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Cultural Entrepreneurs in China and Southeast Asia, 1900-65

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Chen Diexian, His Brand, and Cultural Entrepreneurism in Republican China

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The founder of Household Industries, Mr. Chen [Diexian] is not only accomplished in music, chess, calligraphy and painting, performing stringed and wind instruments; he is also versed in the three religions and the three schools of thought. There is nothing he cannot do: he is ever well-educated in all fields of modern science. His writings are thus broad in scope: he can write fiction, compose poetry, discuss politics and the economy, as well as comment on modern physics and chemistry. Moreover, he does not only know (but these subjects), but he can also put them into practice (sing). The various products of Household Industries are generally the result of his hands-on experimentation. Perhaps, we cannot call a man like him China's Edison, but to call him a remarkable man rare in modern society would probably not be exaggerated praise.

— 'Jiating gongyeshi' (Household Industries), 1935

The [Wudasili] trademark is harmonious and easy to pronounce, and its meaning is deep. It should bring about prosperity. A trademark should be simple, meaningful, and highly accessible. This trademark has all of these characteristics. Readers, if you need a model, consider this one.

— Wang Taijun, "Shangbiao wenzi" (The question of trademarks), 1924

The first epigraph above contains a hagiographical description of Chen Diexian (1879-1940), a cosmopolitan literatus, an industrialist, and a handson practitioner of modern science. He is presented as a "remarkable man" (spren) of modern times, someone remarkable not only for his tremendous talent and knowledge but also for his ability to do things—a man of letters and a jack-of-all-trades. In the second epigraph, a commentator lauds Chen's famous Peerless Brand, or Butterfly, trademark, which he used for the popular toiletry products manufactured by his pharmaceutical empire, Household Industries (Jiating gongyeshi). Wang Taijun notes in particular that the trademark was easy to pronounce yet deeply meaningful; accessible yet beautiful. In this chapter, I focus on Chen Diexian's Butterfly trademark for cosmetics in relation to his persona as a multi-talented man of letters-cum-industrialist and show that this was emblematic of a form of cultural entrepreneurship in Republican China.

The trademark brings together the two sides of Chen's remarkable persona, which, I argue, are crucial components of his cultural entrepreneurship. It represented and guaranteed the quality of the products of Household Industries, which were the direct results of his hands-on experimentation and entrepreneurial savvy. Beyond that, the trademark, as the second epigraph hints, was a site for linguistic play and wit, at which this talented literatus excelled. It thus encapsulates industrial know-how and literary genius, the air of the late-imperial scholar and the persona of the modern industrialist.

Prolific and successful as both a writer and an industrialist, Chen Diexian was in many ways a representative cultural entrepreneur—the new, multi-skilled figure who had emerged in an era of abundant change and opportunity in China's new treaty ports. With the dismantling of the civil service examinations in 1905, the rise of vibrant and transnational treaty-port economies, and the introduction of modern print and industry, professional identities and what were considered respectable endeavours for urban elites were under considerable flux. Urban figures such as Chen navigated this shifting terrain, often by using skills from one arena in another. Beginning with a brief biographical sketch of Chen's career, I seek first to map out the parameters of cultural entrepreneurship in Jiangnan, Republican China's most culturally vibrant and industrially developed region. As his multi-faceted career attests, Chen straddled the worlds of literary production, editorial work, industrial commerce, and modern science. I argue that his success in navigating different circles stemmed from his ability to reinvent himself in new settings and to adapt resources and skills from one circle to another, bringing, in particular, skills from his literary and editorial endeavours to his industrial enterprises.

Beyond his mobility and versatility, Chen Diexian exhibited a distinct ability to transform his name (or one of his many public names) into a brand, and this facet of Chen's cultural entrepreneurship qualifies him as a "cultural personality," as defined by Christopher Ruy in Chapter 1. To be
sure, the name that Chen first established as a man of letters and prolific writer was much like that of his literary predecessors, who acquired literary renown with their writing, editing, and compilation skills. In the second part of his career, however, Chen brought the fame and reputation he had earned as a popular writer of Mandarin Duck and Butterfly fiction (sentimental romances or love stories; hereafter Butterfly fiction) with him to the world of industry, using this sentiment-infused literary reputation to brand his cosmetic products, as well as as his own entrepreneurial persona. In spite of – or perhaps precisely because of – cultural anxiety about the pursuit of profit in a new age of industrialization and commerce, Chen’s literary reputation as a man of authentic sentiment (情) helped endow his new persona of patriotic industrialist with authenticity and legitimacy. As I explore in the second part of this chapter, Chen Daxian acted as a cultural personality by leveraging his reputation as a man of feeling, established through his literary work, to brand and sell his commodities and, more generally, to authenticate his pursuit of profit.

Cultural Entrepreneurship in Post-Imperial China

Chen Daxian was a man who moved with ease among different circles of society, many of which were new and evolving in the early twentieth century. From an early age, he proved himself capable of crossing between the worlds of officialdom, literature, publishing, commerce, and industry. He pursued entrepreneurial endeavors and explored modern science while writing classical poetry, plays, and short stories. He also took advantage of unprecedented publishing opportunities. In the 1910s, he became a powerful reformist editor in Shanghai, publishing his own serialized fiction, editing literary journals, and popularizing modern science by contributing how-to pieces on everyday science and technology for the home in journals and newspaper columns that he edited. In 1918, he founded what would become a pharmaceutical empire, Household Industries. Later, as a powerful industrialist, Chen played a leading role in promoting patriotic production and consumption in campaigns such as the National Products Movement.

To be sure, crossing boundaries between the world of literati officialdom (文官, guan) and the realm of merchants (商) was hardly new to the twentieth century. Although classical Confucian articulations of social stratification had, in principle, traced a distinct line between literati activities and commerce, these spheres frequently overlapped. Recent scholarship has shown that in the late imperial period, the boundaries between these two fundamental categories of late imperial social stratification were hardly fixed. In the late Ming, the hybrid identity of the gentry-merchant (士商) had already brought together arenas of activity commonly associated with literati, merchants, and businesspeople, thus shaping and animating trends in book publishing. In nineteenth-century Shanghai, local gentry, such as the Gu family, acted as local entrepreneurs – purveyors of peaches, as well as embroidery, inkstones, and preserved vegetables. To ensure the continued prestige of a corporate family, nineteenth-century grand families like the Zangs of Changzhou diversified their interests, having male members engage in a range of activities – scholarly, commercial, medical, and even military – while the Zhang women turned to their skills in poetry, embroidery, and calligraphy and served as patrons to other female writers, often passing off profit-oriented pursuits as genteel scholarly enjoyment.

