Americanization of the Filipino Food and Kitchen: Promoting Refrigeration and Ice Cream in the 1920s

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ABSTRACT

Curricula, cookbooks, and advertisements published in the early 1900s provide a means by which we can see the various ways that the Americans attempted to influence all aspects of Filipino life following their colonial agenda. How did the Americans use food and technology so foreign to Filipinos to entice them to participate in modernization? Through the use of alternative sources, this study offers a socio-historical narrative of the American rule in the Philippines as it explains how the Americans tried to colonize the Filipino taste and palate by (1) teaching Filipinos the American ways and ideals in schools and (2) portraying the "American" as modern and cosmopolitan in advertisements. In discussing the implementation of the American colonial project, this paper looks at the popularization of American imports such as the refrigerator and ice cream in the 1920s to examine the role of education and media in the creation of new desires and the promotion of a new lifestyle in the country.

Keywords: Americanization, colonialism, education, propaganda, advertisement, food, kitchen, technology

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INTRODUCTION

Carlos P. Romulo, in a keynote address published in the *Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce* in 1966, described Philippine-American relations as a "history of friendship." Romulo (1966) likened the United States to a "school teacher" who taught Filipinos their first English words, the "admirable civil servant" who has set the foundations of the Philippine government, the "public health officer" who promoted nutrition and sanitation, and the "guardian and teacher in the arts of democracy" (p.100). These words of the former secretary of education reflect what American colonialism accomplished for almost half a century in the Philippines – it resonated a peculiar acceptance of the portrayed "benevolence" of the American colonization among some (or if not, many) Filipinos.

While the defeat of the Japanese by the Americans in 1945 has contributed to the popularity of the U.S. in the Philippines, it must be noted that Filipinos have been very much Americanized even before the Second World War. Filipinos have patronized American products so much to such an extent that the Philippines has become one of the biggest consumers of American products outside the U.S. in the earlier half of the 20th century (Robb, 1939, p.42). A report published in 1939 informs that Filipinos preferred American textiles and were regarded as good customers for rayons and silk stockings. Importation of American leather and American footwear flourished for they were regarded as "the fashionable" choice (Robb, 1939, p.42). The country was the top importer of Singer sewing machines (Robb, 1939, p.16). Likewise, the Philippines was a massive importer of fruits from the U.S. such as apples, grapes, lemons, and oranges, as well as ice-cold soft drinks such as the Coca-Cola (Robb, 1939, pp.7-8, 42).

This phenomenon raises the question, how were colonizers able to make their colony patronize their ways? While the Americanization of the Filipinos could plainly be perceived as a kind of acculturation, it is imperative to review the basis and context of American colonialism in the Philippines to fully understand how the phenomenon could be described as something more than a simple process of assimilation. This paper posits that the Americanization of Filipino food and kitchen is, in fact, reflective of the complexity of the forms of American colonialism in the country.

American colonization was premised, among others, in the sense of responsibility to civilize the "primitive" peoples of the Philippines. In reaching out to the Filipinos, there were many actions the Americans took to make the Filipinos believe that their purpose was not to replace the Filipinos' former colonizers (the Spaniards) but rather to assimilate them into the American culture. The Americans enacted Act 74 on 21 January 1901 to establish a centralized public school system in the country (Torres, 2010, 138). The passage of this law was followed by the construction of schools for the purpose of making their "good" intentions be known to Filipinos (May, 1980, p.79). Schools became avenues for the promotion of American language and culture (May, 1980, p.84), making them instrumental in introducing science and modernity.

This shift took place in many aspects of Filipino life, among them the Filipino food and kitchen. During the American occupation, the Filipino kitchen acquired new equipment and Filipinos were taught how to bake at home or behave while having dinner at the dining table.[1] In schools, Americans taught them what a "good" kitchen is and what "nutritious" meals are. At the same time, Filipi-

nos became familiar with modernity and sanitation outside the school as the marketing of American products embodied both. Advertisements informing the public that soft drinks and ice cream are healthy options were published in daily newspapers and monthly magazines. Imported gas stoves and refrigerators were postured as necessities for a modern kitchen to keep it safe and clean.

