

Selling Chinese Dreams: Fashion, Culture and Discourse in Advertising in China between the Two World Wars

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Abstract: Advertising in China was almost non-existent when economic reform began in the late 1970s, but has now developed a sophistication and style that is very much its own. This was also true of an earlier time before 1949. The paper aims to examine the development of advertising in China during the inter-war years. Its focus is on the 'message', the images of modernity, fashion and consumption that Chinese advertising conveyed. Shanghai was the centre of consumerism in China during the inter-war years and the home to the leading advertising firms, foreign and domestic. As China's major industrial centre, Shanghai was quintessentially 'modern' – *modan* in the Chinese of the day. By the late 1920s there were nearly 30 advertising firms in Shanghai alone, and the six largest companies formed an industry association. While early advertising copy and display was done mostly in-house in the major newspapers and magazines (eg, *Shen Bao* newspaper, *Dongfang zazhi* magazine), there were independent advertising firms who employed or contracted copywriters, graphic artists, painters and photographers. They created what were then innovative marketing materials, which projected the image of a new modernity and consumerism that spread out from Shanghai to the hinterland, and which were often a complex blend of foreign and Chinese images.

JEL: N35, N85, M31, M37

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Introduction

Diffusion occurs when doing something is clearly better than what has gone before often via a process of “learning by observing” and this diffusion frequently is quite slow (Hall, 2004; Rogers, 1995). Diffusion is the means by which individuals or firms adopt new technology or replace an older technology. It is an iterative process; the “learning by doing” produces innovations that improve on the received know-how or create newer technologies. Technology is not simply machine-like devices. Here I use technology in the sense of “know-how”, a way of understanding how processes, people and products can be ordered for an individual or firm to earn rents in the market place on whatever it is that they do better than others, the basis of their competitive advantage in the market. This activity is what we more typically call management. In this paper, I am interested in the management of selling broadly defined to include the creation of the market for a good and the fashioning of consumer tastes and expectations in such a way as to enable the selling to occur.

The paper begins with a survey of the growth of consumerism and advertising in China, centred on Shanghai, the largest and most modern commercial and industrial city in China during the early twentieth century. During the 1920-30s Chinese advertising firms emerged, borrowing heavily from American advertising models, though the paper only sketches the growth and issues in managing advertising and the transfer and adaptation of management know-how in advertising. The remainder of the paper is devoted to the “messages” that one can read in the display advertising of the period. Here the focus is on the fashioning of the idea of modernity and the creation and satisfaction of new ‘modern’ wants, though much needs to be done in developing the analysis.

Development of advertising and advertising management

Commercial advertising was not entirely new to China in the early twentieth century. Consumerism and the commercial promotion of consumer products in the prosperous lower Yangzi region, of which Shanghai has been the largest city since the late nineteenth century, was a feature of urban Chinese life in Qing China; the cities and towns of the region were full of shop and promotional signs (Rawski, 1979; Naquin and Rawski, 1987; Hamilton and Lai, 1989; Huang, 2006). In twentieth century Shanghai new genres of consumerism and promotion of consumption emerged, a “commercial culture” that distinguished past consumption practices (Cochran, 1999a). New industries, new transport forms, new business and residential districts, and new products appeared in this most cosmopolitan of China’s cities during the first half of the twentieth century. Whether the new commercial culture was “imported from the west or invented locally” (Cochran, 1990b) is not as important as exploring the extent to which the “Shanghai style” (海牌) and the commercial practices that emerged were discursively constructed from the interaction between Chinese and a foreigners. As with the appropriation of western management know-how in China, diffusion and innovation in advertising and consumer marketing was a complex iterative process (Morgan, 2006). It involved borrowing from foreign sources, drawing on the Chinese

past and the contemporary context, and combining these to produce a new Chinese consumerism. Foreign firms such as British American Tobacco (BAT) were at the forefront of introducing new marketing and advertising methods, but they often lacked success until they became Chinese in their style (Cochran, 1999c).¹ During the late Qing and early Republic the tobacco industry was instrumental in introducing modern advertising methods (Huang, 2006). The most technically sophisticated advertising images using colour printing were to be found in calendar posters, trade card and display advertising for both foreign and Chinese brand cigarette.

