

A Periodical for A Science:  
*Xinli* and Psychological Knowledge in Republican China 1922-1927

by

Yu Jia

M.Sc., the Institute for the History of Natural Sciences,  
Chinese Academy of Sciences 2013

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

The Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
(Science and Technology Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA  
(Vancouver)

December 2017

© Yu Jia 2017

## Abstract

In the summer of 1921, a specialized periodical devoted to a new scientific discipline, modern psychology, was established synchronously with the founding of the Chinese Psychological Society in Nanjing. In the following six years, this serial scientific periodical, *Xinli* (心理), was engaged in promoting the professionalization of the psychologist community in Republican China, and constructing the earliest communications of psychological knowledge with Chinese laymen readers. This thesis underscores the historical agency of *Xinli* in shaping the growing field of modern psychology and in interweaving psychological knowledge with Chinese society during the early years of Republican China. By analyzing three aspects of *Xinli*, including its social and intellectual management, three psychologists' elaborations on psychology testing, and one of *Xinli*'s columns that involved intensive participation of laymen readers, I argue that, in the case study of *Xinli*, the supposed gap between scientists and the public did not actually appear in the 1920s Republican China. This case study exemplifies that the professionalization of Chinese psychological scientists was mutually progressing with the popularization of the field; both took place mainly through the circulation of a scientific periodical, *Xinli*.

## Lay Summary

This thesis is a case study of a Chinese periodical *Xinli* (1922-1927). *Xinli* was a specialized scientific journal which focused on publishing research papers in the field of psychology and introducing psychological knowledge to Chinese audience. By examining its development within local social and intellectual context, I argue that the publication and circulation of *Xinli* shaped the fundamental structure of the new scientific discipline of psychology, and promoted the progress of professionalization and the popularization of psychology mutually in Republican China.

## Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Yu Jia.

## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	ii
Lay Summary .....	iii
Preface.....	iv
Table of Contents .....	v
Acknowledgements .....	vi
Dedication .....	vii
Introduction .....	I
Chapter One: A Scientific Journal in 1920s China .....	5
1.1 Zhonghua Books, Xinli, and the Publication of Scientific Journals .....	6
1.2 Early Formation of the Chinese Psychological Society and its Organization of Xinli .....	9
1.3 Xinli's Columns and the Method of Specialization [分工] .....	14
Chapter Two: Testing Chinese Minds with the Scientific Method .....	19
2.1 The Rise of Psychology Testing in Republican China.....	19
2.2 Three Psychologists' Expectations .....	23
2.3 Psychology Testing as Scientific Tools.....	32
Chapter Three: "The Reader's Forum" of Xinli and the Public Understanding of Psychology in 1920s China .....	39
3.1 A Reading Public of Psychology and The Organization of The Reader's Forum .....	41
3.2 Q&A for a New Scientific Discipline .....	48
3.3 "Universality" of Psychology: Five Examples from the Reader's Forum .....	54
Conclusion.....	65
Bibliography.....	69
Appendix A: Index of The Chinese Journal of Psychology (1922-1927).....	74
Appendix B: Contribution List.....	83
Appendix C: Puzzle List from The Reader's Forum 读者论坛 .....	89

## Acknowledgements

I offer my most sincere gratitude to my advisor at UBC, Dr. Carla Nappi, for her teaching, guidance, enthusiasm, and support during my time in the STS graduate program at UBC. Dr. Carla Nappi leads me to two fields, STS and the print culture, both are fundamentally important for me to prepare the present thesis and my future studies. Discussing readings and ideas with her in her office BuTo 1109, and reading Manchu with my *gucuce* (sometimes have to read loudly) in BuTo 1197, was my most challenging, inspiring, and joyful time at UBC.

I am grateful to Dr. Timothy Cheek for providing the best modern-China related seminars and lectures I have ever taken, and never hesitating about taking me on as a latecomer, especially for those in-office group discussions. I learned from him how to write a better class essay (indeed, still much-needed for me), and how to develop and lead a fruitful discussion in seminars. His hand-out is my favorite reference.

I especially want to thank our program director, Dr. Adam Frank, for developing the STS program and organizing the STS Colloquium at UBC. It was lucky for me to be admitted and study here, and received generous financial support from our program. I want to extend my thanks to faculty members of STS program, Dr. Timothy Brook, and Dr. Bruce Rusk for their support and wisdom throughout my degree. I am also thankful to Dr. Jeremy Brown, Dr. Denise Ho, and Dr. Anatoly Detwyler for their kind help and quick replies to my emails regarding my research. Special thanks also go to Kate Lewis, Kate Wilczak, and Emma Brazel for their kind help and patience as our STS program administrators.

I also wish to offer my thanks to my talented friends, colleagues, and my classmates. Jessica McNally, Sarah Bashman, Michael Hare, Mary Caple, Andrea Javor, Jihyun Shin, Max Zeterberg, Devin Eeg, Le Tao, Yifan Shi, Xiaoyi Ze, Joseph Paris, Steve O'Reilly, Dhondup Tashi Rekjong, Jiaqi Yao, Ying Guo, Joshua Tan, Brent Lin, Kejia Wang, Raquel Baldwinson, Loren Gaudet, Dexter Fergie, John Miller, Zoudan Ma, Minoru Takano, Jingyi Zhang, Jonathan Henshaw, Nan Ma, Aaron Molnar, Victoria Ma, and Yang Yue: it was because of all of you, my time in the past two years was memorable.

Finally, I want to say thank you all and I love you all, to my family. Without any of you, it is impossible for me to finish writing this thesis, and to have my lovely baby healthily born in this amazing August. I want to thank my husband Yingju Ma for being a handsome, loving, and considerate life partner. I want to thank my little son, Yuanyuan (although right now he has many different names), for being part of my life during my final stage at UBC, and accompanying me on the trip of writing the present thesis all the way.

Dedication

*for Yuanyuan Dianbao Jimmy Ma*

## Introduction

“一面求适合科学标准，一面又求通俗。偏于科学不能使一般读者了解；太通俗或不免引起专家非议。调和于二者之间颇费周章。

至于内容则尽量求适合国情，形式尽量求中国化。

这也是各方肯义务投稿，及该杂志受人热烈欢迎的一种原因。

On the one hand, we sought to meet scientific standards; on the other, we pursued popularity. Being too scientific would be less comprehensible for general readers; being too popular would unavoidably cause experts' criticism.

Negotiation between these two sides was quite a struggle.

Regarding the content, it tried its best to fit the national situation; regarding the form, it tended to be as Chinese-localized as possible.

This is one reason for why all involved parties were willing to volunteer their contributions, and why people warmly welcomed this periodical.”

— Zhang Yaoxiang's remark on *Xinli*, 1937<sup>1</sup>

This thesis focuses on a Chinese scientific periodical, *Xinli* 心理 (1922-1927), and underscores its historical agency as a scientific publication in shaping the growing field of modern psychology during the early years of Republican China and in interweaving psychological knowledge with Chinese society. My ultimate goal is to better understand the process of transferring scientific knowledge from the original source to somewhere new. As James A. Secord has suggested, we should be cautious about the assumption that “knowledge simply travels by itself”, in this thesis I will consider the transiting process of scientific knowledge as a series of practices of communication.<sup>2</sup> During this process (which is situated in varying local contexts), ideas and meanings are organized, communicated, exchanged, and negotiated by means of their material carrier, the periodical *Xinli*, and its heterogeneous practitioners, *Xinli*'s contributors and (potential) audiences. This process not only involves calibrations of scientific standardizations, but, as the present thesis shows, its trajectory also

---

<sup>1</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), “My Teaching Life (*Wode jiaoxue shenghuo* 我的教学生活),” *Quarterly Journal of Psychology (Xinli jikan* 心理季刊), 1937, 2(2): 109-127.

<sup>2</sup> James A. Secord, “Knowledge in Transit,” *Isis*, 2004, 95(4): 654-672.



reflected the influence of local contingency we cannot afford to ignore. In 1937, ten years since *Xinli* stopped its print run, its chief editor Zhang Yaoxiang reflected his management of this scientific periodical. As I have quoted above, his thoughtful remark emphasized the importance of finding a particular way for psychology to take root in China, and it required *Xinli* to value the scientific standards of psychology and to match the mass's taste at the same time.

Today, knowledge from psychology and other psy-disciplines are omnipresent in people's thoughts, descriptions, and communications about themselves and others. It has developed a system of evaluation that is inseparable from many aspects of our life quality and well-being. To be psychologically healthy becomes more and more important for modern life. Psychological research shows that there are ways and rules to know our inner feelings and brain functions, and there are complex connections and contradictions between what we see and what we think, between how we behave and what we experience. By the middle of the twentieth century, this relatively young discipline has gained its social significance among other branches of the human science by focusing on the notion "self" and responding to reforms of public and political needs.<sup>3</sup>

During the transition from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, "psychology" finally arrived China. After several attempts, scholars such as Liang Qichao 梁启超, Yan Fu 严复, and Yan Yongjing 颜永京, among many others, weighed in on settling the translation of the term "psychology" in Chinese as "Xinli Xue [心理学]".<sup>4</sup> About twenty years after their

---

<sup>3</sup> Greg Eghigian, Killen Andreas, and Christine Leuenberger, "the Self as Project: Politics and the Human Sciences in the Twentieth Century," *Osiris*, 2007, 22(1): 1-25.

<sup>4</sup> On the translating of the term "psychology", see Geoffrey Blowers, "Origins of Scientific Psychology in China, 1899-1949," *Internationalizing the History of Psychology*, 2006: 94-111.

translation of psychological terms, the periodical *Xinli* 心理 was founded in 1922 by the first group of Chinese psychologists, most of whom had studied psychology courses in America. Unlike usual scientific periodicals in Republican China, such as *Kexue* 科学 (1915-1950), that were compiled by articles from various disciplines, *Xinli* was specifically designed for and concentrated on one single discipline — *Xinli Xue* 心理学. Although the discipline itself was totally new to China, it was finally considered as science instead of philosophy by the 1920s.

The present thesis is devoted to understanding the significance of this journal for psychology by drawing on three lines of scholarship: periodical study, the history of modern psychology (psychology testing), and science and the public. Studies on science in periodicals in China generally centered on the first half of twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> This is a noticeable timeline difference with their counterpart focusing on European areas, such as The Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, which was first published as early as 1665.<sup>6</sup> For those interested in exploring scientific knowledge and practices and their social representations in places outside the laboratory, the insight offered by the lens of periodical studies is especially clear when one

---

<sup>5</sup> Studies on Chinese scientific periodicals and their spectrums of intellectual and social influence are still sporadic. A few scientific disciplines and their related periodicals in Republican China have gained historians' attention recently. For example, on the establishment of the Geological Society of China (中国地质学会 1921 - now), and Chinese geologists' language strategies in journal article publications and their international intellectual identities, see Grace Shen, "Periodical Space: Language and the Creation of Scientific Community in Republican China," in *Science and Technology in Modern China*, Jing Tsu and Benjamin Elman, eds, Brill, 2014: 269-296; on the history of the discipline of political science, the Chinese Social and Political Science Association (中国社会政治学会) and its official journal, the Chinese Social and Political Science Review (中国社会及政治学报 1916-1941), see John H. Feng, "Disciplining China with the Scientific Study of the State: Lu Zhengxiang and the Chinese Social and Political Science Association, 1915–1920," *History of Science*, 2015, 53(1): 9-20.

<sup>6</sup> The Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* has been an attractive and productive collection of archive for historians of science. On institutional histories of both the Society and the periodical with a focus on scientific discourse and rhetorics, see Dwight Atkinson, *Scientific Discourse in Sociohistorical Context: The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975*, Routledge, 1998. For a compilation of studies devoted to the theme "science and periodicals" that broadly covered the nineteenth century, see Geoffrey Cantor, and Sally Shuttleworth eds., *Science Serialized: Representation of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, MIT Press, 2004; and for a comprehensive review of the history of scientific journals and periodicals, see Aileen Fyfe, "Chapter Twenty-Seven: Journals and Periodicals," in Bernard Lightman, ed. *A Companion to the History of Science*, John Wiley & Sons, 2016: 387-399.

periodical seems have played an active role in promoting the circulation of scientific knowledge.

One could say that focusing on a single periodical that was specialized for one discipline alone is a narrow coverage of available archive, and hence might limit the vision of a historical study. However, my approach does not mean a prescribed restriction to the sources I will reference; instead, it simply conveys an appreciation of taking a serial scientific publication as the artery for a discipline. I decided to take this approach because I believe it may provide a more comprehensive perspective about a new discipline's early history in Republican China than focusing on a single psychologist's lifelong contribution or an academic institution's linear development, especially when this periodical was the only one in the field of psychology at that time.<sup>7</sup> Examining *Xinli* in this context not only enriches our understanding of what a scientific journal would look like and how it was managed in the 1920s, but also displayed what Chinese psychologists selected to offer and what common readers might learn about this new field of knowledge. The periodical *Xinli* in this sense gains three layers of meaning to be explored. It was, first of all, a publication purposefully managed by a group of scholars returned from study in foreign countries who had just embarked on their teaching careers in China; it was also a compilation of important outcomes that exemplified these researchers' academic interests and scholar aspirations; it was, finally, a collection of special papers that recorded the earliest communications between Chinese psychological experts and the laymen readers they expected to reach.

---

<sup>7</sup> In the 1930s, several new Chinese psychology journals were instituted, including the *Journal of Central Research Institute Psychological Research Center* (中央研究院心理研究所丛刊 1932-1934), the *Half-Yearly Journal of Psychology* (心理半年刊 1934-1937), the *Quarterly Journal of Psychology* (心理季刊 1936-1937), and *The Chinese Journal of Psychology* (中国心理学报 1936-1937). For a review of publications of psychology journals in China before 1937, see Zhao Liru (赵莉如), "Psychological Journals in China before the Second Sino-Japanese War (*Zhongguo Kangri zhanzheng qian de xinlixue kanwu* 中国抗日战争前的心理学刊物)," *Journals of Developments in Psychology* (心理学动态), 1990.

## Chapter One: A Scientific Journal in 1920s China

In the preface of *Xinli*'s first issue, the editorial committee explained that their purpose in publishing the journal was to inform the Chinese people that psychology was, from the perspective of the Chinese psychological community, on one hand, the most interesting science in the world that delivers spiritual pleasure, and on the other hand, the most useful science in the world because it could be applied to many practical fields such as education, industry, business, medicine, arts, law, military, and daily life.<sup>8</sup> But for most readers beyond the expert community, what psychology was, how one would recognize it as a science, and how it came to be so interesting and useful for individuals in Chinese society were still open questions unexplained in this short manifesto. During the nearly six years of its publication (from 1922 to 1927), the format and content of the journal itself were carefully constructed and transformed. Reading *Xinli* closely as a set of rich primary sources for understanding how psychology was introduced, how research was managed, and how psychology was understood in the local context of 1920s Chinese society may help to answer those important questions.

Chapter One of this thesis will study the integrated social and cultural environment of the publication of *Xinli* as the first and sole journal for psychology in 1920s China. Considering the journal *Xinli* as representative of scientific professional periodicals, this chapter will study the journal as a practical scientific enterprise through analyzing the journal's publishing management, the early formation of its community of contributors, and its arrangement of

---

<sup>8</sup> “中华心理学会会员承认心理学自身是世上最有趣味的一种科学。他们研究，就是要得这种精神上的快乐。办这个杂志，是要别人也得同样的快乐。中华心理学会会员承认心理学是世上最有用处的一种科学：不但可以用在教育上，还可以用在实业、商业、医术、美术、法律、军事、日常生活上。他们研究，就是为求这许多的应用。办这个杂志，是要让别人也得这些应用。——本杂志宗旨。” See “Opening statement of the journal (*Ben zazhi zongzhi* 本杂志宗旨),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(1), pp. 2.

columns and articles in order to understand the significance of *Xinli* as an agency of historical transformation in promoting the young scientific discipline of psychology in 1920s China.

### 1.1 Zhonghua Books, *Xinli*, and the Publication of Scientific Journals

Rooting itself in the flourishing print culture emerging in major treaty port cities such as Shanghai and Nanjing, the journal *Xinli* exemplifies the accelerating interest in commercializing educational materials during the Republican era. As Stephen R. Mackinnon has pointed out, one important feature of the Republican Chinese press by the 1930s was “...to please an audience, expand circulation, and turn a profit.”<sup>9</sup> This differed from the earlier revolutionary endeavor for an independent Chinese press practiced by literati such as Liang Qichao during the transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The journal *Xinli* was run by Zhonghua Books [Zhong Hua Shu Ju 中华书局], a major nation-wide commercial publication company in Republican China. Since the 1910s, Zhonghua Books published textbooks for different levels of education throughout the Republic.<sup>10</sup> Among many important cultural and literary products, such as reprinted copies of ancient classics, reference books, and poetry collections, Zhonghua Books also devoted a portion of its energy to meet growing popular interests in educational, entertaining, and professional books and magazines.<sup>11</sup>

In January 1922, *Xinli*, the first journal specializing in psychology in Republican China, began its initial publication with a nation-wide circulation circle among the members of the

---

<sup>9</sup> Stephen R. MacKinnon, “Toward a History of the Chinese Press in the Republican Period,” *Modern China*, 1997, 23(1):3-32, pp.8.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Culp, “Teaching Baihua: Textbook Publishing and the Production of Vernacular Language and a New Literary Canon in Early Twentieth-Century China,” *Twentieth-Century China*, 2008, 34(1): 4-41.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* UBC Press, 2011, pp. 225-40.

Chinese Psychological Society [中华心理学会].<sup>12</sup> The journal managed to maintain a continuous but sometimes irregular run over almost six years from 1922-1927. In its first two years of publication, *Xinli* was printed seasonally, with four issues published each year. In 1924, there were three issues printed. In 1925, 1926, and 1927, there was only one issue published each year. From 1922 to 1927, there were fourteen issues of *Xinli* published and circulated in total. Over two hundred articles focusing on modern psychology were published in these fourteen issues and circulated among readers across China.

Among many new magazines which initiated their print runs in the 1910s and 1920s, *Xinli* should first be recognized as a young journal situated within a booming commercial publishing market emerging in the early Republican society that was especially interested in educational publications.<sup>13</sup> Some of these new contemporary magazines were *Chinese Educational World* [中华教育界] (1913-1950), *Secondary Education* [中等教育] (1921-1924), *Xueheng* [学衡] (1922-1933), *Natural Studies Magazine* [博物杂志] (1919-1923), *Little Friend* [小朋友] (1922-1957), and many more.<sup>14</sup> All published by Zhonghua Books, many of these magazines were printed weekly or monthly, with a few issued seasonally or semi-annually. Their prices ranged from six cents to fifty cents per issue, depending on the publishing frequency. *Xinli* kept

---

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion on the history of Chinese Psychological Society, see Li Mei-Ge and Guan Lian-Rong. "Brief Introduction of the Chinese Psychological Society," *International Journal of Psychology*, 1987, 22(4): 479-82.

<sup>13</sup> Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*, UBC Press, 2011, pp. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Information for these newly published magazines can be located through Zhonghua Books' advertisements placed in journals like *Xinli*. Also, for an overview of Zhonghua Books' newly published books, see *Zhonghua Book Monthly* [中华书局月报] 1922-1925, a short referential journal mainly printed for and circulated among employees of Zhonghua Book company.

the price for one issue at thirty cents from 1922 to 1927, which was slightly higher than other similar science magazines that were also printed seasonally by Zhonghua Books.<sup>15</sup>

Although sharing the same purpose of promoting education and popularizing science with many other journals ran by the Zhonghua Books, the scope of *Xinli*'s potential readership was relatively narrow compared with prestigious educational journals like *Kexue* [科学] or *Chinese Educational World* [中华教育界], which covered a broader range of topics and therefore attracted a larger audience.<sup>16</sup> How to survive and extend the print run in the competitive publishing market was an uncertain task for any of these newly created journals. Many of them were short-lived, some even lasting for only one to two years.

One important factor that restrains a journal's publication duration is the financial resources it can secure. Within the expanding Chinese printing press market, *Xinli*'s publishing company Zhonghua Books was one of the two most important and successful printing and publishing companies since 1912. Between 1919 and 1926, when Zhonghua Books was steadily developing under the management by Lufei Kui 陆费逵 [1866-1941], its overall financial profit

---

<sup>15</sup> See *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2), pp. 2 for an advertisement of contemporary scientific and educational journals published by Zhonghua Books. The advertisement provides prices, short introductions, publication frequencies, postages, and editorial boards for these journals. For example, it shows: twenty cents for one issue of *Secondary Education* [中等教育]; twenty five cents for one issue of *Mathematics Magazine* [数理杂志] and twenty five cents for one issue of *Physics and Chemistry Magazine* [理化杂志]. One possible explanation of Zhonghua books's price scheme of magazines is that each price was partially determined by the page numbers of the magazine. *Xinli* usually had 150-160 pages per issues and cost thirty cents, while *Secondary Education* [中等教育] was about 120-130 pages per issue so it was cheaper. Another journal, *Learned Journal of Literature and Philosophy* [文哲学报] (1922-1923), set its price at forty cents and had about 200-210 pages per issue.

<sup>16</sup> The most well-known scientific journal in early Republican China was *Kexue* (1915-1950), managed by the first scientific society in China, 中国科学社 (1915-1959). The journal was printed by another main press house, Commercial Press 商务印书馆, during the journal's early years. For a discussion on the organization and development of *Kexue*, see Wang Zuoyue, "Saving China through Science: The Science Society of China, Scientific Nationalism, and Civil Society in Republican China," *Osiris*, 2002, 17:291-322. As the second major press house in early Republican China, Zhonghua Books initiated eight journals during the early Republican era, which were characteristically titled by "Zhonghua", after the print house's brand. Among the eight journals, *Chinese Educational World* 中华教育界(1913-1950) was one of the earliest and most influential educational journals circulated in Republican era. See Shi Wei, "The Eight Magazines of Zhonghua Book Company in the Early Republic of China," *Library and information service*, 2011, 55(19):26-29.

increased to 200,000 yuan and expanded sub-branches in nine new cities.<sup>17</sup> *Xinli* was operated during this same period, which indicated it was supported with a relatively sufficient operating funding from the expanding Zhonghua Books company.

