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Kazimierz Twardowski's philosophy of education – attempting a reconstruction

Kazimierz Twardowski, like many significant philosophers starting from Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Descartes, Hume, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Dewey, Scheffler, found education as an important target of philosophical reflection and addressed questions in e.g. epistemology, philosophy of mind (descriptive psychology in case of Twardowski), moral philosophy that were intertwined with philosophy of education. Nowadays, there is a significant, systematic work being done in the analytical philosophy with names like Peters who appreciated fully what could be done in this subject.¹ “It is therefore unfortunate that the pursuit of philosophy of education as an area of philosophical investigation has been largely abandoned by general philosophers in the last decades of the twentieth century [...] the subject has more recently suffered a loss of visibility and presence, to the extent that many, and perhaps most, working general philosophers and graduate students do not recognize it as a part

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¹ Cf. *Philosophy of Education: Major Themes in the Analytic Tradition*, eds. P. Hirst, P. White, London–New York 1998.

of philosophy's portfolio.”² This article aims at contributing to the discussion by presenting Twardowski's ideas in this area of philosophical research. However, his work in this field is poorly investigated as researchers-philosophers³ have mainly focused on his (and his students) analytical and methodological works whereas researchers-pedagogists neglect philosophical sources of his pedagogical ideas. Therefore, the purpose of this work is also to contribute to the proper restoration of Kazimierz Twardowski's thought.

Kazimierz Twardowski's philosophy is famous for being very rigorous, reserved, clear and analytical. He is considered to be a “founding father” of the most famous Polish, internationally recognized Lvov–Warsaw School of Philosophy that raised “an army of intellectuals”⁴ and influenced the way philosophical life developed in Poland until the end of the Second World War.

Twardowski understood the significance of education which was visible on various levels: on theoretical as well as on practical. It refers to his large didactical and organizational work at the University of Lvov which led to the establishment of already mentioned Lvov-Warsaw School, his engagement in the works of the *Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych*

² D. C. Siegel Harvey, Phillips, E. Callan, *Philosophy of Education*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2018/entries/education-philosophy/> (1.06.2020).

³ Cf. *On actions, products and other topics in philosophy. Kazimierz Twardowski*, eds. J. L. Brandl, J. Woleński, trans. A. Szylewicz, Amsterdam–Atlanta 1999; *Tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw school: ideas and continuations*, eds. A. Chybińska et al., Leiden–Boston 2016; J. J. Jadacki, *Semiotyka deskryptywna Kazimierza Twardowskiego: analiza krytyczna*, Toruń 1989; J. J. Jadacki, *From the viewpoint of the Lvov-Warsaw School*, 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*, Warszawa 2009; J. J. Jadacki, *Polish philosophy of the 19th and 20th centuries: heritage studies*, Warsaw 2015; R. Kleszcz, *Metoda i wartości: metafizologia Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, Warszawa 2013; J. Woleński, *Logic and philosophy in the Lvov–Warsaw school*, Dordrecht 1989.

⁴ The most emblematic names are W. Witwicki, J. Łukasiewicz, Z. Zawirski, S. Leśniewski, T. Kotarbiński, W. Tatarkiewicz, T. Czeżowski, M. Ossowska, K. Ajdukiewicz, J. Kotarbińska, J. M. Bocheński, I. Dąbbska, M. Kokoszyńska. He worked at the University of Lvov but as majority of his students established themselves in Warsaw it became customary to call his school Lvov–Warsaw School. Additionally, collaboration between mathematicians and philosophers gave tremendous results in creating impressive school of logicians with Alfred Tarski as its greatest achievement.

(TNSW; Society of High School Teachers) which gained respect of academia and government administration and strengthened the position of teachers or his participation in lectures for the public that, thanks to him, started to flourish. All of that was based on his philosophical ideas as well as his personal experience from the youth that gave strong foundations of his work and allowed for further development of his theories. And it all united in realization of the main goal of education: "rational patriotism."

1. Sources of Twardowski's ideas

Sources of his attitude to educational issues can be traced back to his background, especially his father Pius Twardowski who was one of the most active members of the Polish community in Vienna and his education at Gymnasium *Theresianum*. It is important to remind that Kazimierz was born in 1866 into a Polish noble family in Vienna,⁵ the capital of Austrian Empire, one year before the creation of Austro-Hungarian Empire and died in 1938 in the independent Second Polish Republic, one year before the Second World War. In 1895 he moved to Lvov,⁶ which belonged at that moment to Austria-Hungary to become later part of Second Polish Republic after the First World War. He worked at the University of Lvov until his retirement.

For most of Twardowski's life Polish state did not exist and its lands were divided between three empires: Russian, Prussian and Austrian. Partition of Poland was a great tragedy for Poles and there were different attitudes toward recuperation of its independence. One of them were bloody resurrections that failed and cost lives of many young and intelligent people. It was related to the influence of Romantic ideas and mostly attracted Poles from Russian partition part. However, in case of Austrian

⁵ Cf. A. Brożek, *Kazimierz Twardowski w Wiedniu*, Warszawa 2010.

⁶ The city has changed its name a few times due to political circumstances. Here Lvov will be used as it is a translation of the Polish name Lwów. Nowadays it is called Lviv and it belongs to Ukraine.

Empire, when it became transformed into a more liberal state, a dual monarchy Austria-Hungary with a constitution of 1867, Polish lands that belonged to it, called Galicia, gained a significant autonomy. Poles used skillfully that system to influence the new form of government of the Empire to meet their needs and secure Polish interests but at the same time worked for the well-being of the whole state.⁷ Such an attitude was strongly pragmatic. It is important to consider those socio-political factors when we think about sources of Twardowski's educational ideas as growing up in a system that allows for empowerment of its citizens (also ethnic minorities) by giving them a sense of impact on the current affairs (political due to liberalization and open access to administration positions, economic due to decreasing feudal system, socio-cultural due to the growing role of the middle class and education) affects the way a person thinks, finds his/her role in the system and understands the skills that need to be developed to actively participate in it. Absolutism or feudalism does not strengthen citizens' activeness. To be able to adapt to such an environment effectively, as Polish community did, proper education is essential. It influenced Twardowski's idea of "rational patriotism." It was based on scientific thinking and it was related to loyalty to the Empire. His father was also a good example. His engagement in keeping Polish traditions,⁸ love of the culture and memory of significant historical events like annual celebrations of The Relief of

⁷ The most significant names were Agenor Gołuchowski (count, "the father of the autonomy," active in the 1860s and 1870s), Julian Dunajewski (professor of the Jagiellonian University, noble man, thanks to him treasury department became to be considered Polish department, active in the 1880s and at the beginning of the 1890s), Kasimir Felix Badeni (count, served as Minister-President of Cisleithania from 1895 until 1897) and Michael Bobrzyński (middle class, architect of the "Austrian-Polish solution," the most outstanding among the others, active in the beginning of the 20th century until the First World War).