BAT had a very large art department and modern printing works that handled all its advertising needs, though it also had contractual relationships with art studios and individual artists. Commercial Press (商务印书馆), the largest publisher in East Asia at the time, and China Books (中华书局) had internal advertising departments. Economic growth and the rapid development of Chinese modern industry from the 1910s created demand for improved distribution and marketing, which stimulated the growth of independent Chinese and foreign advertising agencies (Su Shangda, 1931; Yang and Su, 2006). These included the Chinese firms Vee Loo Advertising Co. (维罗广告公司) and Direct Mail Advertising Agency (捷运广告公司), and the American-incorporated Carl Crowe Inc. (克劳广告公司) and Italian-owned Perme (贝美广告公司). The modern department stores on Nanjing Road, such as the Wing On (Yong an 永安) Co., maintained internal art and advertising departments. By the 1930s there were more than 30 agencies along with other firms such as news organisations that offered advertising services. Table 1 list 47 firms which paid for a placement in a 1935 Shanghai classified business directory under the listing for advertising agents, though there are a few notable large firms missing.

Industry associations were formed too. A China Advertising Guild (中国广告工会) was established in 1919, which included large Chinese firms such as Commercial Press and Shen Bao Newspaper, but comprised mostly foreign firms such as SOCONY (Standard Oil – meifu 美孚洋行) and BAT, and was headed by a foreigner (Yang and Su, 2006). In 1927 the big six Chinese advertising agencies set up the Chinese Advertising Association (中华广告公会), which was later renamed the Shanghai Municipality Advertising Industry Association (上海市广告业同业公会) with some 91 members (Yang and Su, 2006; S315-1-1). Prominent industry leaders included Wang Wanrong (王万荣), who had founded the Rongchang Advertising Agency (荣昌广告社); Lin Zhenbin (林振彬), who founded China Commercial Advertising Co (华商广告公司) and who had obtained a PhD in marketing in the USA; and Lu Meiseng (陆梅僧), Lu Shoulun (陆守论) and Zheng Yaonan (郑耀南), the founders of the United Agency (联合), were closely associated with the then general manager of the Shen Bao Newspaper, Zhang Zhuping (张竹平) (Sun, 2007). These people were still serving on the executive of the association in the mid-to-late 1940s (Q201-1-56-67; Q201-1-56-68; S315-1-2).

¹ Elsewhere too, American advertising firms did not find their business models translated well across space and cultures, such as JWT in France between the wars (Hultquist, 2003). In China, JWT relied on Carl Crowe to act as its agent (French, 2006).

While the American-educated Lu Meiseng (United) and Lin Zhenbin (China Commercial) brought US business methods to their agencies – and made them the largest Chinese-owned agencies in the 1930s – contemporary Chinese observers thought the industry was relatively backward. Foreign stimulation of commerce is said to have motivated Chinese to attend to advertising (Kuai Shidong, 1928; Su Shangda, 1931). Gao Boshi (1930: 1) introduced his slim primer on advertising with the observation:

European and American merchants pay great attention to advertising. In the China market they are able to sell their products widely and profitably. Although their products are superior and welcomed by the Chinese, they also spend large sums of capital on advertising, which attracts the attention of Chinese and which in practice is the major reason for their success. Old fashion Chinese merchants (一般守旧的商人) do not pay attention to advertising and their expenditure is extremely stingy (非常吝惜). Recently, there has been a growing awareness of the effectiveness of advertising and the need to pay more attention and study.

His aim was to help foster that study, to provide an overview of the broad scope of commercial advertising, which would include art techniques (美术) and psychology (心理), to better enable the China merchant to compete with the foreign firm. He was not alone. Commercial Press and other publishers including advertising related topics in their various business book series (Kuai Shidong, 1928; Jiang Yuquan, 1931; Su Shangda, 1931; Tang Kaibin, 1925). Patriotism also bubbled not far from the surface of commercial life. Periodic boycotts of foreign-made goods, particularly directed against American, British or Japanese products, would follow from some incident or another, and more broadly a “Buy-National [China]” (国货) movement influenced consumer attitudes, Chinese firms and advertising agents (Wang 2003).

