Fu Sinian' s Psychological Explorations and Contributions

Authors: Chen Yanlei, Hu Zhijian, Chen Yanlei

Date: 2021-02-18T00:00:00+00:00

Abstract

Fu Ssu-nien is an overlooked figure in modern Chinese psychology whose ties to the discipline run deep. He was not only a learner and disseminator of modern scientific psychological thought, but also a practitioner of scientific psychology. Fu Ssu-nien studied psychology for a total of twelve years, authored the monograph "Introduction to Psychoanalysis," was the first to translate McDougall' s "Group Psychology," and authored philosophical works such as "Critical Examination of the Ancient Teachings on Human Nature and Destiny" along with numerous articles expounding his psychological viewpoints. Fu Ssu-nien believed that modern Chinese scholarship, including psychological research, would inevitably move toward scientization, and made the fundamental judgment that "the orthodoxy of scientized Oriental studies resides in China." He identified "a disorderly orientation of having crowds without society," "spiritual weakness due to the lack of ideology," and "family education as the root of all evil" as the three major obstacles to public psychological development at the time, and advocated that the public establish a healthy view of human nature characterized by the investigation of principles through objective reality and the coexistence of active effort and disciplinary constraint. Fu Ssu-nien participated in the establishment of the Institute of Psychology at Academia Sinica, as well as the psychology departments at Sun Yat-sen University and National Taiwan University. He maintained close relationships with psychologists such as Cai Yuanpei, Wang Jingxi, Tang Yue, and Su Xiangyu, and together they promoted the dissemination of scientific psychology in China and the construction of early Chinese psychological disciplines. Throughout his life, he followed a path of spiritual exploration involving the choice of psychology, its study, departure from it, yet subsequent promotion and application of the discipline.

Full Text

Fu Ssu-nien' s Explorations in Psychology and Their Contributions

CHEN Yanlei, HU Zhijian
(Department of Education Science, Liaocheng University, Liaocheng, Shandong, 252059)

Abstract

Fu Ssu-nien is a neglected figure in modern Chinese psychology, yet his connection to the discipline runs remarkably deep. He was not only a learner and disseminator of modern scientific psychological thought but also a practitioner of scientific psychology. Fu studied psychology for twelve years, authored the monograph *Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, produced the earliest Chinese translation of McDougall's *Group Psychology*, and articulated his psychological views in philosophical works such as *Hsing Ming Ku-Hsŭn Pien-Cheng* and numerous articles. Fu Ssu-nien argued that modern Chinese scholarship, including psychological research, must inevitably move toward scientization, making the fundamental judgment that "the orthodoxy of scientific Oriental studies resides in China." He identified three major obstacles to public psychological development: a "disorderly orientation of having crowds but no society," a "weakness of spirit characterized by having no convictions," and "family education as the root of all evil." Fu advocated for the public to establish a healthy view of human nature that combined rational inquiry, positive effort, and disciplined restraint. He participated in establishing the Institute of Psychology at Academia Sinica, as well as psychology departments at Sun Yat-sen University and National Taiwan University. Working closely with psychologists such as Cai Yuanpei, Wang Jingxi, Tang Yue, and Su Xiangyu, Fu helped promote the dissemination of scientific psychology in China and contributed to the early disciplinary construction of Chinese psychology. Throughout his life, Fu followed a path of spiritual exploration: choosing psychology, studying psychology, leaving psychology while still advancing it, and ultimately applying psychological insights.

Keywords: Fu Ssu-nien, scientific psychology, psychoanalysis, view of human nature, advancement

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Fu Ssu-nien (1896–1950), styled Mengzhen, was a native of Liaocheng, Shandong. A student leader in the May Fourth Movement and founder of the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica, he is widely recognized as a renowned modern historian, classical literature scholar, educator, and academic leader. His historiographical, educational, and linguistic ideas have received extensive scholarly attention (Ouyang Zhesheng, 2017, pp. 3–7). From the perspective of academic genealogy, however, Fu was also a learner, disseminator, and practitioner of modern scientific psychological thought. Yet scholars from

both mainland China and Taiwan have failed to adequately excavate his contributions to psychology, and relevant books on the history of psychology make no mention of Fu' s psychological views (Zhang Renjun, 1998, pp. 302–305; Gao Juefu, 1985, p. 366; Ye Haosheng, 2011, p. 424; Yan Shuchang, 2015, p. 139). To understand Fu Ssu-nien' s psychology, we must answer three levels of questions: First, did Fu Ssu-nien have any relationship with psychology? Second, did Fu Ssu-nien produce any psychological discourse or research? Third, did Fu Ssu-nien make any contributions to psychology? Answering these questions requires examining relevant historical materials and works from a psychohistorical perspective to introduce, analyze, and demonstrate Fu' s multifaceted relationship with psychology.

1. Fu Ssu-nien' s Early Life and Choice of Psychology

Fu Ssu-nien was born into a scholarly and official family with many distinguished members; his seventh-generation ancestor Fu Yijian was the first top scholar (zhuangyuan) of the Qing dynasty (Guo Xuexin, 2014, pp. 2–9). Fu began studying Confucian classics in a private school at age six, and although his father died when he was nine, his education continued uninterrupted. At fourteen, he entered Tianjin Prefectural Middle School, where he received modern education. At eighteen, he entered the preparatory course at Peking University and began formal study of psychology, ranking first in his class in his first year and second in his second year, with psychology examination scores of 92 and 94 respectively. At twenty-one, he entered the undergraduate Chinese Literature program at Peking University, majoring in literature and history, and began publishing articles in *New Youth* (Wang Fansen, 2012, pp. 20–21).