Yet, the long history of blending wen and shang activities notwithstanding, new epistemological regimes and institutional spaces came to frame and radically reconfigure the intermingling of commerce and culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the end of the nineteenth century, men of letters, increasingly disenchanted or alienated from officialdom and the traditional activities of the literati, started to engage openly in the once taboo realm of commerce, with many specifically turning to the worlds of treaty-port publishing, commercial entertainment, and leisure. The dismantling of the civil service examination system had a profound impact on elite strategies of cultural, social, and political reproduction and levied a serious challenge to the values of examination-oriented literati culture. New paradigms included forms of knowledge and culture (e.g., science rather than statecraft), institutions through which to legitimate such knowledge (e.g., mass media, modern schools), and practices for urban elites developed to navigate these new forms of knowledge and the new media associated with them (e.g., entrepreneurship and the pursuit of profit, along with building the nation and reforming society).

Chen navigated this environment with aplomb, sided in no small part by his family background. He came from a wealthy Hangzhou family; his father practised medicine and his uncle served as an official. As a result, Chen obtained a classical literary education, acquired the knowledge and skill set of a gentry-doctor’s household, and, importantly, came to appreciate the need to be versatile in one’s occupation and endeavours. Given this background, it is easy to appreciate why, when starting his career, Chen pursued multiple avenues. He sought positions in officialdom, serving as a secretary
to the commissioner of customs, and, in 1898, took the licentiate examination in Hangzhou. He engaged in entrepreneurial activities, buying a share in a tea and bamboo dealership in 1899. Around this time, he also entered the new profession of journalism in Hangzhou, founding, with two friends, the daily newspaper Grand View (Daguanbao).

Chen's early career choices speak to his ability to move from sphere to sphere and to bring skills from one to another. His literary activities—both creative, including the writing of plays, short stories, romance novels, and poetry, and later, editorial, with the compilation of newspaper columns and technological compendia—were frequently entrepreneurial and commercial in nature. Even at a young age, Chen proved remarkably prolific and wide-ranging in literary matters, writing novels, plays, poetry, and treatises on a variety of subjects, and much of his literary output found its way into Grand View. When he moved to Shanghai after 1911, he published romance novels, including the semi-autobiographical The Money Demon (Huangjin shi, 1913), for which he is still well remembered. The Money Demon was a novel, the most commodified genre of literature of the day, and was serialized in the "Tree Talk" column of the commercial paper Shenbao, which Chen edited from 1916 to 1918.

Though exceptional, Chen was hardly the only successful cultural personality of his day. Other notable contemporaries include Xu Zhouchai, the famous satirist and soy sauce manufacturer; Lin Sha, the classicist and commercial entrepreneur; and Luo Bicheng, the poet, Buddhist, and businesswoman—all of whom are featured in this volume. Where Chen stood out from fellow cultural personalities was in the depth of his interest in and commitment to popularizing industrial and domestic science, both through the pen and through the market. One lifelong mission was to promote the authority of modern science in order to build a viable industrial sector for the modern Chinese nation. For Chen, science was at first a gentlemanly pursuit. In his youth in Hangzhou, he dabbled in amateur invention and scientific experimentation, benefiting from the efforts of early missionaries, reformist statesmen, and translators of scientific knowledge and Western learning at such institutions as the Jiangnan arsenal. He had access to missionary reading rooms on science and could attend industrial exhibitions that were being organized under state sponsorship in the late decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Hangzhou, his native place, had a vibrant Western-learning community, as did other large cities like Shanghai and Beijing. Like many late Qing intellectuals, Chen also turned to Japan as a source of new knowledge. He had studied there for a few years and, at the age of twenty-seven, invited a Japanese man to live with him in Hangzhou, tutor him in chemistry, and help him turn his traditional literati studio into a domestic laboratory. Yet, Chen's pursuit of science and his commitment to its popularization soon moved beyond gentlemanly curiosity; and he became an ardent promoter of modern science and industrial technology. As such, Chen was part of a new generation of men and women who sought to promote science and industry not through officialdom or state-sponsored institutions but in and through the worlds of publishing and commerce. One early venture, for example, the Hangzhou-based Guther Profit (Cui Li) Company (est. 1901), sold books, stationary, imported scientific and musical instruments, and appliances, especially those related to chemistry. When serving in an official staff position in Ningbo from 1909 to 1913, Chen not only wrote The Money Demon but also began to experiment with devising an inexpensive ingredient for toothpowder, a precursor to toothpaste. His later entrepreneurial success stemmed directly from this early amateur scientific experimentation. By the middle of 1917, Chen had perfected his toothpowder formula and had begun production. In May 1918, he listed Household Industries as a joint-stock company; its most notable product was Peerless Brand toothpowder, which was unique in its ability to double as face cream. In the company's Wuxi and Hangzhou factories, Household Industries also came to manufacture hundreds of consumer products, including paper and daily-use chemicals, such as mosquito repellent and peppermint oil. By the 1930s, Household Industries had grown into a regional pharmaceutical empire, its toothpowder one of the most popular toiletry items in China and Southeast Asia.

Chen was quick to take advantage of his access to new media to promote science and industry. This cultural entrepreneurship combined the goal of commerce and industry (gong shang) with the sensibilities of a literati (wenren). With his move to Shanghai, Chen became involved with editing and writing for some of the most influential journals and newspapers of the day. In those various capacities, he tried to popularize scientific and industrial knowledge. In December 1914, he founded and became the chief editor of Woman's World (Nu zhi shi), a journal that was devoted to poetry and fiction (especially butterfly fiction) but that also included a variety of practical household tips. Earlier, in 1913, he became actively involved in the production of "Tree Talk," serving as its editor from late 1916 to September 1918. In "Tree
Talk," he not only published his novels, including *The Money Demon*, in serial instalments but also contributed regular technical entries and practical information in "Household Knowledge," a column that ran from late 1916 until 10 May 1917.

In the 1920s, Chen turned to the building of his pharmaceutical empire, and by the 1930s, he had become a leading industrialist. During this period, understandably, his literary production slowed considerably. He wrote poetry and essays but no more novels. But as a pharmaceutical giant, Chen Duxian did not completely forgo the busy pulpits of print media or the editorial techniques of ordering and authenticating knowledge; he continued to compile and publish on industrial knowledge and remained active in contributing journal articles and columns on science and industry throughout the 1900s. In 1934 and 1935, during the height of the National Products Movement (Guohua yundong; henceforth NPM), in which Chinese manufacturers like Chen urged Chinese buyers to "buy Chinese" and boycott "enemy" (Western and Japanese) products, Chen founded, edited, and contributed to the NPM publication, *Journal for the Association of Shanghai Manufacturers of National Products* (Shanghai jichu guohua lianhe hui haitan, est. 1930). His contributions included a range of advisory pieces to China’s industrial circles and articles on light manufacturing (tiao gongyi) and he fielded letters to the editor.