⁸ He was a founder of the first Polish legal organization Association of Polish Academic Youth in Vienna *Ognisko* in 1864 and donated a lot of books to support its activities. He was also one of the founders of a charity *Przytulisko Polskie* in 1879 and Polish Library in 1887. He also faced difficulties in relation to his patriotism. For example, when he declared Polish language as his mother tongue during the census in 1880 he was forced to resign from being the Head of the School Council of 4th Vienna district.

Vienna⁹ that influenced the strong love for the country in Twardowski's heart, did not reserve Pius from being a devoted, rigorous worker of Austrian administration. Kazimierz described his family as "moderately religious and fervently patriotic."¹⁰ It stimulated him so much that he even preferred to move to Lvov and not study at a prestigious Gymnasium *Theresianum* just to be closer to Polish heritage and language. He wrote to his mother on 1st October 1882: "I would go to my country, I would attend a gymnasium there, I would lose a year or two – I would not be excellent, but I would be connected to my homeland, I would be in my country. And here I'm sick with my body, I'm falling short of heart and soul. I won't be happy here, I can't be. What is the future they prophesy to me when it is unable to make me happy? It may be that someday a voice calling out: *Fly home, to your homeland, where your fathers' country is* – it may be that this voice will someday fade away, but will I be happy because of it? Can I not think about my Homeland, be free from remorse ... And what for is such a future for me?!..."¹¹

However, it seems it was in the end positive that Twardowski had to wait longer for his transfer to Lvov. Living in the capital of Austria-Hungary, which undergone significant modernization and became "the city-machine symbolizing victorious liberalism and even the 20th century civilization,"¹² a multicultural capital but at the same time considered a representative city of the whole Europe influenced Twardowski a lot. He was a son of his times. "The genius of Vienna [...] was that it was able to harmonize all national and linguistic contradictions. Its culture was a synthesis of all Western cultures. Everyone who lived and worked here felt free from all prejudices. It was easy to feel European in Vienna."¹³ It probably had an impact on the treatment of other

⁹ It refers to the Battle of Vienna on 12th September 1683 when Habsburg Monarchy together with Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth led by John III Sobieski conquered the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰ K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, in: *On actions, products and other topics in philosophy*, op. cit., p. 17.

¹¹ A. Brożek, *Wiedeńskie lata Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, "Filozofia Nauki" 2009 nr 3, p. 139.

¹² B. Łazuga, *Kalkulować...*, *Polacy na szczytach c.k. monarchii*, Poznań 2013, p. 31.

¹³ S. Zweig, M. Wisłowska, *Świat wczorajszy*, Warszawa 1958, p. 38.

nationalities that lived in Lvov like Ukrainians and Jews. They belonged to his students and he never discriminated anybody due to their origin, even though he took part in the offensive fights of Lvov during the First World War and opted for keeping Polish as the language of the University of Lvov. The atmosphere of the epoch was dominated by hard work and impressive accomplishments. Faith in the creative powers of a particular human being was incomparable to contemporary attitudes. "People created on the brink of exhaustion of mental and physical strengths. Wyspiański had genuinely Renaissance talents, Kafka wrote a short story *The judgement* in one night, professor Józef Szujski wrote poems. Freud, Brentano and Boltzmann struggled alone with problems that surpass the strengths of more than one team of researchers today."¹⁴ Twardowski acknowledged these influences later in his speech when receiving the award of the city of Łódź: "I was raised in an atmosphere of work and a cult of work. I lived in Vienna among Germans almost thirty years before my ardent desire to obtain a chair of philosophy at one of the Polish universities was fulfilled. But when I arrived to my country, I noticed with horror that the attitude of our community to work was different than that of Western societies. There, the work creates the main and ordinary content of life; the need for work is widely recognized, and the desire to accomplish it as good as possible is shared by the vast majority of people"¹⁵

Secondly, an undeniable impact on his character and attitude to education had his learning at *Theresianische Akademie* (Gymnasium *Theresianum*).¹⁶ It had some advantages and disadvantages that reflected later in his thought. The philosopher compared the influence of his father and *Theresianum* this way: "(the Academy) trained me to perform

¹⁴ B. Łazuga, *Kalkulować...*, op. cit., p. 35.

¹⁵ K. Twardowski, *Przemówienie z okazji wręczenia nagrody miasta Łodzi*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, red. A. Brożek, J. Jadacki, cz. 2, Warszawa 2014, p. 457.

¹⁶ An 8-year-long school with a final exam *matura*. It was established in 1746 by Empress Maria Theresa to educate future civil service, army and diplomacy officers and allowed only nobles' son. Since 1848 middle class citizens were accepted and representative of the minorities. Twardowski received a scholarship to be able to study there.

systematic and endurance-demanding work. For the latter I already had a shining example in my father, whose advice and teachings, from which I also benefited throughout my Academy years during vacations.¹⁷ *Theresianum* was a demanding school with a very strictly organized schedule of the day¹⁸ that left no time for leisure what, with time, started to have a negative effect on Twardowski. He got depressed and even wanted to quit. However, out of respect for his father, who managed to organize him the scholarship to study there, he decided on a part-time attendance (it was a bursary school). He complained: "It is horrifying to think how much we have to learn. It goes beyond any idea. Therefore, I would like to leave *Theresianum*. Then I could divide my time according to my wish. I have enough reason for that. Besides, I could have some fun a few times a week."¹⁹ Reluctance toward such a rigorousness, although as mentioned above it influenced him anyway, resulted in his different attitude to upbringing and shows his trust to reason. The positive side was the curriculum that inspired Twardowski's scientific interests developed later on at the university and his conviction of the importance of teaching scientific thinking. Gymnasium was also a site of his first contact with philosophy during obligatory subject of propaedeutic of philosophy in the 7th grade (logic with elements of psychology) and in the 8th grade (empirical psychology). However, he confessed that propaedeutic was not his inspiration to study philosophy. It came from reading Marcus Aurelius Antoninus

¹⁷ K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁸ A rigid program of the day was created to form hard-working and conscientious students. The day started at 4.30 am with self-learning and continued as follows: 4.30–8.00–learning (at 6.30 am—a small, 9 minute break for breakfast); 8.00–12.00 – classes at school; 12.00–13.30 – gymnastic; 13.30–14.30 – free time in the garden; 14.30–15.30 – learning; 15.30–16.30 – classes at school; 16.30–17.00 – free time in the garden; 17.00–18.00 – practice on the piano; 18.00–19.00 – English classes; 20.00–21.00 – free time; 21.00–22.00 – time for learning, writing a diary and prayer. K. Twardowski, *Dzienniki młodzieńcze (1881–1887): uzupełnione "Dziennikiem" Marii Gąsowskiej (1881), wierszami wiedeńskimi (1882) oraz korespondencją z rodzicami (1882–1893), Józefem Krypiakiewiczem (1885–1886) i Wojciechem Dzie duszyckim (1885–1891)*, red. A. Brożek, M. Gąsowska, Warszawa 2013, p. 210.

