⁴ Cf. J. Woleński, *Filozoficzna Szkoła Lwowsko-Warszawska*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1985; J. Woleński, *Logic and Philosophy in the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 1989; J.L. Brandl, J. Woleński, eds., *Kazimierz Twardowski on Actions, Products and Other Topics in Philosophy*, trans. A. Szylewicz, Rodopi, Amsterdam–Atlanta 1999; J.J. Jadacki, *From the Viewpoint of the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Rodopi, Amsterdam–New York 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, J.J. Jadacki, eds., *At the Sources of the Twentieth-Century Analytical Movement: Kazimierz Twardowski and His Position in European Philosophy*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2022.

¹⁵ T. Rzepa, *Przedmowa*, in: *Psychologia w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej*. Twardowski, Witwicki, Baley, Błachowski, Kreutz, Lewicki, Tomaszewski, ed. T. Rzepa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1997, pp. 5–63.

a “teacher of teachers” but was also engaged in practical activities aimed at raising the level of teaching and modernizing the way of working in Polish schools in Galicia.¹⁶ These two contexts of Twardowski’s activity were important for his involvement in the formation of philosophical propaedeutics: when formulating his ideas, he drew not only from philosophical concepts but also from psychological notions related to them.¹⁷ His activities were not purely theoretical but were embedded in the concrete practice of working with teachers. This illustrates the interdisciplinary nature of Twardowski’s approach – a quality he demanded of his students. Twardowski considered the formation of appropriate social attitudes through teaching to be a key mission of philosophers. Guided by this civic and patriotic attitude, he developed his concept of philosophical propaedeutics. Thus, he consistently believed that propaedeutics is an essential foundation for the modernization and intellectual strengthening of society. Since his main article on this topic, *Philosophy in High School*, was published in 1919, we will focus now on the interwar period. The contexts in which proposals for philosophical propaedeutics emerged in Poland in the interwar period were very complex. In a previous article we presented an outline of this issue, and here we will only recall the most important historical aspects.¹⁸

3. Historical Outline of Philosophical Propaedeutics Development in Interwar Poland

When Poland regained independence in 1918, the school system was in need of a reform, but generally, until 1932, no significant changes, especially for gymnasias, were effected. The most important innovation, introduced after independence and before the reform of 1932, was an obligatory seven-year primary school. Optionally, after finishing the fifth grade of primary school and passing entrance

¹⁶ Cf. K. Twardowski, Kazimierz Twardowski. *Mowy i rozprawy z okresu jego działalności w Towarzystwie Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych. Księga pamiątkowa, wydana przez Tow. Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych*, ed. K. Zagajewski, Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych, Lwów 1912.

¹⁷ A. Betti, Twardowski and Brentano, op. cit.

¹⁸ E. Grądzka, P. Polak, *The Historical, Pedagogical and Philosophical Background of Kazimierz Twardowski’s Project of Teaching Philosophical Propaedeutics*, “Edukacja Filozoficzna” 2024, Vol. 77, pp. 37–89, <https://doi.org/10.14394/edufil.2024.0003>. See also R. Jadczyk, *Z dyskusji nad propedeutyką filozofii...*, op. cit.; J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit.; G. Głuchowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii w czasach II Rzeczypospolitej*, “Ruch Filozoficzny” 1988, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 241–251.

exams, pupils could continue learning in the eight-year gymnasium (divided into three-year lower high school and five-year higher high school). A final exam, known as *matura*, derived from the Latin *maturus*, granted access to university education. In that system, propaedeutics of philosophy was taught in the eighth grade of the gymnasium for three hours a week and consisted of psychology and logic. There was a continuous discussion on the future of gymnasia and, later, high schools. The question was whether secondary education should stay elite or become more accessible to the lower classes. Key issues included whether its role was to teach or upbringing, whether it should preserve its intellectual character or follow the contemporary New Education movement¹⁹ principles emphasizing practicality and relevance to everyday life, and whether the number of hours and the workload should be reduced.

The programme of propaedeutics of philosophy published by Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (MWRiOP; Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education) in five editions between 1922 and 1931 (*Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział Humanistyczny* [Programme for Public Gymnasium: Humanities])²⁰ was most likely authored by Twardowski, as it is almost an exact copy of a programme found in his archive.²¹

¹⁹ It was the European counterpart to the progressive education movement influenced by John Dewey and others in the United States, and it was called New Education to signal a departure from the traditional curricula of the 19th century, focused on preparation for the early-industrial university. The movement's main idea was that students learn best "by doing," experimenting (not passive listening). The role of the teacher was rather to facilitate the learning process based on student's interests (acknowledging children's personalities). The movement's emergence was also a consequence of the formation of post-World War I society, which created a new social order not so much differentiated by social class.

²⁰ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny*, Książnica Polska Tow. Naucz. Szkół Wyższych, Warszawa 1922, URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/c5737d15-2dae-4c03-849c-8fce2cd3d846>; 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>; 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>; 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>; MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego. Wydział humanistyczny*, 5th ed., Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1931, URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/ec7a2a56-f53e-413c-9b00-ed3b240c9ee2>.

²¹ For details, see E. Grądzka, P. Polak, *The Historical, Pedagogical and Philosophical Background...*, op. cit. Manuscripts of Twardowski's work can be found at the Kazimierz Twardowski Library in Warsaw at ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 3, URL: <https://polaczonebiblioteki.uw.edu.pl/>.

However, the programme faced considerable criticism (including from Twardowski himself, who was particularly concerned about the amount of time dedicated to propaedeutics, which, he believed, compromised its content). This dissatisfaction led to the discussion presented below, which unfolded between 1926 and the reform that began in 1932 and continued until the outbreak of World War II. The reform, known as Jędrzejewicz's reform, was named after the Minister of the MWRiOP, Janusz Jędrzejewicz (1885–1951). In the new system, after primary school, there was a general school divided into a four-year gymnasium and a two-year high school. It was inspired by the New Education movement, the demand to make high school more accessible, and followed the political movement Sanacja to apply "state upbringing" to school. However, in the beginning, there was an intention to keep the programme of philosophical propaedeutics unchanged. The focus was instead on supporting teachers in better understanding and effectively implementing it. Therefore, in 1934 the MWRiOP published *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania i wychowania oraz administracji w szkołach ogólnokształcących* [A Guide to Teaching, Upbringing and Administration in High Schools].²² Nevertheless, eventually Twardowski, together with his students Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz²³ and Mieczysław Kreutz,²⁴ was asked by the

K. Twardowski, *Program psychologii*, 1921, AKT T-20-40, Biblioteka im. Kazimierza Twardowskiego w Warszawie, URL: <https://archiwum.polaczonebiblioteki.uw.edu.pl/akt/dokumenty/projekty/program-psychologii/>; K. Twardowski, *Projekt programu logiki*, 1922, AKT T-20-39, Biblioteka im. Kazimierza Twardowskiego w Warszawie, URL: <https://archiwum.polaczonebiblioteki.uw.edu.pl/akt/dokumenty/projekty/projekt-programu-logiki/>; K. Twardowski, *Programy logiki gimnazjalnej* (1922), in: *Logika. Cz. 1*, ed. J.J. Jadacki, Wydawnictwo Academicon, Lublin 2023, pp. 35–47; K. Twardowski, *Projekt programu psychologii dla szkół średnich* (1921), in: *Dydaktyka*, ed. A. Brożek, Wydawnictwo Academicon, Lublin 2023, pp. 243–250.

²² MWRiOP, *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania i wychowania oraz administracji w szkołach ogólnokształcących*, Książnica – Atlas, Warszawa 1934.

²³ Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz (1890–1963) was Twardowski's son-in-law and one of his closest students. He taught at the Third Public Gymnasium in Lvov until 1925. Between 1925 and 1928 he headed the second Chair of Philosophy at the University of Warsaw. Later, between 1928 and 1939, he was appointed to the Chair of Logic at Lvov University, and finally the second Chair of Logic (1957–1961) at the University of Warsaw. He engaged actively in underground teaching during World War II. After the war, he was rector of the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań between 1948 and 1952. He edited the journals "Studia Philosophica" (1934–1950) and "Studia Logica" (1954–1963). He was also a member of the editorial committee of "Erkenntnis" and "Logique et Analyse." In 1962, he received an honorary doctorate from Clermont-Ferrand University.

²⁴ Mieczysław Kreutz (1893–1971) was one of Twardowski's closest students and a prominent Polish psychologist. He was head of the Chair of Psychology at Lvov University and also a teacher

MWRiOP to prepare a new programme that would address the criticisms of the previous one and incorporate the latest recommendations. Twardowski prepared two versions in 1935,²⁵ probably with Ajdukiewicz's support (his influence is evident especially in the revisions made to the part related to logic), but it is not clear if Kreutz participated in work on the document. The programme was accompanied by the *Memoriał Polskiego Towarzystwa Filozoficznego we Lwowie w sprawie wytycznych programu "propedeutyki filozofii" w liceach ogólnokształcących* [Memorial of the Polish Philosophical Society in Lvov on the Guidelines of the Curriculum of Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High Schools].²⁶ However, that programme was not published. Two years later, the MWRiOP released a temporary programme,²⁷ which is similar to the one found in Ajdukiewicz's collection in the archive,²⁸ but it is highly probable that it was also prepared by Twardowski.

Finally, only in 1938 (nearly 40 years after the first discussion on this issue took place in 1902!), four independent textbooks for philosophical propaedeutics were published: by Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz,²⁹ Tadeusz Czeżowski,³⁰ Bogdan

at the Third Public Gymnasium in Lvov. After World War II, he worked at the University of Wrocław and later at the University of Warsaw. His interests focused on the issue of introspection (following Twardowski) and the critique of psychological tests.

²⁵ K. Twardowski, *Szkic programu nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w liceach ogólnokształcących*, 1935, AKT T-16-56, Biblioteka im. Kazimierza Twardowskiego w Warszawie, URL: <https://archiwum.polaczonebiblioteki.uw.edu.pl/akt/dokumenty/projekty/szkie-programu-nauczania-propedeutyki-filozofii/>; K. Twardowski, *Projekt programu propedeutyki filozofii dla liceów ogólnokształcących* (1935), in: *Dydaktyka*, ed. A. Brożek, Wydawnictwo Academicon, Lublin 2023, pp. 251–256. For an English translation, see K. Twardowski, *Draft of High School Curriculum for Teaching Propaedeutics of Philosophy*, trans. E. Grądzka, P. Polak, "Edukacja Filozoficzna" 2024, Vol. 77, pp. 243–248, <https://doi.org/10.14394/edufil.2024.0010>.

²⁶ For an English translation, see 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), trans. E. Grądzka, "Edukacja Filozoficzna" 2024, Vol. 77, pp. 249–254, <https://doi.org/10.14394/edufil.2024.0011>.

²⁷ MWRiOP, *Program nauki (tymczasowy) w państwowym liceum ogólnokształcącym z polskim językiem nauczania. Propedeutyka filozofii*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1937.