At twenty-four, Fu organized the New Tide Society and served as chief editor of its journal *New Tide* (Ma Liangkuan, 2014, pp. 31–33). The later-renowned psychologist Wang Jingxi was also among the founding members of the New Tide Society. During this period, Fu began publishing articles incorporating his psychological understanding, such as "Society and the Crowd" in the second issue of *New Tide*' s first volume, where he argued that "Chinese people have crowds but no society; crowd life is comfortable, social life is not," analyzing Chinese people' s aversion to orderly social mentality (Fu Ssu-nien, 2015a, p. 70). In another article, "Vernacular Literature and Psychological Reform," published in the fifth issue of *New Tide*' s first volume, Fu proposed that the literary revolution was not merely an intellectual revolution but a psychological transformation, with the intellectual revolution being only a narrow sense of psychology, while the broader sense included both thought and emotion. He argued that rather than saying Chinese people lacked human thought, it would be more accurate to say they lacked human feeling, and that rather than describing modern Russian literature as rich in human thought, it would be better to describe it as rich in human emotion (Fu Ssu-nien, 2015b, p. 97). Most importantly, during this period Fu completed a purely psychological work, *Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, consisting of five chapters that systematically presented his psychoanalytic

ideas. Intended for publication in the New Tide Series, it was never ultimately published but remains a relatively complete theoretical work on psychoanalysis from early China, finally included as a posthumous manuscript in *The Complete Works of Fu Ssu-nien* (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017a, p. 374).

At twenty-four, Fu passed the examination for government-funded overseas study. There are roughly three records of his decision to study psychology abroad. First, in the article "Nature" in the second issue of *New Tide*' s second volume, he wrote that during his later years at Peking University, he gradually felt that "there were many internal questions but few answers, a hunger for learning that starved me to death, wishing I could fly out of China in a single second" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017b, p. 434). Second, in *Random Thoughts During European Travel*, he wrote, "This trip to Europe carries too many extravagant hopes. In one sentence, I especially hope to clarify the entanglements in my thinking and forge a self that can be trusted" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017c, p. 440). Third, in the October 13, 1920 issue of *Peking University Daily*, a letter from Fu to Cai Yuanpei was published, titled "Letter from Mr. Fu Ssu-nien to the President," in which Fu explicitly stated, "When I was about to leave the country, I had decided to study psychology. Teachers and friends at Peking University mostly advised me to study history" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017d, p. 374). These sources reveal that Fu' s resolute choice of psychology stemmed from two main reasons. First, he had accumulated numerous internal questions, such as conflicts between personal life and organizational life, and which was more important—organizational efficiency or individual capability. Fu believed these questions represented "great personal suffering that, over time, could easily become a kind of psychological disease" that must be addressed through psychology. He needed to clarify his thoughts and perfect his self. Second, Fu had already studied psychology at Peking University and developed an interest in its practical aspects, writing his own *Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. He embarked on his journey with both affection for and intellectual curiosity about psychology.

2. Fu Ssu-nien' s Pursuit of "Heart Reform" and Psychology Studies

"Heart reform" was a common pursuit among the young people of the New Tide Society, and choosing to study psychology became their psychological aspiration (Ma Liangkuan, 2014, p. 42). Simultaneously, Fu had a strong desire to learn scientism. In a letter to Hu Shi, he expressed regret about his learning experience at Peking University: "Recently reviewing chemistry, physics, and mathematics with great interest, I recall my six years at university—first misled by the preparatory division, then misled by the Chinese Literature division of the Arts Faculty—lamentable to speak of." In the same letter, he discussed his determination after arriving at the University of London to "focus exclusively on psychology, making it my lifelong profession." Moving from literature and history toward natural science was Fu' s internal choice at this time. Psychology, situated between social and natural sciences and being the source of the inner

suffering he had long sought to understand, became the inevitable choice given his psychological foundation from his Peking University years.

Fu had a clear understanding of the psychology of his time. In his letter to Cai Yuanpei, he observed: "Psychology is not yet an established science, which is why various schools find it difficult to integrate." Fu was interested in the biologically evolutionary-based psychology represented by Hobbes, McDougall, and Freud. In his own words, "psychologists who discuss psychology using natural scientific methods are quite distant from my temperament." The experimental psychology orientation represented by Wundt, Ebbinghaus, and Spearman did not suit Fu's interests, yet this experimental orientation was precisely the center and direction of psychology's development, which became an important reason for his later transformation (Wang Fansen, 2012, p. 60).

At the time, psychological research at Cambridge and Oxford was most influential, but Fu chose the University of London. First, he believed that Oxford and Cambridge, while "most capable of accepting the latest academic achievements, were too conservative and focused exclusively on scholarship." He considered it "ominous" to enter Oxford or Cambridge immediately upon arriving in Britain. The University of London, by contrast, specialized in practical application, aligning with Fu's expectations. London's scientific spirit could help him eliminate metaphysical elements from traditional Chinese thought and replace them with quantifiable experience.