Consumer imagining

Here the paper will focus on reading the advertising message, rather than an elaborate discussion of modernity in China during the first half of the twentieth century and consumer culture per se. The advertisements discussed are mostly drawn from the monochrome display advertising that appeared in the Commercial Press-published *Eastern Miscellany* (Dongfang zazhi 东方杂志) magazine during the 1920s and 1930s, and the coloured calendar posters published in the *Old Shanghai Advertising* volume (Yi, Liu, and Gan, 1995). Simply by their powerful visual presence – and widespread familiarity – we are compelled to begin with the cigarette calendar poster. Their technical virtuosity is at times stunning. The image as text, though, is often even more fascinating. BAT was very successful in appropriating Chinese tradition and style. Fig 1 is a BAT poster from the late Qing-early Republic period that recounts a popular story scene in a style that combines elements of both Chinese and western painting. Fig 2 is a Fengtian Taiyang Cigarette Co poster from two decades later that is grounded in the traditional genre of Chinese “classic beauties” (shinü 仕女 or 士女) yet is “modern” in the urban bourgeois chic fashion of the period, with a tight *qipao*-



Fig 1 BAT cigarette calendar poster, c.1910



Fig 2. Fengtian Taiyang Cigarette Co calendar poster, c.1930

inspired dress, high-neck collar and western-style evening handbag, set in a scenery that borrows images found in classic paintings. We will return to these cigarette posters after a closer look more common goods, beginning with soap.

Soap as a commercial consumer product, packaged in convenient form, was an invention of Lever Bros. in the late 1880s when they began selling their brand Sunlight. Previously soap was bought in large bars. The Lever Bros. Sunlight brand was introduced to China in the 1910s – 英商利华光日肥皂. So too were its rivals, such as Palmolive's toilet soap (棕欖香皂). The advertisement in Fig 3 appeals to the married woman, the mother, who it proclaims enjoys using soap for its cleansing power while also nourishing the skin. Fig 4 targets a different market segment, the unmarried young woman, which emphasises its advantages for attracting eligible suitors – professional men in western suits – for the modern girl, who welcomes a soap based on scientific testing (the test tube motif). Both advertisements devote considerable copy space to explain the use and the attributes of the product.



Fig 3 Palmolive toilet soap, 1



Fig 4 Palmolive toilet soap, 2

Lever Bros and Palmolive highlight some of the problems for western firms in adopting a Chinese name, something that is still with us. Lever used a phonetic transliteration “li hua” (利华), which carried the meaning of “doing good or benefit for China”, while Palmolive is a literal translation of the English, joining “zong” (棕) for palm with “lan” (欖) for Chinese olive. Coca Cola in 1929 ran a competition to discover a Chinese brand name that resulted in the wonderful onomatopoeia “ke kou ke la” (可口可樂) that not only sounds like Coca Cola but embodies the image the drink promoted of great taste (ke kou) and having fun (ke le).

電話

節省時間·金錢·煩惱
越用得越多越合算

與其長途跋涉不如用電話來得迅速
與其拜訪不遇不如電話預約省時間
免煩惱

多用電話的好處真多譬如買東西用電話
就可以節省車錢時間和出門的麻煩請客
用電話通知又親熱又省實所以已經裝有
電話者應當隨時利用越用得越多越合算
尚未裝置者實有趕速裝置之必要

關於裝置電話事宜請向本公司
營業部電話九四〇九〇定裝或通知
本公司任何職員代定亦可

上海電話公司

○九〇四九話電

號二二二路西江

37-36

家中常打電話
多省無形金錢

有一種主婦因為電話按次收費
即從此少打電話以資節省其費
最不經濟因為裝電話的目的即
求其便利省時省力若因其多出
幾分錢而少用電話豈非不便之
至要知省時省力省煩惱即是真
正的省錢請聰明的主婦們在這
一點着想多多使用電話即可多
多省下無形的金錢