¹⁹ K. Twardowski, *Dzienniki młodzieńcze (1881–1887)...*, op. cit., p. 62.

Meditations (and his encounter with count Wojciech Dzieduszycki²⁰ after finishing *Theresianum*). He was impressed by Stoic way of life which, he claimed, influenced his own life style. It was in the 6th grade. In his *Autobiografia filozoficzna (Self-portrait)* he remembered: “the meditations of the Roman ruler became my gospel at the time. I tried very hard to live in accordance with his principles, and found in the teachings of the philosopher-king an effective means for enduring with resignation my stay at the Academy, which became increasingly more oppressive as the years passed. I readily concede that even in my later years I had much to be grateful for to the Stoic life style, and still owe much to it to this very day. I should mention that the relationship of this philosophy to Christianity also played a major role [in my indebtedness to Stoicism].”²¹ Twardowski tried hard to follow the strict Stoic rules but as he noted in his diaries later on, he danced and he could not quit smoking. However, as it is emphasized in the literature related to Twardowski (especially in the memories of his students), he resembled the Stoic sage: “The ideal of a philosopher includes both intellectual and moral elements. Twardowski required in philosophical work not only mental effort, but also reliability and a sense of duty that one takes on himself and is responsible for its fulfillment. Shaping philosophical employees, he had before his eyes the image of an Ancient sage, as a model of strength of mind as well as strength of character.”²²

²⁰ Twardowski in search of financial independence accepted position of a private teacher of Wojciech Dzieduszycki's son and moved after finishing *Theresianum* to Jezupol in Galicia. The count was a broadly educated man. He had a PhD in philosophy from Vienna University, was an aesthete and historian of art and philosophy. He was a professor at the University of Lvov. He devoted his time to writing and poetry and engaged himself in politics. He was a member of Galician parliament and Imperial Council. Impressed with skills and personality of his son's new teacher he soon started to treat him more seriously as his trustee and personal adviser. It is claimed that this friendship influenced Twardowski's final decision to quit law and start philosophy: “Daily contact with this man turned out to be for me a bountiful source of erudition and stimulation, and contributed considerably toward consolidating and deepening my personal relationship to philosophy” (K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 20).

²¹ K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 19.

²² T. Czeżowski, *Kazimierz Twardowski jako nauczyciel*, in: *Kazimierz Twardowski: nauczyciel, uczony, obywatel: przemówienia wygłoszone na Akademii Żalobnej urządzanej w Auli Uniwersytetu J.K.*

Another significant characters in Twardowski's education were Friedrich Berndt who taught him propaedeutic of philosophy and Francis Wurzner, a priest of the Piarist Order, who was his Greek instructor. "He knew how to instill in his students a love and understanding of Antique, under the spell of which I have remained ever since. The mastery of ancient languages that I achieved in secondary school proved especially valuable for my subsequent philosophical studies."²³ Berndt's work was described this way: "I believe that his efforts to get us accustomed to a succinct, substantive, simple mode of expression were not entirely lost on me."²⁴

Finally, Twardowski's studies at the University of Vienna and his encounter with Franz Brentano are considered the most significant for his philosophical ideas. Twardowski became one of his closest students deeply inspired by his professor: "the model of a philosophical researcher who is relentless in his quest for knowledge of the truth, and of a teacher of philosophy in the spirit of antiquity who gathers students around him as younger friends. From him I learned how to strive relentlessly after matter-of-factness, and how to pursue a method of analysis and investigation that, insofar as that is possible, guarantees that matter-of-factness. He proved to me by example that the most difficult of problems can be clearly formulated, and the attempts at their solution no less clearly presented, provided one is clear within oneself. The emphasis he placed on sharp conceptual distinctions that did not lapse into fruitless nit-picking was an important guideline for my own writings."²⁵ These features were later named as the foundations of Twardowski's method and later method that was continued by Lvov-Warsaw school. But most significantly it influenced his ideas on social role of philosophy and what and how should be taught at school.

w dniu 30 IV 1938 przez Senat Akademicki, Radę Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza i Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, red. S. Łempicki, et al., Lwów 1938, p. 9.

²³ K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 17.

²⁴ K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 17.

²⁵ K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 20.

2. Polish national school and the majesty of the university

The aim of education for Twardowski, as mentioned before, was “rational patriotism.” It was related to the preparation of “enlightened citizens” in the spirit of Enlightenment values like sovereignty of reason, progress, fraternity, toleration. Citizens who not only passionately love their country (as was mentioned above in case of other partition parts), know their own culture and admire it but also present some important features of character like discipline, hard work, sense of duty. Additionally, they should develop rational skills (clarity and logic in thinking and doing, criticism, cooperation) that serve prosperity of their nation like in case of scientific thinking (in the spirit of Brentano, philosophical thinking was considered scientific). This task belonged to upbringing and education. This aim was to be achieved on two entangled levels: by creation of Polish national school and at an efficiently organized university.

On the first level, of *szkoła realna* (folk school) and Gymnasium, the features of character were to be developed. The role of school was not only to educate by providing information and developing intellectual skills. It was primarily to bring up: “we will not only ensure that students learn this and that and something else, and so much more; we will make sure that while learning they will acquire discipline for school requirements, respect for duty and love of work. Then we will understand that it is not so much about WHAT young people will learn at school, but about HOW they will learn. The school will be considered bad, even if it provided the richest material but would allow young people to learn superficially, for appearances, reluctantly; good will be considered a school which, although using more modest scientific material, will teach young people first and foremost to learn with discipline, thoroughly, conscientiously. Such a school will also be a truly national school, because it will provide the nation with citizens who are able to work in their everyday life for the prosperity of their country, as they have learned at school: with discipline, thoroughly, conscientiously. And by working like that for the nation, they will increase its vital force, its resilience and its developmental momentum. Drawing from the tradition of the past the love of their

homeland, they will get from school the ability to reveal this love not only with beautiful words, not only with noble gusts, but above all with the hard and arduous work through all their lives. We need such citizens the most; our school should give us that as much as possible.”²⁶ It was probably inspired by his father's attitude and education at *Theresianum*, Stoic philosophy and the environment in Vienna and the Empire. That school should rather form a character than provide a lot of knowledge. Interestingly, it was also against the old Herbartianism of providing a lot of material to the student to be learned. Here, he differed with the system applied in *Theresianum*.