Meanwhile, *Xinli* also contained advertisements for Zhonghua Books' other magazines and products, including dictionaries, textbooks, newspapers, philosophy books, English language tapes, pocket books of short fiction, brochures for self-healing and hygiene, reference books for sexual education, maps of China and the world, and many other materials. It is not clear whether these advertisements placed in *Xinli* constituted part of *Xinli*'s operating revenue.<sup>18</sup> *Xinli* itself was also advertised in other similar educational journals within the cooperative advertisement network run by Zhonghua Books. Promoting related educational readings and journals published by the same publishing company as a business strategy was commonly seen in magazines and journals operated by not only Zhonghua Books, but also by Commercial Press [商务印书馆], their biggest competitor in Republican China.

## 1.2 Early Formation of the Chinese Psychological Society and its Organization of *Xinli*

A sense of organizing a recognized community of psychology practitioners was developed at the very early stage of *Xinli*'s publication. While the journal's printing and circulation were managed by Zhonghua Books, the editorial staff that took full responsibility

---

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion on Zhonghua Books's company history, see Chapter Five of "Gutenberg in Shanghai." The information of increased profit and extended branches between 1919-1926 can be found on pp. 238.

<sup>18</sup> Considering that the categories of advertisements placed in *Xinli* were all Zhonghua Books's textbooks, journals, dictionaries, and other educational products, it differed with other magazines which carried advertisements for outside goods beyond the publication and printing circle it belonged to. For example, Joan Judge studies the advertisements placed in *Funü shibao*. She points out that these advertisements covered a much larger group of products, such as soaps, eyeglasses, gems, Chinese medicines, and many more personal goods. As high as 41 percent of advertisements in *Funü shibao* were not for works of the magazine's publisher press, the Youzheng Book Company. These advertisements for outside goods provided some of *Funü shibao*'s funding resources. See Joan Judge, *Republican Lens: Gender, Visuality, and Experience in the Early Chinese Periodical Press*, University of California Press, 2015, pp. 18 and pp. 28.



for the journal's content was operated by the Chinese Psychological Society [中华心理学会].<sup>19</sup> The relationship between the Society and the journal, according to Zhang Yaoxiang, the chief editor of *Xinli*, was that “the journal [was] the speech agency for the Chinese Psychological Society. The Chinese Psychological Society [was] especially operated for the network among Chinese psychology professionals and psychology researchers.”<sup>20</sup>

In August 1921, a summer school for students majoring in education was organized in the Nanjing Higher Normal School [南京高等师范].<sup>21</sup> During the event, many students proposed to found a society for psychology after they took classes and learned of the significant connection between education studies and psychology. The resulting Chinese Psychological Society included one hundred members at its inception, many of whom were students, and also a few faculty members attending this summer school in Nanjing. Zhang Yaoxiang [张耀翔], Chen Heqin [陈鹤琴], Liao Shicheng [廖世承], and Lu Zhiwei [陆志韦] were the Society's earliest founders and members. It is clear that the Society, from its earliest formation, was constituted by both active college students and psychology professionals.

Zhang Yaoxiang [张耀翔], who at that time had been teaching psychology at the Peking Higher Normal College [北京高等师范] since 1920, was elected the first president of the newly founded Chinese Psychological Society. Soon, he also became the chief-editor of *Xinli*. The

---

<sup>19</sup> Since 1907, when overseas Chinese students in Paris founded the first Chinese scientific society “Chinese Chemistry Society”, many more scientific societies were established during the Republican era. Meanwhile, scientific societies usually launched their own affiliated periodicals such as *Xinli*, and the publication and management of these journals were the main activities of these societies. For a comprehensive discussion and a survey of scientific societies in Republican China and their journal publications, see Zhang Jian (张剑), *Zhongguo jindai kexue yu kexue tizhi hua* (中国近代科学与科学体制化, *the Developments and Institutionalization of Science in Modern China*), Sichuan People's Press, 2008, Chapter 6.

<sup>20</sup> “Ben zazhi zongzhi” (本杂志宗旨, Opening Statement of the Journal), *Xinli*, 1922, 1(1), pp.2.

<sup>21</sup> “Zhonghua xinli xuehui qingxing: fubiao” (中华心理学会情形: 附表, The Current Status of Chinese Psychological Society: with Appendix), *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* (中华教育界), 1922, 11(7), Appendix 119-20.

editorial work for the journal was managed from an office at the Peking Higher Normal School. At that time, a general laboratory equipped with two rooms for psychology students was also built at the school.<sup>22</sup> Some time in early March of 1922, about six months after the first establishment of the Chinese Psychological Society in the Nanjing summer school, nearly eighty-five members of the society gathered together in the central park of Beijing, participating the Society's first semi-annual meeting.<sup>23</sup>

According to the General Regulations of the Chinese Psychological Society, new members were admitted by recommendations from two senior members, followed by an initial check conducted by the Society. Membership required an annual membership fee of two yuan<sup>24</sup> and at least one contribution to the Society's journal *Xinli*. The journal was circulated among its members, who received all of the Society's publications as a benefit of membership. An annual meeting for all members was scheduled each summer, and a semi-annual meeting was convened for the Society's working staff.<sup>25</sup>

Two aspects of these general regulations help to estimate the intellectual influence of *Xinli*. First, given that the journal was an affiliated publication of the Chinese Psychological Society, most of its anticipated subscribers and contributors were the Society's own members. Due to the lack of records of the society's annual membership or *Xinli*'s subscribers, the exact scope of subscribers and contributors to the journal is unclear. In addition, subscriptions and

---

<sup>22</sup> Zhao Liru (赵莉如), "Zuizao de zhonghua xinli xuehui he kangri zhangzheng qian de zhongguo xinli xuehui" (最早的中华心理学会和抗日战争前的中国心理学会 The earliest Chinese Psychological Society and the Chinese Psychological Society before the Second Sino-Japanese War, *Journal of Developments in Psychology: Special Issue on the Origin and Developments of Modern Psychology in China*, 1990).

<sup>23</sup> See "Zhonghua xinli xuehui zai Beijing zhongyang gongyuan kaihui jinian zhaopian" (中华心理学会在北京中央公园开会纪念照片, The Photos For the Meeting of the Chinese Psychological Society in Beijing Central Park), *xin jiaoyu* (新教育), 1922, 4(3):8. I counted the total number of attendees of this meeting was eight-five in this picture.

<sup>24</sup> One *yuan* equals ten *jiao*; one *jiao* equals ten *fen* [cents]. *Xinli* costs three *jiao* per issue as a seasonal journal, thus the membership fee was eight *jiao* higher than the total cost of *Xinli*'s four issues per year.

<sup>25</sup> "Zhonghua xinli xuehui qingxing: fubiao" (中华心理学会情形: 附表, The Current Status of Chinese Psychological Society: Appendix), *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* (中华教育界), 1922, 11(7), appendix 119-20.

contributions were part of the substance of maintaining a valid membership of the Chinese Psychological Society. As we will see from the list of contributors in Appendix B, although annual contributions were required by *Xinli* from all members of the Chinese Psychological Society, most of the main articles in the first two to three years were contributed by psychology experts, teachers, and educators. Through the Society's membership regulations, the Society played an important role in generating a relatively tight-knit circle for those seriously interested in psychology by setting several entrance requirements and issuing membership fees. Its student members also gradually grew into the younger generation of psychology scholars in China. Contributions from students are rare in *Xinli's* early issues, but more are published by Volume 3 and Volume 4 from 1925 to 1927.

The overall formation of a regular writers' community for *Xinli* was influenced by the method of specialization taken on by this new journal. Instead of organizing the journal as an amalgam of different pieces from many related scientific disciplines, which was a method broadly applied in many science journals during 1920s China, *Xinli* was distinctive in its exclusive specialization in psychology.<sup>26</sup> Before the formal publication of the journal *Xinli*, many articles discussing topics pertain to psychology were randomly published in various contemporary magazines, journals, and newspapers. In 1921, for example, one year before the publication of *Xinli*, articles titled with the term "psychology [心理]" were published

---

<sup>26</sup> Many academic journals with a specializing disciplinary focus were published by their matching scholarly societies in Republican China. For more examples, see Zhang Jian (张剑), *Zhongguo jindai kexue yu kexue tizhi hua* (中国近代科学与科学体制化, the Developments and Institutionalization of Science in Modern China), Sichuan People's Press, 2008, Chapter 6.

sporadically by *The Eastern Miscellany* [东方杂志],<sup>27</sup> *Education Collection* [教育丛刊],<sup>28</sup> *Chung Hwa Educational Review* [中华教育界],<sup>29</sup> *Medicine Magazine* [医学杂志],<sup>30</sup> *The Magazine of Natural History* [博物杂志],<sup>31</sup> *Education Bulletin* [教育公报],<sup>32</sup> *Supplement to the Morning Post* [晨报副刊],<sup>33</sup> and many others. Moreover, after the establishment of the journal *Xinli* in 1922, although there were some articles on psychology also published by other magazines, such as *The Peking University Daily* [北京大学日刊], *Supplement to the Morning Post* [晨报副刊], and *The Educational Review* [教育杂志], the main stream of psychological writings was conveyed by *Xinli*, indicating the journal's significance in generating a recognized academic space intended especially for psychology scholars' writings.

A relatively close circle of contributors for *Xinli* was already emerging with the earliest publication of *Xinli* in 1922, and these writers were separated from those who were writing about psychology for other magazines or newspapers. For example, since 1921, writers who

---

<sup>27</sup> For example, “*Zhaopian, Xinli ceyan fa: yi dianliu ceyan xinli shi zhi qingzhuang*” (照片心理测验法：以电流测验心理时之情状, A Method of Testing Psychological Condition with Electric Current), *dongfang zazhi* (东方杂志), 1921, 18(8): 108; Zhu Guangqian (朱光潜), “*fu lu de de qianyishi shuo yu xinli fenxi*” (福鲁德的潜意识说与心理分析, Freud's Theory on the Unconscious and Psycho-Analysis), *dongfang zazhi* (东方杂志), 1921, 18(14):41-51.

<sup>28</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), “*xinlixue gongxian*” (心理学贡献. The Contribution of Psychology), *jiaoyu congkan* (教育丛刊), 1921, 2(3):1-16, and 2(4):1-12.

<sup>29</sup> Wang Yinmin (王引民), “*Chuji shifan xuexiao xinli jiaoshou de yijian*” (初级师范学校心理教授的意见 Some Suggestions from Psychology Teachers in Junior Normal Schools), *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* (中华教育界), 1921, 11(4): 9-20.

<sup>30</sup> Yang Baicheng (杨百城) and Zhao Yikong (赵意空), “*Yi an men: gudai yi an — guanyu xinli liaozhi zhi fa*” (医案门：古代医案——关于心理疗治之法, Ancient Medical Cases of Psychological Treatments), *Yixue zazhi* (医学杂志), 1921, 1:83.

<sup>31</sup> Yuan Xicong (袁喜聪), “*Dongwu xinli sue shang ahi san da pai*” (动物心理学上之三大派, Three Doctrines in the Psychology of Animals), *Bo wu zazhi* (博物杂志), 1921, 4:22-9.

<sup>32</sup> John Dewey (杜威), “*Jiaoyu zhi xinli de yaosu*” (教育之心理的要素, The Elements of Educational Psychology), *Jiaoyu gongbao* (教育公报), 1921, 8(11):120-5.

<sup>33</sup> Nan Chenxi (南晨曦), “*Kexue tan: xinli xue zatan*” (科学谈：心理学杂谈, Discussions on Psychology), *Chenbao fukan* (晨报副刊), 1921, Nov.4 -Dec 31.

contributed frequently to *The Peking University Daily* [北京大学日刊] were Li Rong [李溶],<sup>34</sup> Mary Theodora Whitley [魏脱来],<sup>35</sup> and Guo Renyuan [郭任远],<sup>36</sup> as important contemporary psychology scholars who had not been contributors of *Xinli*; and those writing for *The Educational Review* [教育杂志] were Du Zuozhou [杜佐周],<sup>37</sup> and Gao Zhuo [高卓],<sup>38</sup> who had never contributed to *Xinli* either.

### 1.3 *Xinli*'s Columns and the Method of Specialization [分工]

With the enhanced sense of community growing with *Xinli*'s circulation, *Xinli*'s own writers also followed the method of specialization in research fields. This division of research fields were directly shown through the journal's thematic columns. The first issue of 1922 included eight thematic columns: History [历史], Biography [传记], General Psychology [普通心理], Children's Psychology [儿童心理], Abnormal Psychology [变态心理], Intelligence Test [智力测验], Education Test [教育测验], and Introduction [介绍]. For example, under the History column, These eight columns represented the earliest basic framework of how the journal was constructed.

In later issues, the early pattern of these eight columns was not consistently adopted, but part of these eight columns was usually applied to the journal's overall structure. For

---

<sup>34</sup> Li Rong (李溶, 1870-1940) was a politician in the Republic of China and was well known as the Governor of Xinjiang Province.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Theodora Whitley (魏脱来, 1878-1956) was a British author, an educator, and a professor in psychology taught in Columbia University.

<sup>36</sup> Guo Renyuan (郭任远, 1898-1970) was a Chinese experimental and a physiological psychologist. He was also an educator and was the President of Zhejiang University from 1933 to 1936.

<sup>37</sup> Du Zuozhou (杜佐周, 1895-1974) was a Chinese educator and an expert in educational psychology.

<sup>38</sup> Gao Zhuo (高卓, 1896-1993) was a psychologist with special interests in the education of psychology and the history of psychology. He also published articles with the name Gao Juefu (高觉敷).

example, there were seven to twelve different thematic columns in each issue; each column contained between one and five (but generally two to three) articles that were considered to be closely thematically related by the editorial committee. Meanwhile, many new thematic columns were continuously added to the basic pattern in the following issues. Articles exploring new topics were seen in almost every issue of *Xinli*. Thus, except for the last two issues published in 1926 and 1927, two or more new thematic columns were installed in almost every issue to fittingly match with and categorize new articles. Indeed, the second issue of 1922 added two columns titled “Illustration [插图]” and “Experiment Psychology [实验心理].” The third issue of 1922 added four new columns titled “Animal Psychology [动物心理],” “Educational Psychology [教育心理],” “Research [研究],” and “Communication [通讯].” The last issue of 1922 added “Various Schools of Psychology” [各家心理] and “Career Assessment [职业测验].” The first issue of 1923 added “Senior Psychology [老年心理]” and “Social Psychology [社会心理].” The second issue of 1923 added “Adolescent Psychology [青年心理]” and “Religious Psychology [宗教心理].” The fourth issue of 1923 added “Psychology Terminology [心理名词]” and “Psychology News [心理界闻].” The second issue of 1924 added “Readers’ Forum [读者论坛].” The fourth issue of 1924 was printed in the July of 1925, bringing approximately a half year delay of the expected seasonal publication schedule. This last issue of *Xinli* added “Business Psychology [商业心理]” and “Art Psychology [美术心理].”<sup>39</sup> These newly added columns did not consistently appear in *Xinli*; instead, the emergence of them was more like a random decision according to the content of articles received and selected for a

---

<sup>39</sup> For a full list of all fourteen issues’ index, please see Appendix A. This list is an accurate reproduction from original copies of *Xinli*’s table of contents.

certain issue. This arrangement of temporarily selected column structure reveals that *Xinli*'s contributions were possibly not pre-invited or the content of their contributions was not restricted to certain fields. The contributors enjoyed their relatively free choice in topic selections and the editors adopted a flexible way to arrange its columns.

Within this increasing tendency of setting up new columns, there was also a steady flow of articles in *Xinli* from a relatively consistent group of contributors under a certain thematic column. According to one copy of *Xinli*'s printed advertisement placed in another science journal, *Chung Hwa Educational Review* [中华教育界] (which was also run by the Zhonghua Books), *Xinli*'s community of psychology practitioners clearly stated their agreement on this method of "specialization" or "labor division" [分工] among themselves, which means one scholar is focused on one specific field of psychology. *Xinli* announced that: "In fact, the method of specialization [adopted by *Xinli*] is the herald [第一声] in the Chinese journal circle. The way our articles were organized and published also influenced other Chinese magazines, urging them to adopt the same method of specialization in organizing articles contributed to their journals."<sup>40</sup> According to Appendix B,<sup>41</sup> Chen Heqin 陈鹤琴 was especially focused on psychological studies of children; Huang Gongjue 黄公觉 contributed to the column "Biography"; Wei Zhong 卫中 published six out of seven articles for the column "Educational Psychology"; Lu Zhiwei 陆志韦 contributed four articles named as "The History of Psychology" for the column "History".

---

<sup>40</sup> This piece of *Xinli*'s advertisement is seen in *Chung Hwa Educational Review*, 1922, 7(11), pp. 7, "实吾国杂志界趋向分工之第一声."

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix B, a list for all contributors' articles and columns in *Xinli*.

*Xinli*'s writers also paid close attention to the sequential arrangement of their columns and articles. As this problem is discussed at a very early stage of the journal's preparation by the chief editor of *Xinli*, it is possible that this arrangement was a result of many writers' requests for a formal clarification about which column should be displayed at the beginning of the journal or whose articles should be the first one positioned within a specific column. Because the positions in the sequence of both columns and articles might be understood by writers of *Xinli* as a marker of their article's relative importance, as a judgment of their article's quality, or as potential evidence of a research "hierarchy" among these scholars, the editor Zhang Yaoxiang responded to this concern directly. As seen from the following quotation, the basic method of how to decide the sequence of columns for each issue, as well as the sequence of articles subordinated to each column, was also informed by the method of specialization [分工]. The solution was specifically settled in their second issue of 1922 by the editorial committee of *Xinli* as follows:

"The standards that this journal used to decide the sequence of articles purely dependent on their topics: general psychology first and speciality after, theory first and application after, normal psychology first and abnormal psychology after, individual psychology first and mass psychology after. If more than two articles appear within one column, then the sequence [of articles] is decided by the timeliness of each article's arguments, or by each article's date of submission as our standards. But we never decide the sequence by judging the value of articles as our standards. Readers' understanding [of this issue] is appreciated."<sup>42</sup>

This method seems to be a fair and balanced solution to arrange these articles, especially when some of them have diversified research focuses regarding their new research topics that may give the editors many difficulties in deciding the proper sequence of articles

---

<sup>42</sup> "本杂志启事一：本杂志诸文位置之先后，纯以题目为标准：先普通后专门，先理论后实用，由常态而变态，由个人而群众。一门之内，遇有两篇以上时，则以诸篇理论的先后，或以稿件收到的先后为标准，惟不以文章之价值为标准，阅者谅之。" *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2), pp.7.



and columns, or compiling new columns for them. However, even with this solution, the factual content of these articles can be hard to categorize. One article can usually be categorized any number of ways, and the sequence of columns or articles may also change as a result. For example, some articles labeled under the column of “abnormal psychology” also can be labeled as strongly “theory”-informed articles; similarly, some articles placed in the column of “children’s psychology” possibly belong to “mass psychology” as well, and sometimes are more likely to be “theory” oriented, while at other times to be “application” informed.

Thus, these categories should be best understood as a collectively approved structure developed by *Xinli*’s writers during the 1920s. This structure is about how the field of psychology as a whole can be defined and framed properly through applying the method of specialization that have been listed above, such as the pair “general psychology and special psychology,” or the pair “normal psychology and abnormal psychology.” This cognitive structure ultimately was put into effect as a practical solution which was accepted by most *Xinli*’s writers, and later issues of *Xinli* published in the following years mostly took on this method to organized their articles.

## Chapter Two: Testing Chinese Minds with the Scientific Method

A substantial portion of *Xinli*'s articles are about various forms of psychological testing. A typical article for psychological testing published in *Xinli* is usually titled as “XX Testing [某某测验]” or “XX Experiment [某某试验]”. Its content includes a sample report of a series of implemented tests and the outcomes, with explanation on the origin of the testing and its scope of application, testing procedures, calculation of test data, and an explanatory conclusion. This chapter provides a careful examination of some of the tests published in *Xinli*, focusing on three scholars' articles on psychological testing and looking into the factors that influenced how these tests were produced, managed, and interpreted in a local social environment.

### 2.1 The Rise of Psychology Testing in Republican China

Articles focusing on testing published by *Xinli* cover a wide range of themes. In early issues of *Xinli*, there are articles about intelligence tests [智力测验], Courtis' arithmetic test [科提士算学测验],<sup>43</sup> education tests [教育测验], literacy tests [识字试验], geometric illusion experiments [几何错觉试验], eight-trigram tests [八卦试验], phonetic transcription tests [注

---

<sup>43</sup> Stuart Appleton Courtis (1874-1969) was an American scholar whose research and teaching activities focused on public education in twentieth century America. One of his most important contribution to the school system and higher education was the “arithmetic test” published in 1909. The test was translated into Chinese and published in *Xinli*'s first issue in 1922. For Courtis' biography and his work on educational testing, see Ervin V. Johanningmeier “The transformation of Stuart Appleton Courtis: Test maker and progressive,” *American Educational History Journal*, 2004, 31(2), pp. 202.

音试验], reading tests [读法测验], the Binest-Simon test [皮奈西门测验],<sup>44</sup> knowledge tests [见闻试验], and many more.<sup>45</sup> According to information in the contents page of each issues and by looking at their content, there were at least thirty-five articles focused on psychology testing and many of these titled as “XX 测验”, “XX 试验”, or “XX 实验”. These tests generally used various kinds of reading materials and printed them in *Xinli* as a basis of statistical analysis on sample populations to determine their states of intelligence, school performance, or other psychological characteristics. Articles focused on these tests aimed at providing useful tools for a wide range of scholars and teachers in local primary schools, high schools, or higher normal schools to carry out their own psychological research.

These tests were important components of *Xinli*, and were much valued by psychologists and educators themselves at the early reception.<sup>46</sup> In 1920, for instance, Zhang Yaoxiang [张耀翔] confirmed the importance of psychology testing by recognizing its significance in the national educational reforms: “the intelligence test is preliminary to the reforms that are now transforming [Chinese] education to be scientific, and is also pioneering in making up the intelligence metric in China.”<sup>47</sup> In 1921, Chen Heqin [陈鹤琴] also advocated

---

<sup>44</sup> The Binest-Simon Test was published by Alfred Binet and his colleague Théodore Simon in 1905 in France. The test was created as a scientific tool to determine the degrees of intelligence of normal minds and diagnose deviations from the normal state of mind. In application, there are a series of 30 tests, and their testing results are calibrated through Binest-Simon’s metric scale of intelligence. The Binest-Simon Test experienced several revisions since its first publication, and it quickly spread to other countries in 1910s and 1920s. For more on the history of the Binest-Simon Test and its reception in America during the early twentieth century, see John Carson, *The Measure of Merit: Talents, Intelligence, and Inequality in the French and American Republics, 1750-1940*, Princeton University Press, 2007.