²⁸ K. Ajdukiewicz, *Propedeutyka filozofii – Wydział humanistyczny, klasyczny, matematyczno-fizyczny, i przyrodniczy*, Materiały Kazimierza Ajdukiewicza, III-141, j.a. 137, PAN Archiwum Warszawa.

²⁹ K. Ajdukiewicz, *Propedeutyka filozofii dla liceów ogólnokształcących*, Książnica – Atlas, Lwów 1938.

³⁰ T. Czeżowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii. Podręcznik dla II klasy wszystkich wydziałów w liceach ogólnokształcących*, K.S. Jakubowski, Lwów 1938.

Gawecki,³¹ and Helena Lelesz (Leleszówna),³² marking the maturation of the concept of philosophical propaedeutics in Poland.³³ Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War II in 1939 brought to Poland German Nazi and Soviet communist persecutions. After the war, Poland was behind the Iron Curtain, and communist authorities, aiming to indoctrinate society, soon removed philosophical propaedeutics from the school curriculum.³⁴

4. Discussions on Philosophical Propaedeutics in Polish Education before World War II

The development of the concept of philosophical propaedeutics in Poland can best be traced through the discussions that took place on the pages of philosophical journals. Some additional information is found in official documents related to education, as well as in personal diaries. Here we will focus mainly on the articles, since they clearly explicated concepts and, by the fact of their publication, influenced other philosophers or teachers widely.

Philosophical propaedeutics was discussed in two Polish philosophical periodicals.³⁵ The first was “Przegląd Filozoficzny” [Philosophical Review], established

³¹ 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>; Interestingly, Gawecki’s textbook was later republished under the changed title *Myslenie i postępowanie* [Thinking and Behaviour]: B.J. Gawecki, *Myslenie i postępowanie*, Pax, Warszawa 1975.

³² H. Lelesz, *Podręcznik propedeutyki filozofii dla klasy drugiej liceów ogólnokształcących*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, Lwów 1938.

³³ See E. Grądzka, P. Polak, *The Historical, Pedagogical and Philosophical Background...*, op. cit.

³⁴ 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; J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit.

³⁵ Another key Polish philosophical journal, “Kwartalnik Filozoficzny” [Philosophical Quarterly], founded in Kraków in 1922 by Władysław Heinrich, was not involved in the discussions described. The same was also true of the international journal “*Studia Philosophica. Commentarii Societatis Philosophicae Polonorum*” published in Lvov since 1935 by Twardowski, Roman Ingarden and Ajdukiewicz.

in Warsaw in 1898 by Władysław Weryho, whose aim was to create a forum for Polish philosophers from the partitions and those who had emigrated. The second was “Ruch Filozoficzny” [Philosophical Movement], established in Lvov in 1911 by Twardowski, who was its editor. Another important journal for the topic was “Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych” [Museum: Journal of the Society of High School Teachers],³⁶ established in Lvov in 1885.

Three major discussion moments can be distinguished:

- in Galicia at the beginning of the 20th century (provoked by the Austro-Hungarian reform of education in 1900);
- at the beginning of Polish independence, in 1919–1920 (preparing the first reforms of philosophical education in Poland);
- from mid-1920s until mid-1930s (provoked by problems with the 1922 programme and by Jędrzejewicz’s school reform in 1932).

It is characteristic that Twardowski was the main participant in all three discussions. Another important observation is that, aside from Twardowski himself, the most prominent voices in the discourse on philosophical propaedeutics came from his students within the LWS, such as Kazimierz Sośnicki, Stanisław Ossowski, Izydora Dąmbska, Bohdan Zawadzki, and Salomon Igel. A second milieu involved in the discussion and development of propaedeutics was based in Kraków: Maurycy Straszewski, Fr Aleksander Pechnik, and Bolesław Gawecki. However, this was a relatively small group, comprising two philosophers and a theologian-philosopher, who did not collaborate directly. Incidentally, we also find in the discussions works of people who are not associated with the two circles, such as Regina Rajchman-Ettingerowa and Helena Lelesz – who were philosophically educated outside Poland, but who nevertheless tried to join the development of philosophical propaedeutics in Poland after the country regained independence. There were also Jewish scholars participating: Ignacy Halpern (later Myślicki), Bohdan Kieszkowski, and Zygmunt Czerny.

All this (along with the fact that Twardowski prepared the programme for propaedeutics of philosophy and his two students prepared the textbooks) indicates the dominance of the LWS in the formation of philosophical propaedeutics, and that the Galician traditions of teaching this subject became the basis of teaching in the reborn Poland. Let’s now take a closer look at how the aforementioned discussions were shaped and what issues were considered key at the time.

³⁶ “Muzeum” was run by an association of teachers and was dedicated to education.

4.1. Discussion in Galicia at the beginning of the 20th century

A broader discussion about philosophical propaedeutics was held in Galicia after the 1900 Austro-Hungarian reform of education. Following the introduction of the subject to the school curriculum in 1849, there were two other reforms: in 1859 and 1884. Since the directives issued in 1884 proved difficult to implement, the 1900 reform aimed to facilitate their fulfilment. Interestingly, the instructions prepared by the Austrian Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht (Ministry of Culture and Education) from 1900 are more detailed in comparison to the previous publications and much more informative.³⁷

Straszewski published an extensive (around 60 pages) analysis of the state of philosophy teaching in the booklet *Propedeutyka filozoficzna w naszych gimnazjach* [Philosophical Propaedeutics in Our Gymnasiums].³⁸ Interestingly, Twardowski referred to this publication in his article *Nauka propedeutyki filozoficznej w gimnazjach* [Teaching Philosophical Propaedeutics in Gymnasiums] in “Tygodnik ‘Słowa Polskiego,’” which was “one of the most important opinion-forming dailies published in Lvov before World War I.”³⁹ It is worth comparing the two publications.

Straszewski reviewed in the booklet the historical development of propaedeutics of philosophy and concluded that the instructions for the reform from 1884 and 1900 were not successfully implemented by the Rada Szkolna Krajowa (hereinafter RSK; National School Council).⁴⁰ Twardowski agreed that propaedeutics

³⁷ Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, *Lehrplan und Instructionen für den Unterricht an den Gymnasien in Österreich*, Im k.-k. Schulbücher-Verl., Wien 1900.

³⁸ M. Straszewski, *Propedeutyka filozoficzna w naszych gimnazjach*, Księgarnia D.E. Friedleina, Kraków 1902.

³⁹ A. Lubczyńska, *Tygodnik “Słowa Polskiego.” Bezpłatny dodatek niedzielny do “Słowa Polskiego” poświęcony nauce, literaturze i sztuce (1902–1903)*, “Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 2017, Vol. 20, No. 2, p. 74. “Tygodnik ‘Słowa Polskiego’” was a free Sunday supplement to “Słowo Polskie,” dedicated to science, literature and art.

⁴⁰ The RSK was a new administrative authority established as part of the 1867 reforms, which granted autonomy to Galicia. The body was created as part of a political plan to decentralize education in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and began operating on 24 January 1868. It was entrusted the task of leading the educational reform in Galicia. However, in the end it turned out that this council had much less administrative and managing influence on gymnasiums and universities than previously expected, and core decisions continued to depend on the central government in Vienna. Therefore, the RSK focused on the preparation of curricula and textbooks as well as drafting school reform plans that could, but were to required to be, implemented by the central government. The school system in Galicia was the least developed in the whole

“should contribute to the concentration of knowledge provided in gymnasium, develop students’ intellectual independence and deepen the education provided to them in high school,”⁴¹ as was the case in French and Italian schools. Next, Straszewski provided the following solutions to the problem:

1. Teach psychology in the seventh grade (two hours) and logic (two hours) in the eighth grade. In response, Twardowski referred to a publication of Fr Pechnik⁴² from 1901, which was a reaction to the reform, entitled *Nowa instrukcja ministerialna dla propedeutyki filozoficznej* [New Ministerial Instruction for Philosophical Propaedeutics],⁴³ where Pechnik offered arguments for the same claim. However, Twardowski proposed that it would be most effective to conduct a trial with a few committed teachers to see what works best.
2. Prepare qualified teachers and textbooks. Twardowski agreed with Straszewski and maintained that there should be at least 34 teacher positions for propaedeutics of philosophy in Galicia, like the number of gymnasiums, but the RSK neglected that. However, Twardowski added that responsibility for the situation also lay with the Lvov and Kraków universities, where two professors not only failed to conduct seminars for students but also devoted the majority of their time to political engagements in Vienna.
3. In the future, make “Psychology and Logic” a *matura* subject and remove from the oral exam the translation of Latin and Greek classics. Twardowski agreed with the first part and provided commentary concerning the translation component of the exam.

Straszewski also claimed that there was no original textbook for propaedeutics of philosophy because the administration did not encourage it. Twardowski,

Empire. Cf. M. Rauch, *Rada Szkolna Krajowa – geneza powstania i pierwszy rok działalności*, “Edukacja–Technika–Informatyka” 2018, Vol. 9, No. 5, pp. 9–14.

⁴¹ K. Twardowski, *Nauka propedeutyki filozoficznej w gimnazjach*, “Tygodnik ‘Słowa Polskiego’” 1902, Vol. 14, p. 5.

⁴² Aleksander Pechnik (1854–1935), PhD in philosophy, was ordained as a priest in 1887 in the Latin rite in Tarnów, having previously worked as a teacher, from 1898 at the Fourth Gymnasium in Lvov. He was president of the Association of Catechists, long-time editor of “Gazeta Kościelna” and “Miesięcznik Katechetyczny i Wychowawczy,” and co-founder of the Polish Theological Society in Lvov. He authored theological textbooks for secondary schools and several hundred articles in various fields of knowledge.

⁴³ A. Pechnik, *Nowa instrukcja ministerialna dla propedeutyki filozoficznej*, “Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych” 1901, Vol. 17, No. 5, p. 577.

however, reacted with indignation, asserting that no one should expect support from administrative authorities, and that textbook development should be driven by free competition. Nevertheless, Twardowski concluded that he mostly agreed with Straszewski, especially in his summary that “the current state of affairs should not be suffered any longer.”⁴⁴

Since Galicia was an autonomous region, local Polish institutions also became involved in the discussion. The RSK organized a meeting on 19–20 December 1902 in Lvov, which was attended by, among others, Twardowski and Straszewski from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków to review the findings of an inquiry into the teaching of philosophical propaedeutics in gymnasiums. They represented the only two Polish universities of that time, both benefiting from the Galician autonomy.

Twardowski stated that all survey respondents agreed that there was an urgent need for a Polish logic textbook as two years had already passed since the reform. Foreign publications were deemed unsuitable due to the lack of sufficiently trained and experienced teachers in the subject. Twardowski argued that a Polish textbook should cover all necessary content. Additionally, he opposed the establishment of a special commission for textbook development since he considered the ministry’s instructions to be sufficient. Twardowski advocated for open competition rather than monopolization, and stressed that each textbook should be authored by a single individual, as in the case of Alois Höfler’s textbook, to ensure uniformity of terminology and content. Importantly, the author should consult the textbook with a practitioner. Pechnik’s textbook was mentioned – although at the time it was not suitable for school usage, it could be used with some adjustments.