Owning a Name: Trademark, Brand, and Persona

Chen Duxian offers us an excellent vantage point from which to explore more carefully the evolving forms of branding and cultivating, as well as owning, a name. Like many of his late imperial literati predecessors, Chen the writer built a literary reputation around a pen name, Heaven Bore Me in Vain (Tianxuowang), but he did so through new media, such as newspapers and other periodicals. Where he clearly went beyond classical attempts of self-fashioning was in his persona building in the commercial sector. As a modern-day cultural entrepreneur, Chen did not just create a public persona: he turned himself into a brand. Specifically, he sought to use his literary persona as a cultured "man of feeling" to enhance the brand of his cosmetics. His products, in turn, helped bolster his standing as a renowned industrialist and cultural persona. To explore this mutually constitutive branding in Chen’s cultural entrepreneurship, this section focuses on the butterfly, the motif and image at the heart of his cosmetics’ Butterfly trademark, which also appears in his sobriquet, or public name, Butterfly Immortal (Duxian). Given this close relationship between brand name and persona, we may not be surprised to find that Chen went to great lengths to claim legal and cultural ownership of this particular mark.

Butterfly as Trademark

Chen Duxian developed a widely popular brand of pharmaceutical items, marketed bilingually as "Wudipu" in Mandarin and "Butterfly" in English. This successful brand name employed several levels of linguistic play. To start, the literal meaning of the Chinese characters for Wudipu is "the brand without enemy" or "Peerless Brand." The militaristic "without enemy" unequivocally evoked the call to arms of patriotic "Buy Chinese" movements. As noted briefly above, the Republican era saw consumer culture increasingly politicized, and anti-imperialist boycotts, as well as nationalist manufacturing and domestic-consumption campaigns, gathered speed. The logo on the Peerless Brand toothpowder carton alluded, not too subtly, to this politicized context. It featured a tennis racquet slaming a tennis ball, which was meant to represent the Japanese sun. The image thus symbolized the smashing of Japanese goods (especially the highly popular Japanese Jingangshi brand toothpowder) in the Chinese market. Four characters appeared prominently on the packaging: 等級薄砂 (Zhengji buancai), meaning Chinese National Products.

The image in Figure 3.1 appeared in a 1947 account of Household Industries and features packaging for its popular Peerless Brand toothpowder.
3.2 "Peerless Toothpowder," colour logo

The packaging itself seems to have become a logo, with the carton appearing to be more important than the actual product, which is not even shown.10 With the four characters for "the marvellous tooth-protecting product" (fai chi sheng pao) at the top and the characters for "Peerless Toothpowder" (Wudi yufen) on the right hand side, the entire visual could easily have circulated for advertising purposes. The front panel of the package is enlarged – again emphasizing the importance of the logo – and a tennis racquet (though here without a ball) is featured prominently, with the words "face and toothpowder" (gamian yufen) written across its head. The coloured version of the logo features a rose and a butterfly at the bottom, two signature symbols for the brand (Figure 3.2).11

While the strict patriotic connotation comes across in Mandarin, the name "Wudipai" becomes far more witty and whimsical in Shanghaiese and gains one more layer of meaning. In Shanghaiese, the pronunciation of the characters wudi in Wudipai is homophonic with the Shanghaiese pronunciation of "butterfly."12 Not surprisingly, the trademark for the Wudipai brand registered in 1917 with the trademark bureau included not simply the Chinese characters – 蝴蝶 (hua), 斗 (dou), and 致 (zhi) – but also the English name, "BUTTERFLY," in its capital letters.

The above image of a butterfly (see Figure 3.3), under which are the characters for Household Industries – 燕 (yan), 王 (wang), 王 (qong), 王 (yi), and 王 (she) – was also registered along with the trademark.13 The butterfly differed slightly from the one featured in the logo for Peerless Brand toothpowder. Thus, whereas in the West, the trademark is often thought of as a matter of visual symbolism, focused on marks and packaging, or as a series of letters/numbers (marks) that constitute a name, here the efficacy of the Peerless Brand trademark lies in large part with a homophonic interplay between a regional dialect and Mandarin Chinese. Peerless Brand was thus a trademark for the national audience – one increasingly aware of the economic warfare against enemy products in the NPM – as well as for a local Shanghai audience, which could grasp the pun between wudi in Mandarin and haodi in dialect.

Particular products of the Peerless/Butterfly Brand would reinforce the butterfly motif in its specific names and in its visual packaging. Whereas the most famous of the Peerless Brand products was the aforementioned toothpowder/cold cream (with which Chen Diezian founded Household Industries and which he had invented himself), other popular items included the cold cream product Butterfly Cream (Danshun).14 With its inclusion of the character for dui, the product name "Butterfly Cream" unambiguously connected the butterfly motif. An ad for the cream appeared on 3 October 1932 in the Shenshe (see Figure 3.4).
Like the many other Chinese print ads, this one targeted urban China's new consumers with the bold claim, "The superior Butterfly Cream. SHE NEEDS IT. SHE ADORES IT." In a separate block of text, the commercial elaborates, "She desperately needs a thoroughly superior National Product beauty item. The market is filled with products, but in the end they cannot satisfy her. The Peerless Brand guarantees a charming complexion: BUTTERFLY CREAM." Accompanying the text is an image of a modern, glamorous woman in profile. The ad then assures consumers that this Household Industriess product is sold in all department stores throughout China and is available for easy purchase. Finally, it presents the commodity as something to adore (lit., "deeply love"). Like its innumerable counterparts, the ad sought to produce that crucial, if at times elusive, consumer desire in China's burgeoning commercial culture.

Though the above advertisement for Butterfly Cream does not specifically include the image of a butterfly, the packaging for the cold cream did (see Figure 3.5).

In this image, the product is represented as a bottle of cream alongside its highly-decorated packaging, which is what consumers would see in stores. Featuring the trademark butterfly, the packaging itself could function as the trademark in guaranteeing the product. Furthermore, like the earlier packaging for Peerless Brand toothpowder, the composition of the packaging is itself an advertisement of a sort. The Chinese characters " peers (Dieshuang) are listed alongside the picture of the bottle and carton, and above it are characters that read, "The King of Cold Cream" (szihua shi wang). On the carton appears the full brand logo with the Chinese name, "Dieshuang," and the English name, "Butterfly Cream," which is prominently featured on the front panel. Underneath the English words "Butterfly Cream," a glamorous woman applies the product to her skin.