<sup>45</sup> Articles on these tests can be easily recognized by reading their titles published in *Xinli*.

<sup>46</sup> Unlike the modern psychiatry that was transferred through various paths into the late imperial and early Republican China as a discipline of knowledge which was closely related to Western medicine, clinical treatment, asylums and hospitals, modern psychology and psychological testing were more closely tied to the new education reforms and schooling system in Republican China. For more on the development of modern psychiatry in China, see Howard Chiang ed., *Psychiatry and Chinese History, Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine, vol. 21*, Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

<sup>47</sup> The original Chinese text is “智慧测量是改造教育为一种科学之初步，是制造中国智慧度量衡之先声。” See Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), “Intelligence Test (*Zhihui ce liang*, 智慧测量),” *Jiao yu cong kan* (教育丛刊), 1920, 4:14-22.

psychological testing as the sole scientific method for education practice, stating that “only the psychology testing that we are lecturing about nowadays is the scientific method, and it is the newest and most powerful tool for education. Although psychology testing was only developed within ten years or so, it should be considered as the field that has developed fastest in recent six or seven years.”<sup>48</sup>

Many of the articles on psychology testing published by *Xinli* are the main articles in the issue they are printed in. They are usually longer than ten pages and sometimes run over twenty pages. A typical article of this kind is printed with not only a detailed report of completed sets of experiments, but also including sections devoted to the author’s detailed instructions for preparation and procedure, tables of data collected from a group of students taking the test as examples, and the process of calculating the data collected.<sup>49</sup> In addition, unlike many of the articles published in the earlier period of *Xinli* that have titles in the form of “XX test [测验]” explicitly, some articles appearing in later issues discussed these tests without being titled in a way that would indicate as much. These early articles on testing gradually generated a major writing method which underpinned the importance of applying statistical analysis in psychological papers, and it was followed in many later publications of *Xinli*.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, early publications of psychology tests helped transform later

---

<sup>48</sup> The original Chinese text is “惟今日所欲讲的心理测验，才是科学的方法，在教育上算是最新的利器。不过心理测验的发达，还只是十几年以内的事，而在最近的六七年算最发达”。 See Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), “Psychology Test (*Xin li ce yan*, 心理测验),” *Jiao yu za zhi* (教育杂志), 1921, 13(11):61-70

<sup>49</sup> See for example, Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), “The Methods about Investigating Children’s Aesthetic Feeling of Color (*Yanjiu ertong de yanse meigan zhi fangfa*, 研究儿童的颜色美感之方法),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

<sup>50</sup> See for example: Cheng Junying (程俊英), “Psychology: the Attention and Interest of Poets, (*Putong xinli: shiren zhi zhuyi ji xingqu*, 普通心理：诗人之注意及兴趣),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(1); Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), “Social Psychology: the Superstition of Chinese (*Shehui xinli: guoren zhi mixin*, 社会心理：国人之迷信),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(2); Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), “Children Psychology: the Suggestibility of Children (*ertong xinli: ertong de anshi xing*, 儿童心理：儿童的暗示性),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(3).

understandings of “testing” as a convenient tool internal to the writing of psychology reports in securing test results and further explanations.

A group of Republican psychology scholars also shared a strong interest in psychology tests, including Zhang Yaoxiang [张耀翔], Chen Heqin [陈鹤琴], Liao Shicheng [廖世承], Du Zuozhou [杜佐周], Cheng Shikui [程时焯] and more. There were collective activities and small-scale institutions initiated specially for psychology testing. As early as 1922, a “Chinese Standard Intelligence Testing Cluster at Dongnan University [东大中国标准智能测验团]”<sup>51</sup> visited members of the Chinese Psychological Society in Yangzhou [扬州]. In 1923, A “Psychology Education Testing Group [心理教育测验组]” that was affiliated to the newly founded “Chinese Education Improving Institute [中华教育改进社]”, attended the Institute’s annual meetings in Jinan [济南].<sup>52</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang [张耀翔], chief editor of *Xinli*, and Chen Heqin [陈鹤琴], senior writer of *Xinli*, showed especially keen interest in performing psychology tests in public schools throughout China, and they were also members of the “Psychology Education Testing Group [心理教育测验组].” Although this group was a minor division subordinate to the “Chinese Education Improving Institute [中华教育改进社]”, some firm policies were proposed and outlined by the Institute in 1922, documenting officially to the “Ministry of Education of Republican China [中华民国教育部]” that the Institute required “every school of Republican China to not avoid or resist the testing activity performed by the

---

<sup>51</sup> “The Photograph of Chinese Psychological Society’s Reception for Chinese Standard Intelligence Testing Cluster at Dongnan University, (中华心理学会扬州会员欢迎东大中国标准智能测验团摄影),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(1): picture 3.

<sup>52</sup> “The Photograph of the First Annual Conference of Chinese Education Improving Institute in Jinan (中华教育改进社在济南开第一次年会 - 心理教育测验组像),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(2): picture 1.

‘psychology education testings group,’ and to be obligated to assist their research being carried out freely.”<sup>53</sup> However, there was a growing divergence between their agendas of carrying out psychology testing in 1920s China, evidenced in their publications in *Xinli*. The following analysis is focused on articles written respectively by three senior authors of *Xinli*, all of whom were established Chinese scholars and had been writing main articles for *Xinli* since its earliest publication. They are the chief editor of *Xinli*, Zhang Yaoxiang [张耀翔]; psychology professor at Dongnan University, Lu Zhiwei [陆志韦]; and another psychology professor at Dongnan University, Chen Heqin [陈鹤琴]. Through this analysis, we will see these three Republican psychologists’ different expectations of promoting psychology testing.

## 2.2 Three Psychologists’ Expectations

Zhang Yaoxiang [张耀翔] was born in 1893 in a treaty port city along the Yangtze River - Hankou [汉口] of Hubei province in central China. During Zhang’s early education, he was endorsed and supported by a visiting missionary from the United States who was teaching in Hankou’s Wenhua school [文华学校]. In 1913, when Zhang was twenty years old, his missionary teacher encouraged him to take the opportunity of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program and prepare to study abroad. In the following two years, Zhang Yaoxiang was studying in the Tsinghua University preparatory course and was close friend with Liao Shicheng [廖世承], who was also studying there and shared the same interest in improving Chinese national education. In 1915, Zhang began his study at Columbia University in New York City, where he studied psychology as his major. In 1920, when the Dean of Beijing Higher

---

<sup>53</sup> Yang Elian (杨鄂联), Fang Yongzheng (方永蒸), Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), “Minute of Discussion Session No. 17: Psychology Education Testings Group (分组会议记录: 第十七, 心理教育测验组),” *The New Education (Xin jiao yu, 新教育)*, 1922, 5(3):251-2.

Normal School [北京高等师范学校] Chen Baoquan [陈宝泉] was visiting New York universities and prompted Chinese overseas students to devote themselves to Chinese national education, Zhang decided to finish his five years of study in the US and return to China. He obtained a master's degree in psychology at Columbia University before his return.<sup>54</sup>

Zhang had been writing articles for Chinese magazines as early as 1915. His articles published after 1920 gradually changed to discussion of practicing psychological research in Chinese society instead of his earlier commentaries, which were more focused on current affairs.<sup>55</sup> Upon his return to China, Zhang wrote several articles introducing recent social environment in the United States<sup>56</sup>, comparing the poor people living in Chinese society with those in the United States<sup>57</sup>, arguing against contemporary social reforms in China<sup>58</sup>, and criticizing Chinese traditional values and patriarchalism.<sup>59</sup> Since 1920, he began to write more articles about intelligence tests<sup>60</sup>, comparisons between common people and great thinkers<sup>61</sup>,

---

<sup>54</sup> Xu Fang (徐方), "My Grandfather Zhang Yaoxiang (忆外公张耀翔)," *Ge jie* (各界), 2016, 11:35-8.

<sup>55</sup> Zhang's early articles can be found in Chinese magazines such as *Liu mei xue sheng ji bao* (留美学生季报), *Science (Kexue, 科学)*, and *La Jeunesse(Xin qing nian 新青年)*.

<sup>56</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "The Recent American Society (*Meiguo shehui zui xin qingxing*, 美国社会最近情形), part 1, 2, 3," *Science (Kexue, 科学)*, 1918, 4(3, 4, 5).

<sup>57</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "The Poor of Slums in American, (*Meiguo pin yuan zhong zhi pin min*, 美国贫院中之贫民)," *Liu mei xuesheng jibao* (留美学生季报), 1920, 7(2).

<sup>58</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "The Reforms Have not Been Done, (*Ying gailiang er wei gailiang zhe*, 应改良而未改良者), part 1, 2," *Liu mei xuesheng jibao* (留美学生季报), 1919, 6(2-3).

<sup>59</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "Discussion: about the Domineering Parents in Chinese Culture (读者论坛: 论吾国父母之专横)," *La Jeunesse(Xin qing nian 新青年)*, 1918, 5(6).

<sup>60</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "Intelligence Test: a Method to Make Education More Scientific and a First Step of Measuring Chinese Intelligence, (智慧测量: 是改造教育为一种科学之初步, 是制造中国智慧度量衡之先声)," *Education Collection* (教育丛刊), 1920, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "The Difference between Great Thinkers and Common People (大思想家与常人不同处)," *Liu mei xue sheng ji bao* (留美学生季报), 1920, 7(4).

smart or slow children<sup>62</sup>, and new methods of compiling standard examinations for Chinese education.<sup>63</sup>

These articles can be generally categorized as focusing on two fundamental questions: the first one is how to know people's minds better and then improve them through psychological research; and the second is what psychology's contribution to Chinese education might be. These two questions are in fact intertwined with each other, and together they indicate that the basis of Zhang's psychological research is his emphasis on psychology's utility to Chinese society, which was preconditioned by his understanding of how the new education aimed at improving the citizens of a nation-state can be realized by diagnosing individual's psychological abilities and intelligence. These two questions, together with his special focus on measuring Chinese common people (usually young students in middle schools and colleges) broadly, were aimed at producing new methods of compiling national examinations in order to guide educational reforms in Republican China. Collecting various kinds of psychological testing result was indeed important for Zhang, and was the primary concern ran through his research and teaching at Beijing Higher Normal School.

Lu Zhiwei [陆志韦] was born in 1894, and grew up in his hometown of Nanxun [南浔镇] in Zhejiang Province. In 1910, he began his higher education at Dongwu University [东吴大学], a missionary school in Soochow, and earned a scholarship that supported his study abroad in the United States in 1916. After four years of studying psychology abroad, he also

---

<sup>62</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "The Slowest and Smartest Children in the World (世上最呆与最聪明的儿童)," *Research of preschool education that carried out in Peking women's higher normal college (Beijing nv gaoshi youzhi jiaoyu de yanjiu 北京女高师幼稚教育的研究)*, 1920, 1.

<sup>63</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), "The Contributions of Psychology, part 1-5", *Education Selections (教育丛刊)*, 1921, 2(1-4); and Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), Cao Peiyan (曹配言), "Lecture: New Standard Examinations, part 1-5, (讲演: 新法考试)," *Supplement to Morning News (Chenbao fukan 晨报副刊)*, 1921, Nov. 9, 10, 11, 12, and 16.



graduated in 1920 (the same year as Zhang Yaoxiang), but Lu obtained a PhD degree from the University of Chicago.<sup>64</sup> Shortly after his return to China, he started to teach psychology at Dongnan University [东南大学] in Nanjing, which was later combined with Nanjing Higher Normal School in 1921. At Dongnan University, Lu Zhiwei was teaching in the department of education, within the Faculty of Letters and Sciences [文理科].<sup>65</sup>

Similarly, Lu Zhiwei also engaged in writing for various kinds of magazines and journals after his return from the United States. In his articles, he shows strong interest in reforming education and promoting psychology, a shared expectation with Zhang Yaoxiang. The general approach of Lu's analysis is to introduce established theories in the fields of psychology or education and compare their differences in order to distinguish their respective perspectives on a special terminology in psychological or educational research. For example, Lu clearly stated that, in order to distinguish the "functionalism school" and the "structuralism school", the most efficient way is to look at how they developed their arguments about the notion of "attention".<sup>66</sup> In the same paper, Lu also considered the careful examination of different schools of psychological theories in history to be an important method for studying contemporary psychology.<sup>67</sup> In fact, among the seven articles Lu contributed to *Xinli*, a series of four articles introduced the history of modern psychology to *Xinli*'s readers, dating back from introducing Ancient Greeks such as Plato and Aristotle to the "Test Movement" initiated by

---

<sup>64</sup> Lu Zhiwei, "The Conditions of Retention," *Psychological Review*, 1922, 31(3).

<sup>65</sup> Ding Panshi (丁磐石), "Reminiscences of the President of Yenching University, Lu Zhiwei (*Yi Yanjing Daxue xiaozhang Lu Zhiwei* 忆燕京大学校长陆志韦)," *China Through the Ages (Yan huang chun qiu, 炎黄春秋)*, 2008, 4:49-54.

<sup>66</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦), "On 'The Methodology of Psychology, part 1' by Xin Li (*Ping xinli "xinlixue fangfalun zhiyi"* 评心力<心理学方法论之一>)," *Science (Kexue 科学)*, 1922, 7(5):417-25.

<sup>67</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦), "On 'The Methodology of Psychology, part 1' by Xin Li (*Ping xinli "xinlixue fangfalun zhiyi"* 评心力<心理学方法论之一>)," *Science (Kexue 科学)*, 1922, 7(5):417-25.

French psychologist Alfred Binet (1857-1911) from the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>68</sup> Largely following American psychologist James Mark Baldwin's work, the structure of the history of modern psychology written by Lu for *Xinli* was categorized by different schools. Under each school, the works of leading psychologists were introduced chronologically.<sup>69</sup>

Lu also wrote two articles for *Xinli* directly addressing psychological tests, one about the geometric illusion experiment [几何错觉试验]<sup>70</sup>, the other a translation of J.B. Watson and Rosalie Rayner's notorious experimental report of the Little Albert's stimulus generalization.<sup>71</sup> However, compared with Zhang Yaoxiang's enthusiasm in applying psychological testings to evaluate common people concerning their intelligence or examination performance, Lu's purpose in his discussion of psychological testings was quite different. For example, the original article written by Lu Zhiwei about the geometric illusion experiment [几何错觉试验], mentioned above, was a series of geometric illusion tests using the Müller-Lyer illusion<sup>72</sup> as testing material. It was administered to students from Dongnan University [东南大学] and from the affiliated primary school of Nanjing Higher Normal College [南京高等师范附属小

---

<sup>68</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦), "The History of Psychology (*Xinlixue shi* 心理学史)," *Xinli*, 1922, 1(1,2,4) and 1923, 2(1).

<sup>69</sup> At the end of his first article on the history of psychology that published in the first issue of *Xinli* in 1922, Lu Zhiwei cited J. M. Baldwin, and provided a chart of many psychological schools he would like to introduce in the following three articles he wrote for *Xinli*.

<sup>70</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦), "An Experiment to Correct the Geometric Illusion (*Yizhong jiaozheng jihe cuojuedeshiyan* 一种矫正几何错觉的试验)," *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

<sup>71</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦), "Stimulus Generalization 交代的激动反应," *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

<sup>72</sup> The Müller-Lyer illusion was created by Franz Carl Müller-Lyer (1857-1916) in 1889. It is a series of pictures of optical illusions, showing line segments marked with arrowheads at each end. Testers are asked to determine the length of these line segments, which might be affected by different orientations of the arrowhead markers.

学] in an effort to ascertain the applicability of the previously confirmed “learning curve”<sup>73</sup> by evaluating the student’s performance in studying through several testing trails.<sup>74</sup>

The significance of this article is that it clearly shows Lu’s emphasis on studying the history of psychology, such as the history of illusions and the history of transfer of learning, as necessary preparation for practical experimentation. It also reveals that Lu’s interest in psychology tests was in fact not about the testing and its results, rather he was taking psychology tests as instrument for his theoretical studies. Based on his article on the Müller-Lyer illusion, he was aimed toward assessing the validity of theoretical hypotheses such as the usefulness of the learning curve, and whether the transfer of learning would happen under certain conditions, but not about the actual testing results or their practical implications on specific education problems. These two primary concerns, on both the importance of the historical development of psychological theories and the application of testing results to other theoretical problems, are rarely taken into account by other writers as seriously as they were by Lu. It was usually the direct outcomes of psychology test were taken as important references for practical problems in education, as Zhang Yaoxiang or Chen Heqin did. Due to this, Lu’s research orientation differed from most of the contributors of *Xinli*.

Although Lu Zhiwei’s publications in *Xinli* showed a more theoretical orientation, he indeed also participated in the application of psychological testing during the early twentieth century. Lu’s articles published in *Xinli* never explicitly show his possibly conservative attitude towards numerous psychological testings published in *Xinli* that attempted to measure

---

<sup>73</sup> A learning curve depicts a tester’s performance after learning a set of specific materials (such as memorizing groups of new vocabulary) through a graphically linear relationship between the study time or number of attempts and the studying outcome.

<sup>74</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦), “An Experiment to Correct the Geometric Illusion (*Yizhong jiaozheng jihecuojué de shiyan* 一种矫正几何错觉的试验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

Chinese minds regarding how to scale their intelligence, learning ability, or sometimes simply vocabularies or color preferences, he in fact wrote an article and published in another educational journal in 1924, in which he seriously reflected the recent two years' popular tendency of producing various kinds of psychology tests in China and carrying out large scale testing activities, but without either a proper definition of the substance to be tested or a responsible appropriation on the testing scales that had been adopted.<sup>75</sup> The last article written by Lu Zhiwei was an introduction of applied psychology [应用心理学] published in the third issue of the second volume of *Xinli* in 1923. After that, there was no more contributions from Lu Zhiwei to *Xinli*.

Chen Heqin [陈鹤琴] was also a regular contributor to *Xinli*. He had a special research interest in children's education and children's psychology. Chen grew up in Shangyu county [上虞县] of Zhejiang Province. In August 1914, Chen entered Johns Hopkins University as an undergraduate student with financial aid from the same scholarship program of Boxer Indemnity that Zhang Yaoliang had received. Three years later, he graduated from Johns Hopkins and started his M.A. at Columbia University. After another year of study at Columbia, Chen received his master's degree in education in the summer of 1918, and prepared to study as a PhD student concentrating on educational psychology. In 1919, after the first year's study in the PhD program, Chen returned to China, and worked at Nanjing Higher Normal School as full professor in the Department of Education. Soon after Nanjing Higher Normal School was united with the new Dongnan University [东南大学], Chen became Academic Dean [教务长] and cooperated with many returned scholars who had also been studying in the United States,

---

<sup>75</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦), "Questions about Creating Psychology Tests for Our Uses (*Bianzao ceyan zijian zawan* 编造测验自检杂问)," *Education Selection* (教育丛刊), 1924, 2(1).

including Zheng Zonghai [郑宗海]<sup>76</sup>, Lu Zhiwei [陆志韦]<sup>77</sup>, Liao Shicheng [廖世承]<sup>78</sup>, and many others.<sup>79</sup>

Amid the ongoing waves of national educational reform which focused on transforming the traditional Imperial Civil Examination System into the new higher education system, studies of children were barely valued by scholars in early twentieth century China before Chen Heqin. Chen Heqin's arguments about the important relationship between research on children's development and the new education system differed from Zhang Yaoliang's emphasis on the instrumental role played by psychology and psychological testing in setting the new standards and measurements for national education. In 1919, Chen proposed that the new education system should pay close attention to the early period of whole life development, and that the previous understanding of children as merely smaller and weaker adults should be overturned. Chen emphasized that by studying children's natures, habits, and their tendencies, early education would serve for the standard school education in the near future.<sup>80</sup> Chen argued for the necessity of expanding the research scope of the Republican educational system to include children's studies, especially when Chinese national education was experiencing significant transformation in the early twentieth century.

---

<sup>76</sup> Zheng Zonghai (郑宗海, 1892-1979) was a professor and researcher in pedagogy. After graduating from Columbia University, he became a professor of pedagogy at Nanjing Higher Normal School, Dongnan University, and Zhejiang University.

<sup>77</sup> Lu Zhiwei (陆志韦, 1894-1970 ) was an influential Chinese psychologist and linguist. He graduated from University of Chicago in 1920, and then became a professor in psychology at Nanjing University and Yenching University. Lu was also an important Chinese poetry.

<sup>78</sup> Liao Shicheng (廖世承, 1892-1970) was an influential Chinese psychologist and educator. He graduated from Brown University in 1919, and then taught at Nanjing Higher Normal School, Dongnan University, and other universities. Liao was also the founder and the first president of National Normal University in Hunan, during the

<sup>79</sup> Chen Yaosheng (陈尧圣), "My Uncle Chen Heqin (*Huainian xianshu Chen Heqin* 怀念先叔陈鹤琴)," *Bulletin in Culture and Education (Wenjiao ziliao jianbao, 文教资料简报)*, 1983, 9:40-50.

<sup>80</sup> Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), "Children Psychology and Children Education (*Ertong xinli ji jiaoyu ertong zhi fangfa* 儿童心理及教育儿童之方法)," *The New Education (Xin jiao yu, 新教育)*, 1919, 3(2).