Twardowski's goal was to create Polish national school, especially before the First World War, when he worked still in Austria-Hungary. As mentioned before, patriotism of the Viennese Polish community and his father differed in comparison to Polish minorities in other partitions. It was more rational, calculated, focused on cooperation with the central government to win the community's goals and secure its position. Twardowski realized it was more effective but at the same time was strongly in favor of maintaining the love for the homeland and not forgetting about the identity while accommodating in the Empire. He was in favor of a “rational patriotism” but was discontented about the lack of patriotic events in some schools or encouraged schools to promote support for Polish production. He also warned against purported educational ideals which in this case was based on “insincerity” of teaching that students easily sense and loose trust to the school and teacher. “The student, usually knowing anyway that in school teaching of history about post-partition period many facts unpleasant for the partitioning powers are concealed, loses trust in teachers, and the teacher also usually knows that the student reciting ‘positive’ passages from the post-partition history, in his mind thinks something else.”²⁷ “Insincerity” is related to false

²⁶ K. Twardowski, *Przemówienie na posiedzeniu Komisji Planów i Podręczników Szkolnych TNSW (Lwów 25.03.1916)*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, op. cit., p. 379.

²⁷ K. Twardowski, *Przemówienie podczas wiecu rodzicielskiego w sprawie unarodowienia szkoły (1905)*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, op. cit., p. 394.

loyalism. “Poles’ attitude towards Austria can only be based on well understood national interests, and this can only be achieved with the help of sincere attitude towards history of post-partition. Although the youth will learn at school that the Austrian government oppressed Polish nation in national and economic terms and that it finally granted them national liberties because of its own Austrian interests and not out of piety for the fate of Poles – the youth will surely understand that Austria is at the moment the only country where Poles are allowed to honestly and openly cultivate national ideals, and that breaking apart of Austria can easily turn into a severe national disaster. Such a view of our attitude towards Austria, not from Austrian point of view, but Polish, will introduce instead of insincerity – sincerity and true openness, and will protect us from more than one mistake in political reasoning.”²⁸ One of such issues was the relation with Ukrainians and Jews. Polish education, unlike Austrian, should be based on equality. It should be inclusive and allow boys as well as girls access to all levels and regardless of their origin (social or national – this was especially important at the university level in case of Ukrainians and Jews). Therefore, Twardowski established female Gymnasium and made sure it was prolonged to eight years, like in case of boys, to guarantee high standards. The same was later during his presidency of TNSW when it worked on the reform of *szkoła realna*, which in general was more accessible to lower class. The idea was to improve its level, prolong it up to eight years as well and make sure the standards of the school provide quality education like Gymnasium, but in this case vocational. In case of university, Twardowski also emphasized its accessibility to women and other nationalities although kept Polish language as official. Among his students there were many Ukrainians and Jews. When he started his work at the Faculty of Philosophy in the academic year 1895/1896 there were 29 Ukrainians, 33 Jews and 96 Poles whereas in 1904/1905 there were already 216 Ukrainians, 130 Jews and 621 Poles.²⁹

²⁸ K. Twardowski, *Przemówienie podczas wiecu...*, op. cit., p. 394.

²⁹ S. Ivanyk, *Szkoła Twardowskiego i ukraińskie szkolnictwo w Galicji pierwszego czterdziestolecia XX wieku*, “Przegląd Pedagogiczny” 2014 nr 1, p. 38.

At the university level the features of character practiced on the lower level were to be matured, but now an important skill was to be advanced. It was scientific thinking. This ability was to start developing while still in Gymnasium, however proficiency should be achieved at the university. Twardowski strongly believed that the scientific method used at the University is fully objective and therefore can resolve problems in the social life of the country. "Thus objective truth, and even just an honest striving for it, mitigates controversies and conflicts between opposing opinions and eliminates that which excites people one against the other, offers them that which can bring them to harmony and make them well-disposed to one another. In this way serving objective truth acquires an ethical meaning and may increasingly become a genuine blessing for mankind."³⁰ Therefore, the university should be respected among the society. He complained that it was not enough appreciated among Poles and applying his analytical way of philosophizing he proved that there was lack of a particular word for science – there is *nauka* which can mean science or teaching like in case of *zakład naukowy* can be a research institute or teaching institute.

The aim of teaching scientific thinking was pragmatic and oriented at achieving the major goal of education, "rational patriotism." "Whoever teaches us to think scientifically also teaches us to think matter-of-factly and objectively. And whoever can think like this, can also matter-of-factly and objectively, and thus intentionally act. [...] Thus, the scientific attitude so seemingly detached from life is its strongest leverage, and if you need a great heat of feeling to love certain ideals above your life, no less you need a sober, objective reason to put it (those ideals) into practice."³¹ Here theoretical knowledge met practical, something that was emblematic for Twardowski.

³⁰ K. Twardowski, *The Majesty of the University*, in: *The idea of the university*, trans. O. Wojtasiewicz, Amsterdam–Atlanta 1997, p. 11.

³¹ K. Twardowski, *Scientia vitae magistra. Przemówienie [...] na otwarciu Kursu Uzupełniającego dla Nauczycieli Szkół Średnich (Wiedeń 27.03.1915)*, in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, op. cit., p. 377.

Twardowski had a consistent vision of education. It was a system or rather an organism with no independent parts. Maybe it was related to Stoic social ethics. They believed society is created not by individual parts like atomists thought, but rather all parts are united and play a significant and indispensable role in the development of the organism. Therefore you cannot think about schools, teachers, academies, students, the society separately. They all should work together for the well-being of education and this way their own country. Not only should the university members get engaged in the reforms of the school system (by belonging and working in TNSW) but also provide help and improvement courses for teachers (e.g. to teach them think scientifically, provide newest achievements of psychology). The university should be a lighthouse. When receiving *doctor honoris causa* in Poznań in 1932 he presented his recognized lecture *O dostojęństwie uniwersytetu* (*The Majesty of the University*). As if in his testament he summarized his vision of the role of university as follows: “[T]he task of the University is to discover scientific truths and probabilities and to spread the skill of arriving at them. Hence, the core and the nucleus of university work consists in scientific production in both the semantic and methodological sense. [...] These efforts build the edifice of scientific knowledge, objective knowledge which claims recognition solely on the strength of being substantiated by laws of logic and which imposes itself upon the human mind only, but irresistibly, by the force of arguments. The nature of objective scientific research manifests itself in that it does not receive any orders from any external factors and refuses to serve any accidental considerations. It recognizes as its sole masters experience and reasoning, and has only one task: to arrive at properly substantiated true opinions, or at least those which are the most probable.”³² The majesty of the university should go in hand with its active engagement in promotion of scientific values. The university should stay “spiritually” independent (not materially) and not engaged in current affairs. The only form of its influence should be that: “which the University exerts incessantly by pointing to objective

³² K. Twardowski, *The Majesty of...*, op. cit., p. 10.

knowledge as the goal of our needs and cognitive efforts. That objective knowledge is an impartial guide that, however, can only give honest guidance in our theoretical and practical problems – on the condition that formulation of justifies opinions on those matters is not beyond the abilities of our mind.”³³ Therefore, Twardowski engaged so much in the University Lectures Series, in Lvov and in small towns around it, and made them very popular.