After arriving at the University of London in February 1920, Fu's advisor was none other than Charles Spearman, a pioneer in experimental psychology. While Fu may have originally planned to obtain a master's degree in psychology, Spearman advised that he should begin with undergraduate studies in psychology (Ma Liangkuan and Cheng Fang, 2009, p. 47). Fu accepted this advice and began his undergraduate studies, taking numerous natural science courses including statistics, chemistry, physics, mathematics, and medicine. He also personally translated McDougall's 1920 English edition of *Group Psychology*. Fu's translation manuscript was mixed with administrative documents from the Institute of History and Philology and remained undiscovered until Mr. Wang Fansen found and organized it; Wang also located the McDougall book that Fu had used as a reference in his collection. Fu studied at the University of London for three years, during which he wrote few articles, only a few memorandum-style notes. He had planned to pursue a master's degree in psychology, and there were three records in the University of London Senate's master's degree records: Record No. 275598 shows Fu registered as a research student from October 1920 and approved to pursue a master's in psychology; Record No. 433492 shows that on April 22, 1922, Fu applied for exemption from part of the bachelor's title examination, with the degree subcommittee agreeing to exempt him from the philosophy paper but still requiring two general psychology papers; Record No. 433593 records "exemption from part of the master's degree qualification examination in psychology," exempting Fu from the modern philosophy history paper for the bachelor's examination. Subsequent facts proved that Fu's purpose

in going to Europe was to learn foreign scholarship rather than to obtain foreign degrees. German scholar Schneider noted in *Truth and History: Fu Ssu-nien, Chen Yinke' s Historical Thought and National Identity* that the gap between reality and ideal exists everywhere, and Fu' s expectations for psychology were not satisfied in London. The organismic psychology of behaviorism and experimental psychology could not be applied practically, leaving him disappointed and unable to see a future (Wang Fansen, 2012, p. 63; Schneider, 2008, pp. 40–42).

In June 1923, Fu left London for Berlin, partly due to funding issues and partly because he had many classmates and friends in Germany, where large numbers of Chinese students had chosen to study. After arriving in Germany, Fu registered as an undergraduate in the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Humanities at Humboldt University of Berlin, majoring in psychology. Over three years, Fu' s academic interests shifted successively from psychology to mathematics, then to physics, and finally to comparative linguistics and historical linguistics. Viewed positively, this demonstrated Fu' s broad intellectual range and the tremendous transformation occurring in his academic thought; viewed negatively, it also showed that he had yet to find a direction that could resolve his inner confusion. When Hu Shi traveled to Europe and met with Fu, he observed, "These days talking with Mengzhen, though pleasant, nevertheless leaves me somewhat disappointed. Mengzhen is rather decadent and undisciplined, far less diligent than Gang [Gu Jiegang]" (Wang Fansen, 2012, p. 72; Lu Xun, 1981, p. 550). It was precisely this decadent and unrestrained character that led him to take unconventional paths. Subsequent facts proved that studying natural science was the collective pursuit of young people during that period, and the scientific method training received from natural sciences enabled them to apply a different set of scholarly approaches within their own disciplines. Indeed, Fu developed a deep understanding of scientific spirit and methodology through his psychology studies, which profoundly influenced the scientific mode of thinking underlying his later historical research (Zhang Yibo, 2019, pp. 47–57).

3. Fu Ssu-nien' s "Departure" from and Advancement of Psychology

Advancement does not result from deliberate pursuit but from unintentionally producing substantial effects. After returning from his European studies, Fu' s wish to take positions at Xiamen University and Tsinghua University went unfulfilled. In December 1926, at the invitation of Zhu Jiahua, he went to teach at Sun Yat-sen University, serving as chair of the Department of Literature and History and concurrently as head of both the Chinese Literature and History Departments at the age of thirty (Zhang Rongfang, 2004, pp. 68–70). While teaching at Sun Yat-sen University, Fu lectured not only on literature and history but also on psychology and statistics; the Fu Ssu-nien Memorial Hall in Liaocheng preserves his lecture notes on statistics from this period.

At that time, Sun Yat-sen University had no psychology department. However, Wang Jingxi, a famous modern Chinese psychologist, came to Sun Yat-sen University from Henan Zhongzhou University with Fu's encouragement and support. In his *Alternative Biography of Fu Ssu-nien*, Shi Xingze specifically discussed the important role Fu and Wang played in psychology' s development. Fu and Wang were fellow townspeople, Peking University alumni, and core members of the New Tide Society. As dean of the Faculty of Arts, Fu helped Wang establish a laboratory at Sun Yat-sen University, conduct physiological psychology research, and eventually found a psychology department and research institute. Because of his pleasant cooperation with Fu, Wang moved psychology from the natural sciences to the humanities, and Fu helped Wang secure more funding and experimental equipment. As Shi Xingze analyzed, "The two lived in the same building, spending days and nights together, full of vitality, with teaching and research carried out vigorously and effectively" (Shi Xingze, 2005, p. 92).