In general, Chen Heqin's purpose of promoting psychology testings was to explore and consolidate a nascent field of education — children's education. Zhang Yaoxiang, on the other hand, aimed to create more kinds of scales and tests and promote the method of mental metrology to a broad audience as the best way to restructure the existing Chinese educational system. Chen did not explicitly stress the necessity of replacing common education examinations with psychological tests, as Zhang had proposed and argued. But Chen's attitude towards the wide applications of psychological testing was generally positive. In fact, Chen also administered several psychology tests on children, including his two young nephews, during the course of his studies. Tests published by Chen in *Xinli* include a test on children's color preference [儿童的颜色美感]<sup>81</sup>, a mirror-drawing experiment [镜画实验],<sup>82</sup> an autosuggestion test [暗示性],<sup>83</sup> and a general knowledge test [常识测验].<sup>84</sup>

According to Chen Heqin's articles published in *Xinli*, psychological tests were useful because they could be tools to explore children's studies therefore assist the development of the new field. But his focus, instead of developing the field of psychology testing itself, was always on children's education and the proper ways to channel this new form of education. His

---

<sup>81</sup> Chen Heqin first introduced the history of studying children's preference of colors in this article, then recounted his own testing practice by using testing material — fourteen non-luminous color papers — he purchased from America. See Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), "The Methods about Investigating Children's Aesthetic Feeling of Color (*Yanjiu ertong de yanse meigan zhi fangfa*, 研究儿童的颜色美感之方法)," *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

<sup>82</sup> The Mirror-Drawing Experiment was first carried out by V. Henri in 1898, but it was mainly practiced on adult subjects. Chen Heqin stated that his experiment was practiced on his two nephews and he repeated this test many times more than previous similar studies. The purpose of his experiment was to learn about children's learning curves better through this repeated applications of the testing materials and the testing method of the Mirror-Drawing Experiment. See Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), "A Mirror-Drawing Experiment (*jing hua shiyan*, 镜画实验)," *Xinli*, 1922, 1(4).

<sup>83</sup> In this article, Chen first wanted to explain that children were most apt to be subject to Autosuggestion. He introduced one example testing from Thorndike's book "Notes on Child Study" and another one from Wissch's "The Breakfast Picture". He then suggested how to properly make use of this tendency to educate and control children in the second part "effects of autosuggestion [暗示的作用]" of this article. See Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), "Children Psychology: the Suggestibility of Children (*ertong xinli: ertong de anshi xing*, 儿童心理: 儿童的暗示性)," *Xinli*, 1923, 2(3).

<sup>84</sup> This article introduced the process of making a general knowledge test for primary school students, a full experiment procedure as example, and two sets of testing questions. See Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), "A General Knowledge Test for Primary Schools (*xiaoxue changshi ceshi*)," *Xinli*, 1924, 3(1).

ultimate goal of introducing various psychology tests that he had applied in children's research was to identify new information about children's psychological natures and capacities in order to prove his argument that children's psychological characteristics were essentially different than adults, and therefore children required special attention in this new field. Chen published eight articles in *Xinli* with this specific concern on education psychology.<sup>85</sup> After 1924, Chen gradually concentrated his attention on general education psychology, stopped his contribution to *Xinli*, and began to publish more articles in journals with a specific focus on children's research.<sup>86</sup>

### 2.3 Psychology Testing as Scientific Tools

Historians have studied the development of psychological testing from ancient China to the twentieth century, and outlined the numerous modern psychology tests that were practiced and adapted globally since the early twentieth century.<sup>87</sup> The chaotic national and political contexts of modern Chinese society caused the publication and practice of scientific disciplines such as psychology to be intermittent. In *Xinli*, Zhang Yaoxiang, Lu Zhiwei, and Chen Heqin's articles on psychology tests share a similar recognition of psychology testing as a useful tool in acquiring research data to investigate Chinese minds, although their primary purposes of developing and applying psychological tests might be divergent. They simultaneously accepted that psychology testing would be a scientific method through which

---

<sup>85</sup> Among Chen Heqin's nine contribution to *Xinli*, he has also written one article focus on senior people, which is a very rare case among his other articles in *Xinli*. See Chen Heqin (陈鹤琴), "The Learning Ability of Senior People (老年人的学习能力)," *Xinli*, 1923, 2(1).

<sup>86</sup> Chen's later publications are widely seen in journals such as *The New Education* (*xin jiao yu*, 新教育), *Education Journal* (*jiaoyu zazhi*, 教育杂志), *Education and Life* (*jiaoyu yu rensheng*, 教育与人生), *Paedeutics* (*ertong jiaoyu*, 儿童教育), and more.

<sup>87</sup> Louise T. Higgins and Chun Hui Sun, "The Development of Psychological Testing in China," *International Journal of Psychology*, 2002, 37(4): 246-254. On the global reception of psychology testing, especially the Binet-Simon scale, see John Carson "Mental Testing in the Early Twentieth Century: Internationalizing the Mental Testing Story," *History of Psychology*, 2014, 17(3):249-255.

their expectations for promoting psychology in Republican China can be secured. However, during the time of *Xinli*'s publication, the question concerning how Republican psychologists embraced psychology tests and how the newly translated psychology tests maintained to be scientific in their eyes remains.

As historian of East-Asian psychology Geoffrey Blowers has noticed, during the 1920s and 1930s, Chinese psychologists quickly embraced mental tests and modified them to fit local beliefs and practices. Blowers argues, first, these tests (mostly education and intelligence assessments) “had been popular in the 1920s but had fallen into disrepute because of a lack of methods for standardization”; in addition, that these tests increasingly emphasized “indigenous themes”, as Blowers has examined in *Xinli* and other later psychology journals. He explains that “indigenous”, to him, means “being understood as an examination of phenomena internal to the culture as well as of the thoughts and belief systems which motivate social and individual life of the Chinese”. His understanding of the reason for Chinese psychologists promoting psychology tests was that these empirical studies were relevant to and useful in everyday Chinese life, although re-examinations or changes were necessary for these tests to fit into the Chinese society at the same time.<sup>88</sup> Another historian, John Carson, shares a same recognition of the importance of local environments, needs, and problems that affected the approaches of reception or adaptation of mental tests in different national contexts, but he emphasizes that, during this process of “indigenizing”, in Blowers’ words, or “internationalizing”, in his own, psychologists from different countries in the early twentieth century were all concerned about how to conduct these tests “in the most scientific

---

<sup>88</sup> Geoffrey Blowers, Boris Tat Cheung, and Han Ru, “Emulation vs. Indigenization in the Reception of Western Psychology in Republican China: An Analysis of the Content of Chinese Psychology Journals (1922–1937),” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 2009, 45(1):21-33, pp.27.



and up-to-date manner possible.”<sup>89</sup> Their studies both underscore the balance between the significance of the local adaptation of the psychology tests and the consistency of the scales that being adapted. In *Xinli*, several articles focused on psychology tests gave some hints about how Chinese psychologists might maintained the original scale or for what considerations they modified them.

There are three features noticeable among these articles introducing psychology tests. In the early issues of *Xinli*, one feature exhibited among articles on psychology testing was a reliance on the original authenticity internal to the original psychology tests that Chinese psychologists selected to introduce and publish. These tests were usually highlighted with a brief introduction of its original testing, conveying the trustworthiness of the translated version by emphasizing that the newly translated test whose direct source was already a well-established scale. In 1922, for example, Wu Dingliang [吴定良] published an article titled “The Standard Educational Testings in America [美国标准的教育测验]” in *Xinli*. He first pointed out the leadership status of America in promoting educational testings, claiming that: “The most advanced nation in the Educational Testing Movement would be no one unless America. In the recent ten years or so, the improvement (of educational testing in America) was especially fast. According to a 1917 report, there has been eighty-four different kinds of American standard tests that are suitable for primary school, twenty-five for middle school... [教育测验运动最发达者，莫如美国。近十年来，进步尤速。据一九一七年报告，美国标准测验用于小学者，已达八十四种；用于中学者，达二十五种.....]”<sup>90</sup> In the following part

---

<sup>89</sup> Carson “Mental Testing in the Early Twentieth Century: Internationalizing the Mental Testing Story,” *History of Psychology*, 2014, 17(3):249-255, pp.254.

<sup>90</sup> Wu Dingliang (吴定良), “The Standard Educational Testing in America (美国标准的教育测验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(4). This is an especially detailed survey of educational testings for primary and middle schools in 1920s America. The article was more than 30 pages long.

of this article, Wu gave an annotated complete list of the eighty-four tests for primary schools and the twenty-five tests for middle schools in America. By giving specific manufacturing information such as when and where one test was generated, for what purpose and the examining scope it was supposed to achieve, and from which reference book and press company readers can subscribe or purchase the test, Wu Dingliang in fact provided a detailed survey of the most influential educational tests in the world that his readers could choose from.

Another feature shown among articles on psychology testing in *Xinli* was that they usually gave detailed narratives explaining why an influential test, when it was imported from the original country into a new place, received specific modifications during the process of translating. An example can be seen from the article written by Cheng Shikui [程时燿]<sup>91</sup> in 1922 titled as “Japanese Scholar’s Research of the Binest-Simon Test [日本学者对于皮奈西门测验法之研究]”. This was the first time that a Chinese psychologist thoroughly introduced how Japanese scholars had been working on the adaptation of the Binest-Simon test in Japan since 1911 and how he himself would evaluate and adjust Japan’s experience, indicating that there had been an issue for Chinese psychologists about how to negotiate a proper translating of psychology tests. At the beginning of his thirty-eight page article, Cheng highlighted that, since the test’s first appearance in 1911, the occidental countries [欧美各国] widely adopted the Binest-Simon test as a reference for empirical research of education and medical science. He then pointed out that while Japan had also introduced this important test no later in 1911, the practical applicability in Japanese society was less successful compared with the occidental

---

<sup>91</sup> Cheng Shikui (程时燿, 1890-1951) was an educator graduated from Tokyo Higher Normal College [东京高师]. He worked as the Dean in several universities and then became a high rank official in the Department of Education in 1930s.

areas [自一九一一年，皮奈西门改订测验法，公布于世以来，欧美各国，均经采用，以为教育学上，医学上实验之参考。日本介绍此种测验法，亦未尝后于他国，但不及他国之能适用于实际...]. He suggested that the newest 1917 revision of the Binest-Simon test generated by Japanese scholar Yoshihide KuBo [久保良英氏] should be introduced to and studied by Chinese scholars because this revision had been appropriately revised by Yoshihide KuBo according to the Japanese national conditions [斟酌日本国情].<sup>92</sup>

What Cheng meant by “the Japanese national conditions [日本国情]” is not completely consistent with Blowers’ study on the “indigenization” of psychology. In Cheng’s introduction of what to keep and what to change in Yoshihide KuBo’s revision, the consideration that appeared frequently was not “internal to the culture” as Blowers study has stated. Instead, the actual implication of “Japanese national conditions” was about whether the Japanese children’s test results (usually shown in the form of right rate percentage) were in accordance with the standard test scales given by the original Binest-Simon test. If not, and the difference between these two regions was too significant, then the modification was necessary. As Cheng underscored in this article: “...If we carefully read the charts listed above, thus we know the reason is their national conditions are different, one considers as difficult questions, the other might consider as easy ones to answer. [若细阅前列数表，即知彼此国情之不同，彼认为难问题者，此或为容易解答之题也。]”<sup>93</sup> Later in this article, Cheng gave his analysis on each question asked in the 1917 Japanese Binest-Simon test for children in different age groups.

---

<sup>92</sup> Cheng Shikui (程时燿), “The Research on Binest-Simon Test by Japanese Schloars (日本学者对于皮奈西门测验法之研究),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(3), pp.1.

<sup>93</sup> Cheng Shikui (程时燿), “The Research on Binest-Simon Test by Japanese Schloars (日本学者对于皮奈西门测验法之研究),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(3), pp.19.

Based on this, he provided his suggestions of whether any of them should be modified when Chinese psychologists were creating their own tests based on the Binest-Simon model.<sup>94</sup>

The third feature was an especially interesting phenomenon concentrating on the linguistic role played by the experimenter(s)/tester(s). There were word-for-word dialogues widely seen in the testing procedures that demonstrated the verbal orders the experimenter(s) were supposed to give during the test. Some of the common verbal orders were usually short ones such as “let’s begin” or “please stop”, but there were also a lot of others much longer which vividly illustrated how to communicate and explain the test as a qualified experimenter. For example, Zhang Yaoxiang created an “Eight Trigrams Test [八卦测验]” in 1922 and published it in *Xinli*.<sup>95</sup> In this article, he gave detailed lines that an experimenter was supposed to give in section three and four, including: “but do not take too long of your time...When you are writing, if you hear me saying ‘please make a mark’, you should then make a mark at the place that you’re working on at that moment, in order to distinguish that from other marks. [... 但是不要耽搁时候太久了” ... “你们正在写的时候听见我说 ‘做一个记号’, 你们写到了什么地方, 就在那个地方做一个记号, 好同别的分开。]”<sup>96</sup> In another test about the method of phonetic notation written by Zhang Shiyi [张士一]<sup>97</sup> in 1922, Zhang also paid close attention to the oral procedures.<sup>98</sup> From the beginning of the test, he gave verbal descriptions of how the

---

<sup>94</sup> For more interesting explanations of why and how part of the testing questions should be modified, see pp. 30 of Cheng’s article.

<sup>95</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), “Eight Trigrams Test (八卦测验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

<sup>96</sup> Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔), “Eight Trigrams Test (八卦测验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2), pp. 6.

<sup>97</sup> Zhang Shiyi (张士一, 1886-1969) was an educator, reformer, and specialized in English education. After his graduation from Columbia University, he taught in Nanjing Higher Normal University for more than 60 years. He made a great contribution in designing and establishing an English education system in China.

<sup>98</sup> Zhang Shiyi(张士一), “A Test on the Tone Marks of Mandarin Phonetic Symbols (研究注音字母四声标法的一个试验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

test room was to be arranged and decorated or which seat the subject should be sitting at. In addition, he also frankly admitted that his native dialect was not Beijing dialect, thus he had to consult with Beijing locals and strictly trained his pronunciation of the verbal orders he was going to read to the subjects.<sup>99</sup> In these experimenters' eyes, not only the written part that children or students testers were going to work on had to be reexamined or even modified, the verbal order and the test procedures also had to be clearly articulated and gave scandalized lines of orders and explanations in advance to make sure the consistency of psychology tests being translated into practice.

---

<sup>99</sup> Zhang Shiyi(张士一), "A Test on the Tone Marks of Mandarin Phonetic Symbols (研究注音字母四声标法的一个试验)," *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2), pp. 7.

### Chapter Three: “The Reader’s Forum” of *Xinli* and the Public Understanding of Psychology in 1920s China

In April 1924, after its first two years of publication, a new column, “Reader’s Forum [读者论坛]”, was printed in *Xinli* for the first time.<sup>100</sup> This new column, usually positioned at the end of the journal, was initiated by *Xinli*’s chief editor Zhang Yaoxiang. It continued to be an important component of the journal until January 1927. The main content of the Reader’s Forum was a total of sixty puzzles that were published in five continuous issues of *Xinli*. These puzzles were not the usual testing questions created and calibrated by psychologists and expected to be answered by *Xinli*’s readers for further statistic analysis. They were usually looking for personal opinions and explanations about interesting phenomena seen in daily life, or about how to interpret a historical figure’s story, a well-known saying, or excerpts from classics.<sup>101</sup> This forum emphasized how to connect psychological knowledge to common experience in everyday life, but usually contended that when elaborating answers for these puzzles, readers should “think with psychology [从心理学上说/在心理学上]”. As indicated by the name of this new forum, discussions and responses for these puzzles were expected to involve broad participations by *Xinli*’s general readers and not only by psychology professionals. The first forty puzzles posted by this forum attracted numerous replies from *Xinli*’s common readers.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> The “Reader’s Forum” first appeared in *Xinli*, 1924, 3(2).

<sup>101</sup> For a full list of these sixty puzzles, see “Appendix C.”

<sup>102</sup> The five issues that had this column called Reader’s Forum were dated from volume 3(3) in September 1924 to volume 4(2) in January 1927. Although puzzles printed in the last two issues of *Xinli* were also widely circulated, answers provided by readers for the last twenty puzzles (puzzle forty-one to puzzle sixty) did not further published due to the end of the journal’s print run in 1927.

From April 1924 to January 1927, about one hundred and fifty answers written by *Xinli*'s readers nation-wide were selected to be published in the Reader's Forum of *Xinli*. In previous studies on the history of psychology in modern China, many have paid close attention to early republican institutions and important figures who had led the diffusion of psychological ideas and introduced psychoanalysis practices across national, cultural, and linguistic boundaries, making new knowledge of psy-disciplines available toward a much wider audience in Chinese society.<sup>103</sup> With some natural limitations of archive which centered on institutional history of psychology, especially when regarding the examination of the reader's end in knowledge dissemination, fewer of their studies have looked at readers' participation in shaping and communicating their understandings about the new field. Therefore, this new column in *Xinli*, which contained a full set of comprehensive discussions on psychology constructed to be relevant to the Chinese public, gives us a useful access to study previously less examined topics, such as: how did general readers first come into contact with this new science in 1920s Chinese society? What was psychological knowledge about? For what kinds of issues was it supposed to be relevant and applicable in people's social lives? What were the possible approaches that readers would use to join psychological discussions? Chapter Three will focus on these questions and look closely at *Xinli*'s the Reader's Forum, aiming to examine what psychology meant to common readers in 1920s China.

---

<sup>103</sup> For a recent survey on historiography of psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis in East and Southeast Asia, see Harry Yi-Jui Wu and Wen-Ji Wang, "Making and Mapping Psy Sciences in East and Southeast Asia," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society*, 2016, 10(2):109-120; for a case study of the cultural history of "neurasthenia" in Republican China, see Wen-Ji Wang, "Neurasthenia and the Rise of Psy Disciplines in Republican China," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 2016, 10(2):141-160; for a recent volume focuses on the introduction of psychiatry and its local practices in Chinese society, see Howard Chiang, *Psychiatry and Chinese History, Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, vol. 21, Pickering & Chatto, 2014; particularly, for the intertwined intellectual heritage from Germany and the U.S., see Wenjing Li and Heinzpeter Schmiedebach, "German Wine in an American Bottle: the Spread of Modern Psychiatry in China, 1898-1949," *History of Psychiatry*, 2015, 26(3): 348-358; and for Japan's influence, see Geoffrey Blowers, "Learning from Others: Japan's Role in Bringing Psychology to China," *American Psychologist*, 2000, 55(12):1433-1436; for a cultural history of psychiatry in twentieth century China which centered on "Qigong" through a translangual perspective, see Nancy Chen "Translating Psychiatry and Mental Health in Twentieth-Century China," in Lydia H. Liu (ed.), *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, Duke University Press, 1999:305-327.

### 3.1 A Reading Public of Psychology and The Organization of The Reader's Forum

The emergence of an expanding reading public and their participation in popular and urban periodicals of Republican China, as appeared in *Xinli*, is not a rare case. Several recent scholars have studied public readership and its significance for periodical studies. In the field of Republican Chinese history, Joan Judge has analyzed two separate “reader’s columns” that appeared in *Funü shibao* [妇女时报], illustrating the appearance of an avid female readership that was closely connected to a quotidian print culture represented by a gendered vernacular Republican journal during the very early years (1911-1917) of Republican China.<sup>104</sup> Wang Zuoyue has studied an important scientific periodical *Kexue* [科学] and its supporting institution, the Science Society [中国科学社] (1914-1950).<sup>105</sup> By examining how this scientific journal promoted science and technology to the Republican public and how the scientific community behind the Science Society [中国科学社] had maintained close connections with the successive Republican and the new Communist governments, Wang argues that the periodical *Kexue* was one of “the tangible forms” that represented the emergence of a public sphere<sup>106</sup> in Republican China.

---

<sup>104</sup> Joan Judge, *Republican Lens: Gender, Visuality, and Experience in the Early Chinese Periodical Press*, University of California Press, 2015.

<sup>105</sup> Zuoyue Wang, “Saving China through Science: The Science Society of China, Scientific Nationalism, and Civil Society in Republican China,” *Osiris*, 2002, 17:291-322.

<sup>106</sup> As Wang has remarked, “the Science Society rendered itself as autonomous and voluntary association capable of critiquing state actions and public policies, especially through its journal *Kexue* (Science).” There has been waves of papers debating about the signs of civil society and public sphere in Republican China, but Wang’s paper emphasizes that the significance of Republican Chinese science and scientists should be included into historians’ investigation. For further readings on “Public Sphere” in China and their connections with science and scientific elites, see Zuoyue Wang, “Saving China through science: The Science Society of China, scientific nationalism, and civil society in Republican China.” *Osiris*, 2002, 17:291-322, especially pp. 296-9. For a recent study that has reconceptualized the notion of “public sphere” in modern China by examining the significant role of emotion and mass cultures in shaping the Chinese publics from late imperial to twentieth century China, see Eugenia Lean, *The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China*, University of California Press, 2007.



A number of papers have focused specifically on the history of psychology in the same period. Wang Wenji, Geoffrey Blowers, and Shelley Wang Xuelai have studied the monthly Republican magazine *Xi Feng* [West Wind 西风] (1936-1949). Wang Wenji describes an enlarged readership of *Xi Feng* in 1930s and 1940s Chinese society that was comprised of students from the Shanghai and Chongqing urban areas, youths from rural areas, oversea students from Tokyo and Cambridge, and overseas Chinese immigrants living in Southeast Asia.<sup>107</sup> According to Wang, this popular, cosmopolitan, and urban-oriented journal (and its supplement [西风副刊]) published more than one hundred and seventy articles directly related to mental hygiene, psychology, mental illness, or emotional regulation. These discussions in *Xi Feng* attracted the public's keen attention to "psy disciplines" and brought their individual problems into the public view. This journal circulated practical psychological knowledge such as "self-cultivation" among its readers.<sup>108</sup> In their work on the same journal, Geoffrey Blowers and Shelley Wang Xuelai focused on important characters that engaged in founding *Xi Feng* as a collaborative common platform. According to Blowers and Wang, this journal enabled several psychology professionals, doctors, and literati (such as Ding Tsan, Dai Bingheng, Huang Jiabin, and Su Zonghua) to cooperate from their different fields, and also popularized psychological knowledge for general Chinese readers. They argue that this process of cooperatively making

---

<sup>107</sup> Wenji Wang (王文基), "West Wind Monthly and the Popular Mental Hygiene Discourse in Republican China (心理的下层工作:《西风》与1930-1940年代大众心里卫生论述)," *Taiwanese Journal for Studies of Science, Technology and Medicine*. 2011, 13:15-88, pp. 23.