In 1901, Twardowski published *Zasadnicze pojęcia dydaktyki i logiki do użytku w seminariach nauczycielskich i w nauce prywatnej* [Basic Concepts of Didactics and Logic for Use in Teachers’ Seminars and Private Study],⁴⁵ which he considered adaptable for gymnasiums, even though it did not address “syllogism and psychology” and some parts of methodology.⁴⁶ Twardowski also did not recommend reducing topics related to methodology since he asserted that students

⁴⁴ K. Twardowski, *Nauka propedeutyki filozoficznej...*, op. cit., p. 6.

⁴⁵ K. Twardowski, *Zasadnicze pojęcia dydaktyki i logiki do użytku w seminariach nauczycielskich i w nauce prywatnej*, Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne, Lwów 1901.

⁴⁶ Cf. W. Rechlewicz, *Basic Concepts and Principles of Didactics according to Kazimierz Twardowski*, “Edukacja Filozoficzna” 2024, Vol. 77, pp. 91–105, <https://doi.org/10.14394/edufil.2024.0004>.

should get acquainted with the workings of science.⁴⁷ Additionally, he claimed that the psychological introduction to logic should be eliminated, noting its absence in English textbooks. He proposed replacing it with a grammar-logical introduction, as students are exposed to grammar in their daily education. In line with Straszewski's suggestion, he recommended moving the historical introduction to logic to the end of the textbook. Twardowski also rejected Pechnik's suggestion to frame logic as an apologetic tool for Christianity, emphasizing that logic should remain independent of religious doctrine. Finally, it was agreed that physiological content should be reduced to what is strictly necessary, while fundamental psychological principles, such as the laws of association, practice, blunting, habituation, should be retained.⁴⁸

The outcomes of the meeting were also documented in "Przegląd Filozoficzny," in the publication *Ankieta w sprawie nauczania propedeutyki filozoficznej w gimnazjach* [A Survey on the Teaching of Philosophical Propaedeutics in Gymnasiums].⁴⁹ In addition to the points previously mentioned, the report noted that Pechnik was in favour of moving logic to the eighth grade because of its foundations in psychology, and due to pedagogical considerations. He observed that psychology, taught in the eighth grade, was compromised by the demands of the final exams, which, in practice, reduce the time dedicated to the subject. As a result, students were not taught the most significant issues, like free will and aesthetical and ethical feelings. Pechnik proposed that methodology should conclude the curriculum. He regarded the French textbook by Paul Janet as the most

⁴⁷ Twardowski's approach here is similar to Dewey's proposal of critical thinking in education. See J. Dewey, *How We Think*, D.C. Heath & Co., Boston–New York–Chicago 1910, p. iii. While the American philosopher advocated grounding education in a scientific way of thinking, Twardowski promoted the training of a scientific mode of thinking within the framework of philosophical propaedeutics.

⁴⁸ K. Twardowski, *Głos w dyskusji nad nauczaniem propedeutyki filozoficznej w gimnazjach*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, Vol. 2, eds. A. Brożek, J.J. Jadacki, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2014, pp. 296–298. In 1913, Twardowski published an article about psychology that was comprehensive and could be used as an introduction to psychology for, e.g., teacher's training. See K. Twardowski, *O psychologii, jej przedmiocie, zadaniach, metodzie, stosunku do innych nauk i o jej rozwoju*, Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Syna we Lwowie, Warszawa–Lwów 1913; as well as his entry in *Encyklopedia wychowawcza* [Pedagogical Encyclopaedia]: K. Twardowski, *Psychologia*, in: *Encyklopedia wychowawcza*, Vol. 9, ed. J. Nitowski, Gebethner i Wolff, Warszawa–Lwów 1913, pp. 1–47.

⁴⁹ *Ankieta w sprawie nauczania propedeutyki filozoficznej w gimnazjach*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1903, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 241–244.

suitable resource. He recommended eliminating physiology from psychology since it was already covered in the fourth grade. Instead, he advocated a stronger focus on ethics and the inclusion of metaphysics (especially the issues of free will and immortality of the soul) to protect students from scepticism. Finally, he supported the establishment of a commission to oversee the development of a textbook.

Tadeusz Mandybur⁵⁰ believed that an anthology of texts from key philosophers should be published to facilitate teaching logic, as the lessons were considered too monotonous.

Prof. Mikołaj (?) Sabat⁵¹ claimed that psychology should be taught first, and he could not imagine how logic could start with learning grammar, as Twardowski wanted. He proposed to teach psychology first (theory of knowledge) in the first term of the seventh grade, and in the second term logic. He argued that in the eighth grade teachers should repeat the material from the seventh grade, and then choose the most interesting subject, that is, feelings and aspirations.

The report further reflected Straszewski's view opposing the psychological direction in logic. Like Pechnik, he believed the textbook should not contain anything contrary to Christian values, which they both regarded as foundational.

At the second meeting, there was a vote on the ideas presented by the speakers. Sabat's idea was dismissed. There was an equal amount of votes for the change in the order of teaching logic and psychology (but Twardowski was open to testing the change in some schools). Everybody agreed that there should be an original textbook for logic and psychology written by a single author, and it was decided that there would be no commission for textbook development.

There was also an extended discussion about the content of the textbook. It was agreed that it should not include logical formalism and should avoid psychologism. It should contain contemporary psychological knowledge. Necessary information from psychology should come before logic. Metaphysical issues should be limited to a minimum in psychology and avoided in logic. It should be short,

⁵⁰ Tadeusz Mandybur (1861–1914), PhD, Polish philologist, author of studies on the satires of Juvenal (1888), on the influence of Roman satirists on Polish ones (1888), and on Krzysztof Opaliński as a satirist (1889). Mandybur studied philosophy in Vienna and Lvov, earning a doctorate. He was a teacher in Galicia gymnasiums, and vice president of the Przemyśl City's Reading Room. He published a paper on the history of philosophy: T. Mandybur, *Ignacy Krasicki w stosunku do Lucjana i Erazma z Rotterdamu*, "Ateneum" 1891, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 41–56.

⁵¹ This probably refers to Dr Mikołaj Sabat, a professor at the Polish high school in Stanisławów, and, since 1905, the director of the Ukrainian high school in Stanisławów.

accessible, professional, and suitable for the amount of hours dedicated to the subject. The textbook should provide clear concepts of scientific research with examples from subjects taught in gymnasiums. Historical information about logic and psychology should be given only briefly and in context. It would be advisable to prepare an anthology of philosophical texts (including the works of Plato, Cicero, St Augustine, Descartes, as well as English and French contemporary thinkers). The textbook for psychology by Franz Lucas and Gustav Adolf Lindner could be considered adequate with minor adjustments. Twardowski convinced others to vote for the limitation of physiological issues and the inclusion of psychological laws, like association, skilfulness, and habituation.

There was also a third meeting on 20 December 1902, which focused on improving teachers' qualifications. It was expected that the RSK would choose teachers of mathematics and ancient languages who at the same time had qualifications to teach propaedeutics of philosophy. The RSK was to create two bursaries for students from Lvov and Kraków universities who would be obliged to pass teachers' exams in propaedeutics and organize summer courses for teachers of propaedeutics. Finally, the RSK would send teachers to prestigious psychology institutes in Austria (like Graz) and abroad (like Berlin, Paris or Copenhagen).

In 1908, there was a reduction in the number of hours dedicated to propaedeutics of philosophy from four hours to three hours a week. Therefore, during the annual meeting of the Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne (hereinafter PTF; Polish Philosophical Society) in Lvov, Twardowski voiced concern over the reduction of the number of hours, emphasizing the significance of this subject for pupils' cognitive development. He succeeded in convincing the PTF members to prepare a memorial for the RSK, pointing to the negative effects of such a decision and demanding an increase in the number of hours.⁵² Twardowski viewed the PTF as an active agent in this process, recognizing the necessity of exerting pressure on the RSK, which had remained largely inactive in that matter.

The first phase of the discussion took place in Galicia between philosophers, mostly from Lvov and Kraków. In addition to many practical agreements, an important result was the involvement of the PTF in Lvov in the development of philosophical propaedeutics. Thanks to this, despite the rapid political changes

⁵² Cf. K. Twardowski, *Wypowiedź w sprawie zmniejszenia ilości godzin nauki propedeutyki filozofii w gimnazjach*, in: *Myśl, mowa i czyn*, Vol. 1, eds. A. Brożek, J.J. Jadacki, Copernicus Center Press, Kraków 2013, p. 501.

that followed the outbreak of World War I, the work was animated and coordinated by the same institution with a high degree of independence and imbued with civic and patriotic values.

4.2. Discussion in Reborn Poland (1919–1920)

The second discussion on philosophical propaedeutics in Poland was connected with essential changes after World War I. After 123 years, on 11 November 1918, Poland regained political and cultural independence, and many new challenges arose. The reunification of Poles from three partitions, in which the three empires were imposing their different cultures and sets of values, was the main cultural and sociological challenge, as well as the modernization of that society. Polish philosophers contributed to finding solutions for both problems.

The discussion was initiated at the beginning of 1919 by Twardowski's publication on the front page of the journal "Ruch Filozoficzny," the text *Filozofia w szkole średniej*.⁵³ A unique opportunity for change occurred then as the minister of the MWRiOP in the first government of reborn Poland (from 16 January 1919 to 9 December 1919) was a philosopher and logician, Jan Łukasiewicz – a prominent student of Twardowski and member of the LWS.

In June 1919, Sośnicki,⁵⁴ another student of Twardowski, published the article *Propedeutyka filozoficzna w szkole średniej* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High School]⁵⁵ in the journal "Muzeum." He systematized his views about teaching this subject, referring to the propositions of the MWRiOP. For Sośnicki, teaching was the most important educational goal set for school, but the intellectual and moral development of the pupils was also essential. The New Education movement was the source of inspiration for the reform, and it shifted the focus away from encyclopaedic material towards training in particular methods of thinking in specific disciplines, most notably philosophy. Therefore, philosophical pro-

⁵³ K. Twardowski, *Filozofia w szkole średniej*, op. cit. An English translation of this article is published in this journal issue. See K. Twardowski, *Philosophy in High School*, trans. E. Grądzka, "Edukacja Filozoficzna" 2024, Vol. 78, pp. 251–257.

⁵⁴ Kazimierz Sośnicki (1883–1976) obtained his PhD under Twardowski's supervision. He studied philosophy, pedagogy, and the mathematical and natural sciences first in Lvov and next in Paris, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna and Zurich. He lectured on general didactics and pedagogy at the University of Lvov (1929–1939). He later worked at the universities in Toruń and Gdańsk.

⁵⁵ K. Sośnicki, *Propedeutyka filozoficzna w szkole średniej*, "Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych" 1919, Vol. 34, No. 6, pp. 225–237.

paedeutics, according to Sośnicki, was fundamental and central. First of all, as philosophical thinking permeated various subjects, propaedeutics should serve to unify this knowledge through a separate course, where it could be done more systematically and theoretically.