In this light, the introduction of American ideas, commodities, and technologies also ushered in new ways of manifesting and performing one's social class. As a case in point, refrigerators were introduced to the Philippines in the 1920s, but owning these were only an option for the elite due to the cost of acquiring the technology. In 1922, the cheapest refrigerators (as sold in the U.S.) cost around 18 USD while the expensive ones would be at around 55 to 60 USD (p.33). Since these amounts were the selling prices in the U.S.,[2] it could be presumed that when these products reached the Philippines, they would have had an additional importation cost. Nonetheless, even without adding the importation costs of refrigerators, the prices of such technology at that time were clearly beyond ordinary Filipinos' purchasing power. As the December 1920 Monthly Labor Review reported, the average daily wage of a Filipino worker ranges from 1.5 PHP (0.77 USD) to 2.53 PHP (1.27 USD). Considering that the estimated average daily expenses of an unmarried skilled worker were at 1.54 PHP (0.77 USD) and a married skilled worker with three children were at 3.08 PHP (1.54 USD), it could be concluded that it is almost impossible for an average Filipino worker to purchase this American import. As the Monthly Labor Review (1920) puts it, "it is quite obvious that the average Filipino workman's family cannot indulge in wild extravagance" (p.82).

As advertisements inject notions of elitism, modernity, and cosmopolitanism on American imports, the possession of expensive appliance such as refrigerators or even the consumption of cold treats such as ice cream meant more than just the purchase and consumption. They became status symbols since they were only available to those who have access to the technology. America, in this sense, became more than just a colonizer. To Filipinos, the "American" embodied a new lifestyle. Echoing Yoshimi and Buist (2010), American propaganda obscured the violence of occupation; it made America a "model of lifestyle consumption" (p.439).

It is along these lines that Raquel Reyes' "Modernizing the Manileña: Technologies of Conspicuous Consumption for the Well-To-Do Woman, Circa 1880s-1930s" discussed advertisements' role in westernizing the Filipino women. Reyes (2011), in arguing about the "technological infrastructure of the good life" (p.195), explained that "the desirability of European or American bourgeois culture" and the "trappings of Western lifestyles" were both associated with the "use and purchase of certain technologies aimed at replicating or emulating those lifestyles" (p.194). Thus, desires and aspirations, such as prestige, status, cosmopolitanism, modernity, urbanity, and pleasure were manifested in the advertising of modern technologies for domestic setting (Reyes, 2011, p.195).

The described Americanization strategy was without a doubt in line with the U.S. economic policies in the Philippines, effectively anchoring the country's economy to theirs (Corpuz, 1997, pp.219-220) through a "special relationship" (Gopinath, 1987; Hayden, 1950) that provides trade preferences to American goods (Lopez, 1966). Ultimately, Filipinos had been molded to become "lit-

tle brown Americans of Asia"—the primary consumers of American products, services, and thought in Asia (Lopez, 1966).

To this end, this paper will analyze American colonialism and its projected image of the good, convenient, and healthy life. It will ask how the Americans used ideas, technology and food so foreign to Filipinos to entice them to participate in modernization. In particular, it will study the role of basic education, as well as the promotion of ice cream and refrigerators to understand how the colonizers have constructed a curious image of the "American" following the colonial project. Using curricula and articles about "Domestic Science" and advertisements of ice cream and refrigerators in the 1920s, this paper will look at the popularization of American imports in the Philippines as a means to see various ways by which Americans influenced aspects of Filipino life following their colonial agenda. The paper will analyze how American colonial intentions were reflected in different articles and advertisements in widely circulated magazines and journals such as the *Graphic*,[3] *Philippine Craftsman*, and *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* and will use critical discourse analysis in decoding the implied meanings of the available and readable sources. An analytical and multidisciplinary approach such as critical discourse analysis allows researchers to delve into intertextual meaning (Shanthi, Lajium, & Lee, 2015, p.162) by giving particular attention to the relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language (Wodak, 2008 in Shanthi, Lajium, & Lee, 2015, p.163).

In arguing that the Americanization of the Filipino food and kitchen was part of the U.S. colonial project, the author will discuss two ways by which the Americans carried out their "benevolent" intentions in the Philippines: (1) teaching "Domestic Science" in public schools, and (2) promoting a new desirable lifestyle in food and kitchen-related advertisements. While these strategies targeted different audiences, the operation of colonialism made it possible to establish uniformity in terms of the action of the two. Decrypting the colonial agenda makes it possible for this research to explain how one benefitted the other; or how both furthered each other's agenda – as both created a desire for the "better" life and fostered Filipinos' assimilation to the American culture. Also, the former (education) sets the tone and context for the kind of Americanization introduced and proliferated by the latter (advertisements).