However, the lighthouse has to function effectively and from the way it is administrated and governed depends also if it achieves the set goals. Therefore, Twardowski also devoted a lot of effort to improve the administrative workings of the University of Lvov using his logical thinking, respect for law and order and love of precision and scientific method. A natural consequence was also a fact that he became Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy twice and Rector of the University of Lvov during the unfortunate period of the First World War. His belief in the scientific role of the university and the necessity to continue research and teaching, motivated him to do all that was possible to continue educating and upbringing students-refugees in Vienna and later, back in Lvov, still in war-like conditions. He also strongly believed in the need to integrate scientific community, and he did a lot to accomplish that in his area of research. Therefore, he became co-editor of journal “Przegląd Filozoficzny” and later established journal “Ruch Filozoficzny”. It had also an educational aspect as it made philosophical thought accessible to a general public that way. He was a “founding father” of a new Polish philosophical school (Lvov-Warsaw School) that gathered a large number of integrated students who established with him the first Polish Philosophical Society and later organized the first Polish Philosophical Congress. He lectured in the other Polish universities and maintained contact with the professors there as well as participated in international events to keep scientific relations with other countries. He encouraged his students to do the same and advised on scholarships abroad. He improved facilities of the university and established the first Polish psychological laboratory.

³³ K. Twardowski, *The Majesty of...*, op. cit., p. 12.

3. The ideal of the teacher

University is composed by people, by professors and students. Twardowski, influenced by Stoic ideal of sage and Brentano's own example, was very sensitive on the ethos of a teacher – academic but also school – and its fundamental role in implementation of all the values mentioned above and reaching the goal of education. “A university teacher is first of all a servant of objective truth, its representative and herald *vis-à-vis* the young people and society at large. It is an extremely honorable service, but it is demanding as well since it requires, in addition to adequate intellectual qualifications and the required professional knowledge, also a great force of spirit and a strong character. He who decides to serve under the banner of science must renounce all that which might turn him away from the path indicated by it. Hence he must first of all work strenuously to discard all prejudices that might block his path to objective knowledge, prejudices which originate from traditions, habits, the influence of one's milieu, and personal likes and dislikes. The teacher must thwart any inclination to treat his students unequally and show some of them more kindness. Likewise, he whose goal is to arrive at scientific truth and to spread it to others, should never desire that one and not another solution to a scientific problem will prove to be the correct one and that research will yield such and not another result. He should view with the same joy any solution and result that proves to be scientific.”³⁴ Academic teacher has a triple responsibility: scientific work, educational task and upbringing. Probably, the role of upbringing is the most unusual nowadays, however for Twardowski it was equally important. As Tadeusz Czeżowski named it, he “raised by teaching” (“wychowywał przez nauczanie”). This is not only the role of parents or school but also of the university. “The education of young people by the University consists in arousing and increasing in them comprehension of the immense significance which objective truth and the striving for it has for mankind. [...] Thus the love of objective truth and the constant striving

³⁴ K. Twardowski, *The Majesty of...*, op. cit., p. 14.

for it will be a powerful factor which brings young people up as persons who understand one another and are tolerant of one another and capable of co-operation in which common considerations dominate over private ones and the joint interest rises above that of individuals.”³⁵

Interestingly, to some extent the same concerned Gymnasium teachers who were encouraged by TNSW to conduct research and publish in its journal “Muzeum”. The school teacher ethos was equally important for Twardowski and can be understood in all the work he put into improvement of the working conditions of the teachers (from hygiene issues of the school, number of students, salary, secured contract, improvement courses, pedagogical preparation) up to gaining for them respect from pupils, parents, directors, universities and the whole society. “The University has a special reason to thank teachers for their efforts and work, because if they stopped working, the University would have no students and the society would lack sufficiently trained forces.”³⁶ This was especially visible in Twardowski's engagement in the works of TNSW as a member, president and later member of the board. During six years, between 1905–1911, he shaped the direction of the Society and improved its position in relation to *Rada Szkolna Krajowa* (National School Council) and universities. He claimed that TNSW as an association of teachers who were practitioners should have a consultancy and advisory role and he managed to accomplish that. Not only theoretical arguments were important but also practical experience. He also had an episode teaching at school to be able to understand better the needs of young minds. This was symptomatic for Twardowski's philosophy of education. His pedeutology was empowering. Teachers should be pedagogically prepared (this requires modern knowledge in didactics, upbringing, psychology) and not only gain particular knowledge at the university. They should have a training period at school before they start to work, improve their qualifications constantly on summer courses with the help of university

³⁵ K. Twardowski, *The Majesty of...*, op. cit., p. 13.

³⁶ K. Twardowski, *Powitanie Zjazdu Członków TNSW imieniem Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego* (Wiedeń 6.6.1915), in: *Mysł, mowa i czyn*, op. cit., p. 377.

teachers (who inform them about the progress in science). They ought to develop their own research and be source of promotion of scientific knowledge. To do so they have to be able to think scientifically as well, to be able to transmit it to pupils and express themselves clearly, precisely, shortly which influences students learning. Twardowski applied his way of philosophizing also to teachers' preparation and didactics.

4. Philosophical foundations of Twardowski's pedagogical thought

Papers on Twardowski's pedagogy usually underestimate that for him philosophy and pedagogy are entangled on various levels. They mention his ideal of clarity and precision but it seems they do not fully appreciate the relation.³⁷ He saw his way of philosophizing as a guide star: "And when my engagement in these various realms of practical endeavor merited sufficient respect to earn it public recognition, I always made a sincere effort to ascribe the merit of it not to myself, but to the philosophical way of thinking in which I was nurtured, and which I merely continued to develop. 'Study philosophy properly, and the same will happen to you.' That was the basic thought behind the responses I gave to the praise that was heaped upon me, for I have never cease to value philosophy as not only the queen of the sciences, but as the guiding star in life as well."³⁸

It seems one can distinguish two aspects of Twardowski's philosophy: theoretical and applied. Theoretical contained his analytical investigations into the problems of psychology whereas applied refers to his already described engagement for the public (inspired by social work of his father and Stoic ideas) and application of his way of philosophizing to up bring youth and citizens.

³⁷ Cf. J. Suchmiel, *Poglądy na wychowanie Kazimierza Twardowskiego: na podstawie prac niefilozoficznych*, "Prace Naukowe. Pedagogika" 1999 nr 8–9–10, p. 291–299 or M. Rembierz, *Wychowanie, oświata powszechna i kształcenie uniwersyteckie jako źródła Polskiej niepodległości. Pedagogiczno-patriotyczne idee i działania Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, "Polska Myśl Pedagogiczna" 2015 nr 1, p. 39–87.

³⁸ K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 29.