This approach should be adapted to different school types: humanistic, mathematical–natural sciences, and philological (classical), as each involves distinct modes of thinking. In the humanistic gymnasium, the focus should be on psychology (introspection and psychological analysis) as this type of school teaches literature, history, and social sciences. The goal would be to understand one's own and others' mental processes and develop the skills of introspection, understanding of social psychology, and "the spirit of significant historical epochs." The mathematical–natural sciences gymnasium should focus on logic and methodology of the sciences. There should be more experiments than introspection. Meanwhile, in the classical gymnasium, logic and psychology would be more appropriate, as well as elements of the history of philosophy, aesthetics, and the history of Polish philosophy.

Interestingly, the final topics for all school types should encompass ethics, since the moral education of pupils is the most fundamental task of the school. It would unify all types of schools on one spiritual level. The accuracy and scrutiny in thinking should lead to accuracy in action, and the truth of propositions should be the basis for the righteousness of stipulations and character. Works of Polish philosophers could also be recommended as supplementary reading.

Next, Ignacy Halpern (later Myślicki)⁵⁶ engaged in the subject in the article *O propedeutyce filozofii w szkole średniej* [On Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High School],⁵⁷ in which he presented a comprehensive summary of the many concurrent visions of propaedeutics of philosophy. Teaching philosophy in high school was generally considered necessary, especially since it can "stimulate in-

⁵⁶ Ignacy Halpern (later Myślicki) (1874–1935) was a Polish-Jewish philosopher and member of the PTF since its beginning. He was a historian of philosophy, translator and researcher of the works of Baruch Spinoza, a pedagogue. Wilhelm Dilthey was his PhD supervisor. He studied in Lipsk and Berlin. He lectured at Wolna Wszechnica Polska (the Free Polish University). After World War II, he changed his surname to Myślicki.

⁵⁷ I. Halpern, *O propedeutyce filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1919, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 223–250.

dependent thinking,” prepare for theoretical studies at the university, and help uphold the ideal of “a civically aware, resourceful professional.”⁵⁸

The first division in the attitude towards teaching philosophy was whether it should be taught as part of other school subjects or separately. The first option seems to be one-sided (either supported by humanists, language, or science teachers). The second option makes philosophy “unifying, complementary, and crowning teaching.”⁵⁹

Halpern distinguished seven approaches to teaching philosophy in the second sense, as a separate subject, and presented his own vision. It was a broad systematization of philosophical propaedeutic approaches:

1) Theological

It refers to the medieval concept of philosophy as *ancilla theologiae* and the genesis of the idea of high school as a preparatory institution for university studies, with all subjects being propaedeutics. High school should moralize pupils based on a religious-moral worldview (Catholic or Protestant). Halpern rejected this idea as dogmatic and against modern ideas in pedagogy and didactics.

2) Systematic

This approach aims to teach pupils a developed, complete philosophical system, based on the thought of a single philosopher, like Cicero (Herbart’s recommendation), Plato (Hermann Cohen’s recommendation), Aristotle (Otto Willmann’s recommendation), Kant, Descartes, Locke, Hume, Lotze, Spencer and Mill. The goal is to directly observe how the thought progresses, to merge with its current state. This method is intended to be more effective than dry, schematic instruction in logic or psychology, and to prevent *bezbrzeżne filozofowanie* (boundless

⁵⁸ Myśliński also surveyed how propaedeutics was taught in various other countries. At the time, in the United States, the subject was almost totally abandoned; in the United Kingdom, sometimes logic and psychology were taught. In Germany, except for Baden and Württemberg, it was rarely in the curriculum. In Prussia, philosophy (logic and psychology) was included in the study of languages. In Austria, propaedeutics had been taught since 1849 (two hours per week of logic, psychology and introduction to philosophy), with modifications in the curriculum in 1858 (four hours, without the introductory component), 1900 (no change), and 1908 (three hours, logic and psychology). In France the subject was taught since 1885, in the last grade (eight hours, psychology, logic, ethics, metaphysics, theodicy, history of philosophy).

⁵⁹ I. Halpern, *O propedeutyce filozofii w szkole średniej*, op. cit., p. 229.

philosophizing). There is no pressure to reach consensus. However, Halpern believes propaedeutics should end this way, not begin.

3) Problem-oriented (*zagadnieniowy*)

Due to a large variety of philosophical systems, it is recommended that only what unites them, what is fundamental and key, is taught: concepts, problems, and ideas. This is to avoid dogmatism and to practise independent thinking, like Socrates did or Kant recommended (young boys should not learn philosophical facts but philosophizing). Halpern criticizes such an approach as pseudo-philosophizing. It is boundless and brings more harm than good. It also fails to accomplish one of the goals of propaedeutics, which is to summarize/unify the whole gymnasium curriculum.

4) Historical

Herbart had already advocated for introducing an outline of the history of philosophy. Presenting a rich tradition helps prevent dogmatism, allowing pupils to decide for themselves which system to explore further. It also connects with other school subjects and offers opportunities for practical application.

5) Encyclopaedic

This approach goes as far back as Plato, who recommended studying the encyclopaedic sciences and then examining their relations, ultimately leading to the contemplation of ideas. Aristotle took a similar view, treating philosophy as the entirety of classified knowledge. At its core, this method is about the classification and description of knowledge. It should be an introduction to philosophy in the broadest sense. This can be more methodological, like in Francis Bacon's work, or didactical, like in Jean le Rond d'Alembert's introduction to the *Encyclopaedia* from the 18th century. However, there is a lack of updated textbooks in this tradition.

6) Logical/logic-based

In Stoic, Epicurean, probably Platonic, and Aristotelian schools, logic was prioritized. It was considered the most objective (unlike the variety of philosophical currents), crystalized, systematized, and the easiest of philosophical sciences. It was often used for educational purposes as it works well with exercises, and it

disciplines the mind. The question remains: what logic should be taught? Is logic a part of philosophy, and does it offer any insight into what philosophy is? Does it risk being too boring and discouraging for students? Höfler's textbook⁶⁰ is valued as it is "an example of versatility and moderation": "there are, apart from formal logic, many examples from the sciences, many references to them, something from the history of sciences, there are numerous indications of philosophical theories, excerpts from classical authors, something from the theory of relations, much from methodology, etc. In this way, he draws the quintessence of philosophy into logic and opens up further perspectives."⁶¹ Nevertheless, there is a danger of either overloading the curriculum or reducing it too narrowly, particularly through excessive analysis of concepts or meanings of words (when knowledge is based on propositions and not on concepts).

7) Psychological/psychology-based

Hegel and, after him, Herbart and his followers advocated the introduction of experimental psychology into the curriculum. It is often considered a unifying subject for humanistic and scientific classes. It serves as an introductory course (almost formal, like logic) but is viewed as even superior in a didactical sense. It enables pupils to become more self-aware and fosters habits of introspection and observation of others. The concern, however, is whether it risks devolving into mere curiosity-driven experiments, and whether it adequately reflects philosophical problems. Like Höfler's textbook, it can encompass issues related to epistemology, metaphysics, aesthetics, or ethics. Yet, there is a danger that it may turn into an encyclopaedic survey of philosophy, leading to either an overload of the material or an excessive reduction of content.

⁶⁰ Höfler's textbook, since it was canonical in Austria-Hungary, was referred to many times in the discussion. Additionally, Twardowski wrote a positive review about this book, which served as the basis for the propaedeutics textbook. See 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. Twardowski also influenced the translation of Höfler's textbook into Polish by Zygmunt Zawirski, his PhD student, who studied also physics and mathematics and was a teacher of propaedeutics for some time to finally become a professor. See A. Höfler, *Zasady psychologii*, trans. Z. Zawirski, Księgarnia Naukowa, Lwów 1927; I. Szumilewicz-Lachman, Z. Zawirski, F. Lachman, R.S. Cohen, B. Bergo, *Zygmunt Zawirski: His Life and Work. With Selected Writings on Time, Logic and the Methodology of Science*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 1994.

⁶¹ I. Halpern, *O propedeutyce filozofii w szkole średniej*, op. cit., p. 239.

8) Mixed (Halpern's vision)

The most appropriate version is a mix of the above-mentioned approaches that would include: psychology, logic, an encyclopaedic survey of philosophy, the history of philosophy, and a philosophical system. This makes propaedeutics "simple and natural, as it represents the main independent currents of philosophical creation."⁶² Halpern claims the programme is broad and not too demanding. The material should be treated in a basic, introductory manner, without the in-depth analysis often advocated by proponents of teaching psychology or logic. Unlike Höfler in his textbook, Halpern calls for abandoning the pretence and beginning to treat other disciplines of philosophy with equal seriousness. This marks a shift away from the German-Austrian vision of propaedeutics and towards the French style.

In 1920, Twardowski published the paper *O wykształcenie logiczne* [On Logical Education],⁶³ which in a way can be seen as a reference to Halpern's concept. Indeed, Twardowski devoted this article to pointing out the shortcomings of logical education both in the wider social discourse, in pedagogy, and even in academic activity. Twardowski also argued that logical education, which largely coincides with the modern concept of informal logic, is crucial for society: "what is at stake here, contrary to appearances, are indeed very important things and of momentous consequence. The lack of logical education not only lowers the intellectual level in theoretical terms, but also brings ignorance and inaccuracy into the practical application of our thoughts. And this practical application is our whole life!"⁶⁴

That phase of the discussion, unfortunately, did not bring more specific conclusions and new initiatives. However, it was important because it brought attention to the cultural and educational significance of philosophical propaedeutics.

In 1920, in the November–December issue of the journal "Ruch Filozoficzny" Twardowski published another text, entitled *Kilka uwag o ministeryalnym projekcie programu nauki filozofii w szkole średniej* [Some Remarks on the Ministerial Project of the Philosophy Curriculum in High School].⁶⁵ Twardowski criticized the project of the new curriculum, sent in June 1920 to other parties, prepared by

⁶² Ibid., p. 246.

⁶³ K. Twardowski, *O wykształcenie logiczne*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1920, Vol. 5, Nos. 4–5, pp. 65–71.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶⁵ K. Twardowski, *Kilka uwag o ministeryalnym projekcie programu nauki filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1920, Vol. 5, No. 10, pp. 177–181.

the professors from the University of Warsaw, since “it carries great and serious dangers”: not enough time dedicated to the subject (only three hours per week) and leaving it to teachers to choose what part of the material (logic or psychology) to cover due to lack of sufficient time. The programme proposed replacing systematic teaching by using the heuristic method to discuss some particularly interesting issues for pupils from logic and psychology related to the history of philosophy, epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, aesthetics, or pedagogy. Twardowski argued that such a way of teaching should be supplementary to teaching logic and psychology, not its substitute. Otherwise, it may foster the illusion that students can already “philosophize,” when in fact they still need to learn solid knowledge. Only “systematic teaching, following a strict order and connection of very skilfully selected information, creating an organic whole”⁶⁶ can provide that. The considerable autonomy granted to the teacher demands high didactical and content-related competencies. The danger is that if a well-prepared teacher (with a degree in philosophy) is unavailable, school directors may opt to cancel the subject entirely and reallocate the hours to another subject. In the post-Russian partition territories, for example, there were almost no well-prepared teachers. Once the subject begins to be removed from the curriculum, it creates the impression that it is not necessary.