關於裝置電話事宜請向本公司
營業部電話九四〇九〇定裝或
通知本公司任何職員代定亦可

上海電話公司

○九〇四九話電

號二二二路西江

39-36

Fig 5 Shanghai Telephone, 1

Fig 6 Shanghai Telephone, 2

Shanghai Telephone marketed the advantages of the telephone for both the home and business. Fig 5 emphasizes the use of telephone to save time, avoid inconvenience and economise in daily affairs. Fig 6 appeals to the woman of the house. Many Shanghai Telephone advertisements spoke directly to the woman as the manager of the modern home. Modern managers were targeted. Fig 7 is especially pointed. The suited businessman explains to the Chinese gown-wearing man “You don’t have a telephone [so] we couldn’t find you. This business has already gone to another.” Perhaps this advertisement was based on the action of Rong Zongjing, who in 1921 selected the site for the new headquarters of the Rong family enterprises on the basis on the telephone service and he required his managers to call him at noon each day for instructions (Cochran 2000: 124-25).

你到不尋 話電有沒門你
了去復人別由已意生筆這

在這競爭劇烈的時
候如果不裝電話主
顧就眼感不便往往
失去許多生意所以
裝電話生意興隆不可不
況且自從實行按次
收費以來每月十元
可打一百五十次比
前更為合算所以在
三四兩個月裡電話
用戶增加了一千餘
架
請勿落伍趕快裝置
電話
請打電話九四〇九〇
通知本公司營業部或
通知本公司其他職員
他們都願意替你服務

隆興意生要若
話電置裝即請

上海電話公司

號二二二路西江

○九〇四九話電

出免五次百費十話端
次費元碼五打元每式
數打無線十一九月電

21-38

Fig 7 Shanghai Telephone, 3

Advertisements for medicines, machinery and motor vehicles were common. In selling the product, these advertisements appealed to the advantages of the modern over the past. The Ford Motor Co (福特汽车公司) promoted its convertibles to businessmen and officials in the *Industry and Commerce Semi-Monthly* (工商半月刊) as the ideal way to escape the urban life to take in the blossoms and scenery of the neighbouring areas (Fig 8, right). Chevrolet advertised its trucks and buses on the basis of their economical sturdiness. Other vehicle manufacturers similarly promoted the Nash-six, the Buick, and even an electric car was promoted.

Medicine advertisements were common, from the many Chinese patent medicines through to the products of companies such as Bayer (德国拜耳). Their advertisements for Aspirin in particular emphasised the advantages over traditional pain killers (Fig 9, 10).

春季最宜之汽車

上海經理處美通汽車公司
(地址) 福州路邁而西愛路轉角

福特汽車之產量全英所出汽車總數三分之一
去年，別克所製之客車，運貨車，公用汽車，每三輛
中，有一輛福特。據美國總商會福特之統計，一九二
九年，全英汽車界，共製出福特汽車五百三十五萬八千
六十一輛。其中屬於福特公司製出之客車及運貨車
車。有一百七十九萬九千九百四十五輛之多。

春乎春乎。正郊遊郊宴之時也。新式福特
做車。最能迅速。非常舒適。故凡時
下之青年。莫不愛乘。蓋福特新車。不但
美觀。且經濟。君如欲買新式福特。專
以服務人羣。抑且經濟。君如欲買新式福特。專
可以省去若干修理之費也。一歲之中。不知特
可。



上海福特汽車公司啓
售出有均處理經特福地各件零特福正真用請

75206



腰背酸痛

德國拜耳阿司匹靈
專治 腰背酸痛 頭痛
牙痛 傷風 寒熱
等症靈效無比



請認明由東方雜誌分發 Please mention the HARTMAN'S MANUFACTURE.