DOMESTICATING THE "UNDOMESTICATED" FILIPINOS IN SCHOOLS

Convinced that it was their duty to civilize Filipinos, the Americans committed to changing their subjects' "backward" norms and lifestyle. Particular attention was given to the conditions of the Filipino home, most especially the kitchen. In the words of Hugo H. Miller (1914), the chief of Technical Division of the Bureau of Education in 1914, "We find the Filipino kitchen not sufficiently planned for in the mind of the house builders, that it is cramped and ill-equipped and impossible to clean" (p.442). He noted that houseboys (locally known as "muchachos") worked in the kitchen barefooted (Miller, 1914, p.442). Americans believed that cooking with the use of the native red earthenware stoves or "kalan," which required fanning and "ihip" or puffing through a piece of bamboo every few minutes to keep the fire burning, causes great discomfort (Sta. Maria, 1976, p.61). They also took

note of the unwanted smoke and dirt that Filipino stoves produced inside the cooking area (Sta. Maria, 1976, p.61).

It is for these reasons that in 1904, the Americans, through the Department of Instruction, introduced courses in public schools that the Spaniards did not prioritize earlier on. The Bureau of Public Schools of the Department of Education informed in their *1904 Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Education* that aside from establishing the English language as a mandatory subject, students, particularly girls, were to be given practical training in housekeeping and decoration, sanitation, sewing, and cooking. The courses on Domestic Science were founded from these lessons, which were aimed at "improving" the general domestic situation existing in practically every Filipino home (Beckner, 1914, p.335). While they provide skills training to the girls in kitchen laboratories at schools, the Americans also emphasize in their lessons the importance of proper nutrition. In a manual for grade school girls entitled "Housekeeping and Household Arts," students were taught that "sickness is not a punishment for sin" and is rather "caused by careless living" (Sta. Maria, 1976, p.64). To live healthily, they instructed, "first of all, we must eat wholesome food. It is not enough to simply fill the stomach with anything which will satisfy hunger" (Sta. Maria, 1976, p.64).

American education also introduced a "smarter" way of cooking. The students were taught to cook using kitchen utensils such as measuring cups and jugs as schools gave importance to the concepts of accuracy and precision. Cooking that follows exact measurements of ingredients was something unfamiliar to many Filipinos. This keenness to exactness was reflected in the introduction of recipes in magazines and journals. There were also instructions that dictate how many recipes should a student learn at the end of the school year. For instance, in January 1916, the *Philippine Craftsman*, a monthly journal by the Bureau of Education that advances the industrial instruction in Philippine public schools, published a course outline that required girls in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grade to learn at least three recipes per month from July to January (*The Philippine Craftsman*, 1916, pp.458-459).

Schools also became places where Filipino students get accustomed to "modern" kitchen equipment (equipment that are practically American). The teaching of Domestic Science was instrumental in the initial stages of the popularization and appreciation of imported technologies. It is primarily one of the core mechanisms that enabled the operation of the Americanization of Filipino cooking. In schools, students were taught how to cook American dishes with Swedish pump stoves (Miller, 1914, p.458). Teachers familiarized them with the use of ovens and iceboxes. Laboratories for cooking were the venues to learn the operation and maintenance of modern kitchen equipment.

Domestic Science introduced the "American standards" on food and nutrition. It impressed that these standards are indicators of modernity and civility. Even though Domestic Science was only taught in schools, the Americans saw the youth as a good bridge for reaching out to an older populace. Through this younger generation of Filipinos, the colonial government attempted to make Filipinos regard "American standards" as the "ideal way to live," hoping to make many Filipinos aspire to live the way the Americans live. They were urged to practice in their homes daily every detail of what their teachers taught them in school. Through these kids, the Americans hoped that the knowl-

edge and skills they imparted would be shared to others and would become the norm in every Filipino home.