As the applied philosophy has been previously (and will be later) described, here we will focus on the theoretical aspect. In his academic research he followed Brentano's idea that philosophical method does not differ from scientific method, it is also empirical and logical. However, empirical meant something different than commonly thought. It should be based on experience (especially on introspection) but not on experiment. Foundation of philosophy is this way descriptive psychology. He avoided speculation and building elaborated systems (especially metaphysical which he considered a worldview and a personal issue) and concentrated on the search for truth via clearness and precision of expression, rigorous work, profound analysis of concepts. One of his famous students, Władysław Witwicki, believed that his high standards of intellectual work restrained him from publishing in the later part of his life. He would never publish anything that was not properly formed and lacking methodological precision. He was himself a "lamp-lighter, believer and teacher of clearness and correctness in thinking above all."³⁹ Lack of clarity in texts or speeches, especially philosophical ones, was a sign of vagueness in thinking and a reader or a listener was released from any attempt to understand them. That is way he spent a lot of effort on teaching and promoting clarity and it makes an important part of his methodology and educational methods not only on academic level but also on lower levels of education in Gymnasium while teaching propaedeutic of philosophy but also in *szkoła realna* as well as in teachers training and part of their didactics. Clarity of thinking and scientific method, as has been described above, were fundamentals of proper education which guaranteed prosperity of the nation. Philosophy, pedagogy, social work and patriotism meet here and probably they are here the most united in his thought. All other aspects proceed from this entanglement. Although he concentrated on semiotics, formal and logical issues and methodology he was against reduction of philosophy to logic which he called "symbolomania." And he criticized "pragmatophobia."

³⁹ W. Witwicki, *Kazimierz Twardowski*, in: *Wybór pism psychologicznych i pedagogicznych*, red. M. Decewicz, Warszawa 1992, p. 488.

He warned against dogmatism as much as against skepticism. He believed in objective truth and was against relativism. He was a realist.

To be able to understand his respect of clarity and sharp concept analysis it is worth considering his biggest philosophical achievements. The most influential work he is internationally recognized for is his habilitation thesis *Zur Lehre vom Inhalt und Gegenstand der Vorstellungen* (*On the Content and Object of Presentations – A Psychological Investigation*). Twardowski continued Brentano's method of critical analysis and developed his system by pointing out that another distinction between action and content is necessary. There is a difference between content and object of presentation and they are not to be confused. The role of descriptive psychology is to analyze the content. After its publication Edmund Husserl who was his reviewer and Alexius Meinong integrated the distinction between content and object in their works. However, Husserl criticized Twardowski for leading to psychologization and this way e.g. logic becomes part of psychology.

Interestingly, it had a direct influence on pedagogical issues as Twardowski's book for teachers and opinion on teaching propaedeutic was part of the problem. We can observe how his philosophical ideas developed there and not yet in any treaty or professional article. "It should be added that before 1902 Twardowski was a definite psychologist, especially in the field of logic. He began to verify his position at that time, as evidence can be treated his statement in the *Survey on teaching of propaedeutic of philosophy in Gymnasium*."⁴⁰ He claimed there that his textbook to logic does not contain psychologization. In his *Autobiografia* he remembered: "But Husserl's *Logical Investigations*, which appeared some years later (1900/1901), convinced me that it is impossible to treat psychological, that is, empirically acquired, knowledge as the basis of logical, thus *a priori*, propositions. My book on the basic concepts of didactics and logic"⁴¹

⁴⁰ R. Jadcak, *O kontaktach naukowych szkoły lwowskiej Kazimierza Twardowskiego z filozofią niemiecką*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Filozofia" 1993 z. 15 (264), p. 35.

⁴¹ K. Twardowski, *Zasadnicze pojęcia dydaktyki i logiki do użytku w seminariach nauczycielskich i w nauce prywatnej*, Lwów 1901.

was written prior to my study of Husserl's work, so that in it I still came forth as an 'exponent of psychologism' [*Psychologist*]. But my psychologism of that period manifests itself more in the demarcation of the material to be dealt with than in the matter of its treatment."⁴² As it is visible, Twardowski's philosophical ideas influenced content of a textbook for teachers' training and teaching students and are important part of his heritage.

However, inspired by Husserl's investigations, he understood a threat of easily falling into psychologistic philosophy. "According to psychologists, logic as a science about the conditions of right thinking is part of psychology or at least based on it, because thinking is a mental matter. According to antipsychologists, logic does not depend on psychology, just as arithmetic or algebra does not depend on psychology."⁴³ To avoid such a danger, he developed a line of demarcation distinguishing actions from products of representation which was published in *O czynnościach i wytworach (Actions and Products)* in 1912. In this case, philosophy (descriptive psychology) is concerned with products of mental acts (representations and concepts, judgements and thoughts, ideas and intentions) whereas genetic psychology with mental actions. "Indeed, a rigorous demarcation of products from actions has already contributed enormously to liberating logic from psychological accretions."⁴⁴ For example:

⁴² K. Twardowski, *Self-portrait*, op. cit., p. 31.

⁴³ J. L. Łukasiewicz, J. Ślupecki, *Z zagadnień logiki i filozofii: pisma wybrane*, Warszawa 1961, p. 2. Cf. *Psychologism*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/psychologism/#HusAntArg>.

⁴⁴ K. Twardowski, *O czynnościach i wytworach*, in: *Wybór pism psychologicznych i filozoficznych*, red. M. Decewicz, Warszawa 1992, p. 300.

ACTIONS ⁴⁵	PRODUCTS
to IMAGINE	IMAGE
to JUDGE	JUDGEMENT
to CONCEPTUALIZE	CONCEPT
to DECIDE	DECISION
to FEEL	FEELING (SADNESS/PLEASURE)

He used this clarification when referring to the issue of upbringing and education which will be described now.

5. Upbringing vs educating

In the entry on philosophy of education in *Britannica Online Encyclopedia* it is said that “One of the tasks of the philosophy of education, accordingly, has been the elucidation of key educational concepts, including the concept of education itself, as well as related concepts such as teaching, learning, schooling, child rearing, and indoctrination.”⁴⁶ As mentioned Twardowski distinguished in his philosophy between actions and products. Consequently, he used this method to clarify the problems of education. He distinguished action (upbringing) from product (upbringing). When we speak generally about upbringing somebody (action) we have to keep in mind what the final goal (product) we want to achieve is. This way we can adjust our practices to our aim. Regardless of our aims and methods, the nature of upbringing is reaching skillfulness/proficiency by systematic practice. Twardowski is aware that practice is difficult, painful, comes with effort and gets bored. Therefore, he recommends looking for anyway to minimize these unpleasant consequences. However, he goes further in his divisions and highlights that there is a difference between upbringing and educating. Education

⁴⁵ K. Twardowski, *O psychologii, jej przedmiocie, zadaniach, metodzie, stosunku do innych nauk i o jej rozwoju*, in: *Wybrane pisma filozoficzne*, red. K. Ajdukiewicz i in., Warszawa 1965, p. 243.