Fig 9 Bayer will get the devil on your back

拜耳阿司匹靈此藥
奏效既準且速止痛如
神凡頭痛牙痛喉痛無
不立止以及治風濕感
胃寒熱皆有神
效但是必須認
真拜耳十字
商標購時必須
聲明要拜耳原瓶



腰背疼痛
最能傷人君宜早為
之備最要者
才覺痛起即
連服世界風行之
拜耳阿司匹靈此藥



工商半月刊

Fig 10 No more ... Aspirin now

EverReady (永备) promoted their battery-powered torches through appeals to convenience and personal safety – everyone needed one 人人必需之. Fig 11 from c.1925 is a matter-of-fact information style advertisement. Several years later the emphasis had shifted to the torch as a device for protection and safety. Fig 12 proclaims that “when venturing into the night, a complete plan for your safety is to carry an EverReady torch”, with a beam of light showing an armed person running away. EverReady also engaged in targeting its competitors – Fig 13 shows a woman using an EverReady torch in preference to a kerosene lamp that has the brand name (not clearly visible in this image) SACONY and the Chinese “meifu” for Standard Oil, the main supplier of kerosene to China as well as other illumination products such as paraffin candles (Fig 14).

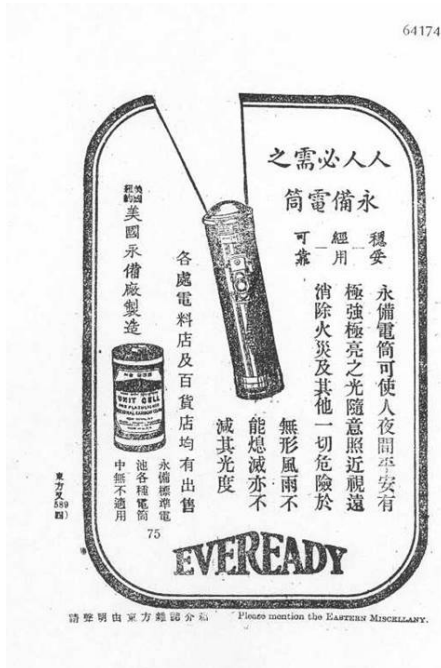


Fig 11 EverReady torches



Fig 12 EverReady torches



Fig 13 EverReady in a storeroom, 1928



Fig 14 Meifu candles, 1927

One of the most powerful images that emerge in many advertisements of the period is that of the “sexy modern girl” and the image of bourgeois family life that might be attained from business success. Cigarette advertisements for My Dear (meili pai 美丽牌), Gold Rat (jinshu pai 金鼠牌) and Gold Dragon (baijinlong 金白龙), among others, frequently depict modern girls, often alone and frequently assertive, exhibiting an individuality and independence missing from traditional pictorial genre. My Dear appropriates a Chinese version of the Mae West-style no-nonsense female (Fig 15) or the lay-back sporting style of a woman at a country club tennis match (Fig 16). Fig 17 appeals to both gender – modern couples seeking romantic love in moon light filtered through cigarette smoke. Fig 18 is directed to the modern “classic beauty” (shinü) though the use of 士女 rather than 仕女 in the text is slightly ambiguous, since the first form can mean men and women, though it is interchangeable for the second character combination. In the top-right next to the “Baijinlong” is the assertive “guo huo” (国货 national product) analogous to the TM for trademark, which in a sense it was during this period when China’s sovereignty and nationhood was challenged. Buying national products was patriotic consumption.

Insert Fig 15 My Dear (color)

Fig 16 My Dear

Insert Fig 17 Golden Dragon

Fig 18 Golden Dragon

The Shandong Cigarette Co proclaimed a Europeanised bourgeois family form in several very striking calendar posters during the 1930s (Fig 19 and Fig 20). In Fig 19 we see a scene of bourgeois domesticity that was the life of upper class women in Shanghai. Behind the fences, cut off from the hustle, bustle and poverty of the city, were huge European houses set sculptured gardens. We see in this image the husband in a western suit and cigarette in hand standing behind his seated wife, wearing a *qipao* with western-style high-heel shoes, clutching a book; two children are dressed ever so neatly in European clothing, clutching toys; a small dog is at their feet ready to play. Fig 20 shows the woman alone with her daughter, teaching the child to ride a bicycle in the gardens of her residence. She is a Shanghai married woman of leisure, a *Shanghai tai tai* (上海太太), or soon to become one once the children were a little older, who would frequent coffee shops or hotel lobbies for afternoon tea and conversations. No sign here in these images of the need to attend to household duties other than give pleasure to the husband and children, but a neutered pleasure, a pleasure bounded by a world that seems anything but Chinese except for the affectation of dress; one cannot help feeling the clothing in Fig 20 would have fitted the salons and the great houses of privileged European women of the same period.