In 1927, Cai Yuanpei resigned as president of Peking University to become president of the National Government' s University Council and began preparing to establish Academia Sinica, initially appointing over thirty preparatory commissioners. In 1927 there were four institutes, which increased to nine institutes and two museums by 1929. Cai originally had no plan to establish the Institute of History and Philology but intended to establish an Institute of Psychology, appointing Fu Ssu-nien, Tang Yue, and four others as preparatory committee members (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017e, p. 10; Yue Nan, 2010, p. 79; Guo Benyu and Yan Shuchang, 2020, p. 108). In early 1928, while in Shanghai discussing the preparation of the psychology institute with Cai Yuanpei, Fu took the excellent opportunity to argue passionately that specialized research institutions should be established for history and linguistics, because although China had writings on history and language in the past, it lacked the scientific historiography and linguistics of the West. After repeated reasoned arguments, Fu finally succeeded in establishing the Institute of History and Philology, demonstrating that the scientific spirit he learned in Europe played a crucial role in its founding (Huang Changyi, 2009, p. 377; Zhang Rongfang, 2004, pp. 68–70). On the surface, Fu deviated from the direction of preparing the psychology institute; in reality, it was precisely his scientific thinking that advanced the Institute of History and Philology, and besides, language itself is an important subject of psychological research. During this period, Fu completed the paper "Thought and Language," studying the relationship between language and thought from a scientific psychological perspective. For instance, drawing on the views of the famous behaviorist psychologist Watson, he argued that "thought is the internalized habit of language" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017e, p. 13). From Cai Yuanpei' s "Government Report of Academia Sinica" completed on March 15, 1929, we can see that the Institute of History and Philology was prepared in March 1928 and formally established in November 1928. At that time, because Fu and his team were permanently stationed at Sun Yat-sen University and conducting language surveys in Guangxi, Yunnan, and other regions, the institute was temporarily located in Guangzhou, borrowing space from Sun Yat-sen University

as its preparatory office. The Institute of Psychology at Academia Sinica was established in 1929, with Tang Yue as its first director. Tang Yue had a very close relationship with Fu Ssu-nien, and both their professional correspondence and personal interactions demonstrated Fu' s respect and esteem for psychology researchers (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017f, p. 220; Zhou Ning, 1990, pp. 55–69).

As the Institute of History and Philology moved north to Beijing, Fu also left Sun Yat-sen University. Out of necessity for Academia Sinica, Wang Jingxi also left the psychology department and research institute he had founded at Sun Yat-sen University and came to Peking University to become Fu' s colleague, succeeding Tang Yue as director of the Institute of Psychology at Academia Sinica. For a long time thereafter, Wang remained a leading figure in psychology. Fu strongly supported Wang' s laboratory research, and even after Wang later moved to the United States, Fu and Hu Shi still included him in the list of Academia Sinica academicians (Shi Xingze, 2005, p. 93).

With the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, Chinese psychological research suffered tremendous shocks, and the main strongholds of Chinese psychology, including the Institute of Psychology, were relocated multiple times, merged, or suspended. However, from the perspective of early psychology development, Fu indeed played a boosting role. Thereafter, Fu was busy with educational administration and historical research, acknowledging himself that he was not a psychology expert, but psychological thinking marks can still be read in his numerous articles. For example, in the article "The Wang Puppet and Japanese Pirates—A Psychological Analysis," he wrote, "The actions of the Wang puppet clique can only be understood through criminal psychological analysis. I am not an expert in this field, but I will write down what I know for psychologists to examine." Fu explained the shared "self-centered and others-excluding" evil psychological roots of the Wang puppet and Japanese pirates based on Freudian instinct theory, with incisive words that pierced the soul (Fu Ssu-nien, 2015c, p. 403).

In January 1949, Fu became president of National Taiwan University, where he carried out sweeping educational reforms upon taking office. The psychology research room originally subordinate to the Philosophy Department became independent as a Department of Psychology, affiliated with the College of Science, once again reflecting his scientific mode of thinking. Fu appointed fellow Peking University alumnus Su Xiangyu as chair of the psychology department and designated him as a professor in the College of Science for university council meetings (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017g, p. 492). Su Xiangyu served as chair of the psychology department for twenty years and eventually became an important founder of psychology at National Taiwan University. Fu had close interactions with Su Xiangyu, who wrote in his essay "In Memory of Mr. Fu Mengzhen" that within a week of arriving at National Taiwan University, Fu met with him twice, asking him to serve as special director of the psychology department and as library director. When Hu Shi visited National Taiwan University, Fu even invited Peking University alumni at the university to collectively eat northern-

style noodles at Su Xiangyu' s home. Su Xiangyu' s memorial words clearly express Fu' s role at National Taiwan University and its psychology discipline: "The president is dead, National Taiwan University has lost its mentor, Taiwanese society has lost its mentor—how can we not mourn!" (Su Xiangyu, 1950, p. 5). Fu Ssu-nien worried for his country and people all his life, establishing purpose for the world and continuing lost learning for past generations. Sadly, heaven envies talent; at fifty-four, he died suddenly, sacrificing his life for education (Ma Liangkuan, 2014, p. 479).

4. Fu Ssu-nien' s Scientific Pursuit and Psychological Views

Aside from his work *Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, Fu Ssu-nien' s psychological discourses were mostly embedded in his discussions of educational issues, historical and linguistic problems, and political questions. This paper attempts to distill his scientific psychological orientation, psychoanalytic views, and personality psychology views from historical materials.