Twardowski also mentioned that the PTF had prepared (in mid-August 1920) a memorial⁶⁷ that was sent to the MWRiOP with a project of the programme that might not be perfect, but was at least “cautious.” An article that was later published⁶⁸ by the PTF claimed that the programme had been prepared based on Twardowski’s presentation. The journal also published 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 Gymnasiums].⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 179.

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 Ibid.

⁶⁹ 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. Later, Bykowski published a textbook on this subject. See L.J. Bykowski, *Podręcznik do zajęć praktycznych z dziedziny psychologii dla gimnazjów i seminarjów nauczycielskich*, Książnica – Atlas, Łwów–Warszawa 1925. Interestingly, Władysław Witwicki published a text presenting how the first lesson in psychology should be conducted using the heuristic method. See W. Witwicki,

Finally, in 1922, the MWRiOP published the official programme that was implemented at least until 1931 (in its 5th ed.),⁷⁰ but it is highly probable that it was in use even longer – until the temporary programme⁷¹ from 1937 was published. As it was mentioned before, a detailed analysis of the programme from 1922 and the programme found in Twardowski's archive allows us to state that it was Twardowski's programme that was canonical for almost 15 years.

4.3. Mid-1920s until Mid-1930s Discussion

The programme of propaedeutics from 1922 did not satisfy most philosophers, including Twardowski himself (due to an insufficient number of hours). Very quickly, as early as the mid-1920s, critical voices began to emerge about the 1922 programme, and studies proposed new designs for educational solutions.

The French approach to philosophy teaching was described by Zygmunt Czerny in the 1925 publication *Nauka filozofii w francuskiej szkole średniej* [Teaching Philosophy in the French High School].⁷² It was prepared to inspire the expected Polish reform of high school and the programme of propaedeutics. The author emphasized that philosophy had survived all the drastic school reforms since at least the 19th century, which was worth consideration. The tendency to philosophize is part of the French national character, partly due to the importance that was given to teaching philosophy at school. Therefore, France avoided the depreciation of humanism.

Even practical professions, like technicians, chemists, and doctors, respect and engage in general ideas and not only in specialized ones. There were three levels of teaching philosophy. First, in male lower high school, ethics was taught in addition to a separate subject on the state and the nation. It was intended to inspire feelings

Obraz pierwszej lekcji psychologii w klasie ósmej, Zygmunt Pomarański i Spółka, Zamość 1921. He also published the first psychology textbook in the Polish language: W. Witwicki, *Zarys psychologii. Podręcznik dla uczniów szkół średnich i seminarjów nauczycielskich*, Książnica – Atlas, Lwów 1928. Finally, also Salomon Igel published a paper illustrating the first lesson of psychology. See S. Igel, *Pierwsza lekcja psychologii*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" 1932, Vol. 7, pp. 171–179.

⁷⁰ MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1922); MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1924); MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1926); MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1928); MWRiOP, *Program gimnazjum państwowego...*, op. cit. (1931).

⁷¹ MWRiOP, *Program nauki (tymczasowy)*..., op. cit.

⁷² Z. Czerny, *Nauka filozofii w francuskiej szkole średniej*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1925, Vol. 9, Nos. 3, 4, 5, pp. 33–42.

towards the country and teach thinking and doing. It was less utilitarian than the lower level of school. There was also a female higher high school (for future mothers) and teachers' seminars that gave courses in subjects such as ethics, psychology, and ethics for pedagogy, and history important for upbringing. In male higher high school, the curriculum included logic, psychology, ethics, elements of sociology, aesthetics, metaphysics, epistemology, and history of concepts, doctrines, and philosophical systems. Philosophy was treated as the primary science of civilized values, the foundation of all humanism, and it gave sense to the whole unification of high school. The final grade was therefore called *classe de philosophie*. However, it was pointed out that there were significant differences in the level of teaching between schools in Paris and in other parts of France. Additionally, the teacher's figure (as well as their personality) played a fundamental role in their education and preparation for lessons. Thus, the French solutions had significant drawbacks that did not allow their direct transfer to education in Poland.

As there were no significant changes in the 1922 programme, Stanisław Ossowski⁷³ decided to begin another discussion based on his own teaching experience and presented it in the text *Propedeutyka filozofji w szkole średniej* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High School].⁷⁴ He believed it was a necessity as propaedeutics "is related in some way to the issue of the philosophical culture of the society."⁷⁵ He claimed that the eighth grade is too late for the introduction of a new subject, as pupils are oriented towards final exams. Therefore, organizing philosophical clubs, as recommended by the MWRiOP, was not a good solution. Propaedeutics lost its significance even in the humanistic and philological gymnasium where mathematics dominated. Importantly, Ossowski claimed that the intellectual level of the whole society declined after World War I, as did the teaching of heuristic skills at school: "I mean the tendency towards cheap literaryness, the habit of

⁷³ Stanisław Ossowski (1897–1963), sociologist, cultural theorist, aesthetician, methodologist of social sciences. He was a member of the LWS and a student of Tadeusz Kotarbiński, who was his PhD supervisor, Jan Łukasiewicz and Władysław Tatarkiewicz. Husband of Prof. Maria Ossowska, also member of the LWS. In the interwar period, a Polish-language teacher at the Cecylia Plater-Zyberkówna Private Girls' Gymnasium. Professor first at the University of Łódź and later at the University of Warsaw. Between 1951 and 1957, he was barred from didactical activity for political reasons.

⁷⁴ S. Ossowski, *Propedeutyka filozofji w szkole średniej*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1926, Vol. 29, pp. 230–234.

⁷⁵ We can see that the logical culture as seen by Twardowski in the 1920 article may have been the prototype of Ossowski's philosophical culture.

skimming over difficulties, discussing things one does not know or understand, the loss of a sense of responsibility for the words one utters.”⁷⁶ He rejected teaching in the form of popularization lectures, academic proseminars or logic courses for other disciplines. The goal of propaedeutics is to educate “future masses of intelligentsia that will occupy various positions in society.”⁷⁷ Therefore, given the expectations society places on the future intelligentsia, psychology is more important than logic. Psychology teaches how to analyse minor life issues and how to gain control over yourself. It also offers more opportunities to make digressions into other philosophical and social disciplines, like aesthetics, ethics, epistemology, history of science, or sociology (as there were no social sciences represented in the curriculum⁷⁸). Propaedeutics can be even treated as an introduction to social life: “and with appropriate guidance it teaches how to overcome narrowness of personal prejudices and habits, teaches tolerance of other people’s beliefs, and facilitates development of a broad humanitarianism that religious ethics taught at school cannot provide.”⁷⁹ Logic was considered by Ossowski too abstract and, therefore, “detached from life matters.”⁸⁰ It requires a lot of time to master logic through practice. However, propaedeutics should encompass selected problems from semantics and syntax. It would then become a “science of science” (*nauka o nauce*) and “the crown of language science” (*korona nauki o języku*). The reform of propaedeutics would thus be closely tied to the reform of Polish-language teaching. Finally, Ossowski admitted that what matters most is the philosophical culture of the propaedeutics teacher rather than the programme or didactical materials.

A response came from Bohdan Zawadzki⁸¹ in the text *Propedeutyka filozofii w szkole średniej* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High School].⁸² His attitude

⁷⁶ S. Ossowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii...*, op. cit., p. 231.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ J. Jadacki claims that after World War II propaedeutics was systematically reduced until it had been replaced by a school subject called “wiedza o społeczeństwie” (knowledge about society). J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit., p. 84.

⁷⁹ S. Ossowski, *Propedeutyka filozofii...*, op. cit., p. 232.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 231.

⁸¹ Bohdan Zawadzki (1902–1966) was a psychologist, born in Turbowe (Ukraine, then Russia), who studied in the Polish gymnasium in Kyiv, was a student of Władysław Witwicki (PhD supervisor) at the University of Warsaw, member of the LWS. Professor of psychology at the University of Vilnius (1935–1940). After the closure of Vilnius University by the Soviets he moved to the United States and from 1946 worked at the City College of New York.

⁸² B. Zawadzki, *Propedeutyka filozofii w szkole średniej*, “Przegląd Filozoficzny” 1927, Vol. 30, pp. 207–211.

can be described as pragmatic and realistic. He acknowledged that the situation of propaedeutics was difficult and would not change soon, so recommendations should be prepared to help teachers work under such uncomfortable circumstances. Insufficient amount of time (only three hours per week – *sic!*) meant that the teacher had to choose the most effective and attractive elements of the programme. He upheld Ossowski's proposal to move the subject to the seventh grade and believed pupils at that age are sufficiently mentally developed. However, he rejected eliminating logic (as it would be very difficult to bring it back to the curriculum) since it has "great didactic and educational tasks." He also criticized the failure to separate logic from psychology and the use of the proseminar method (reading a text, commenting on it, and discussing it), where the teacher only fortuitously provides information related to logic, psychology, and other issues. Even Ajdukiewicz's textbook *Główne kierunki filozofii* [Major Currents in Philosophy],⁸³ which offers an anthology of key philosophical texts, was not sufficient to prevent unsystematic, chaotic, unrelated, and confusing instruction. Reading should be a supplementary element, but not the foundation.

In terms of sequence, logic should be taught before psychology, as some aspects of the psychology of thinking are already presented in logic classes. Additionally, students often found logic "unbelievably boring"; therefore, it should be scheduled at a time when there is no pressure from final exams. Psychology, being more engaging, could then make its impact and serve as a visualization of methodological problems in science introduced during logic classes. Unfortunately, very poorly equipped schools, lacking adequate facilities to conduct interesting experiments and constrained by limited time, prevent the teacher from familiarizing the students with scientific practice. This is regrettable since using the *szkoła pracy* (school of work)⁸⁴ methods stimulates independence, observation, creativity, and systematic work. Even the well-known textbook of psychology exercises written by Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski⁸⁵ – *Podręcznik do zajęć praktycznych*

⁸³ K. Ajdukiewicz, *Główne kierunki filozofii w wyjątkach z dzieł ich klasycznych przedstawicieli. Teoria poznania – logika – metafizyka*, K.S. Jakubowski, Lwów 1923.

⁸⁴ This method is related to the progressive concepts of "learning by doing" of the New Education movement.

⁸⁵ Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski (1881–1948) was a biologist, psychologist, pedagogue, and student of Twardowski (PhD supervised by Twardowski), member of the LWS. He taught at various gymnasiums and was a director of the Department of Science and Higher Education at the MWRiOP. He was also the editor of the journal "Muzeum," as well as the first rector of the underground Polish University of the Western Lands during World War II.

z dziedziny psychologii dla gimnazjów i seminarjów nauczycielskich [A Textbook for Practical Classes in the Field of Psychology for High Schools and Teacher Seminar]⁸⁶ – was deemed unsuitable and should be abandoned.