Insert Fig 19 Shandong Cigarette Co

Fig 20 Shandong Cigarette Co

The last image is from the Huadong Cigarette Co advertisement (Fig 21), which possesses several powerful images of Chinese and Western engagement. The imagery

is evocative of aspirations for individuals and for China. Seated in a European style garden, an airplane passing overhead, the young woman, with her hair permed and dressed in a *qipao*, reads a book that is titled ‘hang kong shu’ (航空术) or aeronautics. She is if anything the epitome of the modern Shanghai lass. Her China is present, but it is a China that seeks modernity and advancement in offering the idea women might keep the planes aloft in the coming age. Elsewhere I have used this image to ask rhetorical: Why wouldn’t we expect sophisticated management ideas to be present in a China before 1949 where such an image was not simply contemplated but portrayed in posters distributed in 10s of thousands?

Insert Fig 20 Shandong Cigarette Co (see end of text for all insert figs)

Concluding remarks

This essay is far from complete – a conclusion is barely possible. Here in the paper I have sought to begin to explore the growth of Chinese commercial advertising. My original interest in this topic is connected with a project that looks at the transfer to China of western managerial know-how. I have also been intrigued to understand how the industry was organised, especially the contracting between artists and the advertising agents or client firm, though I have over many years failed to find in the archives documents that can enable this to be pursued. Equally intriguing is the image, the message, of modernity and aspiration that can be read into the many different forms of advertising produce during the first half of the twentieth century. This is not an untrodden area, but it is one that academically has not seen as much published as there should have been for the simple reason that the discussion often makes little sense if one can see the images and the texts. And reproduction of these in scholarly articles is infrequent and books expensive to produce.

Shanghai was the centre of modern industry and the centre of modern advertising business before 1949. It was quintessentially ‘modern’ – *modan* in the Chinese of the day – and bustled with more three million by the early 1930s, a three-fold increase on the population at the turn of the century. The Chinese and foreign advertising firms in the city employed or contracted a horde of copywriters, graphic artists, painters and photographers. They created what were then innovative marketing materials, including display advertising, billboards, radio commercials, and more. These projected the image of a new modernity and consumerism, which were a complex blend of foreign and Chinese images, and which spread out from Shanghai to the hinterland of China shaping many ideas about what an urban, modern China might be, and creating a demand for goods – however unattainable for many – that such development would bring.

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S315-1-1, 1945, 上海广告商业历史沿革及会务报告 (Shanghai advertising industry evolution and association reports).

S315-1-2, 1945, 上海市广告商业同业公会 (Shanghai Municipality Commercial Advertising Industry Association)