⁴⁶ H. Siegel, *Philosophy of education | History, Problems, Issues, & Tasks | Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/philosophy-of-education> (15.06.2020).

refers to development of mind, its intellectual skills (like memory, imagination, cleverness). Of course education is also divided into action (educating) and product (education). It should train ability to make correct reasoning and judgements. Whereas upbringing refers to moral upbringing of human will and should train ability to make accurate decisions. Explaining how to reach this goal is the task of psychology (for example how to avoid mistakes in the process of thinking) and logic. Ethics will tell on what accurate decision-making depends on. Type of ethics is irrelevant for Twardowski's consideration (as mentioned before publicly he stayed neutral). He is only interested in precisely describing the whole process and giving advice how to achieve set goal. There are two requirements to achieve that: a student must be aware of the rules and must be willing to follow them. There are three major phases of this process. Firstly, there are orders and absolute obedience. In case of bad behavior, there is punishment. Twardowski is very strict here and demands full consistency from the teacher. No mercy. However, at the same time he emphasizes that the requirements must be reasonable, they cannot be unreachable. "One careless order, which cannot be fulfilled, causes irreparable damage."⁴⁷ Moreover, the teacher must be coherent and herself follow the rules. Twardowski was aware that his ideas even at his times were very conservative especially after the publication of a book by Ellen Key entitled *The century of the child*⁴⁸ where she introduced child-centered attitude toward upbringing. He claimed that it brought some negative consequences as it seemed that there was more focus on what the child wanted and not what the teacher expected. However, this type of methods is necessary only at the very beginning of moral upbringing. Otherwise, if continued endlessly it would turn into simple taming. Second phase, related to intellectual development

⁴⁷ K. Twardowski, *O pojęciu wychowania*, in: *Wybór pism psychologicznych i pedagogicznych*, op. cit., p. 418.

⁴⁸ Ellen Key was a Swedish reformer and social theorist who envisioned the 20th century as a time of focus and progressive thinking about the rights, development, and well-being of children which should be of the highest importance to all society. It is considered to be one of the most revolutionary books about upbringing. Cf. E. Key, *The century of the child*, New York 1909.

must seek other motivation than punishment. For example, trying not to cause distress to the teacher or some religious stimulation or love of one's homeland (patriotism) or understanding of one's interest or due to noble ambition rather than some momentary feeling or whim (Stoic inspiration). On this level the ability to experience certain feelings and desires is expected and orders and punishment must be diminished. Finally, the third phase is what we would call nowadays lifelong education. Twardowski claimed it is a myth that moral upbringing ever finishes. However, now self-upbringing begins. We have to continue practicing accurate decision-making. Therefore the second phase must make sure to develop the right motivation so to form the character that is capable of continuing on its own progress. We need to teach also the tools of psychology and logic. To make things short Twardowski stated: "Teach less, educate more, but at most up bring!" In his philosophy of education upbringing is more important than educating as it develops character and way of thinking. The rest will follow. The process is also oriented on independization, something that was missing in his *Theresianum* education. Here also the tension of individual vs society is released. The school by upbringing is serving first of all the pupil and in consequence it has beneficial effects for the society. It maximizes the potential of the student and therefore his/her capacity to serve the society.

6. Propaedeutic of philosophy as a key subject

In all the aspects discussed above, teaching philosophy played a fundamental role. On Gymnasium level it was called propaedeutic of philosophy. For Twardowski, it was one of the most significant subjects to be taught because encounter with philosophy is comparable to the intellectual revolution that happened in the Ancient Greece when philosophy was born. Each young mind should go through such a mental revolution like the whole humanity did when "it was a moment of turn from the world of senses, which until then dominated the research, toward one's own spirit and that what it makes and

creates.”⁴⁹ Twardowski opted for “propaedeutic,” an introduction to philosophy rather than calling it philosophy. At the school level pupils were supposed to learn the tool and acquire some basic skills. Therefore the program of propaedeutic of philosophy composed of logic and psychology. First of all, they represent two methods of investigation (a priori and empirical). Secondly, it is not enough to know how to think logically to avoid mistakes. It is as with ethics. From the fact that one knows what is ethical, it does not mean that one will be ethical. *Errare humanum est*. You need to know what are the temptations to be able to avoid them. The same is with logic. You need to know what influences the whole process of thinking and causes mistakes which was to be taught during psychology lessons.

It reflects his background (learning at *Theresianum*) and functioning of curriculum model in Austria-Hungary. But he kept it when he advised on school program in the Second Polish Republic (after Poland regained independence). When Galicia was still part of the Empire, but could participate in creation of its educational system, he was against the reform where the number of hours of teaching propaedeutic were to be limited from four hours to three hours in total for the 7th and 8th grade. Twardowski presented his even stronger concern about the future of propaedeutic and motivating arguments to convince the Polish Minister of Religious Creeds and Public Education that philosophy is indispensable subject at school when there was a danger of its full elimination or another diminishing in the number of hours from three to two (1 hour a week for logic in the 7th grade and 2 hours of psychology in the 8th grade). It was his sense of patriotism that played a key role: “(Propaedeutic) Being a systematic approach and deepening all the factors that teach Gymnasium students to think independently and critically, it provides the generations to which the future belongs, one of the strongest levers of mental progress. [...] teaching of philosophical propaedeutic

⁴⁹ K. Twardowski, *Filozofia w szkole średniej*, in: *Rozprawy i artykuły filozoficzne*, zebrali i wydali uczniowie, Lwów 1927, p. 178.

can fulfill its extremely important task and contribute to the education of a large host of truly enlightened citizens.”⁵⁰

His emphasize on creation of Polish national school was also referred to preparation of Polish textbooks. His belief in the necessity to introduce philosophical and scientific way of thinking on lower levels of education as part of the whole system can be found in his dedication to prepare a textbook *Zasadnicze pojęcia dydaktyki i logiki do użytku w seminariach nauczycielskich i w nauce prywatnej* (*Basic concepts of didactics and logic for use in teacher seminars and in private learning*) as guide for *szkoła realna* teachers mentioned before.

He claimed that if others would follow such a way of thinking it would benefit everybody, the society the most. Therefore, he engaged at the University, among the society and in teachers training and preparation of school curriculum to promote and teach philosophy and philosophical way of thinking. Important heritage of such an attitude can be the testimony left by his students, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz and Tadeusz Kotarbiński. When after the Second World War the persecution of the Lvov–Warsaw School by the Marxists and the new political system in Poland started, they were able to sacrifice scientific journals established by Twardowski rather than giving up propaedeutic of philosophy at school.⁵¹ And it is important to say that for Twardowski teaching and publishing were the most crucial aspects of university work and its engagement.

7. Didactics

His didactical work at the university and ideas on teaching philosophy is impressive and can be an example of how to accomplish the set goals. The effect of his work like establishment of a prosperous, internationally recognized philosophical Lvov–Warsaw School are a great prove

⁵⁰ K. Twardowski, *Filozofia w szkole...*, op. cit., p. 184.