Nevertheless, other areas of psychology should not be neglected, especially those related to character, feelings, or will (topics emphasized in the MWRiOP programme). Although often considered less scientific, they are especially engaging for pupils. Discussion should be incorporated, but it must be essential and based on argumentation. Psychology posed only methodological problems, whereas logic required a thorough programme revision. Zawadzki agreed with Ossowski that traditional logic should be abandoned as outdated, but as mathematical logic was still in development, it was too soon to introduce it in schools. Therefore, he recommended focusing on practical courses of reasoning using examples found in textbooks of other subjects. This approach would meet the MWRiOP's requirement to unify the curriculum during propaedeutics classes. It would also prepare pupils for the kind of criticism they would encounter at the university.

Next, Regina Rajchman-Ettingerowa⁸⁷ presented her position in the text *Propedeutyka filozofii w szkole średniej* [Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High School].⁸⁸ She proposed a wide-ranging campaign: on one side, a developed discussion among a large number of specialists, and on the other side, a strong lobby at the MWRiOP to influence positive changes. Germany could serve as a good organizational example, where the Gesellschaft für Philosophischen Unterricht was established and later united with the Kant-Gesellschaft (as a subgroup). A general assembly was held twice in 1929 with speeches and discussions on the matter. A journal, "Der philosophische Unterricht" [Teaching Philosophy], along with a teachers' training programme, was established. Rajchman-Ettingerowa agreed with her colleagues that logic and psychology should be taught separately, and that programmes for logic should be modernized. However, she rejected Zawadzki's minimalism, pragmatism, and realism and opted for setting far-reaching goals.

⁸⁶ L.J. Bykowski, *Podręcznik do zajęć praktycznych...*, op. cit.

⁸⁷ Regina Rajchman-Ettingerowa (1879–1931) was a Polish philosopher and translator. She studied in Berlin, Bern and Zurich. According to F. Ueberweg et al., *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. 5: *Die Philosophie des Auslandes vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart*, Mittler, Berlin 1928, p. 325: she "represents critical realism and monistic parallelism, which is complemented in the field of social phenomena by historical materialism." See also obituary note: "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1930–1931, Vol. 12, p. 274a.

⁸⁸ R. Rajchman-Ettingerowa, *Propedeutyka filozofii w szkole średniej*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1930, Vol. 33, pp. 131–135.

She was a maximalist. Propaedeutics must be treated seriously, as it was of the greatest importance for “improving the intellectual culture of the country and coordinating its divergent sides” as well as “synthesizing and reconciling the entire material,” “preparation for critical, rigorous and objective thinking, as well as to establish consistency and coherence of the character.”⁸⁹ She recognized that the high degree of specialization and individualization posed a challenge to integrating specialization with general education. “It is about creating, about shaping the ‘whole’ human being in order to unite different, divergent aspects of culture and enable mutual interaction. Which branch of human knowledge is more called to fulfil this important task than philosophy, this science of omnipresence?”⁹⁰ The most adequate place to start the implementation of that task was high school. Although Rajchman-Ettingerowa was more idealistic than Zawadzki, she observed that only a small percentage of high school students would continue their education at the university level. Therefore, this might be the only opportunity to introduce them to philosophy. Nevertheless, schools were not fully prepared for that task. The curriculum was overloaded with encyclopaedic, unrelated, chaotic material. Importantly, the youth did not even perceive any discrepancy or feel the need for criticism or unification. This was the teachers’ fault, as they failed to seek philosophical aspects within their disciplines or identify issues that could connect their subjects to others. Additionally, school was still not fully secular, which led to dogmatism in the teaching material. The programme was reduced to only three hours per week and limited to logic and psychology in a single grade (typically the last one, before final exams), making it impossible to achieve the goals outlined above. Poorly prepared teachers made matters worse. Therefore, Rajchman-Ettingerowa proposed reducing the overloaded material in all subjects and eliminating final exams. In the case of propaedeutics of philosophy, it should be taught three hours per week for two years. Logic should be introduced in the seventh grade. Psychology should be expanded in the eighth grade to include an introduction to philosophy (but not the history of philosophy to avoid verbalism) and ethics with pedagogy (due to the importance of self-education). Additionally, students should read texts by a selected philosopher.

The programme should guarantee that teachers present the most “relevant, general and important elements of philosophy,”⁹¹ and it ought to be a signpost

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 133.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 135.

guiding their instruction. Complementary material, such as history of philosophy, sociology or aesthetics, could be explored within the framework of a philosophical circle. Recommended teaching methods included: lectures, exercises and experiments, the heuristic method, the “self-effort method,” text reading, testing, analysis of philosophical problems from other school subjects, and last but not least, searching for the relation between philosophy and life issues. To satisfy those needs, teachers’ training is required (especially outside big cities) as well as full professional education in philosophy for young teachers. There is also an urgent need for the publication of textbooks (prepared by a group of editors).

The next paper, *W sprawie propedeutyki filozofii* [On Propaedeutics of Philosophy],⁹² was written by the Kraków philosopher Bolesław Gawecki.⁹³ Importantly, Gawecki would later become the Instructor of Propaedeutics of Philosophy at the MWRiOP in 1930, introducing organizational changes in response to the lack of qualified teachers and insufficient teaching hours. He acknowledged that the subject dated back to the time Poland was under the Austria-Hungary partition and had been adopted in independent Poland mostly unchanged. “It seems, however, that this happened without any deeper conviction on the part of the school authorities deciding on curriculum matters, without any belief that this subject can be an important component of secondary education and an equally important factor in the upbringing of young people.”⁹⁴ However, the goals set by the MWRiOP were extensive:

- “to make students aware of philosophical elements inherent in the subjects they have studied and are studying, and develop and organize those elements;
- to provide students with a thorough knowledge of basic concepts in logic and psychology;

⁹² B. Gawecki, *W sprawie propedeutyki filozofii*, “Przegląd Filozoficzny” 1930, Vol. 33, Nos. 1–2, pp. 135–139.

⁹³ Bolesław Gawecki (1889–1984) 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 and its metaphysical foundations. He was against positivist scientism. Since 1955, he worked at the Department of Philosophy of Nature, Faculty of Christian Philosophy, Academy of Catholic Theology (Akademia Teologii Katolickiej [ATK], now Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego [UKSW]) in Warsaw. He supposedly prepared the MWRiOP publication *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania i wychowania oraz administracji w szkołach ogólnokształcących*, Książnica – Atlas, Warszawa 1934.

⁹⁴ B. Gawecki, *W sprawie propedeutyki filozofii*, op. cit., p. 135.

- to stimulate students' interest in philosophical issues (occasional philosophical 'digressions');
- to supplement students' training in clear, precise, factual/objective and critical thinking, and in expressing themselves in a way that meets these requirements."⁹⁵

Additionally, the programme encouraged (rightly) the "broadest usage of the heuristic method." It was impossible to accomplish all that, even for the most skilful and experienced teacher, with only three hours per week and final exams approaching. Although the goals were ambitious and the subject had the potential to be the crowning achievement of secondary education, it instead became something of a "Cinderella."

To improve the situation, Gawecki proposed the creation of a national society based on the PTF and its Didactical Sections within its local philosophical branches. The aim was to improve the quality of teaching and teachers' knowledge in cooperation with specialists from academia. The sections could also appoint a joint permanent commission to represent the propaedeutics of philosophy teachers before administrative bodies or at scientific and pedagogical congresses. He further recommended the publication of a dedicated journal, new textbooks (especially for exercises), and supplementary books for youth (preferably selections from the classics of philosophy accompanied by an introductory commentary). Gawecki claimed that Polish society was in need of a deeper philosophical culture: "Its lack has often been a painful experience for Poles, who are still prone to taking showy appearances for reality. An effective fight against our intellectual recklessness, tendency towards superficiality and bluff, and lack of perseverance in thought and action can and should be waged primarily by those [i.e. teachers] who, according to the curriculum in high schools, are tasked with 'supplementing the training of students in clear, precise, factual, and critical thinking.'"⁹⁶ Interestingly, in Gawecki's proposal the teacher would also serve as a school psychologist, advising on matters such as student admissions (based on intelligence tests), career guidance, parental upbringing problems, or updating the teaching staff in terms of progress in psychology. Therefore, much depended on the teacher's personality.

Given the unfortunate circumstances, Gawecki did not recommend a full reform of the programme but proportional reductions in content and teachers'

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 136.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

training, as well as putting an emphasis on employing professional teachers. Psychology teachers should use school workshops and students' engagement to produce basic materials and experiments to create a simple space for a rudimentary laboratory. The analysis of everyday school life situations could also serve as fertile ground for psychological consideration. Also, modern trends in psychology should be added to the curriculum.

In the case of logic, strong emphasis should be placed on its practical relevance in life. The teaching of syllogisms should be retained. Pupils' texts, textbooks, and daily press should be analysed to search for logical errors. As an example Gawecki recommended Twardowski's text *O wykształcenie logiczne*.⁹⁷ Methodological issues should be introduced with historical examples from science, like Galileo's investigations. Logic (36 hours per semester) should be taught in the first semester (as it was more demanding but also enabled philosophical digressions). Psychology should also be taught for 36 hours in the second semester, and 12 hours should be dedicated to reading philosophical texts, followed by discussion. Although adequate textbooks were still lacking, Ajdukiewicz's university-level textbook *Główne kierunki filozofii*⁹⁸ could be of use, as well as Twardowski's texts collected in *Rozprawy i artykuły filozoficzne* [Philosophical Treatises and Articles].⁹⁹ A first attempt at such a textbook was *Wypisy filozoficzne* [Philosophical Excerpts].¹⁰⁰ Teachers should generally be free to choose the texts. However, it would be the role of headmasters or school inspectors to ensure that selections were not used for antireligious, antinational, or anti-state propaganda. Ultimately, the success of propaedeutics depended entirely on the teachers.

Izydora Dąmbska also published a related article in 1930, *W sprawie nauczania logiki przy sposobności nauczania języka polskiego* [On Teaching Logic while Teaching Polish],¹⁰¹ referring to Twardowski's ideas on that topic¹⁰² and calling it "the culture of logic" (*kultura logiczna*). She complained that Poles lacked the

⁹⁷ K. Twardowski, *O wykształcenie logiczne*, op. cit.

⁹⁸ K. Ajdukiewicz, *Główne kierunki filozofii...*, op. cit.

⁹⁹ K. Twardowski, *Rozprawy i artykuły filozoficzne*, Księgarnia "Książnica-Atlas," Lwów 1927.

¹⁰⁰ S. Frycz, A. Tom, *Wypisy filozoficzne. Podręcznik do użytku przy nauce psychologii i logiki*, Tow. Wyd. Książka Polska, Warszawa 1919.

¹⁰¹ I. Dąmbska, *W sprawie nauczania logiki przy sposobności nauczania języka polskiego*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" 1930, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 279–287.

¹⁰² Cf. K. Twardowski, *Filozofia w szkole średniej*, op. cit.; K. Twardowski, *O wykształcenie logiczne*, op. cit.

Humean “spirit of precision.” A Polish language teacher could teach logic while explaining grammar, writing papers, or reading literature.