Firms that offered advertising services in Shanghai, 1935

Firm name	Nationality	Business activity
Acme Advertising Agency 爱克美广告公司		Advertising agents
Art and Drawing Studio 联挥书社	Chinese	Commercial advertising and drawing
Asia Advertising Co. 亚西亚广告公司	Chinese	Advertising agents
Asia Decorating and Advertising Co. 亚洲图书广告公司		not specified
Associated Advertisers, Federal Inc., USA 普益广告公司	American	Advertising and merchandizing
Big Ben Advertising Agency 大鹏广告公司	Chinese	not specified
Carl Crowe Inc. 克劳广告公司	American	Advertising and merchandizing agents
China Advertising Agency 中国广告公司	Chinese	Advertising and merchandizing agents
China Commercial Advertising Agency 华商广告公司	Chinese	Advertising and merchandizing agents
China Film Service Bureau 电影服务社	Chinese	Moving picture censoring and advertising agents
Chisholm and Keifer 启森凯发	American	Advertising - Merchandizing
Communications Advertising Co. 交通广告公司	Chinese	Advertising agents
Consolidated National Advertising Co. 联合广告公司	Chinese	General advertising, merchandizing and printing
Continental Advertisers 联华广告公司	Russian	Advertising contractors and advertisers (sole advertising agent for the French Tramway Co.)
Dah Lai Commercial Service 大来华行	Chinese	Printers and advertising agents
Direct Mail Advertising Agency 捷运广告公司	Portuguese	Direct mail advertising planned, printed and mailed. Envelope addressing and circular mailing services.
Far Eastern Commercial Advertising Co. 远东商务广告公司	Chinese	Art studio advertising and printing matter
General Advertising Contractors 其发广告公司	Chinese	General advertising
Great China Publicity Co. Ltd. 中华广告股份有限公司	Chinese	Advertising and merchandizing agents
Hampson, C.W. 海姆生	British	Advertising and publicity
Holodovich, N.V.		Advertising specialities and cinema film distributors
Honest Advertising 诚信广告服务社	Chinese	not specified
Hsu, Smin 徐世民	Chinese	"Electrical supplies, cotton waste, importer, exporter, hardware importers and advertising agents"

Morgan: Selling Chinese Dreams

Kow How Advertising Co. 国华广告印刷社	Chinese	Advertisers and printers
Mercury Press - Post Mercury Co., Federal Inc., USA 大美印刷所	American	Printers, publishers, book-binders, die stamps; advertising agents
Millington Ltd. (Incorporated in Hong Kong) 美灵登广告有限公司	British	Advertising
Modern Art Services 摩登美术广告书社	Chinese	Advertising agents, posters, sketch designs and billboards
Mutual Advertisers Ltd. (Incorporate in Hong Kong)	British	Advertising agents
Nanyang Advertising Co. 南洋广告公司	Chinese	not specified
Nihon Dempo Tsushin Sha 日本电报通信社	Japanese	Japanese news and advertising agency
North China Daily News and Herald Ltd. 字林	British	Printers and publishers
Novelty Auto Advertising 公用汽车广告公司	Chinese	Motor car advertising agency
Oriental Press (subsidiary of Millington Ltd) 法兴印书馆	British	Printers, publishers, and advertisers
Perme, Bruno 贝美广告公司	Italian	Advertising - Merchandizing
Ross Advertising Agency		Advertising, commercial art and publishing
Shanghai Mainichi Shimbun Ltd 上海每日新闻社	Japanese	Japanese Daily Newspaper; publisher and advertising agents
Shanghai Nippo 上海日报	Japanese	Japanese Daily Newspaper; publisher and advertising agents
Shanghai Zaria 上海柴拉	Russian	Russian Newspaper
Sing Sen News Agency 新生通讯社	Chinese	News agency, publishers, photographers and advertisers
Slovo Printing and Publishing Co.	Russian	Publisher of "Slovo"
Sunmay Advertiser 生煤广告社	Chinese	not specified
Tanaka, M. 田中实	Japanese	English-Japanese translator, interpreter and advertising agent
Union Press Co. 联合印刷公司		Lithographers, printers, engravers and advertisers
Universal Press Co. 中南印务报	Chinese	Printers
Vee Loo Advertising Co. 维罗广告公司	Chinese	Advertising and printing
Yuen Chong Advertising & Broadcasting Station 原厂广告公司及广播电台	Chinese	Advertising and radio service
Yuen Yuen Advertising Co. 源源广告公司	Chinese	Not specified

Source: Bankers' Cooperative Credit Service (comp.), Credit Men's Business Directory of Shanghai, 1935



Fig 15 My Dear (color)



Fig 16 My Dear



Fig 17 Golden Dragon



Fig 18 Golden Dragon



Fig 19 Shandong Cigarette Co



Fig 20 Shandong Cigarette Co



Fig 21 Huadong Cigarette Co modern girl