4.1 Fu Ssu-nien' s Scientific Orientation in Psychology

Fu Ssu-nien' s scientific orientation in psychology was already evident in the April 15, 1918 issue of *New Youth* (Vol. 4, No. 4). In his article "Fundamental Errors in Chinese Academic Thought," Fu argued that Chinese scholarship had few "sciences" based on academic disciplines but many "schools of thought" based on individuals, and that these "schools" were not true sciences. Traditional "schools of thought" lacked statistical classification and comparison, desiring practical application but achieving none. Fu listed seven major maladies of traditional scholarship and argued that Chinese academia must inevitably move toward scientization. Simultaneously, Fu maintained a firm recognition of national culture, proposing the fundamental judgment that "the orthodoxy of scientific Oriental studies resides in China" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2015d, p. 18). Going abroad to learn scientism was not abandoning Chinese scholarship but leading the wave of scientization in Chinese academic research. This better explains why Fu went to Britain to study scientific psychology. In his 1919 article "Thoughts on Philosophers in China Today," published in the fifth issue of *New Youth*' s first volume, Fu questioned whether those who prided themselves on philosophy had truly entered philosophy' s proper track. His answer was no. He argued that few of the old philosophical systems could survive after great scientific progress. Philosophy was not philosophy separate from science but the sum of all sciences; Wundt became a philosopher after deep psychological research, and Spencer became a comprehensive philosopher by combining biology and psychology. If philosophy did not establish a good foundation in modern science and relied solely on individual observation, stupid people would gain nothing, and clever people would achieve nothing in vain. Modern philosophy had already been baptized by science, and although science was not yet developed, future new knowledge would certainly employ scientific methods, and the power of the human spiritual world could only be understood through the scientific method

of seeking truth from facts (Fu Ssu-nien, 2015e, p. 92).

In October 1928, in the inaugural issue of *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, Fu published the classic article "The Purpose of the Work of the Institute of History and Philology," commonly known as "The Purpose" (Fu Ssu-nien, 1928, pp. 3–7; Wang Fansen, 2012, p. 83). This article was grand and forward-looking, using the scientific spirit he learned in Europe to explain the future development of Chinese historiography, philosophy, linguistics, psychology, and other disciplines. Mr. Xu Guansan believed that "this article alone, and the implementation of modern research based on it, was sufficient to make his name immortal in history." Mr. Ouyang Zhesheng further believed that " 'The Purpose' is a towering milestone in the transition of Chinese historical research from tradition to modernity." Throughout his life, Fu' s historical research was conducted under the guidance of this scientific spirit, and his advancement of senior psychologists such as Wang Jingxi, Tang Yue, and Su Xiangyu in promoting Chinese psychology development was also based on his scientific orientation in psychology (Xu Guansan, 1986, p. 214). Admittedly, overemphasizing scientification can blur psychology' s value rationality and lead to the materialization of human nature and loss of subjectivity (Gao Fengqiang, 2002, pp. 35–40), but for that historical period, Fu' s scientific orientation represented the new cultural direction and played a positive role.

4.2 Fu Ssu-nien' s Psychoanalytic Views

Introduction to Psychoanalysis is the only extant psychological work by Fu Ssu-nien. Originally written for publication in the New Tide Series, it currently consists of five chapters: Chapter 1: Human Irrationality and His Rationalization; Chapter 2: Instinct and Reality—The Pleasure-Pain Principle and the Reality Principle; Chapter 3: Conflict, Repression, and the Unconscious; Chapter 4: Dream Interpretation—Dreams as Wish Fulfillment; and Chapter 5: Continued Dream Interpretation—The Dual Mechanism of Dreams. The first four chapters are complete, while Chapter 5 contains only the opening text, not the full chapter. There should be several chapters beyond these five, but they have not yet been found in historical materials. In Chapter 2, Fu explicitly mentions that relevant content can be found in "Chapter X: Hegel' s Discovery and Freudian Psychology" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017a, pp. 374–405). From the existing content, Fu' s basic concepts are very close to Freud' s works, but the system and purpose differ.

Fu' s psychoanalytic thought is manifested in the following points:

(1) Psychological Evolution and the Concept of Rationalization

Fu believed that both body and mind are products of evolution, and humans and animals are not insurmountable opposites. Humans rationalize to provide reasons for behaviors that contradict social beliefs and interests, thereby comforting themselves. Therefore, rationality is not the cause of behavior but an explanation and disguise after the behavioral motivation. Rationality belongs

to the conscious level, while past psychological experiences and the unconscious truly govern behavior. The key to solving psychological problems lies in abandoning consciousness and exploring the unconscious, with the crucial step being to break through human rationalization.

(2) Psychological Evolution and the Pleasure-Pain Principle, Reality Principle

Darwin' s evolutionary theory explains biological evolution and simultaneously psychological evolution, but academia has focused more on the former while neglecting the latter. The parallel evolution of mind and organism was a view held by evolutionists from the beginning, as seen in Darwin' s *On the Origin of Species* and *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, which respectively demonstrate organic evolution and psychological evolution. Fu argued that due to limitations in research methods and tools, Darwin' s disciples separated the two evolutions, producing animal behavior research and cultural anthropology research respectively. Freudian psychology precisely proved the existence of "psychological evolutionism" and "psychological recapitulationism" (Wang Yuanming, 2002, pp. 34-40).

Human instinct and reality cannot fully integrate; the instinct inherited from ancestors forever applies to the reality of ancestral times. Fu believed that current reality was something ancestors had never encountered, so "on one side is instinct thus, on the other side is reality thus" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017a, pp. 374-379). For the race to survive better, part of reality' s power must be changed or selected, meaning instinct must accommodate reality. Races that could not develop the ability to constrain instinct to accommodate reality became extinct. In this sense, the humans that remain today are those who survived catastrophes by being able to constrain instinct to accommodate reality.