For instance, teachers, particularly those in the seventh grade, required their students to prepare one complete meal in their own homes, with the objective of demonstrating the students' real efficiency in Domestic Science (*The Philippine Craftsman*, 1916, p.67). Domestic Science teachers made arrangements with their students' parents so that they could visit their student's home and inspect the work (*The Philippine Craftsman*, 1916, p.67). The *Philippine Craftsman* in 1916 reports that parents have been very cooperative with the school's agenda. A Domestic Science teacher in Negros Oriental attested, "in one home the father was found bringing in the fuel and looking after the fire while the mother busied herself in the yard so that the daughter could have entire charge of the kitchen to carry out her Domestic Science ideas in the preparation of food for her own family" (*The Philippine Craftsman*, 1916, pp.67-68).

However, it must be noted that the transference of the American ways to Filipino homes initially met some resistance as well. It is for this reason that most schools devised different ways to influence the vast majority. In 1915, teachers initiated the strategy of inviting parents to come to school and watch their children work in cooking classes (Wright, 1915, p.332). Invitations signed by teachers-in-charge were sent to parents or guardians. These invitations asked, "Will you come to our school on [date] and stay with us during the time that [the name of the student] is cooking? We should like to have you do so, very much" and were signed by the teacher-in-charge (Wright, 1915, pp.332-333). The relatives were usually invited a day or two before the actual date of the visit to ensure their attendance. If a student's parents live far from the school and if it was impossible for them to accept the invitation, the guardian of the said student was invited to act as the parents' representative (Wright, 1915, pp.332-333).

As mentioned, the activity was aimed at stimulating the interest of people outside schools. A school in Iloilo reported that once visitors were inside the school kitchen, the students did not have to persuade them to stay and watch them work (Wright, 1915, p.332). The American way of cooking, which was unfamiliar to the general public, sparked curiosity among their guests (Wright, 1915, p.332). Further, allowing them to talk freely created an engaging environment and anything that appealed to the visitors were explained and demonstrated by the students (Wright, 1915, p.332). The school also reported that having a clearer picture of what was being done in school made the parents become more responsive and supportive of their children's activities (Wright, 1915, pp.332-333).

As schools actively promoted the benefits of American food and the convenience of modern technology, the media industry meanwhile engaged in the proliferation of texts that suggest the American "benevolence," as well as the modernity brought by American imports. Since it is advertising that stimulates mass consumption (Perez, 1966, p.436), profit-driven Americans engaged in the promotion of the idea that it is their products that could help the Filipinos achieve the good life promised by their brand of colonialism.

ADVERTISING THE GOOD AND HEALTHY LIFE

"Better foods (sic) with Frigidaire;" "Gas: The perfect fuel for cleaner homes;" "The life of the party: Magnolia Ice Cream;" "My complexion cream is none other than delicious Magnolia Ice Cream;" "Magnolia is a Health and Beauty Stimulant;" "The main life building elements—carbohydrates, proteins, fats and vitamins are found in Magnolia Ice Cream." These are just some of the many advertisements published in the 1920s that synced with the propaganda of the American colonial project (see Figures 1, 2, and 3). Most advertisements during the 1920s provide suggestions on how the Filipino diet and the conditions in the Filipino kitchen could be "improved."