Beyond its whimsicality, the aural pun in Chen Diezhan's Peerless Brand trademark is indicative of the cosmopolitan modernity of the southeastern
and southern regions of China at the time, a modernity characterized by its seamless integration of international, national, and regional inflections. In her discussion of Shanghai's film and entertainment culture, Zhang Zhen discusses the peculiar vernacular expression of yángjìngháng, which might be roughly translated as "pidgin."* At the linguistic level, yángjìngháng was a highly creative, if at times irreverent, grammar, with its mixture of English, Chinese, and regional dialects. For Zhang, the term is extended to connote more expansively the vernacular yet cosmopolitan entertainment culture of the city, for our purposes, both the linguistic register and metaphorical meaning of the term are significant. The wittiness involved in yángjìngháng can be applied to our understanding of the aural and regional word play in the Peerless Brand trademark. In addition to the dialect pun, which directly appeals to the regional audience, and the nationalistic appeal of the Mandarin pronunciation, the English name, “Butterfly,” suggests yet another more global or cosmopolitan register of the mark. Thus, like the area’s film and entertainment culture, Shanghai’s vibrant commercial, consumer, and visual/aural cultures, as represented by Chen’s trademark, were highly cosmopolitan, marked by both vernacular and national meaning.

Finally, beyond its punning qualities, the logo sought to evoke the authority of classical culture in the market. As seen in the version of the trademark shown below, seal script was strategically chosen for the characters of “Household Industries,” which were cleverly arranged into a butterfly image (see Figure 3.7). The butterfly’s upper right wing is a seal script character for “jí jì”**. The bottom right wing is the character for “zòng.” Together, they constitute the compound jìzhāng “Household.” The characters that constitute the antenna and the body of the butterfly are “gōng” and “yì.”

3.7 “Peerless/Butterfly” brand, registered trademark, circa 1935

and as a compound, gōngjì, means "industries." The characters making up the left wing are “hùi” and “shā,” which constitute “huìshā,” a neologism from Japan meaning “association” or “corporation.” Together, the six characters spell out jìzhāng gōngjìshā, or “The Association of Household Industries.” Choosing seal script for a commercial trademark was hardly accidental: it evokes a long sense of history and the literati culture of calligraphy. As a result, the seal script imbued Chen’s commodities with a whiff of learnedness and classical culture — something that Chen himself, his literary products, and his manufactured items all sought to embody. Far from being retrograde, this commercial classicism was a marker of authenticity.*

Contemporaries appreciated the efficacy of the trademark. In the article “The Question of Trademarks” (“Shānhuá wěn fěi”), written for the Journal of Industry and Commerce (Gōngshí huàbāo), author Wang Taijun makes a strong case for the use of trademarks. Trademarks are less easily counterfeited than shop names; in Chinese society, which has a low literacy rate, trademarks are easily recognizable, even for those who cannot read characters; and a trademark guarantees a shop’s reputation. For Wang, an effective trademark is one that relates to the product being sold, has artistic imagery, and makes proper and balanced use of characters and pictures. Strong trademarks are simple in design. The simpler they are, the easier for the customer to remember. He also makes the perhaps counterintuitive argument that simple trademarks are actually more difficult to imitate; in other words, a simple and catchy trademark ensures a stronger association with a particular product and is thus harder to copy for other purposes or items. Finally, Wang presents examples of famous and effective trademarks, starting with Chen’s Peerless Brand toothpowder. This trademark is effective, he claims, because of the homophonic substitution of the name in Shanghaiese: the image of roses and violets to indicate the fragrant nature of the product; and the combination of flowers with the butterfly motif, which he felt to be particularly clever and appropriate. To return to the second epigraph at the beginning of this chapter, “the Butterfly trademark is harmonious and easy to pronounce, and its meaning is deep. It should bring about prosperity. A trademark should be beautiful, meaningful and highly accessible. This trademark has all of these characteristics. Readers, if you need a model, consider this one.”*
persona he sought to cultivate: namely, that of a man of feeling in an era of cold capitalism. Chen Duxian's original name was Shousong, which he changed to Chen Xu. He also had several zi, or courtesy names, and hua, or sobriquets. As noted earlier, he tended to use Heaven Bore Me in Vain (Tianxiazuowen) when writing fiction and literature. In his capacity as regional pharmaceutical industrialist and central participant of the NPU, however, he tended to use Duxian, or Butterfly Immortal, a public name he had chosen for himself. The butterfly evoked romance and sentience, and such a choice, I argue, was hardly accidental: it spoke to Chen's desire to imbue his industrial and commercial identity with a sense of romance, authenticity, and even sincerity. The early twentieth century was an era in which open pursuit of profit by lettered elites was only starting to become acceptable, and Chen was pursuing the more ethically problematic goal of material profit in both his literary and industrial endeavors. As a result, he sought to authenticate his aspirations by positioning himself as a man of genuine feeling, a reputation elegantly symbolized by the appellation "Butterfly Immortal."

The connection between man and brand is perhaps most evident in the fact that as a sobriquet, "Duxian" would have immediately referenced Chen's identity as a romance novel writer. As noted earlier, Chen's initial success lay in the writing of "old-style" romance novels, a genre that was characterized by a liberal use of traditional romantic symbols, such as ducks and butterflies for pairs of lovers. Devoided at the time as hopeless entertainment and escapist literature, these novels nonetheless had political salience. By employing traditional themes of romantic love, filial piety, and chivalric heroism, they helped readers to explore the vicissitudes of modernity and to examine topics such as marriage, modern womanhood, Republican politics, and the ongoing warlord strife under Nationalist rule in the 1930s. Significantly for our purposes, as romance novels, this genre presented to readers in an increasingly commercial world of urban decay and materialism a fictional world of sincere feelings and romance. This was a genre of authenticity.

Chen Duxian's most commercially successful romance novel, The Money Demon, was of this genre; it was Chen's attempt to present himself as a man of feeling and genuine sentiment while exploring new moral visions — in this case, one that looked more favorably on the pursuit of money. The Money Demon was informed in part by traditional novels, such as The Dream of the Red Chamber, which explore themes of sentiment (qing) vis-à-vis Confucian ritual propriety. It also resembles coming-of-age novels of the West. Shan, Chen's alter ego, is an elite young man of sentiment who matures over time through his myriad escapades in love and business. Chen presents the novel as an autobiographical account of his youth, and, as Patrick Hanan notes, characters are based on real people and the narration of events is generally factually accurate. As such, the novel provides a window into the life of a privileged young man at the turn of the century; the late imperial Chinese family structure, notions of marriage and love, and even household and financial management.