<sup>108</sup> Wenji Wang (王文基), "West Wind Monthly and the Popular Mental Hygiene Discourse in Republican China (心理的下层工作:《西风》与1930-1940年代大众心里卫生论述)," *Taiwanese Journal for Studies of Science, Technology and Medicine*. 2011, 13:15-88, especially Section 2 pp. 21-34.

psychological knowledge available to a wider reading public presented a “psychotherapeutic culture” rooted in 1930s republican China.<sup>109</sup>

What is significant here is that sometimes historians have implicitly conceived the wider audience for science as a large group of people who were not as conscious about the power of science but at the same time well-prepared to embrace the new knowledge. We usually know well about the scientific experts, their institutions, and their propositions, but the reading publics for them are usually obscure and silent. This is especially important for psychology as a discipline to study minds of living people. Recent studies on the history of psychology have paid specific attentions to the notion of “psychology’s public”. As Michael Pettit and Jacy L. Young suggest, it is getting clearer that the relationship between psychology and its public audience deserves careful examination from its very beginning, especially concerning the heterogeneous nature of the discipline’s public audience and the interactions between them and scientific experts when the public audience for the discipline was gradually coming into being. They emphasize the proactive feature of the reading public, stating that “Audiences adapt psychology to their own local needs in the process of adopting its insight.”<sup>110</sup>

The creation of such a Reader’s Forum in *Xinli* was also a process of how modern psychology, a new discipline in 1920s China, was looking for and constructing its own reading public. In April 1924, the first section of twenty puzzles was printed in *Xinli*’s second issue of volume three; however, there was no clear instruction regarding how the forum would be organized and who would be participating in it, if there was going to be anyone beyond the

---

<sup>109</sup> Geoffrey Blowers and Xuelai Wang, “Gone with the West Wind: the Emergence and Disappearance of Psychotherapeutic Culture in China, 1936–68,” in Howard Chiang (ed.), *Psychiatry and Chinese History, Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, vol. 21, Pickering & Chatto, 2014:143-160.

<sup>110</sup> Michael Pettit, and Jacy L. Young, “Psychology and Its Publics,” *History of the Human Sciences*, 2017, 30(4): 3-10.

professionals and their students.<sup>111</sup> The nature of these twenty puzzles were diverse in both topics and degree of difficulty in properly answering them. It is hard to describe whether they hold a clear focus or whether they can be classified into the relevant categories that had been widely adopted in academic psychological research, such as educational psychology, sociological psychology, or abnormal psychology.

Some examples of these puzzles included people's color preferences, suicide, the understanding of selfhood, guidance and control of sexual knowledge among male and female adolescents, family inheritance of the capability to learn Chinese classics [汉学] well, the spiritual power of the Planchette augury [扶乩], dreams and predictions, etc. For some detailed examples, one puzzle asked why people easily fall into bad habits but at the same time find it hard to cultivate good ones; one asked whether educators should assimilate or should maintain the differences between female and male students in education; one was about how to select from three theories (William James<sup>112</sup>, Edward Thorndike<sup>113</sup>, and Edwin A. Kirkpatrick<sup>114</sup>) when studying people's instinct; one was asking whether a quote from Confucius classics, "the wise enjoy the sea, the humane enjoy the mountains [智者乐水、仁者乐山]", can be appropriately explained and defended on the basis of psychology; and many more.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> "The Reader's Forum," *Xinli*, 1924, 3(2).

<sup>112</sup> William James (1842–1910) was an American psychologist. He was one of the leading thinkers of the late nineteenth century and was considered as the Father of American psychology.

<sup>113</sup> Edward Lee Thorndike (1874–1949) was an American psychologist. His work on connectionism, comparative psychology, reinforcement theory make him one of the pioneers in behaviorism.

<sup>114</sup> Edwin Asbury Kirkpatrick (1862-1937) was an American Psychologist, particularly a pioneer in child psychology.

<sup>115</sup> See "Appendix C" for more examples.

The heterogeneity of these puzzles' topics and different levels of difficulty was possibly determined by how they were generated and for what purpose they were published from the beginning. Zhang Yaoliang had written a brief note explaining the origin of these multifarious puzzles: they were part of his notes recorded during regular teaching activities at the Peking Higher Normal University; teachers and students specializing in education and psychology at Zhang's University had discussed these problems in class but found no satisfied answer.<sup>116</sup> The reason for publishing these puzzles in *Xinli*, according to Zhang, was because he and these teachers and students had a difficult time properly answering them during classes. Therefore, "if readers [of *Xinli*] have any insights [to these puzzles], [Zhang] hopes [readers] can teach [Zhang and his colleagues]."<sup>117</sup>

At this early stage, *Xinli*'s role in initiating this Reader's Forum can be understood as a bulletin board commonly seen in schools, only that it was a moving one and carrying these puzzles in transit — the journal circulated these puzzles in order to reach a broader audience beyond the small circle among Zhang's well-educated colleagues and students in Beijing. Its motivation was to attract more attention to the possible ways of applying psychological knowledge to various puzzles observed in people's everyday life, therefore enlarging the social influence and awareness of the practicality of psychology in Chinese society. However, its potential readership was still in vague shape at this point: how much attention this printed bulletin board could attract, who might reply to these puzzles, and to what extent these readers would like to get involved, were still unknown at the beginning point.

---

<sup>116</sup> "The Reader's Forum: Twenty Problems from the Discussions between the Author and His Colleagues in Peking Higher Normal University (难题二十则求教: 以下问题, 系记者与北京师大教育研究科诸君讲课间所互发)", *Xinli*, 1924, 3(2).

<sup>117</sup> "The Reader's Forum: Please let us know your opinions (读者诸君有何高见, 幸勿吝教)", *Xinli*, 1924, 3(2).

Five months later in September 1924, *Xinli* printed the second round of the reader's forum with another ten puzzles. Numerous readers' answers to the first ten puzzles were also printed in this new issue, indicating a sprouting interest among *Xinli*'s readers in participating in the discussion that the new Reader's forum wanted to cultivate. At this time, Zhang Yaoliang drew up a list of thirteen official regulations about how he would organize the reader's forum and how readers could participate in this column. Terms one to five described what kind of puzzles this forum welcomed, terms six to eleven explained what styles and manners of answering puzzles were appropriate for *Xinli*, and terms twelve and thirteen outlined the forum's requirements of authentic personal information to ensure their correspondence, but the reasons to acquire these personal information were not mentioned.

“本栏规则：

- 1.本栏宗旨在解答心理学上一切难问，使读者人人有自由发表之机会。
- 2.读者人人可随时发问，但问题须窄小，具体明了，有讨论价值。
- 3.已经解决之问题，或有现成书籍可考者，不录。例如“人类共具之本能有哪几种？”“儿童记忆与成人有何差别？”
- 4.前提无根据，或未经一般学者认可之问题不录。例如“三十岁人特别怕死何故？”“聪明过度之人必夭何故？”
- 5.前提有根据，而不偏闻者，需注明根据所在。
- 6.如有引证，须注明出处。
- 7.读者可择一问或数问答之，条理须清楚，文字须通顺，闲言越少越妙。
- 8.读者对于一切答案均可反复辩驳，但不可稍涉谩骂。
- 9.发问人对于他人答案不满意时，亦可自备答案。
- 10.遇有长篇答案得按题目性质选入本杂志专栏发表。
- 11.一切答案只需注明问题数，不必抄录问题。
- 12.答者须用真姓名注明年月日，现在职业，所居学校，通信地址。
- 13.一切问答均寄北京师范大学心理室张耀翔收。”<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> “Regulations of the Reader's Forum”, *Xinli*, 1924, 3(3).

With these terms as guidance, *Xinli's* goal of promoting psychology beyond the educated elite circle in Peking Higher Normal University and cultivating an eligible public readership for psychology was more explicit. Indeed, the Reader's Forum was especially organized for every reader, and provided the opportunity for everyone's free expression on puzzles concerning psychological issues (term one and two). Its requirements on how to write an acceptable answer by the journal were nothing about the evaluation of the right or wrong for an answer, but about the answer being well-organized (term seven), concise (term seven), and polite (term eight). The forum also promoted readers to give impartial sources and clear citations (term five and six), to hold open debate (term eight), and to develop independent thinking (term nine).

Appearing fifteen years earlier than *Xi Feng*, *Xinli* presented a similarly active readership in the Reader's Forum, which exemplified a growing interest in understanding and talking about psychology in 1920s China. This column should be considered a special space for *Xinli's* reading public, who might have never received systematic studies in psy-disciplines before. It was in this special space, their voices were heard, published, and circulated national wide. The importance of this special column was about enabling lay-readers to read their own and other readers' understandings of psychology, thus joining a wide communication to explore the various possibilities of using psychology and reshaping their own ways of understanding psychology. The organization and format of "the Reader's Forum [读者论坛]" was heavily dependent on the continuing publication and circulation of *Xinli*. Thus the importance of *Xinli* as a scientific journal was not only about it being the first and sole specialized academic journal for psychology in China, but also about it functioning as a

material carrier that circulated widely and connected potential readers from everywhere in China to the new discipline.<sup>119</sup>

### 3.2 Q&A for a New Scientific Discipline

A generally standard format of the reader's forum can be considered as established since the publication of the third issue of *Xinli's* volume three. In this and the following three issues, the Reader's Forum usually has two sections: the first one was for ten new puzzles; the next part was for several possible answers wrote by *Xinli's* readers and selected by Zhang Yaoxiang, the editor. Zhang arranged different readers' answers in a special pattern. He listed replies for a same puzzle together, arranged them one after another, and affixed each reader's real name and hometown region with his or her answer. Sometimes, he also expressed his own opinions, and always attached his comment at the end after all readers' replies, as a supplemental note for that puzzle.

Arranging in this "one puzzle with several answers" pattern, the Reader's Forum was not intended to give an exclusive, definite, or so-called correct answer to each puzzle. In fact, it was frequently seen in the forum that more than three or four different answers were given for one puzzle. Sometimes, puzzles even got seven or eight answers printed all together.<sup>120</sup> The first puzzle printed in The Reader's Forum in *Xinli* asked why people in this world consider the color white as beautiful but color black as ugly ["第一问 世人以白色为美，黑色为丑，好白恶黑之心理安在? "]? After the puzzle was posted, there were ten different answers replied

---

<sup>119</sup> *Xinli's* readers were from Hubei Xiakou [湖北夏口], Jiangxi Yushan [江西玉山], Sichuan Leshan [四川乐山], Guizhou Guiyang [贵州贵阳], Zhili [直隶], and other places in China.

<sup>120</sup> Puzzles that had top five answers in *Xinli* were: Puzzle 1 (ten answers and one editor's comment); Puzzle 3 (nine answers and one editor's comment); Puzzle 4 (nine answers and one editor's comment); Puzzle 7 (nine answers); Puzzle 22 (eight answers).

from readers. Li Jiale from Hubei Xiakou [李嘉乐, 湖北夏口] answered that it is simply because people have developed the instinct [本能] to like brightness and fear darkness since infancy period. Shangguan Yaodeng from Jiangxi Yushan [上官堯登, 江西玉山] believed that, first according to physics [照物理学讲], white and black are nothing more than the two poles within the scope of light illumination. It is because white gives people clear sight but black causes dimness, people thus like white and hate black; and secondly, according to biology [照生物学讲], living things all grow toward the direction of light, therefore people are just acting like all other creatures to follow the light, which means white is preferred instead of black. Long Songquan from Jiangxi Wanzai [龙松泉, 江西万载] explained, people usually hold an ethical judgement [伦理的见解] that being frank and open [心地坦白] is preferred to being veiled behind the dark scenes [黑幕重重], thus white is preferred to black. These varying answers to solve this puzzle informed us that when *Xinli's* readers were making sense of psychological knowledge and trying to think in a psychological way, there were many possible solutions. Knowledge from other disciplines, especially physics, biology, and ethnics, significantly influenced their respective approaches. Those already widely recognized knowledge systems or scientific disciplines were instrumental for the early communications of psychology in 1920s China.

Their effort to think with psychology through already established knowledge systems not only assisted them to support the puzzle's description, sometimes they also used knowledge from other disciplines such as physiology to argue against the phenomenon described in the puzzle. For example, the fourth puzzle was about whether it is possible that by



thinking of plums people can quench their thirst, or by drawing cakes people can appease their hunger [望梅止渴，画饼充饥]. Luo Zhiru from Sichuan Jiangjin [罗志儒，四川江津] gave this question a negative answer. He believed that these assertions are apparently faulty according to physiology, therefore it then can be proved faulty in psychology as well [在生理方面固显而易见，即在心理方面亦可证明].<sup>121</sup> Yang Guangyu from Zhili Luanxian [杨广誉，直隶灤县] also considered that these two phenomena were both impossible from the physiological perspective, but if thinking about them from a psychological perspective, they turned into possible events. He explained: “first, imagination in psychology is able to stimulate the internal human body, and cause changes [即心理的想象，能够刺激使身体内部，发生变化，一也]; second, if people’s expectation is very eager, once people see what they wanted, they don’t have the time to think whether it is fact or fiction, but quickly believe it has actually happened, then the puzzle is ignored [期望越迫切，骤见所求，不暇辨其真伪，以为目的已达，遂将问题搁浅，二也].”<sup>122</sup> Psychology in their communications were usually measured with established scientific disciplines such as physiology, but thinking with psychology did not have to show consistency with other sciences of the result for these puzzles.

Simultaneously, some of the other reader’s answers gave their explanations based on social values, which also played an important role in shaping their ways of thinking with psychology. Yin Daogeng from Sichuan Leshan [尹道畊，四川乐山], Yang Shichang from Guizhou Guiyang [杨时昌，贵州贵阳], Ding Bangzhen from Zhejiang Kaihua [丁邦楨，浙江

---

<sup>121</sup> *Xinli*, 1924, 3(3):14.

<sup>122</sup> *Xinli*, 1924, 3(3):25.

开化], and Liang Yigao from Sichuan Changning [梁翼镛, 四川长甯] all mentioned respectively in their answers that white means cleanness [清洁] and black refers to dirtiness [污秽]. Since people all like to be clean and hate dirt, they argued, it would be natural that people like white and hate black. Another case that negotiated the relationship between psychology and social ethics more explicitly. In his answer for a puzzle that asked why would people easily fall into bad habits but at the same time find it hard to cultivate good ones, Yang Guochu from Hunan Xinhua [杨国礎, 湖南新化] compared two different perspectives on what were the proper standards to judge people's habits, one based on social ethics and the other psychology. He stated: "if psychology deems one's behavior is originated from emotion, but ethics considers it is against the ritual, then this is called a bad habit and is easily formed [心理上所认为发乎情, 伦理上所认为反乎礼之行为, 最易成习惯, 故曰坏习惯易养成。]; if one's behavior is not appropriate according to the ritual when thinking of ethics, but psychology considered the behavior is against people's emotions, it is the hardest situation to get in this habit to stop the behavior, the so-called good habit is difficult to cultivate [伦理上所认为止乎礼, 心理上所认为反乎情之行为, 最难养成习惯, 故曰, 好习惯难养成。].<sup>123</sup>

Puzzle eleven concerned the appropriateness of teaching young men and women about sexual desire when their interest in love began to sprout [当男女情窦初开之时]. The seven answers for this puzzle reveals how different readers engaged with psychology in varying ways and held different meanings of psychological knowledge. Du Gengzhi from Hunan Xupu [杜赓之, 湖南溆浦] believed that by imparting psychological knowledge to young men and

---

<sup>123</sup> *Xinli*, 1924, 3(3):24.

women regarding “personal hygiene of genders [个人的两性卫生]”, “venereal disease [花柳病]”, “social guilt [社会上的罪恶]”, “illegitimate children [私生子]”, “moral principle of sex [性的道德]”, “contempt for sexual desires [性欲之鄙视]” at a good time, educators would help them before harm is done [防患于未然]. Yang Xianbin from Fengtian Fengcheng [杨宪斌, 奉天凤城] considered that even if no knowledge was taught to children, it may prevent the development of impulses. It also cannot prevent children’s abuse of methods to settle their impulses [...虽不授与性欲知识, 亦不能使冲动之不生也。亦不能免除儿童之滥用方法, 以解决其冲动也]. Therefore, educators have to deliver age-appropriate knowledge about sexual desires to children, which would alarm them and then prevent them from being misled by their sexual impulses [故教育家对于此时期之儿童, 不可不授以性欲之知识, 使其知所警戒, 免为性欲之冲动所误也].<sup>124</sup> Reading their answers, we see Du and Yang both hold the understanding that psychological knowledge on sexual desires was aimed to highlight the dangerous side of sexual impulses and to guide youth and children from being wrong. Psychological knowledge, according to their answers, was centered on solutions to deal with sexual desire and to prevent it as something terrible.

Meanwhile, listed as the third answer for this puzzle, Lü Pengling from Shandong Heze [吕鹏龄, 山东菏泽] gave his answer from a relatively neutral perspective on young men and women’s growing sexual desires. He described that, the sprouting interest in love shows the emergence of various kinds of instincts that related to sexual desires [所谓男女情窦初开者, 即其性欲上之各种本能起始发现也]. If young people were rash without enough investigation,

---

<sup>124</sup> *Xinli*, 1925, 3(4):2.

that was because they were motivated by curiosity [好奇心], which, he pointed out, was not provoked by acquiring psychological knowledge of sexual desires first. If they were fully informed about sexual behaviors and the danger of sex misuse, they would know how to channel sexual desire to improve their health; therefore, they would have no more questions and their curiosity would disappear [且少年无识，不知利害，轻于尝试，此亦好奇心使然，固不待性欲知识始可惹动其好奇心而滥用也。苟能深明关于性欲上之学识，知性欲滥用将生若何危险，与夫如何利导其性欲以增进健康，于各种性欲行为均无疑惑，自可泯其好奇心]. Lü Penglin especially commented at the end of his answer that educational methods and materials had to be circumspect [...教术与教材，不得不慎重耳].<sup>125</sup> Lü's answer provides a different view of what psychology was actually about in this case. His short explanation defined what sexual desire actually meant and how it was generated by curiosity according to psychology. His answer reveals that psychological knowledge was supposed to introduce youth to sexual desires as something in human nature, and to make more easily understood and, therefore, handled with peaceful mind. After all, it is not psychology's role to determine whether human instinct or curiosity is right or wrong.

There were many more reader's answers that did not show clear connection with other branches of science or social value systems like we have discussed above. The journal editor encouraged every reader to generously contribute to the column and gave enough space for different answers — even those that were short and plain also got published. By reading numerous groups of answers, the Reader's Forum actually shows a basic pattern in arranging these different answers from simple to complex. Usually, those used simple language and gave

---

<sup>125</sup> *Xinli*, 1925, 3(4):2.

brief opinions were printed at the beginning of one group. The compatibility and heterogeneity of the reader's forum reflected that the new psychology valued the act of readers' participation more than the right/wrong or better/worse of their answers. In fact, as discussed above, the Reader's Forum was a deliberate compilation of many different groups of reflections, perspectives, and opinions. This unique Q&A organization prompted readers to follow different perspectives that tackled with same puzzle, to compare different answers step-by-step, and to make the reader's own judgement by reading through these possible answers from easy and simple ones to well-written and fully developed ones. This Q&A for psychology was just like ongoing conversations in a seminar nowadays, only that these conversations were happening printed on paper. In the early 1920s, very few universities and colleges in China had a major or specialty of psychology.<sup>126</sup> The crowded Reader's Forum in *Xinli* was likely serving as a paper classroom, hosting abundant discussions on psychology for Chinese society, giving people convenient access to learn from and communicate with other readers of the new emerging psychology, and accommodating multiple meanings that had been given to psychology through its readers' own understandings.

### 3.3 “Universality” of Psychology: Five Examples from the Reader's Forum

Organized in this special “Q&A” style, the Reader's Forum of *Xinli* was one among similar columns in contemporaneous periodicals that received and published their reader's letters. Despite their shared encouragement of readership participation, *Xinli* was distinctive among them because its readers clearly played a more authoritative role in voicing their own thoughts. Through a close reading of the Reader's Forum in *Xinli*, the following examples are

---

<sup>126</sup> For a survey of colleges and universities that had had a major or specialty of psychology in republican China, see Hu Yanfeng (胡延峰), *The Students Overseas and Chinese Psychology* (留学生与中国心理学), Chapter 3, Nankai University Press, 2009.

representatives of replies which underscore the “universality” in orienting their communications about psychological knowledge between Chinese psychological experts and the reading public.

This special form of puzzles was centered on collective features of people and proverbial events or problems instead of focusing on personal inquiry or particular cases, which can be summarized as the “universality” of *Xinli*'s psychological communications.<sup>127</sup> These “universal” puzzles sought readers' responses to explain a certain preferences, choices, habits, or behaviors of common people. They include, for instance, why do people prefer the color white but hate black (puzzle no.1, discussed in section two of this chapter), why do parents usually love their youngest child most (puzzle no. 10), why do people laugh when they see someone fall over or when someone's hat blows away in the wind (puzzle no. 25), or why do people always use the right hand but not the left hand (puzzle no. 35)?

In comparison, in his paper on *Xi Feng* and *Funü zazhi*, Wang Wenji demonstrates that popular psychological communications in 1930s Republican China were closely linked to the reader's private life and medical needs. He studied the column called “*Xi Feng* Mailbox [西风信箱]”, which also attracted participation of both lay readers and psychological professionals. Wang argues that this column was the most popular one among *Xi Feng*'s readers, as it published letters written by readers asking for the editorial board's help on their private problems, many of which were related to psychological issues.<sup>128</sup> Meanwhile, Wang has also investigated *Funü zazhi* [妇女杂志], a popular periodical that had managed two reader-

---

<sup>127</sup> For a discussion on the “universal science” and “Chinese science”, see Benjamin Elman, “‘Universal Science’ Versus ‘Chinese Science’: The Changing Identity of Natural Studies in China, 1850-1930,” *Historiography East and West*, 2003, 1(1): 68-116.

<sup>128</sup> Wenji Wang (王文基), “West Wind Monthly and the Popular Mental Hygiene Discourse in Republican China (心理的下层工作:《西风》与1930-1940年代大众心里卫生论述)”, *Taiwanese Journal for Studies of Science, Technology and Medicine*. 2011, issue 13, pp. 35.

involved columns similar to *Xinli's* Reader's Forum. As Wang's study shows, *Funü zazhi* received and published many readers' private letters in these two columns during the 1930s. One of these columns, "Correspondence [通信]", was aimed at sharing many readers' letters, discussing social problems that were reflected through reader's descriptions of personal experience and difficulties. This column did not provide replies from the editors or professionals. Meanwhile in the other column, "Medical and Hygienic Consultant [医事卫生顾问]", the periodical *Funü zazhi* published medical professional's replies that contained brief solutions on the reader's health issues, many related to mental conditions of these readers.<sup>129</sup>

When compared with periodicals appeared ten years later such as *Xi Feng* or *Funü zazhi* in the mid-1930s, *Xinli's* Reader's Forum shows that *Xinli's* readers may have held a very different motivation when participating in communications about psychological knowledge. Although we do not definitely know whether the letters printed in the Reader's Forum were Zhang Yaoliang's personal selection of some special types of letters, the role of lay readers participating in *Xinli* did not act in a similar way to what Wang has carefully studied in *Xi Feng* or *Funü zazhi*. In *Xi Feng* or *Funü zazhi*, readers were more like in the role of a patient who was troubled by individual problems and probably considered writing to these journal columns as giving themselves a secured, trustworthy, and convenient method to reach knowledge authorities. For these readers, journals like *Xi Feng* or *Funü zazhi* were valuable because they could receive advice from professionals, sometimes even receiving direct replies from psychologists or psychoanalysts who gave their medical solutions through these journals.