Soon another commentary appeared, by Helena Lelesz (Leleszówna):¹⁰³ *Cel nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w szkołach średnich* [The Aim of Teaching Propaedeutics of Philosophy in High Schools].¹⁰⁴ As the title suggests, the author focused mainly on setting goals. She began by stating that no other subject struggles as much to maintain its position in the curriculum and to set comprehensive goals. Why should propaedeutics be taught? What should be taught? How should it be taught? Is the teaching of logic and psychology a goal in itself or a means to prepare for philosophical thinking? What is philosophy, and how does it differ from other sciences? According to Lelesz, philosophy at that time was not defined by logic, psychology, ethics, or sociology, which had become independent and were only traditionally called philosophical sciences. Philosophy, in her view, is fundamentally about epistemology: the study of the principles underlying the sciences, hypotheses, and meanings of scientific results, as well as about achieving synthesis. Therefore, the goals of philosophical propaedeutics should be:

- “to generate interest in philosophical issues, i.e., issues that exceed the scope of particular sciences;
- to stimulate and develop the ‘philosophical sense,’ i.e., those mental and psychological values that are developed by dealing with philosophical issues, i.e.:
 - striving to grasp the whole;
 - the ability to create syntheses based on precise analysis;
 - striving to achieve maximum clarity of thought;
 - sensitivity to internal contradictions; the ability to draw conclusions;
 - critical attitude towards oneself, towards one’s own knowledge;
 - the ability to penetrate the thoughts of others;
 - the ability to formulate one’s own thoughts precisely and clearly, etc.”¹⁰⁵

It is true that other subjects introduce some of these aspects, but, generally, they focus on their own domain. Propaedeutics should also draw on philosophi-

¹⁰³ Helena Lelesz (Leleszówna) (1893–1972) was a philosopher, psychologist, and teacher of French and philosophy. She studied philosophy in Paris under André Lalande and later returned to Warsaw. Lelesz was involved in research in child psychology, e.g., she conducted a survey among schoolgirls about the professional characteristics of teachers.

¹⁰⁴ H. Lelesz, *Cel nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w szkołach średnich*, “Przegląd Filozoficzny” 1931, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 51–52.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 52.

cal problems embedded within those disciplines, systematize them, and offer explanations. The programme and the method were, however, separate issues requiring further reflection.

Finally, a text by Bohdan Kieszkowski,¹⁰⁶ *Zagadnienie programu propedeutyki filozofii* [The Problem of the Propaedeutics of Philosophy Programme],¹⁰⁷ appeared. He aimed to synthesize the issues discussed in Ossowski's, Zawadzki's, and Gawecki's commentaries, as well as Twardowski's texts and Tadeusz Kotarbiński's¹⁰⁸ paper *Logika dla nauczycieli a logika matematyczna* [Logic for Teachers versus Mathematical Logic].¹⁰⁹ Additionally, he referred to the results of a questionnaire sent to teachers and to protocols of meetings with teachers organized by the teachers' association and the MWRiOP's Instructor. Kieszkowski assessed the MWRiOP programme very negatively. There were no recommendations for extracting philosophical content from other school subjects. Twardowski's concerns proved to be well founded. The questionnaire revealed that teaching was fragmentary, unsystematic, and unrestricted (out of twelve teachers surveyed, eight claimed to have covered the whole programme, while two focused only on psychology and two on logic).

In response, Kieszkowski proposed a framework for analysing the appropriateness of the programme. It should:

- refer to the goals of high school teaching;
- correspond to the current state of philosophical sciences;
- clearly formulate problems to be covered.

Kieszkowski also offered some follow-up questions:

- If the programme is outdated, how should it be updated?
- What is the role of philosophical societies in this process?

¹⁰⁶ Bohdan Kieszkowski (1904–1997) was a historian of philosophy and a student and later assistant to Prof. Władysław Tatarkiewicz in Warsaw. He specialized in Italian Renaissance Platonism.

¹⁰⁷ B. Kieszkowski, *Zagadnienie programu propedeutyki filozofii*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny" 1931, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 53–60.

¹⁰⁸ Tadeusz Kotarbiński (1886–1981) was a student of Twardowski (PhD supervisor), philosopher, logician and ethicist, member of the LWS. A professor of philosophy at the University of Warsaw from 1919. He was the founder of reism, and his main works relate to praxeology. Alfred Tarski was his student. After World War II, he was the first rector of the newly established University of Łódź. In the years 1957–1962, he served as president of the Polish Academy of Sciences. His second wife was Janina Kotarbińska, member of the LWS.

¹⁰⁹ T. Kotarbiński, *Logika dla nauczycieli a logika matematyczna*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1925, Vol. 9, Nos. 9–10, pp. 1–8.

Evaluating the answers and remarks of his colleagues, Kieszkowski concluded that some ethical and aesthetic issues could be taught during psychology courses, but adding the history of philosophy, sociology, or pedagogy to the curriculum would not improve the development of clarity or critical thinking in students (which were the goals of the programme). Scepticism towards the continuation of teaching logic was also rejected, but the need to update the content by incorporating some semantical problems, theory of deduction, or mathematical logic was emphasized. Revision of the programme by introducing select additions was also important. In the case of psychology, theory should be more important than practice. The focus should be on the findings of contemporary psychological theories. The inclusion of philosophical problems could be addressed in the following ways:

- a separate course on logic and psychology – the two subject differ significantly, and there were adequate textbooks and teaching practices for both;
- a holistic course that would unite philosophical problems from logic, psychology, epistemology, and methodology – it would give more possibilities to choose the most important issues and better adjust to the goals of pro-paedeutics.

Kieszkowski claimed that lack of hours and poorly prepared teachers were not the fundamental problems. Instead, he identified the lack of methodological guidelines, especially related to the presentation of philosophical issues in other school subjects, as the key obstacle.

Fortunately, although there had been no progress for some time, Gawecki – appointed by the MWRiOP as the subject's Instructor – organized conferences, teacher training, school visits, and changes to the programme. He also published the guideline *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania i wychowania oraz administracji w szkołach ogólnokształcących* [A Guide to Teaching, Upbringing and Administration in General High Schools],¹¹⁰ which included an explanation of the programme's concept, an extensive bibliography, and a list of basic experiments, offering hope for improvement. Nevertheless, it was the role of philosophical societies, teachers, and professors to advise on the substantive content.

¹¹⁰ Cf. MWRiOP, *Poradnik w sprawach nauczania...*, op. cit.

In 1935, Salomon Igel,¹¹¹ another student of Twardowski, published *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii* [Didactics of Propaedeutics of Philosophy], a 30-page entry in *Encyklopedia wychowania* [Encyclopaedia of Upbringing].¹¹² In this extensive contribution, he emphasized the importance of propaedeutics of philosophy for the school's educational mission, and its intellectual, religious, and civil influence.

From the perspective of upbringing, philosophy shapes both personal character and social groups, and can even influence entire historical epochs. Teaching logic and methodology can help distinguish reason from technology and underscores the need to pursue truth independently of its practicality. Psychology, in turn, can protect from biases and improve the search for truth. "The cult of reason and truth" (*kult rozumu i prawdy*) was the ultimate goal. Interestingly, philosophy was considered a mediator between positivistic science and religious life – something that could justify faith in God. This is related to broader problems of the soul–mind relationship, idealism, dualism, and psychophysical parallelism. And finally, civic education was meant to cultivate critical citizens. Issues to be discussed included the psychology of social groups, ethics, aesthetics, and the state. Philosophy could offer a balanced attitude to state-related questions, like militarism, pacifism, radical conservatism, and experimental innovativeness. It also addressed limits to criticism (the need for practical, temporary solutions), and the methodology of science fosters understanding of the effectiveness of conscientiousness and responsibility. It deepened the knowledge of the concept of the state and the theory of the state.¹¹³

In 1935, Igel also published the article *Filozofia w liceum ogólnokształcącym*¹¹⁴ [Philosophy in High School]. Interestingly, only Igel's paper and Twardowski's

¹¹¹ Salomon Igel (1889–1942) was a Jewish student of Twardowski, who belonged to the LWS and was a member of the PTF. He was a psychologist (following Twardowski's ideas), a pedagogue and specialist on propaedeutics of philosophy teaching. He was the director of the Jewish Society of Folk and High Schools in Lvov. Although he did not hold an academic position, his ideas, especially on the didactics of philosophy, were influential among academics. He supported financially the publication of "Ruch Filozoficzny." He belonged to B'nei B'rith, the oldest continuously operating Jewish organization in the world. During World War II, he was relocated to the Lvov Jewish ghetto, where he committed suicide at the beginning of 1942. Cf. S. Konstańczak, *Salomon Igel – zapomniany uczeń Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, "Ruch Filozoficzny" 2023, Vol. 79, No. 3, pp. 7–26.

¹¹² S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, op. cit.

¹¹³ The entry is much longer and covers many other topics, but its summary would extend the scope of this paper beyond its intended focus.

¹¹⁴ S. Igel, *Filozofia w liceum ogólnokształcącym*, "Muzeum. Czasopismo Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych" 1935, Nos. 2–3, pp. 88–94.

paper from 1919 use the term “philosophy” in the title and not “propaedeutics of philosophy.” Igel began his article by reminding that, in the 19th century, philosophy had been underestimated due to the impressive progress of science and the neglect of science by German idealism. However, over the past 30 years, philosophy had returned to prominence. Science proved insufficient to take over the role of philosophy or religion in worldview formation. Igel mentioned that students should focus on problems of character, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, epistemology, the theory of state, and metaphysics. Notably, these were new additions to the programme prepared by Twardowski in 1935.¹¹⁵ Although Igel agreed with Twardowski¹¹⁶ that logic and psychology should be taught in every high school, the areas of philosophy mentioned above are the foundation of concepts (relativism, dogmatism, criticism, scepticism, etc.) that educated people use to understand the world and other people. Therefore, students should be able to apply them correctly. “Additionally, struggling with philosophical problems sharpens criticism and often provokes taking an individual stance. Philosophy broadens our mental horizons because it is the only science that introduces us to the *spiritual world*.”¹¹⁷ Moreover, philosophy’s ambiguity is its strength, not weakness, since, like in everyday life, students have to learn to choose between various solutions. It teaches them independence in thinking. Skilfully facilitated philosophical discussion can help practise students’ self-esteem, intuition and correctness of reasoning. It safeguards students against “heartless dogmatism but also against hypercriticism and destructive scepticism,”¹¹⁸ which is a common problem related to demagoguery in public life. Igel recommended another paper by Twardowski.¹¹⁹ Igel emphasized that the country was on the brink of a reform of high schools (interestingly, the reform had started in 1932, so it took time before high schools were included), it was the right moment to change the programme of propaedeutics of philosophy and increase the number of hours to three or four hours per week for two years. Igel also referred to the values underpinning the school reform, which put children’s psychological needs at the centre. In his view, they should also take into consideration youths’ metaphysical needs: “philosophical hunger/anxiety” (*głód/niepokój filozoficzny*) and the “need

¹¹⁵ Cf. K. Twardowski, *Draft of High School Curriculum...*, op. cit.