Figure 1

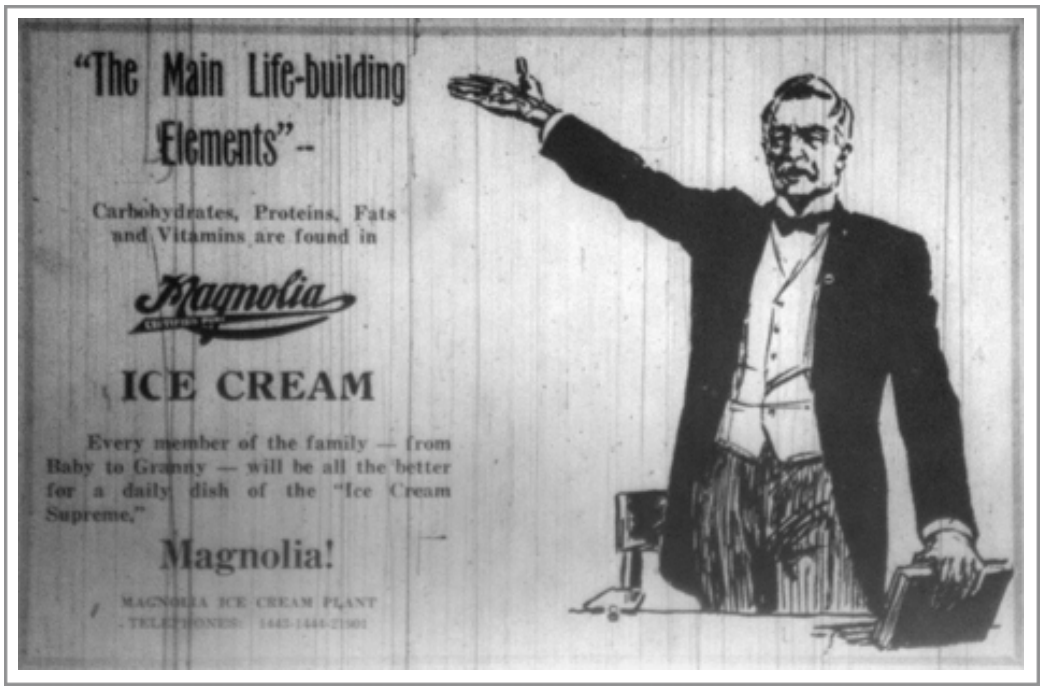

Figure 2

Figure 3

Traces of coloniality in their content could arguably be considered subtle but nonetheless, there were advertisements which were more straightforward in advocating the idea that American imports have helped ease the problems in Filipino homes. For instance, an advertisement published in the *Graphic* writes, "Frigidaire: new electric icebox, one of the modern inventions that is contributing to the improvement of living conditions in the Philippines" (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

To further prove this point, the introduction of ice cream and refrigerators in the Philippines will be discussed in this section. In exhibiting the role of these advertisements in promoting the good image of America, the following themes, which are present in the selected advertisements, will be tackled: (1) elitism, (2) modernity and cosmopolitanism, and (3) health and nutrition. Also, the discussion will mainly focus on Magnolia and Frigidaire brands,[4] not only because these two brands have become household names for ice cream and refrigerators, but also for the reason that they have established a strong brand presence as they consistently advertised their products in most magazines and newspapers in the 1920s.

The Case of Ice Creams and Refrigerators

Ice cream saw its first appearance in the Philippines when an American named M. A. Clarke opened a store in Plaza Moraga, a public square in Manila, on August 17, 1899 (American Chamber of Commerce Journal, 1923, p.46). At that time, ice creams are yet to be produced at home. It was more or less two decades later when ice cream found its way to Filipino homes, with the introduction of a new equipment in the kitchen – the refrigerator.

As mentioned earlier, it was only the elites who could prepare or keep ice cream in their kitchens in the 1920s because an average Filipino would not be able to afford the cost of having refrigerators at home. Price discrimination of refrigerators made ice cream become a status symbol; people who could serve ice cream to their guests were expected to belong in the upper class of the society. This is perhaps the reason why there exist some ice cream advertisements in the 1920s that talk to those who frequently host parties or entertain guests. One advertisement writes, "The presence of delicious Magnolia Ice Cream adds distinction to any social function" (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

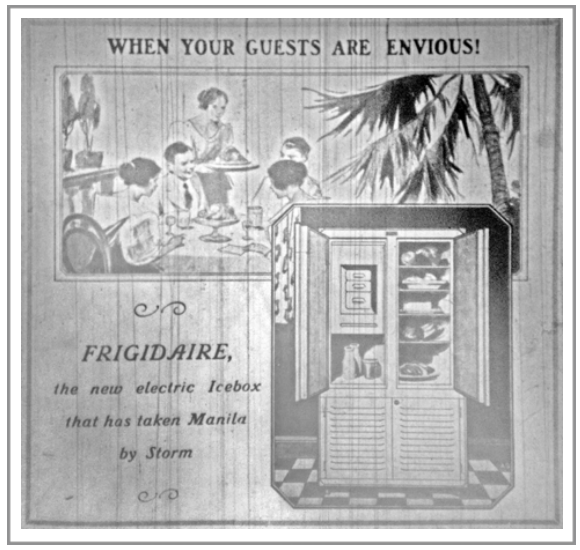

Figure 6

Traces of this elitist kind of branding could be found in most refrigerator advertisements too. A 1927 advertisement published in the *Graphic* tells its reader that having a refrigerator at home would make one's visitor envious (see Figure 6). These advertisements create a link between the product and notion of privilege, because owning a refrigerator is not only practical, but also performative of one's social class. In this sense, the text promotes the idea that serving refrigerated food to guests is a symbolic act.