Sociological insights aside, The Money Demon exhibits many of the quintessential traits of the romance fiction genre. In her genealogical study of sentiment in modern Chinese literature, Haiyan Lee describes Butterfly fiction as populated by men and women of sentiment who "without exception — are talented, handsome, and sensitive ... They weep a great deal; their tears drench their pillows and love letters. All in all, they live and die for qing, the one word that encapsulates their entire existence." Chen's protagonist Shan is such a man of sentiment, pursuing his heart's infatuations to the point of appearing frustratingly shallow and naïve to the modern reader. His intense passions are neatly encapsulated in the image of the butterfly, which makes a symbolic appearance in the novel. At one point, when Shan returns home to his wife and divulges that he has been to visit his great love, Koto, the intimacy that arises from his revealing of the secret results in physical lovemaking, which he describes thus: "My rapturous soul and hers were magically transformed into a pair of butterflies flying together into oblivion."

Most importantly, The Money Demon falls squarely under the Butterfly genre in using the themes of love and sentiment to explore, articulate, and even authenticate new ways of engaging in the world. The novel's specific concern is money and, by extension, commerce. As its title indicates, money is a vexed theme, especially in terms of love relations and the forging of a sentimental modern subject. Throughout the story, the central tension is between the possibility of pure or authentic sentiment and the need for money. Shan's own love relationships are constantly thwarted by what he calls the "money demon." Yet, by the end of the novel, we see how these compromised love relationships were integral to Shan's growth into a young man and helped change his attitude towards the regime of money. Shan's love for Koto is the key to the money theme. The novel traces their complicated love relationship from childhood until Shan is twenty-two. While he has numerous other infatuations over the years and has an arranged marriage to Susa, a woman he comes to love fondly, his love for Koto holds
cruel stage. Moreover, it is through this relationship that the tension between money and love—by extension, between commerce and the modern sentimental individual—is explored. Early in the novel, Shan's love for Koko is idealized; it becomes even more so when he realizes her tragic fate—she is forced to marry for money by her mother. Ultimately, Koko rejects Shan's offer to make her his concubine. She states that if they cannot be in a monogamous relationship, she would rather sacrifice the possibility of consummating their love and instead establish her own financial autonomy and freedom. It is at this point that his lurking doubts about her being possessed by the money demon emerge.

As his own feeling towards money changes, however, so does Shan's view of Koko's situation. This shift in attitude is enabled by his other key love relationship: that with his wife. With his family in financial decline, his devoted wife starts pawning her jewellery to enable him to continue to lead the gentlemanly life of a warren. As a result, he is shamed into maturing and taking responsibility. He pursues—somewhat unsuccessfully—business opportunities that are still fairly unconventional for upper-class men (including establishing a newspaper and opening up a tea and bamboo dealership) and comes to respect Koko and sympathize with her circumstances. The gendering of relationships to money is striking. As a man of feeling, Shan comes across as fickle, irresponsible, and, for much of the novel, primarily uninterested in financial matters. Women—his mother, his wife, and even his housemaid, Little Tan—manage the finances in the family, although engagement with money always presented a perilous course for women in terms of their virtue. Indeed, the story ends on a note of ambivalence. Shan discovers that his beloved has once again married for money, and Koko explains that she has done so to kill Shan's love for her, as its unattainable nature was bedevilling her. Shan protests: "Not yet! I cried bitterly. 'How could love possibly bedevil you? ... To my mind, that man you're marrying is nothing more than the money demon, the money demon!'"

This final passage, in which the impact of money once again confounds their love, reflects the author's ongoing sense of ambivalence towards money. With the dismantling of the civil service exam system, many urban elites like Chen were transitioning from the warren identity to new ways of being that more centrally revolved around the open pursuit of profit. That said, a long history of Confucian distrust of profit did not disappear entirely among the literati, and the rush to capitalism and the rise of materialism in urban settings engendered considerable anxiety, even as it generated unprecedented opportunity. Whether or not we accept the author's claim that the novel is semi-autobiographical, Shan's story seems to reflect Chen's own grappling with the transition to modern cultural entrepreneurship, even as he profited by it.

The persona of the sentimental individual, symbolized by the butterfly, might have helped smooth this transition. According to Hanan, as part of the "romantic generation" of modern Chinese writers, Chen, as a writer, was characterized by a "preoccupation with status of feeling, particularly romantic love... which [he] took a keen delight in revealing to the public." Meanwhile, Lee pushes the characterization further, portraying Chen as embodying the community of sentiment that arose in Republican China's literary public sphere. Noting his passion for butterflies, as indicated by his self-chosen name Diego, Lee sees the affinity as symbolizing his persona as a man of feeling and goes so far as to assert that "the butterflies seem to point to the fusion of the two roles assumed by the bourgeois, as both property owners and human beings." Shifting the focus somewhat, I argue that Chen Diegoian used the butterfly motif as the link between his personal authenticity as a sentimental man and the authenticity of his mass-manufactured products. The dual benefit enhanced the appeal of his commodified forms of literature and industrial products while also authenticating his own personas as not simply a man of culture and cultivation but also a man of commerce.

The link was more than symbolic, since it was thanks to his ability to cash in on his literary success as a Butterfly writer that Chen Diegoian was able to transcend the literary world and become a successful industrialist in the first place. Proceeds from his serial-novel writing—the then hefty sum of $10,000—were what enabled him to launch Household Industries and his new career as an industrial entrepreneur. Just as his engagement in the National Products Movement allowed him to present the endearment of the industry as part of the noble cause of building the nation, the writing of novels such as The Money Demon and the establishment of a sentimental persona enabled Chen to render the pursuit of profit—a trait long despised in a system of Confucian morality—into something legitimate.

The Ownership of Butterfly
Given the close relationship between the trademark and the man, it is not entirely surprising that Chen's Household Industries ferociously sought to monopolize the Butterfly brand and to promote trademark legislation more generally. In fact, Household Industries was among the earliest generation of Chinese companies to push for the institutionalization of trademark enforcement in China. Trademark registration and legal enforcement were
being introduced globally in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In China, the promotion of the trademark as something that could guarantee a company’s reputation and ensure profit, and thus, as deserving of legal protection, started around the beginning of the twentieth century. Britain and other Western countries put pressure on the late Qing government to draft regulations to police counterfeit trademarks. The Imperial Maritime Customs Service initially registered trademarks, but since they were unable to enforce the regulations, the British Foreign Office pursued the matter through diplomatic channels with the Boxer Uprising protocols. A series of commercial treaties seeking to provide protection for foreign marks followed. In 1904, the Qing government promulgated a set of “Experimental Regulations for the Registration of Trademarks” in response to British demands; these regulations were to serve as the foundation to the trademark code slated for future codification. Western pressure and intervention persisted into the Republican period. Western powers were heavily involved in shaping China’s first complete Trademark Law, drafted in 1925, which served as the basis of the Nationalist government’s law until 1930, when the Guomindang (GMD) offered its own revision of the law.