Fu argued that human instinct follows the pleasure-pain principle—increasing pleasure and decreasing pain. Pleasure means reducing burden, while pain means increasing burden. The pleasure-pain mechanism is the most suitable mechanism preserved after multiple selections in biological evolution. Fu gave examples: children like to hear the sound of water and will turn on all taps when they see pipes; those who dislike haircuts will cry at anything related to haircuts. Therefore, children "only follow subjective pleasure-pain nature, regardless of objective facts, regardless of how serious the consequences, feeling no responsibility" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017a, pp. 379-384). This is called the primary psychological system, which is selfish, self-centered, and entirely asocial or even antisocial. With age, children gradually discover the external reality and develop a tendency to restrain the pleasure-pain system to accommodate the external environment. This process is called the reality principle, which Fu termed the secondary psychological system. The two systems conflict and struggle, producing different solutions depending on the person and time. The most distressing solution is mental illness. More common methods are rationalization or sublimation—for instance, real desires transform into dreams, and repressed sexual instincts instead become poets or artists.

(3) Conflict, Repression, and the Unconscious

Where does conflict come from? Fu believed the primary psychological system is "aggressive activity," while the secondary system is "defensive resistance." The primary system disregards the external world, driven by inherited instinct, with desires striving for fulfillment; the secondary system recognizes the incompatibility between external environment and individual instinct, striving to suppress instinct. This is specifically manifested as logical thought suppressing wishful thought, social intention suppressing antisocial intention, and educated motivation suppressing uneducated motivation.

Where there is conflict, there is repression. Fu believed that "repression can be seen as a force, or a thrust, operating constantly in the mind to exclude those primary system psychological actions." Repression can be understood in two ways: first, suppressing unpleasant feelings from consciousness, which is primary repression; second, the repressed content becomes more dynamic and appears more in consciousness. Therefore, the two types of repression occur simultaneously and cannot be separated. Fu gave examples: we forget things we dislike faster, but some content, because it affects inner feelings, becomes clearer the more we try to forget it.

Where does repressed content go? Borrowing from Freud, Fu believed repressed content resides in the unconscious. The unconscious has two parts: "preconscious," referring to things not in consciousness at the moment but that can be awakened into consciousness; and "repressed unconscious," referring to things not in consciousness that cannot be awakened into consciousness through ordinary methods. Fu believed there was no strict boundary between the two, with most cases being the latter.

The final results of repression have five possibilities. Some repressed content does not diminish its original motivation and continues to operate in the unconscious, still influencing behavior but not felt by the individual. Some repressed content, incompatible with moral concepts, aesthetic ideals, and social responsibility, is directly expelled if it causes inner distress. Some repressed content, after being expelled, tries to re-enter, and the individual strongly prevents its entry, with both sides compromising to form fragmented memories. Some content with childish characteristics, originally inherited from primitive instincts, cannot be expelled, and the individual cannot easily feel its existence. Finally, some content has no logic, only associations and wishes, having no impact on the individual. Modern psychologists are intimately familiar with Freudian psychology, but in the 1910s, Fu's ability to comprehend psychoanalysis and integrate it with Chinese culture to explain Chinese psychological phenomena demonstrates his profound psychological cultivation.

(4) Dream Interpretation and the Dual Function of Dreams

Fu believed that the sequence of Freud' s *The Interpretation of Dreams* did not conform to readers' psychological patterns. The book used case studies as its main content, all employing induction—presenting facts first and analyzing theory afterward—making it difficult for readers without psychoanalytic and

psychotherapeutic foundations to understand. When writing *Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, Fu used three chapters to explain human rationalization, unconscious theory, and repression theory, then used these three theories to explain psychological phenomena. This sequence conforms to readers' psychological expectations and can clarify issues more effectively.

Fu believed Freud used dreams to illustrate psychoanalytic theory mainly because dreams, though complex, are universal—no one denies their existence. But dream analysis has many difficulties, preventing researchers from clearly providing answers. First, dreams have too much superstitious coloring historically, with superstitious people overvaluing dreams and non-superstitious people undervaluing them. Second, dream materials are diverse and difficult to match in real life. Third, dream scenarios are very strange and lack causal relationships. Finally, studying dreams inevitably involves studying the dreamer, and if the interpretation does not conform to the dreamer' s ideas, it will be rejected. Fu stated that successful dream research only occurred recently because Freud successfully resolved these difficulties, earning widespread recognition for his dream interpretation (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017a, pp. 398–405).

Fu had unique insights into the meaning of dreams. He believed dreams contain two layers of meaning: the desires expressed in dreams and the scenarios in dreams. The common saying "he' s simply dreaming" refers to either absurd desires or absurd scenarios of desire fulfillment. He argued that to understand human psychology, one can start with animal psychology, and to understand adult dreams, one can start with children' s dreams. Children' s dreams or sleep talk are unfulfilled instinctual wishes from daily life, so the desires expressed in dreams and the dream scenarios are consistent. However, adult instincts are constrained by real life, and dreams do not directly express instincts but express them circuitously, making dreams twisted and roundabout. Analyzing adult dreams requires more caution, but what can be determined is that adults' rich and colorful dreams result from the interaction of two psychological systems.