Another common advertisement that could be found in magazines points out that housewives should use refrigeration system at home to be modern (see Figure 7 for an example). Connecting refrigerators with modernity make their purchase more meaningful, as refrigerators allow homeowners to project an image of cosmopolitanism to their guests. This cosmopolitan lifestyle is reflected in other ways too like for instance, in another advertisement, a housewife is thought to be smart if she saves marketing hours by using refrigerators at home (Sta. Maria, 1978, p.2417).[5]

Figure 7

What makes Figure 7 also intriguing is that it establishes a connection between education and the promotion of the American product. The advertisement shows how cooking schools help in influencing Filipino women in realizing the importance of having refrigerators. In the advertisement, a group

of students of Milkmaid-Purico Model Cooking School who were "doing kitchen work" were featured posing with a refrigerator. As a student who is experienced in the utilization of the new technology remarked, "We find Frigidaire most convenient and handy in our daily work here… It keeps and preserves our foods, food preparations, fruits and other stuffs (sic) in excellent condition. It gives us crystal ice cubes and freezes ice cream for us. Indeed, Frigidaire makes our kitchen work easier and more sanitary." Customer testimonials are commonly regarded as an effective advertisement strategy for they confer trust to their readers.

This idea of a more sanitary kitchen touches on the next theme, which is the American's ardent call for good health. Aside from maintaining cleanliness at home, another way to promote good health is to make people conscious of their nutrition. Such concern for Filipino health could be observed in several ice cream advertisements in the 1920s. One example would be a 1927 ice cream advertisement (see Figure 8) that reads, "Ice cream contains so many essentials of a well-balanced diet that health comes naturally to those who eat it regularly… Magnolia is a true health food, as it contains all milk's minerals proteins, carbo-hydrates (sic) and the vitamins so necessary to life, health and growth!" Notice how ice cream was marketed as nutritious food and as something essential in keeping a healthy lifestyle, in stark contrast on how ice cream is perceived today as a luxury among those who watch their diets.

Figure 8

This emphasis on nutrition in the late 1920s signaled a shift on the themes of the advertisements of refrigerators and ice cream. From being elitist, the advertisements became more populist in nature. Ice cream, which initially was a luxury, descended to the middle class and gradually to the ordinary citizens of the country through a transformation that gave birth to "sorbetes" (San Martin, 1929, p.6). It would seem that the Americans introduced sorbetes or simply, ice cream sold in push-carts, to extend the culture of eating ice cream to the masses. Due to ice cream factories' large-scale production of sorbetes (San Martin, 1929, p. 6, 43),[6] these "new" cold treats have become cheaper than the regular ice cream that Filipinos could buy in a grocery store. An advertisement published in January 1928 in the *Graphic* (see Figure 9) informs its reader the low prices of Magnolia ice creams

Figure 9

that could be bought from a "sorbetero" (the person who sells ice creams in pushcarts). Ice cream tidbit was sold for five cents while Magnolia pie (ice cream pie) was sold for ten cents.

The late 1920s witnessed the great invasion of ice cream in Filipino homes and streets. Magnolia took the lead in popularizing this American delicacy first by hiring a large number of "sorbeteros," then second, by investing on ice cream trucks that provide free delivery of these goods to Filipino homes (*Graphic*, February 18, 1928, p.15). Furthermore, an increased presence of Magnolia in print media came hand in hand with its expansion effort in the streets, as the author noticed a significant increase in the volume of posters and paid advertisements in popular magazines like the *Graphic* and the *Philippine Magazine* in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

In briefly describing all the advertisements of ice cream and refrigerators in this period, it could be said that they played around the following themes of American colonialism: science, health, and nutrition. Most of its advertisements suggest that modern science deems ice cream necessary for everyone's health, thus should be eaten by everyone. Other advertisements suggested that a person was wise if they serve ice cream to their guests, that lovely girls eat ice cream, that it is a beauty stimulant, that it is the "life of the party," and that it never fails to make people smile. In another seemingly sponsored 1928 article, *Graphic* magazine writes that ice cream is key in solving the housewife's summer dilemma not just because of the refreshing coolness it brings but also because it addresses the problems of Filipinos with regard to deficient diet (*Graphic*, February 18, 1928, p.15).