Despite the existence of trademark legislation during the early Republic, the period was one of tremendous political and social chaos, and the weakness of the central state meant that it was often non-state entities among domestic players that were most actively promoting trademark enforcement. Corporations such as Chen Dieixin’s Household Industries were among such entities. Indeed, by the late 1910s and early 1920s, a period in which trademark enforcement was far from institutionalized, Chen’s newly established Household Industries was already feeding off copies of the Peerless Brand/butterfly trademark and pushing for enforcement, especially at local levels. For example, in 1921, a public notice of trademark infringement cases involving Chen Dieixin’s Peerless Brand was posted in the Industrial Bureau Bulletin of the Jiangsu Industrial Monthly by the head of the Jiangsu Industrial Bureau, a certain Zhang You. The notice states that Chen Dieixin, under one of his alternate names Chen Xuyuan, had submitted to the bureau that Household Industries had created the Peerless Brand tooth powder trademark that combined a butterfly, roses, and violets. It further notes that Household Industries had identified Huei’s Wuchang Heji Company (Wuchang Heji gongsi) as plagiarizing the Peerless Brand trademark to sell their own product, the Evolution (Inhua) Brand tooth powder.

This notice is a telling example of how domestic companies like Chen’s were trying to negotiate what was still a new terrain of policing infringement in China’s market when a formal, institutional apparatus had barely begun to materialize. On one level, the notice served as a declaration of the institutional raison d’être of the central state’s Ministry of Agriculture and Industry and of provincial-level industrial agencies, including those of Jiangsu and Huei, and their efforts in institutionalizing trademark enforcement. The text describes for readers the new institutional apparatus for policing trademark ownership. In turn, it notes how the Ministry of Agriculture and Industry had ordered the Huei Industrial Agency to investigate and decide on the matter. This agency then submitted a report that declared that the Jinhou trademark used by the Wuchang Heji company was identical in colour and style to that of Household Industries; the agency therefore ordered the Wuchang district magistrate to prohibit such counterfeiting. According to the district magistrate’s report, an officer had been sent to the company to instruct them not to use the trademark and the company had agreed to change its mark. Thus, this notification’s careful narration of the offices involved in the enforcement of trademark use was aimed specifically at legitimating and promoting official efforts to institutionalize trademark legislation. Not surprisingly, it concludes, “[This notification] shows that our government ministry and agency have the best and most sincere intentions in protecting the trademark.”

The notice also reveals how Chen’s company sought to mobilize and capo reluctant bureaucrats and officials to act and enforce trademark ownership. It mentions another purported case, submitted by Chen, of counterfeiting the Peerless Brand mark, which makes evident the considerable degree of foot-dragging among local officials as well as the potential for police fraud. In this case, Chen’s Household Industries had accused Meida Chemical Industry (Meida linxue gongsi) of the Changshu district for using the imagery of the butterfly, roses, and violets, similar to the Peerless Brand trademark, when selling their Flower Ball (Yuxiao) brand toothpowder. Household Industries had understood the protection of its trademark to be the responsibility of the industrial office of the district government and therefore had prepared a letter requesting that the Changshu magistrate’s office investigate the alleged infringement. Three months after the request, however, there had still been no news, and another company, the Hengchanghao foreign goods store, had meanwhile started to distribute its Superior (Dongbang) brand face and toothpowder, also using the butterfly, rose, and violet imagery in their trademark. Household Industry felt that by claiming that this was an original mark, the Hengchanghao store was purposefully deceiving customers. The notice says that Household Industries
had intended to request that the Tai county magistrate investigate and prohibit such actions but was afraid that, like the Changshu magistrate's office, the Tai county office would ignore the request. The publication of this notice, then, served to identify it to print those offices that Chen's company saw as uncooperative. By treating the provincial-level agency as the agent with the power and responsibility to enforce trademark regulations, the notice was intended to put pressure on that agency as well.

In short, this episode provides us with several insights. First, the notice demonstrates that as early as the first half of the 1920s, Chen Dixinian was pushing for trademark enforcement, which speaks to his investment in promoting the modern trademark. Second, the notice offers us a glimpse of what must have been considerable reluctance on the part of local officials to make the effort to enforce trademark legislation. This reluctance was no doubt in part because policing trademark abuses was still uncharted territory; another factor was that new industrialists like Chen might have faced opposition from local interests at the provincial level. Third, the fact that Zhang Yiyou, the head of the Jiangsu Industrial Bureau, posted this notice, presumably acting on Chen's request, speaks to how Zhang sought to present his bureaucratic office— the provincial-level industrial agency— as "modern" and likewise invested in promoting the idea and institutionalization of singular corporate trademark ownership. Both Chen and Zhang were fully aware of the power of the press and were willing to mobilize that bully pulpit in order to assert the idea of corporate ownership of marks and to protect the Peerless Brand mark. Indeed, the notice specifically noted that Chen had asked the agency to announce this case of infringement in public in the newspapers so as to prevent others from plagiarizing his mark and that such an action would be for the public good.

Beyond efforts to ensure the legal and institutional enforcement of the Peerless Brand/Butterfly trademark, Chen Dixinian's Household Industries sought to promote, enhance, and claim the brand name through a variety of other means. One of the more high-profile methods was Chen's forging a public association with Butterfly Wu, or Hu Die (1907-89), the famous Republican-era movie star. In certain respects, the mass media mechanisms by which Hu Die and Chen branded themselves and lent their reputations and names for product endorsement were quite similar. Yet, key differences exist. Though Chen had gained a reputation as a writer and later as an industrialist and civic leader, Hu Die's fame as a movie star, beginning in the 1920s, was substantially more far-reaching. Thus, whereas Chen was branding his own products, Hu Die was endorsing other people's goods. Tapping into the highly popular film industry for product endorsements or having film stars appear at commercial events was a common marketing practice in China, as it was around the world. As Hu Die became increasingly famous, companies vied to use her name and face for purposes of representation and endorsement. Clearly, Hu Die's modern celebrity served to confer market value to her name and to bolster the profitability of enterprises using the name "Butterfly" in China's commercial market of the day.

The aggressiveness with which Household Industries sought to claim the Butterfly brand as exclusively theirs is also evident in a 1930s trademark legal suit in which Hu Die, the film actress, was directly embroiled. Described by one reporter as causing a stir in society and standing out in China's trademark history, the suit was initiated by Hu Die in 1934, when she sought to dissolve her contract with Huannan Chemical Company (Huannan huexue gongyeyeh); hereafter Huannan). As this case involved the brand name "Butterfly" and its application to toiletry items, it is hardly surprising that Chen Dixinian's company, listing gongyeho, and its hard-hitting attempts to monopolize the trade name "Butterfly" were explicitly invoked in the affair.