Zhang Shizhao once said Fu Ssu-nien was the person in China who best understood the Freudian school (Wang Fansen and Du Zhengsheng, 1995, p. 41). Indeed, from a conceptual perspective, Fu' s *Introduction to Psychoanalysis* is very close to Freud' s *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, but *Introduction to Psychoanalysis* bears clear marks of Fu Ssu-nien. First, Fu believed Freud' s works were not clearly expressed in their reasoning, using case studies as the main thread to present psychological views, making it difficult for readers to grasp core ideas. Fu believed that presenting core ideas collectively in early chapters and then analyzing them with cases in subsequent chapters could clarify issues and make them more understandable to Chinese readers. Second, Fu used sinicized concepts such as "rationalization," "pleasure-pain," and "consciousness" to define Freudian theory, making it more accessible to readers. Third, as early as 1920, Fu hoped to complete a psychoanalytic work, demonstrating both his in-depth study of Freudian thought at that time and his absorption of philosophical ideas from Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Hartmann, and

others. For example, Fu hoped to discuss the relationship between Hegel' s self-consciousness and Freudian psychology, explicitly stating in Chapter 2 of *Introduction to Psychoanalysis* that this content would be explained in detail in subsequent chapters, though the full text after Chapter 4 has not been found in current historical materials. Furthermore, Fu borrowed social psychological views to criticize contemporary issues, and the intellectual lineage between him and predecessors such as Husserl, Hobbes, McDougall, and Dewey requires continued exploration by later researchers.

4.3 Fu Ssu-nien' s Personality Psychology Views

May Fourth youth who emphasized scientism certainly valued practical application, and Fu Ssu-nien was no exception. After choosing psychology, studying it, and forming psychological views, Fu naturally applied these views to his academic research, educational work, and daily life.

4.3.1 Fu Ssu-nien' s Early Analysis of Personality Issues Fu' s early discussions of personality issues primarily involved criticizing, even reviling, Chinese people. In a series of articles such as *The Root of All Evil*, *Chinese Dogs and Chinese People*, and *The Weakness of Spirit Among Chinese People*, he used incisive language to strongly condemn Chinese families for suppressing human nature. While demonstrating his patriotism, these writings also revealed Fu' s paranoid and impatient personality characteristics.

In the inaugural issue of *New Tide* on January 1, 1919, Fu published the article *The Root of All Evil*. He wrote, "Where does goodness come from?" He believed goodness originates from individuality; without individuality, there is no goodness. Of course, not everything arising from individuality is good—Fu' s concept of individuality actually represented a combination of the modern concepts of personality and human nature. Only with the development of individuality can goodness develop, so the greatest force destroying individuality is the root of all evil. This root of all evil is the Chinese family. Human beings are born with goodness, but placing children in evil society versus good society produces entirely different developments. Fu argued, "Chinese families pollute the air to 101 degrees, teaching children from birth how to be timely, how to sacrifice self for others, how to be their parents' child, never teaching them to be their own self, resulting in the greatest destruction of individuality." He quoted Hu Shi' s famous words, "I am not me, I am my father' s son," and further elaborated, "When Chinese parents arrange marriages for their sons, they are not arranging wives for their sons but daughters-in-law for themselves." Indeed, modern Chinese people bear heavy family burdens, with the result that "all their undertakings become completely nothing, gradually moving toward the center of immorality." Fu gave examples: a capable earner would have his aunts and uncles attach themselves to him, forcing him to compromise his personality, obey others, and have no freedom whatsoever. Fu therefore concluded that under the cries of family burdens, countless heroes were buried (Fu Ssu-nien, 2015f,

p. 59). Fu clearly recognized that traditional family feudal concepts constrained the personality development of modern Chinese people. Although some of his expressions were somewhat sharp and harsh, such radical views and expressions were meant to awaken the Chinese people at that time.

In the article *The Weakness of Spirit Among Chinese People*, Fu further proposed that Chinese people's characteristic was cleverness in small matters. Great cleverness is true intelligence, capable of making correct judgments and actively acting to create value. Small cleverness only concerns external decoration, caring only for the present, not the future, seeking only to muddle through, not to solve problems properly, ultimately resulting in "Southern learning: living in groups all day, speech never touches upon meaning; Northern learning: after a full meal, the mind has nothing to occupy it." People with small cleverness lack correct judgment ability to begin with and are unwilling to consider themselves unintelligent, only playing tricks and scheming, unable to accomplish great things. Fu believed that people with small cleverness have weak spirits because they have no convictions, falling eastward when the east wind comes and southward when the north wind comes. "Those without convictions are not human; only stones, plants, beasts, and half-beast barbarians have no convictions" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2015g, p. 65). Fu' s views remain applicable to people' s mental development today: practicing great cleverness more and small cleverness less is true wisdom in life.

In *Chinese Dogs and Chinese People*, Fu discussed how many Chinese people "show promise in childhood but degenerate in adulthood," not because they lack intelligence but because their personality lacks a sense of responsibility. Fu believed that historically, in groups, there have been too many cases where individuals or groups gain while the nation loses. Under despotism, naturally there is no responsibility to bear, and over time, irresponsibility becomes an inherited personality trait. The May Fourth Movement marked the budding activity to transform this personality, but a sense of responsibility must become habit; otherwise, this movement is merely an unripe fruit that falls prematurely. Of course, personality cannot be changed quickly by a single movement. Fu also recognized that new ideas cannot be implemented immediately; the public should begin by changing habits (Fu Ssu-nien, 2017h, p. 159).

Fu's early articles indeed captured the weaknesses of Chinese people at that time. The "disorderly orientation of having crowds but no society," the "weakness of spirit characterized by having no convictions," and "family education as the root of all evil" were indeed three major mountains obstructing public psychological development. In terms of awakening public personality self-reflection, Lu Xun used critical novels, while Fu used critical essays. Although the two worked together at Sun Yat-sen University for only three months and ultimately parted on bad terms, both hoped to change Chinese people ideologically and save China through psychological energy (Cai Qiuyan, 2013, pp. 150–154).