---

<sup>129</sup> Wenji Wang (王文基), "West Wind Monthly and the Popular Mental Hygiene Discourse in Republican China (心理的下层工作:《西风》与1930-1940年代大众心里卫生论述)", *Taiwanese Journal for Studies of Science, Technology and Medicine*. 2011, issue 13, pp. 36.

However, browsing numerous answers printed in *Xinli*, readers who participated in the Reader's Forums did not write to the journal because they were troubled by private issues or worried about health problems nor because they sought help or advice from psychology professionals; instead, they shared an interest in recognizing the psychological factors behind phenomena as described in these puzzles. How to appropriately narrate their own understandings about psychology in order to analyze and explain these posted puzzles in *Xinli* (which had no references to their personal health conditions or well being), seems most significant for them. At least in the 1920s, psychology for *Xinli*'s readers was not yet fully represented as a realm of knowledge from where people can acquire helpful solutions on an individual basis or directly relevant to their immediate problems. Instead, the Reader's Forum is instrumental for us to better understand the special connection that focused on "universality" between psychology and the reading public in 1920s China.

For example, puzzle thirty-five asked why people usually use the right hand but not the left hand [吾人作事多用右手何故]. It premises that the right-hand preference was common for "us [吾人]". Ding Guozhen from Hubei Yingshan [丁国诊, 湖北应山] provided his three-part argument. In his answer, there are marks of an educated background and previous study of the English language. It also shows his interest in incorporating physiological knowledge in explaining psychological phenomena. He first argued that, when people begin learning how to use chopsticks, parents require them to use their right hands. If they use their left hands, parents would urge them to correct their actions. He believed that this habit of using the right hand to hold chopsticks had to be cultivated like this — just like a nation should ordain its laws and rules [然人当初习执箸时, 其父母务使之以右手执箸, 左则力改之, 一似国有法



规，非如此不可者。]. He went on to explain, using the right hand to eat would help people practice using their right hands and make their right hands more skillful. As a result of the daily practice, people would use their right hands more often while doing other duties. The second part of his argument, which was named by him as a “physiological reason [生理之关系]”, stated that people’s right hands are usually stronger in physical strength than their left hands, thus the right hand is able to do more work. His final argument was based on his understanding of the English translations of “左” and “右”. He believed that this right-hand preference in terms of “custom’s suggestions [习俗之暗示]” was a shared phenomenon in both Chinese and English speaking places. He explained, the “right [右]” in English expresses the meaning of “correct [正当]”, while the “left [左]” in English expresses the meaning of “reverse [相反]” and “clumsy [拙劣]”. Although his understanding of the word “left” in English might be inaccurate, he believed this was one promising reason that can explain why people all would “prefer the right to the left as prefer convenience to clumsiness [趋正避偏，从便藏拙].”<sup>130</sup>

According to his three reasons, the right-handed preference was deemed as an acquired behavior either through parents’ discipline since childhood, physical training of strength, or language suggestions. But Ding believed that the habit of using right hands had to be followed like this — its universality was defined on his analogy of laws for a nation. Ding Guozhen’s answer gives us a vivid example of understanding how a reader’s explanation for a seemingly universal phenomenon incorporated local variations in terms of the ways of knowing. No

---

<sup>130</sup> “The Reader’s Forum”, *Xinli*, 1927, 4(2):6.

matter whether it was explained through an example of using chopsticks or by suggestions of local language, this emphasis on thinking with people's own experience reflects how local context influenced the ways of understanding psychological knowledge as universal.

Another reader, Zhang Weihuan from Jiangxi Fengcheng [张威寰，江西丰城], replied to this same puzzle and suggested a different emphasis to think about it. His explanation was relatively short, but it gives some hints about, at least for some readers of *Xinli*, what was most essential to understanding the notion “psychology [心理学]”. This answer was concerned about the importance of protecting people's hearts [心]. As Zhang Weihuan said, the heart is the most important organ of the human body, and is positioned on the left side. Therefore, for convenience, people should use their left hand to protect their chest where the heart sits inside, and use their right hand to fight [心为人体最重要之机关...心既偏于左方。为近便计，自以左手护胸，右手攻人为宜]. Furthermore, he went on to argue, because the right hand frequently exercises more than the left hand, it develops better and stronger muscles and nerves for movement [筋肉及运动神经]. Thus when doing other duties, he concluded, even not for fighting, people always first use their right hands unconsciously as they have gotten used to use it.<sup>131</sup>

According to Zhang's reply, no matter whether it was for a primitive man from ancient times or for a modern man of nowadays, the importance of the heart is beyond doubt — it was considered the most important organ of all human beings in Zhang's statement. A belief in protecting the heart had resulted people's collective behaviors subsequently, such as using the right hand more often. How he tied the notion “心” which was understood as the organ “heart”

---

<sup>131</sup> “The Reader's Forum”, *Xinli*, 1927, 4(2):6.

within human body to the same Chinese character “心” in “心理学” was essential to produce the universality of psychology for him. According to Zhang’s answer, “psychology 心理学” thus meant studies [学] about the principle [理] of “the organ heart [心]”, therefore the existence and importance of this discipline was similarly universal just like the body organ.

It was not a particular case that Zhang had understood the heart organ as the psychological center that frequently decided people’s behaviors. The Heart as one element among the “Five Viscera [五脏]” — the Heart, the Liver, the Lung, the Spleen, and the Kidney [心, 肝, 肺, 脾, 肾]— has long been recognized in traditional Chinese medicine as corresponding to people’s emotions.<sup>132</sup> However, in another response wrote by Sun Yaoqin from Jiangsu Wuxian [孙瑶琴女士, 江苏吴县] for puzzle twenty-one, which asked readers to explain Mencius’s statement “a great man is the one who does not lose his natural mind” “大人者不失其赤子之心者也”, the notion “心” in “心理学” gained a very different meaning. Sun stated that “the so called 心 in 赤子之心 [the heart of an utterly newborn baby] should be understood as another way to say human nature [本性]. Human nature included all forms of “reflex movement, instinct, feeling, primary emotion, energy, etc. [所谓“心”即本性之别名。本性包含一切反射运动, 本能, 感觉, 原始情绪, 能量等天生反动].”<sup>133</sup> She emphasized that, “大人” in this excerpt has to be understood as “an adult [成人]”. Only by realizing this point was the statement by Mencius then redeemed as correct in psychology — because, she

---

<sup>132</sup> Chen, H. F., “Emotional Therapy and Talking Cures in Late Imperial China,” and Fabien Simonis, “Medicaments and Persuasion: Medical Therapies for Madness in Nineteenth-century China,” both in Howard Chiang (ed.), *Psychiatry and Chinese History, Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, vol. 21, Pickering & Chatto, 2014, pp. 37-54 and pp. 55-70.

<sup>133</sup> “The Reader’s Forum”, *Xinli*, 1927, 4(1):2.

explained, not only we did not see any of the human nature children had developed disappear in adults, but also even none of what [human nature] the ancients owned were lost by people today [...不但儿童所有诸本性，不见失于成人；即古人所有者，亦不稍减于今人].<sup>134</sup> Her answer was based on her understanding that the universality of “human nature [本性]” existed in all humans of different ages and times. A more general understanding of Mencius’s excerpt is centered on how praiseworthy a great man is who keeps a newborn baby’s pure mind, which gives us hints about the rareness of the purity that a grown-up can still possess. But for Sun, to think with psychology and gave a psychological judgment on Mencius’s words was exactly reflected through the special understanding of “心” in 赤子之心 as “human nature [本性]” that focused on its universality.

Similarly, many puzzles in *Xinli* asked about how to apply psychological knowledge to explain a proverb, a classic allusion, or a line from a poem or famous text (mostly in Chinese) like the puzzle we have discussed above.<sup>135</sup> They included, for instance: is it possible that by thinking of plums people can quench their thirst, or by drawing cakes people can appease their hunger [望梅止渴，画饼充饥] (puzzle 4), how to explain Mencius’s statement that “a great man is the one who does not lose his natural mind [大人者不失其赤子之心者也]” (puzzle no. 21, discussed above), how is the status of Liuxia Hui’s sexual desire given he is not disturbed even with a woman sitting on his lap [柳下惠坐怀不乱] (puzzle no. 27), or how to explain one of the sentences in a poem by a Qing poet Wang Tan [王曇]: “if seeing heroes everyday, they are common people as well [英雄见惯亦常人]” (puzzle no. 36)? These puzzles

---

<sup>134</sup> “The Reader’s Forum”, *Xinli*, 1927, 4(1):2.

<sup>135</sup> These puzzles are: 2,4,5,13,15,16,19,20,21,22,26,27,30,31,36,38.

also required readers to think with psychology [从心理学上来说] when writing their answers to decide whether these excerpts were correct or not.

The universality of psychological knowledge was also shown through how these puzzles universalized the special case portrayed in literary materials into everyone's common experience. For example, puzzle twenty-two asked "Do the two sayings "Yao and Shun [two ancient sages] were hypocrisy, Jie and Zhou [two ancient tyrants] were sincerity 尧舜伪也，桀纣真也" tenable according to psychology [此二语在心理学上能否成立]?" Chen Zuyu from Zhejiang Fengshui [陈祖虞，浙江分水] explained these two were correct according to the moral judgment on human nature of Xuncius [荀子], but they were false if reexamined through psychological thinking. Du Zengrui from Zhili Huolu [杜增瑞，直隶获鹿] said these two sayings were exactly correct because mankind was evolved from the most inferior and barbaric animals whose essential nature was evil. Zeng Qizheng from Hunan Leiyang [曾齐政，湖南耒阳] argued that the ancients had debated about whether human nature was evil or virtuous, which, according to psychology nowadays, should be understood as people's instinct [心理学上所讲的本能]. The sages and tyrants were just as people developing their instincts into good direction or bad direction, thus there should be no moral judgement on them in psychology.<sup>136</sup>

Meanwhile, the "universality" trend of these puzzles can also be captured by examining their particular subjects. The subjects of most puzzles were usually coined in collective units instead of focusing on the individual. For example, the subject may refer to "世人 [people in

---

<sup>136</sup> "The Reader's Forum", *Xinli*, 1926, 4(1):2-3.

this world]<sup>137</sup>, “近人 [modern people]”<sup>138</sup>, “凡人 [whoever / common people]”<sup>139</sup>, “人类 [mankind]”<sup>140</sup>, or “吾人 [our people].”<sup>141</sup> A few others addressed subjects in a relatively detailed manner, but still focused on collective groups, such as “婆婆 [the husband’s mother]” and “儿媳 [daughter-in-law]”<sup>142</sup>, “父母 [parents].”<sup>143</sup> When a puzzle named a specific person, it usually referred to a historical figures or a legendary hero such as Cao Cao [曹操], Confucius [孔子], Wu Zetian [武则天], or Guan Yu [关羽]. Most of these puzzles do not mention specific persons in contemporary life or concrete individuals such as one of *Xinli*’s writers or readers.<sup>144</sup> Answers written by readers showed the similar universality in their description when referring a character. Such emphasis on a universalized subject for psychology largely covered the potential identities of *Xinli*’s readers in Chinese society. It, in fact, provided readers a shared recognition and impulse to join these discussions, as these puzzles were waiting to be connected to each one of them. Such puzzles indicate that the “universality” shown through

---

<sup>137</sup> Puzzle 1: Why people consider white as beautiful and black as ugly? (世人以白色为美，黑色为丑，好白恶丑之心理何安在?)

<sup>138</sup> Puzzle 6: Why people use ‘twelve’ to express the degree of importance, such as ‘enthusiastic with twelve points’? Why not ‘eleven’ or ‘thirteen’? (近人常用“十二”之数字形容过分之意，例如：“十二分的热心”“十二分的努力”，何以不用十一或十三而独用十二?)

<sup>139</sup> Puzzle 9: People all prefer to be alive to dead. Those who committed suicide completely ignore the idea of ‘self’. Can we have compassion for such ‘no self’ spirit? (凡人皆好生恶死。轻生自杀者，完全将“我”之一念打消。现出无我精神。此种精神，若从大体上言之，能合于同情心否?)

<sup>140</sup> Puzzle 28: People tend to be more friendly, humbler, sincerer, more considerate and happier, when interacting with the opposite sex than interacting with people of the same sex. This seems natural when love is involved. But it can be naturally seen everywhere among men and women who are not in love. Why is that in psychology? (人类交际之时，男子对男子，及女子对女子，总不如男子对女子，或女子对男子之和悦，谦让，恭敬，诚恳，快活，尽心，体贴，谅解，帮忙。此在欲恋爱求婚之男女固无足异，惟在不欲恋爱求婚者，亦往往自然而然。此为何种心理?)

<sup>141</sup> Puzzle 35: Why most of us prefer to use our right hands? (吾人作事多用右手何故?)

<sup>142</sup> Puzzle 23: What make a mother-in-law tends to abuse her daughter-in-law? (一般婆婆虐待儿媳是何心理?)

<sup>143</sup> Puzzle 10: What make the parents love their youngest son most? (一般父母皆偏爱幼子，是何心理?)

<sup>144</sup> The three exceptions out of the sixty puzzles are puzzle twelve, thirteen, and eighteen. Puzzle twelve and eighteen focused on comparing different psychologists’ theories on people’s instinct or the psychological character of adolescent growth. Puzzle thirteen named Cai Yuanpei [蔡元培] and Hu Shi [胡适] as examples for the hereditary learning of Chinese classics.

the united subjects was aimed at incorporating the majority of Chinese society as the discipline's subject in the widest sense.

## Conclusion

### — Science Publication, Science Professionalization and Science Popularization

The three chapters of this thesis contributed to three questions: the first chapter, focusing on the print culture and intellectual professionalization, covered how the journal *Xinli* was published and managed in the 1920s China; the second, focusing on one of the main themes frequently appeared in *Xinli* — psychology testing, covered for what purpose(s) these tests were produced and how they were produced scientifically; the third, focusing on laymen involvement in the *Xinli* column, “The Reader’s Forum”, covered how *Xinli* constructed its readership by the serial Q&A and how laymen readers were involved in *Xinli*’s psychological discussions.

Chapter One underscores the significance of *Xinli* as a specialized scientific journal in 1920s China by analyzing its publishing mechanism from three aspects: Zhonghua Books’s operational and financial management, the Chinese Psychological Society’s spectrum of influence, and the structure of columns established by *Xinli*’s editor. Relying on Zhonghua Books’s prosperous management of periodical publishing, *Xinli* was circulated nationally among several other educational periodicals in the 1920s. As a seasonal periodical centered on a defined field of expertise, *Xinli*’s almost six-year print run took advantage of Zhonghua Books’s overall progressive development and positive financial condition. Intellectually, *Xinli* was primarily a membership reading for members of the newly-founded Chinese Psychological Society. The organization and regulation of the Society’s membership resulted a considerable number of the articles in *Xinli* belonging to a fix group of writers. *Xinli* organized its columns in a style that followed the method of specialization. Part of this style was column titled with a sustained element and connected with specific writers, part was versatile



responding to each issue's submitted articles. These columns usually followed a special way of deciding their sequential positions in the periodical, which illustrated a collectively agreed structure of the field.

Chapter Two examines the content of three senior writers' articles in *Xinli*, paying close attention to their interpretations of the tool of psychology testing. Psychology Testing in Republican China gained significant momentum in the 1920s, because it was deemed by many psychologists as one of the most, if not the most, fundamental and powerful means to improve national education by ascertaining Chinese students' psychological ability, intelligence, and schooling performance. However, psychological scholars held varying opinions about what forms of psychology tests would be appropriate and what would be the desired kind of results after practicing these tests. By looking at three case studies, Zhang Yaoxiang, Lu Zhiwei, and Chen Heqin respectively, this chapter finds that psychology tests meant different things for their research. Zhang focused on these tests as the best choice to compile new school examinations. Lu especially emphasized the importance of theoretical aspect of psychology tests instead of focusing on the data outcomes. Chen was interested in children's education, and most of his research shows how psychology tests could be helpful in evaluating children's intelligence and learning ability. Chen introduced several kinds of tests that supported his argument the children's education should be a necessary component in the education reform in 1920's China.

Although their purposes were different, Chinese psychologists shared a strong belief in introducing, exemplifying, and applying psychology tests in Chinese society. Three features of these articles were then discussed, which revealed how psychology tests were viewed as a scientific means. First, many psychological test were introduced in articles which gave a

systematical review of available psychology tests in other more advanced countries, such as America. The established authority of the original tests was thus transferred to the introduced ones. Second, psychology tests were given detailed discussion about why they had been modified or should be modified entirely or partly by Chinese scholars, ensuring their applicability in a different local context. Third, many detailed word-for-word dialogues of testing scripts were printed with the test procedures, requiring any new practitioner to follow these verbal standards in order to create a scandalized testing atmosphere for repeating on their own.

Chapter Three pays close attention to a new column, “The Reader’s Forum”, which was created in April 1924. The specially-designed Q&A organization of the column assisted *Xinli* to reach a broader audience and gave it space to publish what laymen readers thought about psychology. This reader-involved column was first created without clear guidelines because who might participant as its “readers” were still vague. Its nature was an open and polite space for reader’s discussions and debates that valued their participation with authentic identities. The particular manner of its Q&A organization and its subsequently formulated regulations indicated that this column valued following the proper way to participate much higher than the right or wrongness of a reader’s response. Compared with similar reader’s column in periodicals prevalent in Republican China about one decade later, such as *Xi Feng*, the nature of the puzzles listed in *Xinli* revealed that psychology in 1920s China was not yet deemed as a realm of knowledge that could offer solutions on an individual basis.

Five readers’ answers in “The Reader’s Forum” were carefully analyzed to demonstrate how laymen readers understood the universality of psychology that was constructed by these puzzles. These examples illustrated how the universality of psychological knowledge could be

argued in varying ways: Ding Guozhen's answer focused on a local custom of using chopsticks, Zhang Weihuan's answer was based on the fundamentality of people's hearts, Sun Yaoqin's answer explained the invariance of people's "human nature", Chen Zuyu's and Zeng Qizheng's answers both believed that the essential nature of the ancients should be correspondent with what now called "instinct." Their discussions give us vivid examples of how the popular understandings of psychology interwove with the process of constructing the fundamental assumption of psychology.

To conclude with the above summaries of these three chapters, the present thesis agrees that the periodical *Xinli* played double roles in both the professionalization and the popularization of psychology in China. The most important thing is that all these processes were taking place at the same time by the circulation of this seasonal periodical within less than six years time. Chinese psychologists did not gradually establish their field of expertise while their identity as scholars were assured. They were the first group of students returning from studying psychology abroad. Their careers were just beginning, and their expertise was not yet recognized or even heard about by the Chinese society at large. To create their own identities, as this thesis shows, their publication had depended on commercial publication house; they produced numerous psychology tests by ways of translating and modifying available ones, or drafting up new ones; they actively set up special column to reach potential audiences, and highly valued the contributions and participation from laymen readers. The supposed gap between scientists and the public does not actually appear in this case. Instead, for the field of psychology in 1920s China, the professionalization of psychological scientists was mutually progressing with the popularization of the field. Both took place mainly through the circulation of a scientific periodical, *Xinli*.

## Bibliography

*Xinli* 心理, Zhonghua Books 中华书局, 1922-1927.

Atkinson, Dwight. “*Scientific Discourse in Sociohistorical Context: The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975*,” Routledge, 1998.

Blowers, Geoffrey, “Origins of Scientific Psychology in China, 1899-1949,” *Internationalizing the History of Psychology*, 2006: 94-111.

— “Learning from Others: Japan's Role in Bringing Psychology to China,” *American Psychologist*, 2000, 55(12):1433-6.

Blowers, Geoffrey, Boris Tat Cheung, and Han Ru. “Emulation vs. Indigenization in the Reception of Western Psychology in Republican China: An Analysis of the Content of Chinese Psychology Journals (1922–1937),” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 2009, 45(1):21-33.

Blowers, Geoffrey, and Xuelai Wang, “Gone with the West Wind: the Emergence and Disappearance of Psychotherapeutic Culture in China, 1936–68,” in Howard Chiang (ed.), *Psychiatry and Chinese History, Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine, vol. 21*, Pickering & Chatto, 2014:143-60.

Cantor, Geoffrey, and Sally Shuttleworth eds. *Science Serialized: Representation of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, MIT Press, 2004.

Carson, John. *The Measure of Merit: Talents, Intelligence, and Inequality in the French and American Republics, 1750-1940*, Princeton University Press, 2007.

— “Mental Testing in the Early Twentieth Century: Internationalizing the Mental Testing Story,” *History of Psychology*, 2014, 17(3):249-55.

Chen, Nancy. “Translating Psychiatry and Mental Health in Twentieth-Century China,” in Lydia H. Liu ed., *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, Duke University Press, 1999:305-27.

Chiang, Howard ed. *Psychiatry and Chinese History: Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine, vol. 21*, Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

Culp, Robert. “Teaching Baihua: Textbook Publishing and the Production of Vernacular Language and a New Literary Canon in Early Twentieth-Century China,” *Twentieth-Century China*, 2008, 34(1).

Chen, Heqin (陈鹤琴). “Psychology Test, (*Ceyan*, 心理测验),” *Jiaoyu zazhi* (教育杂志), 1921, 13(11): 61-70.

— “The Methods about Investigating Children’s Aesthetic Feeling of Color (*Yanjiu ertong de yanse meigan zhi fangfa*, 研究儿童的颜色美感之方法),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).

— “Children Psychology: the Suggestibility of Children (*Ertong xinli: ertong de anshi xing*, 儿童心理: 儿童的暗示性),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(3).