The Filipino Twist

Americans succeeded in making the Filipinos crave for ice cream; Filipinos became so fond of ice cream that the masses added mantecado, de buco, de ube, de atis or other local ingredients in this American delicacy (San Martin, 1929, p.6). Native ingredients played a significant role in making American food palatable to Filipino taste buds. A cookbook, *Culinary Arts in the Tropics Circa 1922*, published at the time when big corporations were massively advertising refrigerators and ice cream, shows several American recipes that are indigenized with the aid of local ingredients like coconut, mango, banana, and other tropical fruits. This resulted in the birth of ice cream, cakes, and pies that had a Filipino twist. Examples of such are the creation of buko and mango ice cream, buko pie, kalamansi pie, et cetera. Notwithstanding the persuasion of a massive campaign to patronize colonial food and equipment, Filipinos still managed to assert their own taste in several American recipes by making foreign delicacies uniquely Filipino.

However, in emphasizing the popularity of American delicacies, the author does not intend to create an image that native delicacies have lost its patronage in the early 1900s. It must be noted that the consumption of native delicacies persisted despite the massive American campaign to influence Filipino food and kitchen. For instance, Filipino masses continued to consume their local desserts such as "mais con hielo" (shaved ice with corn and evaporated milk), "mongo con hielo" (shaved ice with mung beans and evaporated milk) and "halo-halo" (shaved ice with evaporated, boiled sweet beans, coconut, sago, agar jelly, tubers and tropical fruits). Prior to the introduction of ice cream, these were the popular delicacies that induce the same pleasure of eating ice cream at a non-aristocratic price. Presumably, the latent demand and desire for cold treats in a tropical country like the Philippines have allowed the penetration of a pre-existing frozen desserts market in the country.

Summing up, other than taking the statistics that provide information on the enormity of the Philippines' importation and consumption of American products as an indicator of the success of American colonial propaganda, the success of American colonialism could also be seen in the attempts of Filipinos to localize American delicacies. Appropriation and assimilation, in this sense, could be considered as a measure of success on the colonizer's end. But on the other hand, Filipinos could be seen as not just mere receivers of whatever lifestyle marketed as American. It could also be argued that the localization of foreign food is a statement of the colonized population's assertion of its own culture. Adapting American food and diet also became an opportunity for Filipinos to bargain with their colonizer by adding uniquely Filipino flavors and taste to the food being introduced. Thus, following this course of argumentation, localization of American food could be treated as a testament of the persistence of Filipino taste and culture at the height of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines.

CONCLUSION

Food mirrors lifestyle, just as lifestyle determines the kind of food that people choose to eat. As Doreen Fernandez (1988) notes, food is not just "something to be ingested to sustain life, or as a source of pleasure" but also "a means of understanding what we (Filipinos) are, what the Filipino is" (p.vii).

Colonialism leaves a mark in local cultures in numerous ways. Colonization is a process that alters the ways of life of the colonized and that "food has always been a fundamental tool in the process of colonization" (Alvarez, 2016). The Americanization of Filipino food also meant the Americanization of the Filipino lifestyle. In encapsulating American colonialism through the discourse of food and technology, it could be concluded that through education and advertising, the Filipinos learned that anything American is "good" and that American colonialism created and promoted a consumer lifestyle desirable to all.

The Domestic Science, where cooking classes and the use of modern kitchen equipment were taught, provided a valuable medium for setting the "American standard" – the measure through which Filipinos would rate a good food or properly equipped and maintained kitchen. Meanwhile, advertisements of American products such as the ice cream and refrigerator manifested themes of

American propaganda such as modernity, sanitation, prestige, and proper health and nutrition. Kitchen related advertisements in the 1920s show that it is necessary for a modern housewife to have a refrigerator at home and know how to use it. It promoted the idea that Filipinos, to be healthy, have to follow American standards in terms of food choices and processing. In this sense, advertisements helped in creating an image of the "American" as the ideal, the modern, and the cosmopolitan. It created the notion that the purchase and use of their products would also be an expression of one's "modern-ness" and a manifestation of one's belongingness to the upper economic strata.