In the early 1930s, several cosmetic companies fought over the legal right and exclusive privilege to use Hu Die's name to sell their products. In 1952, Hu Die agreed to associate her name exclusively with the cosmetic items of Huannan, signing a contract with its owner, a certain Xu Gongming, that granted him the right to use "Hu Die," her name, as well as her image, as Huannan's trademark for its line of goods, which included cold cream, powder, perfume, toothpowder, and toothpaste. "Hu Die" was officially registered with the Shanghai Trademark Bureau as a mark of Huannan. In return, the contract stipulated, Hu Die's annual earning was to be a guaranteed 1 percent of total sales, or no less than 1500 yuan.

Soon after the signing of the contract, Hu Die toothpowder by Huannan appeared on the market. The company planned to launch several more cosmetic products that would use "Hu Die" as a brand name. However, for the next few years, the company's earnings fell and rumors started to emerge that they would go out of business. It was because of these flat sales, argued Hu Die's lawyers, that Hu Die had not received any compensation for the years that the company had been using her name. "He's lawyers claimed that she had no choice but to bring the case to the Shanghai district court and..."
Huxian was manufacturing the same kinds of items – cosmetics, including toothpowder – and using a similar marketing name. And with the rise of a new legal regime of trademark ownership both domestically and globally, Household Industries did not shy away from using an array of legal and economic tools to stake its claim over its trademark in order to guarantee the company’s reputation and, by extension, to ensure its monopoly over the Butterfly mark and to profit in the toiletries market. Yet, on another level, it is easy to imagine how the personal association of Chen Dixian, the man, and the name “Butterfly” factored into Household Industries’ assertiveness in securing exclusive and expansive legal and cultural ownership over the popular mark.

The Modern Cultural Personality: Branding the Self
The case of Chen Dixian does not enable us to write a teleological account of cultural entrepreneurs overcoming traditional literati ambivalence regarding commerce to become full-throated capitalists willing to embrace profit. Instead, it reveals the historically contingent and inventive manner in which urban men-of-letters fashioned themselves and adopted a host of entrepreneurial strategies in an era of modern capitalism. To this end, I have focused on how Chen employed and reordered skills and resources, including both long-standing literati modes of cultivating reputation and new ways of branding a reputation. To be sure, much of the motivation to “own” the Butterfly brand stemmed from the sheer desire to profit from his toiletry products. But, as we have seen, the close association of the butterfly name and image with Chen Dixian’s romantic persona – first, literary, and second, as an industrialist leader – added to the competitiveness with which Chen sought to monopolize the trademark and name through legal, economic, and cultural means.

Chen Dixian’s China saw the rise of fame and a qualitative change in the power of a name vis-à-vis earlier forms of reputation. This modern period witnessed a profound deepening of social and economic developments that had already allowed for individual fame and “brand names” to arise in the semi-industrialized late imperial era. By the late nineteenth century, however, commerce had gained unprecedented prominence. If the central state had periods of weakness during the late imperial era, its institutional structure remained basically intact. The turn of the twentieth century, by contrast, saw the civil service examinations dismantled for good, and elites both found and made an unprecedented array of new non-state arenas for
cultural activities, including in commerce and industry. Furthermore, while the global silver trade had underpinned markets since the late Ming, modern markets had become far more deeply integrated into global capitalism, especially through the penetrating circuits of imperialism. New global regimes of law, transportation, and communication had started to shape Chinese commercial practice in new ways. The implementation—however imperfect and contested—of modern trademark legislation constituted a novel context that influenced how cultural entrepreneurs sought to establish, disseminate, and, indeed, legally own their names and reputations.

Furthermore, new ideas of subjectivity and audience shaped the articulation of modern fame. By the twentieth century, the “self” could become commodified in previously unforeseen ways due to the rise of the modern media and an anonymous mass consumer, neither of which existed prior to the twentieth century. Famous individuals of the modern period not only became brands but did so in unprecedented legal and media contexts. Cultural figures like Mei Lanfang—China’s most famous Peking Opera star and arguably a cultural entrepreneur himself—achieved the status of national icon within a modern fan system, commercialized theatre world, and new international stage for the faces or symbols of the essence of China.” Movie stars like Hu Die and Ruan Lingyu lent their names, faces, and bodies to brand and endorse products that had nothing to do with their accomplishments. It was in an era of mechanical reproduction that their images and names saturated Chinese society and culture far beyond what might have occurred earlier.

It was in this context that Chen Dixian—a star of neither film nor opera, though an industrialist of considerable renown—was able to brand himself and his industrial products. Chen combined a range of strategies to cultivate his persona. While his persona differed in important ways from those of movie stars and opera icons, similar dynamics were at work. As Chen Dixian was an industrialist, his fame did not depend on fan culture, as did that of film and opera stars. Even as the romance writer Tianxiusheng, who enjoyed a considerable following, Chen did not enjoy fame like that of Mei Lanfang. Nor did he have the brand power that would allow him, like Hu Die, to rent out his name to endorse other people’s products for profit. Yet, he did share with these stars a self-conscious attempt at branding one’s self that, in effect, constituted a new relationship between mass-produced commodities and mass-produced personas, a relationship that was possible only in an era of modern endorsement and the branding of personages. He shared their need to establish the authenticity, or genuineness, of name and brand.

What is notable about Chen’s self-branding is that he sought to authenticate his own persona and products with his reputation as a genuine man of feeling. In her study of “commodified authenticity” in late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century England, Elizabeth Osika argues that in the new anxiety-ridden age of commerce, the new middle class craved easy accessibility to tradition and the authentic through consumption. English marketers of lifestyle design and products from soap to home goods, along with modernist writers from Woolf to Joyce, employed the strategy of presenting a commodity as authentic in its ability to appeal to a pure rural English past or to present itself as original, unfulfilled art.” While Chen may have not been seeking to commodify China’s “authentic” past per se, he was nonetheless engaging in a similar endeavour to commodify sentiment. In other words, Chen mobilized his persona as a man of feeling, and as Butterfly Immortal, to endow the market, commerce, and his brand with authenticity. To this end, Chen devoted a considerable amount of time and energy to controlling the creation and cultivation of his image as a man of feeling. He was savvy in bolstering his reputation as a cultural entrepreneur with his trademark of sentiment, the Butterfly. His branded persona cleverly evoked his multiple identities and his ability to move from the literary realm of the Butterfly fiction writing and editorial work to the commercial realm of the industrial production of Butterfly-cosmetic products. Furthermore, the very success of Chen’s personas as Butterfly Immortal depended on not only his cultural production in the literary areas but also his industrial production of objects and commodities and his patriotic commercial activity and civic leadership. In short, it was a versatile, multi-skilled cultural personality that Chen Dixian, Butterfly Immortal, cultivated his reputation as a man of sentiment, authenticated the pursuit of profit, guaranteed the sales of his products, and achieved his own brand of immortality.