— “Children Psychology and Children Education (*Ertong xinli ji jiaoyu ertong zhi fangfa* 儿童心理及教育儿童之方法),” *The New Education (xin jiao yu*, 新教育), 1919, 3(2).

— “A Mirror-Drawing Experiment (*Jing hua shiyan*, 镜画实验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(4).

— “A General Knowledge Test for Primary Schools (*Xiaoxue changsha ceshi* 小学常识测试),” *Xinli*, 1924, 3(1).

- “The Learning Ability of Senior People (*Laonianren de xuexi nengli* 老年人的学习能力),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(1).
- Chen, Yaosheng (陈尧圣). “My Uncle Chen Heqin (*Huainian xianshu Chen Heqin* 怀念先叔陈鹤琴),” *Bulletin in Culture and Education (wenjiao ziliao jianbao, 文教资料简报)*, 1983, 9:40-50.
- Cheng, Junying (程俊英). “Psychology: the Attention and Interest of Poets, (*Putong xinli: shiren zhi zhuyi ji xingqu*, 普通心理：诗人之注意及兴趣),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(1).
- Cheng, Shikui (程时焯). “The Research on Binest-Simon Test by Japanese Schloars (日本学者对于皮奈西门测验法之研究),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(3).
- Dewey, John (杜威). “The Elements of Educational Psychology” (*Jiaoyu zhi xinli de yaosu* 教育之心理的要素), *Public Bulletin of Education (Jiaoyu gongbao* 教育公报), 1921, 8(11):120-5.
- Ding, Panshi (丁磐石). “Reminiscences of the President of Yenching University, Lu Zhiwei (*Yi Yanjing daxue xiaozhang Lu Zhiwei* 忆燕京大学校长陆志韦),” *China Through the Ages (Yan huang chun qiu, 炎黄春秋)*, 2008, 4:49-54.
- Eghigian, Greg, and Killen Andreas, and Christine Leuenberger. “the Self as Project: Politics and the Human Sciences in the Twentieth Century,” *Osiris*, 2007, 22(1): 1-25.
- Elman, Benjamin. “‘Universal Science’ Versus ‘Chinese Science’: The Changing Identity of Natural Studies in China, 1850-1930,” *Historiography East and West*, 2003, 1(1): 68-116.
- Feng, John H. “Disciplining China with the Scientific Study of the State: Lu Zhengxiang and the Chinese Social and Political Science Association, 1915–1920,” *History of Science*, 2015, 53(1): 9-20.
- Fyfe, Aileen. “Chapter Twenty-Seven: Journals and Periodicals,” in Bernard Lightman, ed. *A Companion to the History of Science*, John Wiley & Sons, 2016: 387-99.
- Higgins, Louise T., and Chun Hui Sun. “The Development of Psychological Testing in China,” *International Journal of Psychology*, 2002, 37(4): 246-54.
- Hu, Yanfeng (胡延峰). *The Students Overseas and Chinese Psychology (Liuxuesheng yu zhongguo xinli xue* 留学生与中国心理学), Nankai University Press, 2009.
- Johanningmeier, Ervin V. “The transformation of Stuart Appleton Courtis: Test maker and progressive,” *American Educational History Journal*, 2004, 31(2).
- Judge, Joan. *Republican Lens: Gender, Visuality, and Experience in the Early Chinese Periodical Press*, University of California Press, 2015.
- Lean, Eugenia. *The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China*, University of California Press, 2007.
- Li, Mei-Ge, and Guan Lian-Rong. “Brief Introduction of the Chinese Psychological Society,” *International Journal of Psychology*, 1987, 22(4): 479-82.
- Li, Wenjing, and Heinzpeter Schmiedebach. “German Wine in an American Bottle: the Spread of Modern Psychiatry in China, 1898-1949,” *History of Psychiatry*, 2015, 26(3):348-58.
- Lu, Zhiwei (陆志韦). “The Conditions of Retention,” *Psychological Review*, 1922, 31(3).
- “On ‘The Methodology of Psychology, part 1’ by Xin Li (*Ping Xinli* “*xinli xue fangfa run zhi yi*” 评心力<心理学方法论之一>),” *Science (Kexue* 科学), 1922, 7(5):417-25.

- “The History of Psychology (*Xinli xue shi* 心理学史),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(1,2,4) and 1923, 2(1).
- “An Experiment to Correct the Geometric Illusion (*Yizhong jiaozheng jihe cuojue de shiyan* 一种矫正几何错觉的试验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).
- “Stimulus Generalization (*Jiaodai de jidong fanying* 交代的激动反应),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).
- “Questions about Creating Psychology Tests for Our Uses (*Bianzao ceyan zijian zawen* 编造测验自检杂问),” *Education Selection (Jiaoyu congkan* 教育丛刊), 1924, 2(1).
- Nan, Chenxi (南晨曦). “Discussions on Psychology (*Kexue tan: xinli xue zatan* 科学谈: 心理学杂谈),” *Chenbao fukan* (晨报副刊), 1921, Nov.4 -Dec 31.
- Pettit, Michael, and Jacy L. Young. “Psychology and Its Publics,” *History of the Human Sciences*, 2017, 30(4):3-10.
- MacKinnon, Stephen R. “Toward a History of the Chinese Press in the Republican Period,” *Modern China*, 1997, 23(1):3-32.
- Reed, Christopher A. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*, UBC Press, 2011.
- Shen, Grace. “Periodical Space: Language and the Creation of Scientific Community in Republican China,” in *Science and Technology in Modern China*, Jing Tsu and Benjamin Elman, eds., Brill, 2014: 269-96.
- Secord, James A. “Knowledge in Transit,” *Isis*, 2004, 95(4): 654-72.
- Shi, Wei. The “Eight Magazines of Zhonghua Book Company in the Early Republic of China,” *Library and information service*, 2011, 55(19):26-9.
- Wang, Wen-Ji. “Neurasthenia and the Rise of Psy Disciplines in Republican China,” *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 2016, 10(2):141-60.
- “West Wind Monthly and the Popular Mental Hygiene Discourse in Republican China (心理的下层工作: 《西风》与1930-1940年代大众心里卫生论述),” *Taiwanese Journal for Studies of Science, Technology and Medicine*. 2011, 13:15-88.
- Wang, Yinmin (王引民). “Some Suggestions from Psychology Teachers in Junior Normal Schools (*Chuji shifan xuexiao xinli jiaoshou de yijian* 初级师范学校心理教授的意见),” *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* (中华教育界), 1921, 11(4): 9-20.
- Wang, Zuoyue. “Saving China through Science: The Science Society of China, Scientific Nationalism, and Civil Society in Republican China,” *Osiris*, 2002, 17:291-322.
- Wu, Dingliang (吴定良). “The Standard Educational Testing in America (*Meiguo biao zhun de jiaoyu ceyan* 美国标准的教育测验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(4).
- Wu, Harry Yi-Jui, and Wen-Ji Wang. “Making and Mapping Psy Sciences in East and Southeast Asia,” *East Asian Science, Technology and Society*, 2016, 10(2):109-20.
- Xu, Fang (徐方). “My Grandfather Zhang Yaoxiang (忆外公张耀翔),” *Ge jie* (各界), 2016, 11:35-8.
- Yan, Shu-Chang (阎书昌). “Ding Weiliang and His Xing Xue Ju Yu in the history of Modern Chinese Psychology (*Zhongguo jindai xinlixue shi shang de Ding Wailing jiqi “xing xue ju yu”* 中国近代心理学史上的丁韪良及其《性学举隅》),” *Acta Psychologica Sinica* (心理学报), 2011, 43(1): 101-10.

- Yang, Baicheng (杨百城), Zhao Yikong (赵意空). “Ancient Medical Cases of Psychological Treatments (*Yi an men: gudai yi an — guanyu xinli liaozhi zhi fa* 医案门：古代医案——关于心理疗治之法),” *Yixue zazhi* (医学杂志), 1921, 1:83.
- Yang, Elian (杨鄂联), Fang Yongzheng (方永蒸), Zhang Yaoxiang (张耀翔). “Minute of Discussion Session No.17: Psychology Education Testings Group (分组会议记录：第十七, 心理教育测验组),” *The New Education (Xin jiao yu, 新教育)*, 1922, 5(3):251-2.
- Yuan, Xicong (袁喜聪). “Three Doctrines in the Psychology of Animals (*Dongwu xinli sue shang ahi san da pai* 动物心理学上之三大派),” *Bo wu zazhi* (博物杂志), 1921, 4:22-9.
- Zhang, Jian (张剑). *the Developments and Institutionalization of Science in Modern China (Zhongguo jindai kexue yu kexue tizhi hua* 中国近代科学与科学体制化), Sichuan People’s Press, 2008.
- Zhang, Shiyi(张士一). “A Test on the Tone Marks of Mandarin Phonetic Symbols (*Yanjiu zhuyin zimu sisheng biaofa de yige shiyan* 研究注音字母四声标法的一个试验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).
- Zhang, Yaoxiang (张耀翔). “My Teaching Life (*Wode jiaoxue shenghuo* 我的教学生活),” *Quarterly Journal of Psychology* (心理季刊), 1937, 2(2).
- “The Contribution of Psychology (*Xinlixue gongxian* 心理学贡献),” *Jiaoyu congkan* (教育丛刊), 1921, 2(3):1-16, and 2(4):1-12.
- “Intelligence Test (*Zhihui ce liang, 智慧测量*),” *Jiao yu cong kan* (教育丛刊), 1920, 4:14-22.
- “Social Psychology: the Superstition of Chinese (*Shehui xinli: guoren zhi mixin, 社会心理：国人之迷信*),” *Xinli*, 1923, 2(2).
- “The Recent American Society (*Meiguo shehui zui xin qingxing, 美国社会最近情形*), part 1, 2, 3,” *Science (Kexue, 科学)*, 1918, 4(3, 4, 5).
- “The Poor of Slums in American, (*Meiguo pin yuan zhong zhi pin min, 美国贫院中之贫民*),” *Liu mei xuesheng jibao* (留美学生季报), 1920, 7(2).
- “The Reforms Have not Been Done, (*Ying gailiang er wei gailiang zhe, 应改良而未改良者*), part 1, 2,” *Liu mei xuesheng jibao* (留美学生季报), 1919, 6(2-3).
- “Discussion: about the Domineering Parents in Chinese Culture (*Duzhe luntan: Lun wuguo fumu zhi zhuanheng* 读者论坛：论吾国父母之专横),” *La Jeunesse (Xin qing nian* 新青年), 1918, 5(6).
- “Intelligence Test: a Method to Make Education More Scientific and a First Step of Measuring Chinese Intelligence, (智慧测量：是改造教育为一种科学之初步，是制造中国智慧度量衡之先声),” *Jiao yu cong kan* (教育丛刊), 1920, 4.
- “The Difference between Great Thinkers and Common People (*Da sixiang jia yu chengren butong chu* 大思想家与常人不同处),” *Liu mei xue sheng ji bao* (留美学生季报), 1920, 7(4).
- “The Slowest and Smartest Children in the World (世上最呆与最聪明的儿童),” *Research of preschool education that carried out in Peking women’s higher normal college (Beijing nv gaoshi youzhi jiaoyu de yanjiu* 北京女高师幼稚教育的研究), 1920, 1.

- “The Contributions of Psychology, part 1-5”, *Jiao yu cong kan* (教育丛刊), 1921, 2(1-4).
- “Eight Trigrams Test (Bagua ceyan 八卦测验),” *Xinli*, 1922, 1(2).
- Zhang, Yaoxiang (张耀翔), and Cao Peiyan (曹配言). “Lecture: New Standard Examinations, part 1-5, (*Jiangyan: xin fa kaoshi* 讲演: 新法考试),” *Supplement to Morning News* (晨报副刊), 1921, Nov. 9, 10, 11, 12, and 16.
- Zhao, Liru (赵莉如). “Psychological Journals in China before the Second Sino-Japanese War (*Zhongguo kangri zhanzheng qian de xinlixue kanwu* 中国抗日战争前的心理学刊物),” *Journals of Developments in Psychology* (心理学动态), 1990.
- “The earliest Chinese Psychological Society and the Chinese Psychological Society before the Second Sino-Japanese War (*Zuizao de zhonghua xinli xuehui he kangri zhanzheng qian de zhongguo xinli xuehui* 最早的中华心理学会和抗日战争前的中国心理学会),” *Journal of Developments in Psychology: Special Issue on the Origin and Developments of Modern Psychology in China* (心理学动态), 1990.
- Zhu, Guangqian (朱光潜). “Freud’s Theory on the Unconscious and Psycho-Analysis (*Fulude de qianyishi shuo yu xinli fenxi* 福鲁德的潜意识说与心理分析),” *dongfang zazhi* (东方杂志), 1921, 18(14):41-51.



## Appendix A: Index of The Chinese Journal of Psychology (1922-1927)<sup>145</sup>

心理一卷一号目录 民国十一年一月 共169页

历史

(陆志韦, 吴定良) 心理学史

(罗濬 jun) 现代心理学之运动

传记

(黄公觉) 近代心理学大家詹姆斯传

普通心理

(戴应观) 幻想之心理

(邬翰芳) 工作与疲劳

儿童心理

(陈鹤琴) 研究儿童的知识之方法

变态心理

(余天休) 分析心理学

智力测验

(张耀翔) 智力测验缘起

(廖世承) 智力测验的历史

(陈鹤琴) 智力测验的用处

(张耀翔) 科提士之算学测验

教育测验

(张耀翔) 教育测验缘起

(张耀翔) 识字测验

介绍\*

(张耀翔) 中国学者心理学之研究

心理一卷二号目录 民国十一年三月 共160页

插图<sup>+146</sup>

近代心理学大家詹姆斯像

近代心理学大家文德像

普通心理

(张耀翔) 杂音

实验心理+

(陆志韦) 一种矫正几何错觉的试验

儿童心理

(陈鹤琴) 研究儿童的颜色美感之方法

(陈鹤琴) 理解性之学习法

---

<sup>145</sup> Please note that these articles were written in Chinese, and had not been published or translated into English or other languages. If readers find some of these articles or authors listed here relevant to their research, and would like to have a tentative translation, the author of this thesis is happy to collaborate.

<sup>146</sup> The mark + means that this column is a new one.

变态心理

(张子和) 梦之研究

(余天休) 分析心理学

历史

(陆志韦, 吴定良) 心理学史

传记

(黄公觉) 近代心理学大家文德史略暨著述

智力测验

(张耀翔) 智慧之定义及范围

(张耀翔) 八卦试验

教育测验

(张士一) 研究注音字母四声标法的一个试验

(廖世承) 读法测验

心理一卷三号目录 民国十一年七月 共159页

插图

东南大学心理系仪器

普通心理

(张耀翔) 文学家之想像

(孙祥偈) 杂音

实验心理

(陆志韦) 交代的激动反应

动物心理+

(张纯一) 鸦之心理

(戴应观) 动物智能

儿童心理

(陈鹤琴) 研究儿童的历史

教育心理+

(程俊英) 中国古代学者论人性的善恶

(卫中) 男女新分析心理学

智力测验

(程时焯) 日本学者对于皮奈西门测验法之研究

教育测验

(张耀翔) 见闻试验

研究+

(姚仁寿) 性和习的研究

通讯+

心理一卷四号目录 民国十一年十月 共168页

普通心理

(陈定谟) 释本能

实验心理

(陈鹤琴) 镜画试验  
各家心理+  
(梁启超) 佛教心理学浅测  
历史  
(陆志韦, 吴定良) 心理学史 (二续)  
教育心理  
(卫中) 男女新分析心理学 (一续)  
心理测验  
(程俊英) 汉魏时代之心理测验  
(张耀翔) 情绪试验  
教育测验  
(吴定良) 美国标准的教育测验  
职业测验+  
(汤茂如) 中学四年级生职业选择之调查  
介绍  
(吴定良) 美国出版之心理杂志  
(张耀翔) 中国学者心理学之研究  
通讯  
(吴定良) 心理学近讯  
心理二卷一号目录 民国十二年二月 共154页  
插图  
中华教育改进社特请心理专家麦柯像  
中华教育改进社在济南开第一次年会心理教育测验组像  
普通心理  
(程俊英) 诗人之注意与兴味  
老年心理+  
(陈鹤琴) 老年人的学习能力  
社会心理+  
(张耀翔) 民意测验  
历史  
(陆志韦, 吴定良) 心理学史 (二续)  
教育心理  
(卫中) 男女新分析心理学  
智力测验  
(吴定良) 美国团体智慧测验之种类  
教育测验  
(程时焯) 南满教育测验  
通讯  
(琴一) 日本心理测验之新发展  
心理二卷二号目录 民国十二年二月 共150页

插图

杜里舒博士像

东南大学心理测验团钟山郊叙摄影

普通心理

(汪震) 情绪之发生

(程俊英) 诗人之注意及兴趣

儿童心理

(许寿裳) 儿童心理的研究法

青年心理+

(周调阳) 性欲问题之研究

社会心理

(张耀翔) 国人之迷信

(罗志儒) “民意测验”的研究

宗教心理+

(邓翠英) 儿童之宗教意识

教育测验

(俞子夷) 小学校毛笔书法里成绩的算法

历史

(杜里舒) 近代心理学之变迁

心理二卷三号目录 民国十二年九月 共155页

插图

儿童哭之表现

老男与少女笑之表现

普通心理

(欧阳湘) 杂色

(刘作炎, 何世珍) 世界各国国旗的颜色

动物心理

(张子和) 鸽之心理

(张子和) 蚁之心理

儿童心理

(陈鹤琴) 儿童的暗示性

青年心理

(周调阳) 中国学生两性心理之研究

社会心理

(张耀翔) 国人之迷信

(萧树荣) 史籍迷信随笔

应用心理

(陆志韦) 应用心理学概论

教育心理

(艾伟) 中学数学的心理

(卫西琴) 男女新分析心理学 (三续)  
心理学史

(叶勒索夫) 俄国心理学最近之发展  
心理二卷四号目录 民国十二年十月 共158页

插图

教育心理测验讲习会摄影

北师大实行心理测验招考新生摄影

普通心理

(陈定谟) 语言与思想

(程俊英) 杂色

动物心理

(萧树棠) 蚂蚁如何识别他巢内的同伴

儿童心理

(何熙春) 儿童恐怖兴味及道德心之研究

变态心理

(张耀翔) 癖

(王惟英) 释梦

应用心理

(萧树棠) 字相学

教育心理

(卫中) 男女新分析心理学

智力测验

(张耀翔) 果性测验

教育测验

(罗志儒) 教育测量中三种尺度

心理名词+

(庄泽宣) 审查心理学名词的经过

心理界闻+

国内之部, 国外之部

心理三卷一号目录 民国十三年一月 共166页

插图

幼儿习字之正当握笔方法

幼儿习字之不正当握笔方法

普通心理

(张耀翔) 人生第一记忆

(汪震) 自我与灵魂

动物心理

(罗廷光) 动物本能之科学的研究

(萧树棠) 红色与家畜之愤怒

变态心理

(容肇祖) 变态心理学的历史  
(杜元载) 变态心理学之内容  
遗传学+  
(周调阳) 鱼卵化金鱼  
各家心理  
(汪震) 内省心理学与行为心理学  
教育心理  
(赵迺传) 练习之转移  
智力测验  
(曾作忠) 智力测验和教育  
(陈鹤琴) 小学常识测验  
教育测验  
(俞子夷) 小学算术应用题测验  
心理界闻  
心理三卷二号目录 民国十三年四月 共186页<sup>147</sup>  
插图  
错觉图十二幅  
普通心理  
(张耀翔) 新诗人之情绪  
(曾作忠) 人类应用数字之选择  
青年心理  
(曾作忠) 青年犯罪之心理 (一)  
(张耀翔) 青年犯罪之心理 (二)  
社会心理  
(陶德怡) 善恶字汇  
心理学史  
(陈大齐) 德国心理学派略说  
教育心理  
(卫中) 男女新分析心理学 (五续)  
智力测验  
(廖世承) 团体智力测验  
(钱鹤) 日本国民智力测验法  
读者论坛+  
(张耀翔) 难题二十则求教  
心理界闻  
(姚以齐) 国内之部  
(杜元载) 国外之部  
心理三卷三号目录 民国十三年九月 共205页

---

<sup>147</sup> The Reader's Forum was initiated with this issue.