¹¹⁶ Cf. K. Twardowski, *Philosophy in High School*, op. cit.

¹¹⁷ S. Igel, *Filozofia w liceum ogólnokształcącym*, op. cit., p. 89.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹¹⁹ Cf. K. Twardowski, *O wykształcenie logiczne*, op. cit.

to confront oneself with philosophical problems.”¹²⁰ Notably, Igel was in favour of one programme for all types of schools (unlike Sośnicki and Leopold Blaustein) because he believed propaedeutics should support the development of students as future citizens and not to strengthen the position of dominant subjects in specific school types. He believed it would be enough if teachers educated in particular disciplines, like science or the humanities, were sent to similar school types to teach propaedeutics. Finally, Igel stated that propaedeutics should be a *matura* subject (part of final exams). During the exam, there should be a discussion with the student about a general contemporary problem to see if they think independently and critically. It would also be a chance to see if the student is capable of uniting knowledge from different subjects. That would be proof that philosophy is the crown subject of high school education.

Finally, Twardowski's contribution to the third phase of the discussion is rather different. First of all, we have to remember that it was his programme that was under criticism in the discussion from 1925 until mid-1930. However, this does not mean Twardowski was satisfied with the way the subject was treated and its programme. Therefore, we can observe the following engagements in 1935:

- preparation (but without publication) of *Szkic programu nauczania propedeutyki filozofii w liceach ogólnokształcących* [Draft of High School Curriculum for Teaching Propaedeutics of Philosophy];¹²¹
- publication of *Memoriał Polskiego Towarzystwa Filozoficznego we Lwowie w sprawie wytycznych programu “propedeutyki filozofii” w liceach ogólnokształcących (rękopis Kazimierza Twardowskiego)* [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)];¹²²
- publication of the article *Więcej filozofii!* [More Philosophy!].¹²³

Więcej filozofii!, published again on the front cover of the journal “Ruch Filozoficzny,” shows the importance that educational matters held for Twardowski

¹²⁰ Igel recommends further reading of his paper: S. Igel, *Dydaktyka propedeutyki filozofii*, op. cit.

¹²¹ K. Twardowski, *Szkic programu nauczania propedeutyki filozofii...*, op. cit.; K. Twardowski, *Draft of High School Curriculum...*, op. cit.

¹²² K. Twardowski, *Memoriał Polskiego Towarzystwa Filozoficznego we Lwowie w sprawie wytycznych programu “propedeutyki filozofii” w liceach ogólnokształcących (rękopis Kazimierza Twardowskiego)*, ed. R. Jadcak, “Edukacja Filozoficzna” 1988, Vol. 5, pp. 491–496; K. Twardowski, *Memorial of the Polish Philosophical Society...*, op. cit.

¹²³ K. Twardowski, *Więcej filozofii!*, “Ruch Filozoficzny” 1935, Vol. 13, Nos. 1–4, pp. 1–5.

and the journal. It was his last article on philosophy education. In this text, he emphasized the need to extend the number of hours to four per week for two years, arguing that this was not excessive when compared to the French model. Additionally, he called for a change in teacher nominations. Candidates should be well prepared and not simply graduates of unrelated disciplines, like law or general humanities. These changes would guarantee that future university students would be better equipped intellectually to continue scientific research. At the university level, Twardowski advocated for reform in teaching philosophy to students from other disciplines. He proposed not only lectures but also exercises in small groups. However, he acknowledged a potential problem: the insufficient number of chairs of philosophy. Anticipating resistance from science departments, he urged philosophers to first unite. Next, they should engage representatives of science departments to gather valuable feedback from them and recommendations for improvements. These insights would allow philosophers to prepare a final version of the programme for philosophy teaching at the university. Twardowski believed that the issue was of crucial importance since you cannot do science well without good philosophical foundations. Without them, scientific practice risks falling into routine, lacking critical reasoning, becoming narrowly specialized, and losing connection to other disciplines. "As a result, the overall level of this research suffers, lacking both breadth and depth in grasping the issues and flair in pursuing their solutions. And such a state of affairs reflects negatively on the entire intellectual culture of the nation, especially in those areas whose development remains more closely dependent on the cultivation of science and its results. And that is why it is necessary to fertilize the soil for this cultivation with such an education of the workers preparing for it, in which there would be more philosophy than before."¹²⁴ Interestingly, this text reveals how Twardowski once again downplays the need to teach philosophy outside philosophy departments, including propaedeutics of philosophy. More importantly, it highlights his openness to discussion with science departments.

In 1936, Izydora Dąmbska¹²⁵ published the article *O etykę naukową w szkole średniej* [On Scientific Ethics in High School],¹²⁶ which extended the discussion from the problem of propaedeutics of philosophy to the problem of ethics teach-

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

¹²⁵ I. Dąmbska, *O etykę naukową w szkole średniej*, "Przegląd Klasyczny" 1936, Vol. 2, No. 9/10, pp. 711–713.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

ing. In this text, Dąmbska, following Twardowski's views and those of his colleagues on cognitivism in ethics,¹²⁷ argued that ethical issues (especially "justification of ethical norms, the problem of the object of ethical judgement, the problem of the sources of morality, the problem of egoism and altruism, utilitarianism and idealism") are the most interesting for young people since they provoke concern and influence their behaviour and characters. Normally, ethical considerations are addressed within religious education in schools. The danger is that students later associate ethics with religion only, and when rejecting religion, they may also reject ethics in general and moral behaviour. For believers, this is equally problematic as they can become uncritical towards their ethical beliefs, which prevents their improvement. It can also lead to a hostile attitude towards non-believers. Since there is no separate subject for teaching scientific ethics, these issues can be addressed within propaedeutics of philosophy or other humanistic courses. Scientific ethics can be approached as either descriptive ethics (focused on the history of ideas and not normative) or normative ethics (where justification comes not from religion but from inquiry into the "problem of good, nature of human mind, conditions of social life"). Therefore, since high school should educate critical students with a clear vision of the world, they should understand that there are independent ethical values and that "the effort and joy of work on oneself can be undertaken by anybody regardless of their religion, race, or nationality."¹²⁸ Importantly, it is naturally the role of a propaedeutics of philosophy teacher to introduce the students to scientific ethics in a normative sense, encouraging criticism and prudence.

The discussion was probably paused following the publication of the temporary programme issued in 1937 by the MWRiOP. In 1938, as noted earlier, the first Polish textbooks on the subject were published. However, the fact that the programme was designated as "temporary" indicates that the discussion had not been concluded. It ultimately came to an end in the tragic conditions of World War II, and later, after the war, due to the establishment of a communist regime in Poland.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Cf. A. Drabarek, *Moral Aspects of Instruction and Education in the Lvov-Warsaw School*, "Edukacja Filozoficzna" 2024, Vol. 77, pp. 107–125, <https://doi.org/10.14394/edufil.2024.0005>.

¹²⁸ I. Dąmbska, *O etykę naukową w szkole średniej*, op. cit., p. 713.

¹²⁹ There were some attempts to discuss the problem during communism in Poland, but most of them failed. See J.J. Jadacki, *Jakiej filozofii uczniowie potrzebują*, op. cit.

5. Conclusions

The teaching of philosophical propaedeutics, most often understood as the building of the logical and philosophical culture of society, became one of Kazimierz Twardowski's most important and long-standing philosophical goals. Both he and a large part of his students considered propaedeutics to be one of the most important contributions that philosophy could offer to society. As a result, sustained interest in this issue persisted throughout almost the entire period of Twardowski's academic activity.

The discussions presented here are of a historical nature, as most of the specific issues addressed have lost their relevance today. This does not mean, however, that the main goals of propaedeutics and the methods outlined here are a thing of the past. The modern career of critical thinking in the United States and Canada has its roots in the concepts of John Dewey. It is striking that Dewey's and Twardowski's views on the role of scientific thinking and the need to teach it are similar. Of course, they differ in their philosophical traditions and in some of their detailed solutions – this is a topic for a separate study. However, the comparison shows that philosophical propaedeutics in Poland had a strong pro-social and pro-developmental potential. The outbreak of World War II and totalitarian persecution largely destroyed that local tradition. However, we think it can be rebuilt. We believe that it should be brought back and adapted to the needs of today.¹³⁰

The analysis of the discussions on philosophical propaedeutics shows that it was an evolving project, both adapting to a changing society and drawing on a variety of inspirations. Returning to the discussions from the beginning of the 20th century is a step in constructing a contemporary concept of philosophical propaedeutics. It is essential to understand not only the basic concepts, but also the values that guided the original initiative. This will make it possible to anchor contemporary solutions in the still-vibrant intellectual traditions of the LWS in Poland.

Importantly, prominent philosophers were involved in the design of philosophical propaedeutics. That activity was not treated as secondary or less impor-

¹³⁰ Cf. A. Brożek, *Jakiej kultury Polacy potrzebują? Antyirracjonalizm wobec dylematów cywilizacyjnych*, in: *Analiza, racjonalność, filozofia religii. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Ryszardowi Kleszczowi*, ed. J. Maciaszek, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2020, pp. 155–168, <https://doi.org/10.18778/8220-034-8.11>.

tant. It was certainly an implementation of the social mission of the university. It is also worth mentioning the remarkable activity of the philosophical community at the time, which organized itself around the issue and imposed its agenda on the MWRiOP. The tension between the policy of the MWRiOP and the intentions of the philosophical community was evident. Twardowski, argued, however, that placing the initiative in the hands of officials amounted to a surrender on the part of the philosophers and a misappropriation of their mission.

Another important feature of philosophical propaedeutics should be emphasized here – its aim was to cultivate a rational, open, and strong society. Propaedeutics was an important means of modernizing society and preparing it for the coming changes and the unknown future.

The openness of thinking, which was the goal of philosophical propaedeutics, is closely related to the fact that the subject was created in an interdisciplinary model. The combination of psychology, logic, philosophy, and elements of scientific methodology was certainly important for overcoming the barriers of specialization. And even today, it seems that the experience of interdisciplinarity is one of the most important humanizing factors of teaching.

This study accompanies the first English translation of Twardowski's article *Filozofia w szkole średniej*. When reading Twardowski's publication, it is worth considering it not only as an important voice in the discussion but also as an inspiring proposal for today. It is precisely today that the skills cultivated within the framework of philosophical propaedeutics are more vital than ever, as we face a rising tide of disinformation, manipulation, hatred, and other dangerous phenomena. It seems possible to use many of the important ideas that emerged from Twardowski's heritage to shape contemporary education. We hope that reflecting on the discussions of a century ago, as well as reading Twardowski's writings on propaedeutics, will be a valuable source of inspiration. We also hope that attempts to revive this part of the LWS legacy will stimulate new reflections on philosophical propaedeutics. Philosophy has returned to schools in recent years, but we are far from achieving the patriotic, pro-social, and pro-developmental goals that Twardowski and his students once wrote about.

We want to encourage philosophers to draw on the achievements of such masters as Kazimierz Twardowski. Although our times are different, the foundations of logical, careful, and rational thinking are still the most important basis of a modern and healthy society.

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