4.3.2 *Hsing Ming Ku-Hsŭn Pien-Cheng* and Fu Ssu-nien's Later View of Human Nature *Hsing Ming Ku-Hsŭn Pien-Cheng* is considered Fu Ssu-nien's most accomplished philosophical research, innovative in using linguistic perspectives to solve problems in intellectual history and using historical perspectives to trace changes in "theories of human nature" (Fu Ssu-nien, 2006, pp. 3–10; Wang Fengqing, 2014, p. 57). The scientific spirit and psychoanalytic thought he learned during his European studies were also fully embodied in this book. The comparative linguistics he studied at Berlin University inspired him to define the book's basic standpoint in its preface: language expresses the characteristics of the nation using that language; language is an internal form, a marker of human ability, forming a tight union with thought, and philosophy is a byproduct of language. The book systematically analyzes the origins and historical development of the characters "xing" (性, nature) and "ming" (命, destiny).

From the Western Zhou to the Warring States period, Chinese people's views on destiny and human nature showed obvious transitional characteristics, with the Spring and Autumn period being the crucial transition point. As is well known, Confucius spoke of natures being similar and habits making them different, Mencius spoke of the goodness of human nature, and Xunzi spoke of the evil of human nature. However, Fu believed that Mencius, in character, speech, and logic, was not the true successor of Confucius; Xunzi was the true successor, returning directly to Confucius's old ways on one hand and incorporating Legalism to create a new Confucianism on the other. Regarding Han Confucianism, Fu believed it was a dualism of good and evil, attributing good to nature and evil to emotion, with later theories of three grades of nature all inheriting and developing this dualism. Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism developed Confucian dualism with "material nature" and "principled nature." Following Hu Shi, Fu interpreted Zhu Xi's "ge wu" (investigating things) as "investigating things to exhaust their principles," a tremendous contribution to intellectual history that clarified "material learning" distinct from "mind learning," greatly influencing modern scholarship (Jiao Runming, 2002, pp. 70–80). It was important for new era intellectuals to properly interpret Confucian views on destiny and human nature. Fu advocated transforming the traditional tendencies of quietism, introspection, passivity, and mind cultivation, further shaking the foundation of internal development theory and establishing a healthy view of human nature that combined rational inquiry, positive effort, and disciplined restraint. Such a view of human nature was truly a unique path that inherited the past and opened the future.

Fu emphasized character education, believing that a major purpose of education was to cultivate students' character. Character refers to attitudes toward people and things: "People of superior character can establish sincerity toward people and things." At National Taiwan University, he reduced character education to "not lying." He believed not lying was the beginning of character education, that lying was most unforgivable: scientists who lie will make no true discoveries, politicians who lie will certainly cause great harm, and educators who lie are

most unable to educate people. All who engage in scholarship must begin by not lying (Li Tianxing, 2018, p. 380). This emphasis on character education is also clearly evident in National Taiwan University' s motto: "Cultivate character, study diligently, love country, love people." On this point, Mr. Ji Xianlin also left two famous sayings: "Never tell lies, but don' t always tell the whole truth." Both being natives of Liaocheng, Shandong, and Peking University alumni, these two great masters both esteemed the character of "establishing sincerity."

Fu once spoke freely about aesthetics and life, emphasizing spiritual beauty, but his lifestyle lacked aesthetic sense: he was overweight, had poor eating habits, high blood pressure, an impatient temperament, and excessive work intensity, ultimately dying of a cerebral hemorrhage. Hu Shi (1950) evaluated Fu as having the highest talent, capable of both scholarship and administration, and organization. Later history has made various assessments of him, but two poetic evaluations are worth savoring. In 1919, before Fu went to Britain for study, Cai Yuanpei used Lu You' s poem as a farewell message: "Beyond the flat mountains and distant waters lies vastness; in the blink of an eye, heaven and earth open wide." In 1945, during the CCP-KMT negotiations in Yan' an, Mao Zedong used Zhang Jie' s poem as a message: "Before the pit ashes have cooled, chaos erupts in Shandong; Liu and Xiang, it turns out, were not scholars." These two messages are respectively inscribed on the main gate and screen wall of the Fu Ssu-nien Memorial Hall in Liaocheng, Shandong.

From Fu Ssu-nien' s fifty-four-year life experience of studying, scholarship, teaching, and political involvement, three questions deserve serious consideration by researchers. First, how should young people learn and grow? At Peking University, Fu loved reading without forgetting his patriotism; abroad, he pursued learning, not degrees; knowledge, not fame. Learning filled with patriotism and advancing without forgetting ideals was the spirit of May Fourth youth and should be the spirit of contemporary youth. Second, scholarship should not forget education, and education should prioritize moral cultivation. The university spirit Fu injected into National Taiwan University at that time remains respectable today. Third, how should scholars transcend academic dilemmas? A subtle relationship has always existed between scholarship and politics, and Fu resolved the potential academic dilemma between teaching and political involvement well, which is also worth learning from and reflecting on for contemporary scholars.

The above is a 梳理 of Fu Ssu-nien' s multifaceted relationship with psychology based on historical materials and related works and papers on Fu Ssu-nien studies. Currently published works on the history of psychology do not mention Fu Ssu-nien' s contributions to early Chinese psychology. It is hoped that this paper can provide some reference for scholars in related fields.

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Note: Figure translations are in progress. See original paper for figures.