Studying advertisements also provides an avenue in understanding how the creation and promotion of a desire for food and technology are converted into sales. As Reyes (2011) describes, "a growing taste for American foodstuffs…that required chilling…spurred the sale of iceboxes and refrigerators" (p.218). Indeed, the Americans have benefitted in colonizing the Philippines for it has become (and remains to be) a major market for American goods outside the U.S.

To this day, it would be easy to observe the impact that American colonization had on Filipino food. Fast food meals, canned goods, soft drinks, fried chicken, hamburgers and sandwiches, cookies, cakes, pies, salads, and ice cream continue to appeal to Filipino taste buds. Further, the basic structure of almost all kitchens in the Philippines nowadays is modeled after American kitchens, given the wide use of American appliances such as toasters, freezers, refrigerators, ovens and the like. This fascination for things that American introduced to Filipinos attests to the fact that cultural habits and preferences arise out of the colonial experience. That in the process of colonization, a new mode of lifestyle would undoubtedly emerge.

Notes

1. The Bureau of Education published a bulletin in 1913 entitled, *Good Manners and Right Conduct for Use in Primary Grades* and it details how a person should behave at the dining table. It listed specific rules like "do not come to meals with dirty hands or face, and uncombed hair; do not eat fast; do not draw in the breath when eating soup; do not fill the mouth too full; do not smack the lips; do not open the mouth in chewing; do not wipe your mouth on the edge of the table cloth, or on the corner of a napkin left folded on the table; do not leave the table with food in your mouth; do not rinse your mouth at the table; do not pick your teeth or put your finger in your mouth at the table,; do not eat rice or other moist foods with the fingers; do not bend over the table; sit erect; do not make gestures with knife, fork, or spoon; do not speak of disagreeable subjects at the table; and do not leave the table until the hostess gives the signal."

2. Most refrigerator advertisements in the early 1900s do not indicate the product's actual prices. Interested buyers are advised to visit the address written in the ads. As one 1927 Frigidaire advertisement tells their potential buyers, "Let us demonstrate Frigidaire and explain prices and conditions of purchase." Thus, in order to know how expensive refrigerators were in the 1920s, the author referred to the list of prices of refrigerators in the U.S. that are cataloged in Sears, Roebuck and Company, 1922 Catalog (no.144).

3. All advertisements in this paper are taken from the *Graphic* because its preserved copies at the Philippine National Library and the Ateneo de Manila University Library have clearer images compared to others. Nonetheless, similar advertisements can also be found in other newspapers and magazines in that period.

4. Magnolia ice cream, Magnolia pie, and the Magnolia ice-drop is the creation of William Schober who arrived in the Philippines in 1899 as a cook in the volunteer army (*Graphic*, February 1928, p.29). After founding the Magnolia ice cream, he sold out his interests to San Miguel Brewery Company, which made San Miguel the sole distributor of Magnolia dairy products in 1925 (Ira, 1994, p.20.). The San Miguel Brewery Company was the first private business enterprise to exploit the demand for tonsil coolers on a large scale. Upon having the rights of Magnolia products, San Miguel Brewery Company started to establish ice factories and have gone in for elaborate, up-to-date manufacture of iced and frozen foodstuffs and beverages (San Martin, 1929, p.6). Meanwhile, Frigidaire is an American brand of consumer and commercial appliances. According to their official website, the company which was founded as the Guardian Frigerator Company in Fort Wayne, Indiana, developed the first self-contained refrigerator in 1916. The name Frigidaire was later adopted when William C. Durant, a founder of General Motors, invested in the company a few years after the invention of the self-contained refrigerator. The company brags that "The brand was so well known in the refrigeration field in the early 20th century that many Americans called any refrigerator, whatever brand it is, a 'Frigidaire.'"

5. These advertisements also associate the image of a Filipino woman with anything connected to the kitchen. The author explains this gender-related issue about advertisements released during the 1920s and 1930s in his earlier publication "NEPA and Women: A Study of the Relationship Between the Representation of Gender, Fulfillment of a Role, and Acceptance of an Identity."

6. The large-scale production and commercialization of sorbetes also had an impact on the old time independent "sorbeteros" in the country. As San Martin (1929) reported, large-scale commercialization of ice cream displaced most of these independent sellers, with only a few who remained to keep their businesses. The majority either had changed to other jobs or had been given pushcarts and handbells by big ice cream factories (San Martin, 1929, pp.6, 43).

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