⁵¹ Cf. R. Kuliniak, M. Pandura, Ł. Ratajczak, *Filozofia po ciemnej stronie mocy. Krucjaty marksistów i komunistów polskich przeciwko Lwowskiej Szkole Filozoficznej Kazimierza Twardowskiego. Część pierwsza: lata 1945–1951*, Kęty 2018.

for his methodology. His devotion to teach clear, precise and rigorous thinking⁵² and determination to look for a direct contact with youth made his pro-seminar and seminar very popular. In pro-seminar there were up to one hundred students, while only thirty were accepted to the seminar. However, it never limited to the students of philosophy. It referred also to the working of the *Kółko Filozoficzne Czytelni Akademickiej* (Philosophy Club of the Academic Reading Room) open to all, as well as general lectures attended by up to two thousand people. It was surprising as he was neither a charismatic speaker (rather very analytical but expressed according to his rules) nor mild. He was very demanding and strict. However, it gave the expected results as he raised about thirty professors (not only in philosophy) who dominated Polish universities. It is said that he created "an army of intellectuals."

Twardowski saw pedagogy (science of upbringing, education and physical education) as practical implementation of philosophical findings, particularly these of psychology and logic, especially in didactics (which is part of pedagogy). To be able to teach properly and successfully, it is necessary to know how to proceed in providing information and developing intellectual abilities. It is also crucial to be aware of the obstacles and disadvantages of the learning process and be aware what is reasonable to demand from students. It is also important to have in mind what is the final goal of education.

Didactics plays a key role in the whole vision of education in Twardowski's view. Without it its goal is unreachable. Here we can see further influence of his way of philosophizing. In his textbook *Zasadnicze pojęcia logiki...* he divides didactics into general and particular. General deals with ideas valuable for any subject to be taught whereas particular, called also methodology, applies to defined subject. In case of general didactics there are three helpers: science of upbringing, psychology and logic. Science of upbringing guides didactics and cannot be confronted. Type

⁵² C. f. M. Będkowski, *Nauczyć krytycznego myślenia i jasnej mowy. Postulaty krytycyzmu i jasności a sprawa tzw. logiki ogólnej*, "Studia Semiotyczne" 33 (2019) nr 2, p. 169–185 or A. Brożek et al., *Antyirracjonalizm. Metody filozoficzne w Szkole Lwowsko-Warszawskiej*, Warszawa 2020.

of information delivered to children influences their behavior and obligations toward others. Type of teaching enforces or discourages attitude to serious, hard work. Psychology is necessary as it provides knowledge about laws of how mind works (it determines how the student acquires information and develops his/her intellect). Finally, there is logic understood as science of soundness of judgements. To possess information about a subject it means to be able to make sound judgements about it. Additionally, intellectual development aims at making student capable of stating sound judgments on her own. He distinguished two forms of teaching: acroamatic and heuristic. In acroamatic form it is important that the teacher should always express herself clearly and concisely so that she is understandable. Whereas, heuristic form practices and develops pupils intellectual skills and accustoms them to express their thoughts clearly and precisely.

His importance paid to psychology is visible here again. He not only was interested in descriptive psychology but also in experimental psychology. That was the purpose of his scholarships in Leipzig to see Wundt's first psychological laboratory and participate in lectures of Georg Freiherr and Carl Stumpf in München; his first lectures and exercises in experimental psychology at the University of Lvov; his visits to Prague, Halle, Würzburg, Wrocław, Leipzig, Göttingen and Paris laboratories or opening first psychological laboratory in Lvov or participation in 4th International Congress of Experimental Psychology in Innsbruck.

8. Concluding remarks

Kazimierz Twardowski is generally recognized for his theoretical achievements in analytical philosophy and pedagogues admire his engagements, achievements and ideas. However, it is not commonly observed that his ideas and practice are entangled and form a particular philosophy of education. This area of research used to be an important part of philosophy cultivated by the most prominent philosophers but lost its credit until it is being recognized nowadays as a full-fledged study in e.g. analytical philosophy.

The aim of this article was to show how his way of philosophizing had a direct influence on all aspects of education, even those minor and technical. His philosophy of education is skill-oriented but for Twardowski the skills are intellectual and practical at the same time. The final goal of education is patriotic. Therefore he promotes the idea of a Polish national school that cultivates Polish values and interests in Austrian partition part. The school should up bring "enlightened citizens" who know how to think matter-of-factly and objectively thanks to participation in propaedeutic of philosophy classes (which is one of the most significant subject in school curriculum according to Twardowski) or later studying at the university which is a source, guardant and promoter of scientific thinking. The society should benefit from such a results as well as the pupil herself. The education should be free from "insincerity" of false loyalism and promote "rational patriotism." It should focus more on formation of a features of character like hard work, responsibility, reliability then transfer of information. The key to success are professional teachers, school and academic, who have to be respected but at the same time keep up to the highest standards of clarity and objectivity. Twardowski himself was considered such an example inspired by ideal of a Stoic sage and his close contact with Brentano. It is also not fully acknowledged how significant influence on his ideas had his background. His father's work and behavior, learning at Gymnasium *Theresianum*, life in a multicultural Austria-Hungary, quickly modernizing and work-oriented Vienna, the Polish community, encounter with the Stoic philosophy and Franz Brentano. It is possible to say he cultivated two ways of philosophy: theoretical and applied. His theoretical, analytical achievements influenced directly his pedagogical and social work. The distinction between action and product of thinking found its usage in the issue of education and upbringing.

It is claimed here that Twardowski formed a particular philosophy of education inspired by his way of philosophizing, his background and applied it on various levels of the tightly united system to meet its goal of "rational patriotism." Nowadays, issues mentioned in this article are actively discussed and it seems that Twardowski's ideas can put back into

spotlight the importance of upbringing and patriotism in the system of education and the role of teaching philosophy in the whole process.

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Abstract

Kazimierz Twardowski's philosophy of education – attempting a reconstruction

The purpose of this article is to analyze and synthesize Kazimierz Twardowski's ideas that belong to philosophy of education. The aim of education is “rational patriotism” – it should prepare “enlightened citizens” who not only love their country but also present some important features of character like discipline, hard work, sense of duty. Therefore

upbringing becomes a central issue. Additionally, they should develop certain skills that serve prosperity of their nation like scientific thinking (propaedeutic of philosophy is vital subject at school) that are “levers of mental progress.” The aim was to be achieved on two entangled levels: by creation of a Polish national school and at an efficiently organized university, by well-prepared (didactics) and sage-like teachers (school and academic). Sources of his ideas can be found in his background; his encounter with Stoicism and Franz Brentano and his way of philosophizing. Clearness and precision of expression, profound analysis of concepts Twardowski applied in his social and pedagogical work as well as during theoretical considerations when distinguishing action and product of upbringing, and upbringing from education itself. His didactical success in creation of “an army of intellectuals” is a valuable proof of his ideas.

Keywords

Kazimierz Twardowski, philosophy of education, “rational patriotism,” Lvov–Warsaw School, upbringing