Notes
1 Biographical information on Chen Dixian comes primarily from Chen, “Wode fuqin Tianxiusheng,” and Chen, Money Demon.  
3 Serfdom, Cultural Nostalgia.  
4 Manz, Talented Women.  
5 See Rust, Gutenberg in Shanghai, esp. chs. 4 and 5.  
6 This division of labour was, in fact, typical of nineteenth-century grand families, which sought to ensure their survival by covering a variety of occupational bases beyond...
just scholarly endeavours, including medicine and even commerce. Merchants, Talented Women, 
7 This paper enjoyed a moderate circulation but was quickly shut down because of its 
8 For more on this earlier generation of Hangzhou Jewish translators and storytellers, see 
9 For work on expositions, see Fernsboer, "Material Modernities," 2. Fernsboer writes, 
"Late Qing Nanyang expop event sought to promote engagement in science and 
industry through the spectacular and pedagogically driven exposition to targeted audi 
cences of merchants, industrialists, academics, journalists, and officials in big cities such as 
Nanjing and Shanghai." (2011) 
11 In association with this early Hangzhou shop, he set up a publishing company in 1902, 
following in 1906 with a public reading room. While Wuhe Press was the first modern 
newspaper in Hangzhou, its name indicates few warning signs on China's part about the goal 
of making money and may have also suggested that scientific knowledge would profit the 
people. See, for more, a recent change in the name of the Liu Family, which I analyze below. 
12 For example, of the Baojuan’s popular magazine, see its advertisement for Butter 
fly Cream in a Shanghai, China. (Baojuan, Shanghai), 15 February 1902, 21. See also a full 
advertising campaign for Baojuan’s toothpaste in the Union Times in March and April 1902 
which featured movie star endorsements. See also Baojuan, Shanghai, 15 April 1902, 18. 
13 Examples include one ad pictured on 2 April 1938, 24, and another on 6 April 1938, 14. 
14 See Yee,""Wuhe was kind enough to bring these advertisements to my attention. 
15 Around the same time, he was also the chief editor of another popular Shanghai 
newspaper, Twoist, 1902. 
16 By 1906, the Chinese press of Shanghai had reached 3 million copies, 
which was a substantial amount at that time. According to Yan Shifan, "Shanghai 
newspaper industry had become" (1946) one of the leading daily pharmaceutical companies 
in the nation. 
18 As a sport accessible primarily to China's privileged, cosmopolitan sector of society, 
tennis more generally connected a leisure and bourgeoisie lifestyle. 
19 The other important reason that Chen sought to target was the Leen Brand, or Shibata. 
20 This image is from Shanghai, jiehaku guoqiu shanghai jingwai 1947, 4. Also, see image 
in Wang, "Shanghai, wustu," inserted sleeve. 
21 This colored version of the toothpaste trademark is reproduced in Zuo, Lei. Shanghai. 
According to Chen Daixuan’s son, Chen Donghan, this image was registered with the 
Ministry of Agriculture and Industry in 1937 and remained unchanged for thirty-five 
22 The pronouncement of is in Shanghai is in a third tone, as is is pronounced as 
Mandarin, and it is pronounced as in a fifth tone, which is a light, short tone, as 
opposed to the third tone of Then in Mandarin. 
23 See Liu, Wooden Ducks and Butterflies, 174. 
24 See Lee, "All the Feelings," 18n2, and. Public Passions. 
25 According to Chen Xuewu, Fan Yanyin, and Zhou Shijun, it was the Amoy Densu 
sails to sail full-length novel, The Tale of Tatrany (Tatren nuan), that truly established 
its reputation as a romance novelist in Shanghai. "Fan wuxi wu yi Tatrany yu," 221. 
26 Details regarding the nature of relationships as well as encounters were not doubt 
embellished for dramatic effect and to conform to genre requirements. Historical comment 
appar in Chen, Amoy Densu, 6.
35. Lee, Revelation of the Heart, 103.
36. Chen, Money Demons, 209. For the English, I rely on Patrick Hanrahan’s excellent 1999 translation. For the original, see Tianzuanzong, Renmin ribao, 277. Note that just as authentic psychic can transcend cross methodism, the magical butterfly nicely transcends any vulgar physicality in this passage.
40. In late imperial China, there had long been interest in protecting brand names and treating business marks as the particular property of merchant or merchant houses. But these marks were never seen as something to be protected or defended by law; instead, guilds served to police rampant copying. For more on the history of trademarks and copying in imperial China, see Alfred, To Steal a Need.
41. In 1898, the British and French were the first to conclude an agreement for the mutual protection of their marks in China. Hence, “Chinese Trademark Law of 1904,” 160. By article on trademark regulation was included in one of the many unequal treaties signed by China. Zao, Zhengou jiulai zhongguo jianzhua, 27.
42. See Hecker, Chinese Trademark Law of 1904.
43. Some scholars have characterized Western intervention in compiling China’s modern Trademark Law in 1932 as exceptional and yet another example of the extent of Western imperialism in China (e.g., Zao, Zhengou jiulai zhongguo jianzhua, 94-99).
44. Scanting in the mid-nineteenth century with the Kangxi census and similar organisations, the Chinese state erected and sponsored institutions and bureaucratic offices intended to deal specifically with the industrial and commercial sector. By the 1920s, attempts to justify and empower such offices and bureaus were ongoing. What was new, however, was that non-state entities, such as individual industrialists like Chen, were doing so.
46. The English name for Hu Die, Butterfly Wu, was based on the Shanghainese pronunciation of her surname. Her name was also sometimes rendered Butterfly Hu, following the Mandarin pronunciation.
47. Seeking to benefit from a public association with Hu Die, Chen Diesel did have her lend her endorsement — and, quite literally, her name — to one of his side endeavors. In 1930, Chen and his son decided to open a hotel, which they named “The Butterfly Lodge” (Diehu). After the 1929 Hangzhou Expo, at which Chen exhibited his Pears Brand products, they realized that Hangzhou and the West Lake had become a popular tourist destination. They then decided to open the Diehu hotel behind what had been the Expo site near the Xiling Bridge. At the groundbreaking ceremony, Chen invited Hu Die and Xu Lai (1909-75), two of China’s most popular filmstars at the time. Go, “Xinghao Chen Diesi,” 3. In addition to seeking to benefit from their fame, Chen specifically also sought to mobilize the star power and celebrity of Hu Die and Xu Lai specifically because their first names, Die and Lai, when put together, formed the compound that was the name of the hotel.
49. “Simian yilai wei ren yiyin.”
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
53. Ibid.