插图

知觉试验图三幅

(Thorndike) 美国中学毕业生智力测验之一

普通心理

(庄泽宣) 韩宁嗅觉试验

(张耀翔) 拜发主义与拜眉主义

儿童心理

(朱松毓) 儿童兴味

社会心理

(陶德怡) 善恶字汇

变态心理

(杜元载) 梦

各家心理

(汪震) 王阳明心理学

遗传学+

(李顺卿) 蚕卵化金鱼之我见

读者论坛

(张耀翔) 问题第二十一至三十

(读者) 答案第一至第十问

心理三卷四号目录 民国十四年七月 共174页

插图

神经原写真六幅

普通心理

(樊际昌) 行为派的思想观

(汪震) 概念作用之新解释

(李增扬) 本能

(游宇) 笑之分类及其生理

(张耀翔) 麻将牌之注意价值

社会心理

(罗志儒) 出名与命名的关系

变态心理

(李蠡榘) 梦为预兆说之驳辩

各家心理

(谢循初) 弗洛德传略及其思想之进展

应用心理

(罗廷光) 工作与效率

职业心理

(任熙烈) 中国学生择业之倾向

商业心理+

(张耀翔) 商人心理浅测

美术心理+

(Weatherly, J. 林笃信译) 音乐心理

智力测验

(Pintner, R. 欧阳湘译) 美国与外国儿童在智能测验上之比较

教育测验

(陈裕光) 中学科学测验

读者论坛

(读者) 问题第三十一至四十

(读者) 答案第十一至二十

心理四卷一号目录 民国十五年一月 共166页

插图

诵读时眼球跳动实验图四幅

普通心理

(陈璧如) 愤怒

(汪奠基) 心理学上联锁推证的数学方式

(李增扬) 本能

实验心理

(沈有乾) 诵读时眼球跳动之观察

变态心理

(谢循初) 佛洛特释梦

(张耀翔) 评Coriat 【三一七】 【三九九零】 梦

社会心理

(朱君毅) 现代中国人物之地理教育与职业之分布

(张耀翔) 清代进士之地理的分布

(李蠡舡) 算命迷信的理解

各家心理

(余家菊) 中国心理学思想

读者论坛

(读者) 问题第四十一至五十

(读者) 答案第二十至三十

心理四卷二号目录 民国十六年一月 共148页

插图

儿童半身像片十张 (本志实验心理第一篇所用材料)

普通心理

(赵演) 心理学最近的分类

(郭维屏) 记忆

(陈璧如) 愤怒

实验心理

(张耀翔) 听其言也观其眸子人焉廋哉实验

(汪震) 两个联想实验



社会心理

（卫中）国心与国家

各家心理

（邱椿）意义的意义

心理测验

（张耀翔）大学入学智力测验

读者论坛

（读者）问题第五十一至六十

（读者）答案第三十一至四十

心理界闻

（北师大心理学会）中国学者心理学之研究-第四集

## Appendix B: Contribution List

- |     |    |   |
|-----|----|---|
| 插图  | 19 | 一 (2) 近代心理学大家詹姆斯像<br>一 (2) 近代心理学大学文德像<br>一 (3) 东南大学心理系仪器<br>一 (4) 中华心理学会扬州会员欢迎东大中国标准智能测验团摄影<br>一 (4) 东南大学儿童心理个人测验之一、团体测验之一<br>二 (1) 中华教育改进社特请心理专家麦柯像<br>二 (1) 中华教育改进社在济南开第一次年会心理教育测验组像<br>二 (2) 杜里舒博士像<br>二 (2) 东南大学心理测验团钟山郊叙摄影<br>二 (3) 儿童哭之表现<br>二 (3) 老男与少女笑之表现<br>二 (4) 教育心理测验讲习会摄影<br>二 (4) 北京师大实行心理测验招考新生摄影<br>三 (1) 幼儿习字之正当握笔方法<br>三 (1) 幼儿习字之不正当握笔方法<br>三 (2) 错觉图十二幅<br>三 (3) 知觉实验图三幅<br>三 (3) Thorndike 美国中学毕业生智力测验之一<br>三 (4) 神经元写真六幅<br>四 (1) 诵读时眼球跳动实验图四幅<br>四 (2) 儿童半身像片十张 (本志实验心理第一篇所用材料) |
| 艾伟  | 1  | 二 (3) 教育心理: 中学数学的心理   |
| 陈璧如 | 2  | 四 (1) 普通心理: 愤怒<br>四 (2) 普通心理: 愤怒  |
| 陈定谟 | 2  | 一 (4) 普通心理: 释本能<br>二 (4) 普通心理: 语言与思想  |
| 陈鹤琴 | 9  | 一 (1) 儿童心理: 研究儿童的知识之方法<br>一 (1) 智力测验: 智力测验的用处<br>一 (2) 儿童心理: 研究儿童的颜色美感之方法<br>一 (2) 儿童心理: 理解性之学习法<br>一 (3) 儿童心理: 研究儿童的历史<br>一 (4) 实验心理: 镜画试验<br>二 (1) 老年心理: 老年人的学习能力<br>二 (3) 儿童心理: 儿童的暗示性<br>三 (1) 智力测验: 小学常识测验   |

- 陈裕光 1 三 (4) 教育测验: 中学科学测验
- 程俊英 5 一 (3) 教育心理: 中国古代学者论人性的善恶  
一 (4) 心理测验: 汉魏时代之心理测验  
二 (1) 普通心理: 诗人之注意与兴味  
二 (2) 普通心理: 诗人之注意及兴趣  
二 (4) 普通心理: 杂色
- 程时燧 2 一 (3) 智力测验: 日本学者对于皮奈西门测验法之研究  
二 (1) 教育测验: 南满教育测验
- 戴应观 2 一 (1) 普通心理学: 幻想之心理  
一 (3) 动物心理: 动物智能
- 邓翠英 1 二 (2) 宗教心理: 儿童之宗教意识
- 杜里舒 1 二 (2) 历史: 近代心理学之变迁
- 杜元载 3 三 (1) 变态心理: 变态心理学之内容  
三 (2) 心理界闻: 国外之部 - 介绍欧美日本出版之心理学专书及杂志  
三 (3) 变态心理: 梦
- 樊际昌 1 三 (4) 普通心理: 行为派的思想观
- 郭维屏 1 四 (2) 普通心理: 记忆
- 何熙春 1 二 (4) 儿童心理: 儿童恐怖兴味及道德心之研究
- 黄公觉 2 一 (1) 传记: 近代心理学大家詹姆斯传  
一 (2) 传记: 近代心理学大家文德史略暨著述
- 李蠡榘 2 三 (4) 变态心理: 梦为预兆说之驳辩  
四 (1) 社会心理: 算命迷信的理解
- 李顺卿 1 三 (3) 遗传学: 蚕卵化金鱼之我见
- 李增扬 2 三 (4) 普通心理: 本能  
四 (1) 普通心理: 本能 (未完)
- 梁启超 1 一 (4) 各家心理: 佛教心理学浅测
- 廖世承 3 一 (1) 智力测验: 智力测验的历史  
一 (2) 教育测验: 读法测验  
三 (2) 智力测验: 团体智力测验
- 林笃信 1 三 (4) 美术心理: 音乐心理 (译自Weatherly. J)
- 刘作炎 1 二 (3) 普通心理: 世界各国国旗的颜色 (何世珍合写)

- 陆志韦 7 一 (1) 历史: 心理学史 (吴定良合写)  
 一 (2) 实验心理: 一种矫正几何错觉的试验  
 一 (2) 历史: 心理学史 (吴定良合写)  
 一 (3) 试验心理: 交代的激动反应  
 一 (4) 历史: 心理学史二续 (吴定良合写)  
 二 (1) 历史: 心理学史二续 (吴定良合写)  
 二 (3) 应用心理: 应用心理学概论
- 罗廷光 2 三 (1) 动物心理: 动物本能之科学的研究  
 三 (4) 应用心理: 工作与效率
- 罗濬 1 一 (1) 历史: 现代心理学之运动
- 罗志儒 3 二 (2) 社会心理: “民意测验”的研究  
 二 (4) 教育测验: 教育测量中三种尺度  
 三 (4) 社会心理: 出名与命名的关系
- 欧阳湘 2 二 (3) 普通心理: 杂色  
 三 (4) 智力测验: 美国与外国儿童在智能测验上之比较 (译自 Pintner. R)
- 钱鹤 1 三 (2) 智力测验: 日本国民智力测验法
- 琴一 1 二 (1) 通讯: 日本心理测验之新发展
- 邱椿 1 四 (2) 各家心理: 意义的意义
- 任熙烈 1 三 (4) 职业心理: 中国学生择业之倾向
- 容肇祖 1 三 (1) 变态心理: 变态心理学的历史
- 沈有乾 1 四 (1) 实验心理: 诵读时眼球跳动之观察
- 孙祥偈 1 一 (2) 普通心理: 杂音
- 汤茂如 1 一 (4) 职业测验: 中学四年级生职业选择之调查
- 陶德怡 2 三 (2) 社会心理: 善恶字汇  
 三 (3) 社会心理: 善恶字汇
- 王惟英 1 二 (4) 变态心理: 释梦
- 汪震 6 二 (2) 普通心理: 情绪之发生  
 三 (1) 普通心理: 自我与灵魂  
 三 (1) 各家心理: 内省心理学与行为心理学  
 三 (3) 各家心理: 王阳明心理学  
 三 (4) 普通心理: 概念作用之新解释  
 四 (2) 实验心理: 两个联想实验

- 汪奠基 1 四 (I) 普通心理: 心理学上连锁推证的数学方式
- 卫中 7 一 (3) 教育心理: 男女新分析心理学  
卫西琴 一 (4) 教育心理: 男女新分析心理学 一续  
二 (I) 教育心理: 男女新分析心理学  
二 (3) 教育心理: 男女新分析心理学 三续  
二 (4) 教育心理: 男女新分析心理学  
三 (2) 教育心理: 男女新分析心理学 五续  
四 (2) 社会心理: 国心与国家
- 吴定良 4 一 (4) 教育测验: 美国标准的教育测验  
一 (4) 介绍: 美国出版之心理杂志  
一 (4) 通讯: 心理学近讯  
二 (I) 智力测验: 美国团体智慧测验之种类
- 邬翰芳 1 一 (I) 普通心理: 工作与疲劳
- 萧树荣 4 二 (3) 社会心理: 史籍迷信随笔  
二 (4) 动物心理: 蚂蚁如何识别他巢内的同伴  
二 (4) 应用心理: 字相学  
三 (I) 动物心理: 红色与家畜之愤怒
- 谢循初 2 三 (4) 各家心理: 弗洛德传略及其思想之进展  
四 (I) 变态心理: 佛洛特释梦
- 许寿裳 1 二 (2) 儿童心理: 儿童心理的研究法
- 姚仁寿 1 一 (3) 研究: 性和习的研究
- 姚以齐 1 三 (2) 心理界闻: 国内之部
- 叶勒索夫 1 二 (3) 心理学史: 俄国心理学最近之发展
- 游宇 1 三 (4) 普通心理: 笑之分类及其生理
- 余家菊 1 四 (I) 各家心理: 中国心理学思想
- 余天休 2 一 (I) 变态心理: 分析心理学  
一 (2) 变态心理: 分析心理学
- 俞子夷 2 二 (2) 教育测验: 小学校毛笔书法里成绩的算法  
三 (I) 教育测验: 小学算术应用题测验
- 曾作忠 3 三 (I) 智力测验: 智力测验和教育  
三 (2) 普通心理: 人类应用数字之选择  
三 (2) 青年心理: 青年犯罪之心理 (I)

- 张纯一 I 一 (3) 动物心理：鸦之心理
- 张士一 I 一 (2) 教育测验：研究注音字母四声标法的一个试验
- 张耀翔 35 一 (I) 智力测验：智力测验缘起  
 一 (I) 智力测验：科提士之算数测验  
 一 (I) 介绍：中国学者心理学之研究  
 一 (2) 普通心理学：杂音  
 一 (2) 智力测验：智慧之定义及范围  
 一 (2) 智力测验：八卦试验  
 一 (3) 普通心理：文学家之想象  
 一 (3) 教育测验：见闻试验  
 一 (3) 通讯  
 一 (4) 心理测验：情绪试验  
 一 (4) 介绍：中国学者心理学之研究  
 二 (I) 社会心理：民意测验  
 二 (2) 社会心理：国人之迷信  
 二 (3) 社会心理：国人之迷信  
 二 (4) 变态心理：癖  
 二 (4) 智力测验：果性测验  
 二 (4) 心理界闻：国内之部，国外之部  
 三 (I) 普通心理：人生第一记忆  
 三 (I) 心理界闻  
 三 (2) 普通心理：新诗人之情绪  
 三 (2) 青年心理：青年犯罪之心理 (2)  
 三 (2) 读者论坛：难题二十则求教  
 三 (3) 普通心理：拜发主义与拜眉主义  
 三 (3) 读者论坛：问题第二十一至三十。答案第一至第十问。  
 三 (4) 普通心理：麻将牌之注意价值  
 三 (4) 商业心理：商人心理浅测  
 三 (4) 读者论坛：问题第三十一至四十。回答第十一至二十。  
 四 (I) 变态心理：评 Coriat [三一七] [三九零] 梦  
 四 (I) 社会心理：清代进士之地理的分布  
 四 (I) 读者论坛：问题四十一至五十。回答第二十一至三十。  
 四 (2) 实验心理：听其言也观其眸子人焉廋哉实验  
 四 (2) 心理测验：大学入学智力测验  
 四 (2) 读者论坛：问题第五十一至六十。回答第三十一至四十。  
 四 (2) 心理界闻：北京师大心理学会 - 中国学者心理学之研究 第四集

- 张子和 3 一 (2) 变态心理: 梦之研究  
二 (3) 动物心理: 鸽之心理  
二 (3) 动物心理: 蚁之心理
- 赵迺传 1 三 (1) 教育心理: 练习之转移
- 赵演 1 四 (2) 普通心理: 心理学最近的分类
- 周调阳 3 二 (2) 青年心理: 性欲问题之研究  
二 (3) 青年心理: 中国学生两性心理之研究  
三 (1) 遗传学: 蚕卵化金鱼
- 朱君毅 1 四 (1) 社会心理: 现代中国人物之地理教育与职业之分布
- 朱松毓 1 三 (3) 儿童心理: 儿童兴味
- 庄泽宣 2 二 (4) 心理名词: 审查心理学名词的经过  
三 (3) 普通心理: 韩宁嗅觉试验

## Appendix C: Puzzle List from The Reader's Forum 读者论坛

### 第三卷-第二号 难题二十则求教

“以下问题，系记者与北京师大教育研究科诸君讲课间所互发。经笔者逾百条。兹先发表二十条，后当与各处寄来之问题继续发表。读者诸君有何高见，幸勿吝教。”

第一问：

世人以白色为美，黑色为丑，好白恶丑之心理何安在？ 10+1

第二问：

语云：“良医之子，多死于病，良弓之子，必学为箕”何解？ 4+1

第三问：

同一距离，生路觉远，熟路觉近，其故安在？ 9+1

第四问：

“望梅止渴，”“画饼充饥，”可能乎？ 9+1

第五问：

史载“娥皇女英乃舜之高祖姑，娥皇无子，女英之子商均不肖是否可用以证明血族联姻之有害？ 5

第六问：

近人常用“十二”之数字形容过分之意，例如：“十二分的热心”“十二分的努力”，何以不用十一或十三而独用十二？ 6+1

第七问：

教育家对于男女两性之差异，应化之使同，抑应保持此种差异？ 9

第八问：

坏习惯易养成，好习惯难养成，何故？ 6

第九问：

凡人皆好生恶死。轻生自杀者，完全将“我”之一念打消。现出无我精神。此种精神，若从大体上言之，能合于同情心否？ 2

第十问：

一般父母皆偏爱幼子，是何心理？ 5+1

第十一问：

当男女情窦初开之时，附于性欲各种行为本不十分了解，但一经教以性欲知识，反足以惹动其好奇心，引起性欲上之滥用。问性欲智识究竟应否授与情窦初开之男女？ 7

第十二问：

James 主张本性暂存 transitoriness of Instincts说；Thorndike非本性暂存说；Kirkpatrick 则以为本性有暂存有非暂存之二者，今应如何取决？ 3

第十三问：

蔡元培序胡适中国古代哲学史大纲谓：“适之先生生于世传【汉学】的绩溪胡氏，稟有【汉学】的遗传性”。问【汉学】亦能遗传否？ 5

第十四问：

扶乩果能与灵魂问答乎？ 4



第十五问：

孔子曰：“智者乐水，仁者乐山”，后人解为“知者达于事理，而周流无滞，有似于水，故乐水；仁者安于义理，而厚重不迁，有似于山，故乐山”；极不可通。若为孔子辩护，有何妥当解释？ 3

第十六问：

吴客之言，愈楚太子之病；苏子之诗，愈罹疟疾之人；读陈琳檄，曹操之头疾以治；聆皇子告敖之语，桓公之病遂去。凡此诸事论者，皆以为文字语言之妙用足以感人；但在心理学上当如何解释？ 3

第十七问：

古来有“借尸还魂”之说：谓人当大病之际，死而复生；苏醒后不认家人亲朋，胡言乱语，一若另换一人者，报纸上亦多此类记载。此究为何种心理现象？ 5

第十八问：

心理学家对于青年时期之影响于心理特质的发达有两种相反学说：一种是骤变发展说（theory of Saltatory Development），假定青年时期各种心理特质的的发展比较迅速，有骤然改变的征象。Stanley Hall 一派主张之。一种是逐渐发展说（theory of Gradual Development）假定各种心理的特质，根本上是逐渐发展的。Thorndike, King 等主张之。究竟此二说以何者较为可靠？ 2

第十九问：

骆宾王讨武则天文有句云：“一坏之土未干，六尺之孤何托？”二语不独武氏当时见之寒胆，千载以后见者亦均为之动心，问二语所以动人之处何在？ 4

第二十问：

晋侯梦大厉，果不食新（左传）；魏颗从治命，夜梦所嫁妇人之父（左传）；史母梦天祥而生史可法（通鑑）；常遇春梦神而投明太祖（明史纪事本末）；成祖梦绯衣人入宫，卒免景清之行刺（明史纪事本末）。凡此诸事，皆载史策，史不足信耶？梦不足凭耶？偶尔符合耶？抑吾人之心，乃有前知之可能性耶？ 3+1

读者论坛 第三号-第三卷

“本栏问题系心理学会会员，各处读者，及北师大教育心理系同人所拟，前曾发表二十则，蒙各处寄来答案甚多，远出本栏篇幅限度之外。兹为缩小讨论范围，本期暂只继续发表十问。此外好题尚多，后当扩充篇幅，按期发表。”

第二十一问

孟子曰：“大人者不失其赤子之心者也”一语在心理学上能否成立？ 3

第二十二问

“尧舜伪也，桀纣真也”二语在心理学上能否成立？ 8

第二十三问

一般婆婆虐待儿媳是何心理？ 0

第二十四问

各种宗教，多鄙视女性，而信宗教者为何女子独多？ 0

第二十五问

看见行人滑倒，或看见人家帽子被风刮去，为何发笑？ 7

### 第二十六问

关羽为蜀汉战将，坐镇荆州，略著治绩，有豪迈义烈之风，固可崇敬。然其性情偏激，卒以此败覆。历史上如此人物正多，何彼独为人崇拜，达于极点，比之于圣，拟之于佛，钦而尊之曰关圣帝君，盖天古佛，昊天银阙，伏魔大帝，而为国人崇拜神中，最普遍而重要之一。立功立德立言三者，彼究以何见长，而为国人如是崇拜，此种迷信心理之构成，在心理学上当云何解释？○

### 第二十七问

柳下惠坐怀不乱，问此人之性欲状态若何？<sup>3</sup>

### 第二十八问

人类交际之时，男子对男子，及女子对女子，总不如男子对女子，或女子对男子之和悦，谦让，恭敬，诚恳，快活，尽心，体贴，谅解，帮忙。此在欲恋爱求婚之男女固无足异，惟在不欲恋爱求婚者，亦往往自然而然。此为何种心理？○

### 第二十九问

古人用规箴铭鑑，置诸座右；近人用格言对联贴诸墙壁；民国以来，所谓模范城市，如太原开封等处，更制格言黑板（黑板上题格言）遍县市区，他如学校亦多大书“忠信笃敬”“整齐严肃”字样于礼堂者，目的均在激起人之善良行为。但就一般观察，人之行为并不因此而迁善。问此类方法何以无效？<sup>1</sup>

### 第三十问

西国有一名言：“without poverty sickness and crying babies, no genius can write good books”意谓“无贫穷，疾病，及哭啼之婴孩，虽有智者，亦不能著好书”。但贫穷，疾病，啼哭婴孩，皆不顺利之境遇，何以反能助著作家之成功？<sup>5</sup>

### “答案

自本栏第一批问题发出后，所得答案琳琅满架，美不胜收。因困扰于篇幅，恨不能尽量发表。此处所能发表者不过一小部分。为便利将来提引起见，每答冠以命分字样，分母指问数，分子指答数，例如4/5则指第五问第四答也。其余类推。遇有答意未尽之处，记者将本所知略加补充，附列于后。凡所补充，即系众人不注意之点，其不关重要可知，故存一说耳。”

### 读者论坛 第四号-第三卷

### 问题第三十一至四十

“本栏所有问题，均系各处读者所拟，尤以北京师大心理系诸君最多，功绩应归出题人（但因他种关系，出题人姓名概不发表，即出题本人亦多有声明不愿发表者）。记者仅负责发起搜集，编审责任而已。（耀翔）”

### 第三十一问

谚云“好夫妇难到老，一对冤家到白头”何解？<sup>2</sup>

### 第三十二问

预备做一件困难的事情，夜间想得头头是道，何以一到阳光如是，则所想皆非？<sup>3</sup>

### 第三十三问

人当忽然忿怒之时，辄以手拍案，何故？<sup>4</sup>

### 第三十四问

青年人恶鬚，老年人爱鬚，二者心理相反，能言其故否？ 2

第三十五问

吾人作事多用右手何故？ 2

第三十六问

清王芸诗云：“英雄见惯亦常人”何解？ 2

第三十七问

心理学为精神科学以“人”为研究之对象，何以反较物质科学晚进？ 2

第三十八问

“骄兵必败”何故？ 3

第三十九问

人何以喜见熟人而恶见生人？ 2

第四十问

同时以左手画方，以右手画圆，其难成者，何故？ 1

读者论坛 第一号-第四卷

第四十一问

谚云：“好事不出门，恶事行千里”此二语在心理学上作何解释？

第四十二问

儿媳与女婿，同非自己骨肉，为何妇人虐待儿媳，而优待女婿？

第四十三问

中国人写相思，多以“月”为烘托，何故？

第四十四问

表示爱情之方法甚多，为何以接吻为最普通？

第四十五问

“千人所指，无病而死”一语在心理学上能否成立？

第四十六问

西谚“Man is more generous when he has little money than when he has plenty”意谓人当无钱时比有钱时更慷慨，何故？

第四十七问

乍见孺子将入于井，则生怵惕惻隐之心；囚犯临刑，则观者如堵，此种差异心理之解释如何？

第四十八问

“切齿痛恨”，恨何故切齿？

第四十九问

继母多虐待前妻之子女，是何居心？

第五十问

游戏本在求身心之愉快，然斗牌围棋，皆属劳心之事，人恒乐为之不倦，其故安在？

读者论坛 第二号-第四卷

第五十一问

古人云“从善如登，从恶如奔（崩）”何故？

第五十二问

小孩遇有跌扑时，不见血则啼缓，见之则啼急，岂其跌时所受之痛苦，以有血无血为前提？抑或其另有一种心理作用？

第五十三问

向人致敬时，何故以曲躬表示？

第五十四问

古今中外皆以跪表示极尊敬之意，问跪何以能达此意？

第五十五问

女子为何易哭？

第五十六问

步行于众人瞩目之前，往往手足无所措，是何心理？

第五十七问

高塔直立，设从下仰视，亦不觉其极高；设登其顶而俯视地面，则觉高耸异常，恐惧之心遂生，其理安在？

第五十八问

古人云“至人无梦”，此语在心理学上能否成立？

第五十九问

世人崇拜古人甚于今人，其故安在？

第六十问

“自古红颜多薄命，诗人少达而多穷”何解？