by Elizabeth Siegel Watkins, Ph.D.

TRAVELING SALESMEN, EXPANSIONISM, AND THE AMERICANIZATION OF EATING











N FEBRUARY 1902, SALESMAN ALEXANDER MACWILLIE OF PITTSBURGH'S H.J. HEINZ CO. set sail from San Francisco for the Far East. MacWillie's sales record surpassed all but one of the 400 traveling salesmen working at Heinz in the first quarter of fiscal year 1902; he had made a similar trip the previous year to Puerto Rico and the West Indies. Though "loathe to go" to the Far East, as he would later recount, "Mr. Heinz said I must go and that he would take me out to San Francisco and drop me in the ocean either to go or drown so determined was he that I make the trip."

Heinz, coveting the Far Eastern markets, had dispatched one of his best to capture the trade. In two and a half years, MacWillie would travel to Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Hong Kong, China, and Japan, and South Africa. By 1904, thanks to MacWillie and others on the company's sales force, Heinz's "57 varieties" could be found in pagodas and palaces on six continents.

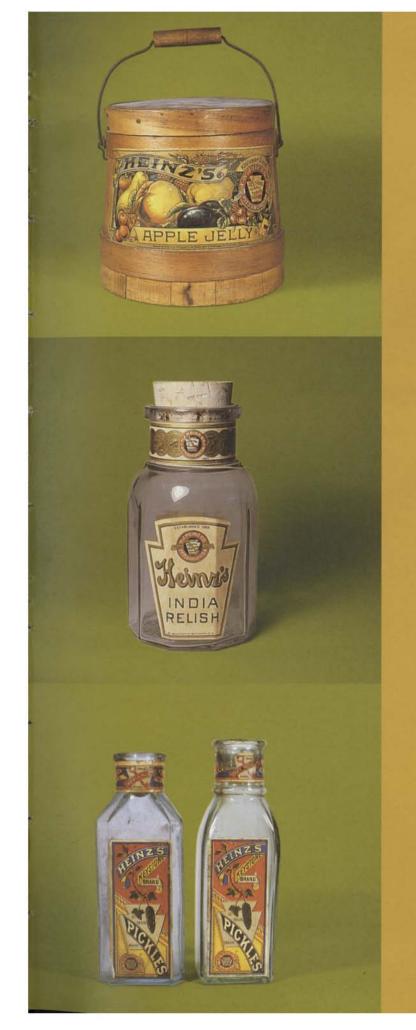
The international expansion of the Heinz Co. coincided with two larger trends in the United States at the turn of the century, both with enormous social, cultural, and economic ramifications. First was the transition to a mass market economy begun in the previous decade. By 1900, all of the pieces were in place for the development of a national consumer culture, as brand-name goods—mass-produced by new manufacturing systems, distributed by new transportation systems, advertised by new media, and marketed by newly centralized corporations—redefined the marketplace.²

A second trend was the nation's developing imperialism. Due to its victory in the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States acquired the islands of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. That same year, it annexed the islands of Hawaii. This political expansion coincided with a period of commercial expansion so pervasive that, in 1901, an

Englishman wrote a book called *The Americanization of the World.*³ The growth of Heinz at home and abroad both reflected and helped shape American expansionism and the rise of a modern consumer culture.

As H.J. Heinz created international demand for its products, other American firms exported steel, locomotives, cotton, shoes, bicycles, sewing machines and dozens of other products all over the world. "The present American invasion is not confined to any one country, but reaches to every part of the earth, civilized and savage, and to almost every branch of industry," wrote the author of an article entitled, "The American Commercial Invasion of the World" in 1901.4 Partly because the United States had set its sights on distant horizons long after Western Europe had partitioned the globe into colonies, U.S. economic success overseas somewhat surprised Europeans. In fact, the American form of imperialism, based on developing a global marketplace, would eventually replace the old colonialism of European nations; U.S. imperialism relied more on extracting resources and cultivating consumers in developing nations, thus avoiding the expenses and dangers of military occupation.

Salesmen such as MacWillie spearheaded the invasion of new territories. This is not to say that America's military or its diplomats were unimportant; on the contrary, the nation's



government would play a central role in twentieth century world history. But, coincident with the nation's increasingly dominant role in international politics in the early 1900s was the relentless expansion of American private interests in foreign markets.

The role of salesmen in foreign markets was in many ways an outgrowth of their prominence at home, as research recently has shown. Scholars have looked to the traveling salesman as a key player in the social and economic transformations wrought by the development of consumer culture in America. Some have explored transitions felt by traveling salesmen as the modern corporation took shape.5 In a longer and broader view of commercial travelers, one author has demonstrated that these salesmen laid the foundation of a mass market - what noted historian Daniel Boorstin called "the everywhere community." Traveling the back roads in virtually every corner of the country, salesmen disseminated both the products and the customs of the new urban-based consumer culture.

Hawking brand-name goods on the six inhabited continents, salesmen further extended the boundaries of the everywhere community as they spread a global consumerism so familiar today. LONG BEFORE THE COCA-COLA BOTTLE APPEARED ON TABLES AROUND THE WORLD. Coca-Cola did not venture beyond American soil until the 1920s, while salesmen for Heinz - and other firms such as Hire's Root Beer and Quaker Oats-ventured overseas two decades earlier. Such agents not only peddled American-made products but also spread the gospel of the American way of eating and selling. They developed the idea of trademarks and brand loyalty, and persuaded new customers with particularly American sales tactics. For familiar goods such as ketchup, Alexander MacWillie had to convince both retailers and consumers of the quality of Heinz goods, which competed against local products as well as other American and European imports. To introduce unfamiliar goods, such as baked beans, he also had to sell the notion of American convenience food.

One of MacWillie's favorite techniques was to offer samples of Heinz goods to storekeepers and customers in grocery stores around the world. MacWillie's work in the Far East represents the commercial export of American foodways and consumer culture, and his reception abroad reveals the success of that venture.

By the early 1900s, American food could be found from Britain to New Zealand and at many points in between. One British writer described his countryman's typical meal: "At

lunch-time he hastily swallows some cold roast beef from the Mid-Western cow, and flavors it with Pittsburg pickles, followed by a few Delaware tinned peaches, and then soothes his mind with a couple of Virginia cigarettes." Although eating is a strong component of cultural identity, the availability of the same packaged foods around the world helped to blur those distinctions at the table. Through the efforts of traveling salesmen, American foods penetrated traditional foodways,

effecting a subtle but important shift toward the Americanization of eating.

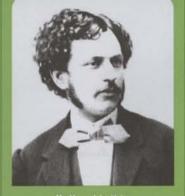
BEFORE THE EXPORT OF AMERICAN FOODWAYS COULD COMMENCE, NATIONAL TASTES HAD TO DEVELOP WITHIN THE UNITED STATES. PACKAGED AND CANNED FOODS CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE NATIONALIZATION OF FOODWAYS. Such standardized, brand-name goods had a three-fold impact on American society: they introduced new foods to the mass market; they provided wider access to a variety of foods, particularly in rural areas; and they allowed middle and working class women some relief from the drudgery of food preparation. Once convinced of the purity and quality of brand name canned goods, consumers came to appreciate their convenience and consistency.

Henry J. Heinz, one of the earliest processed-food manufacturers, began selling bottled horseradish in Pittsburgh in 1869 but soon took on customers in towns all over Western Pennsylvania and nearby Ohio. He added celery sauce, sauerkraut, three different kinds of pickles, and other condiments to his product line, then went bankrupt; he rebounded in 1875 to launch an aggressive sales blitz that took his products during the next decade well beyond his hometown: east to Philadelphia and Baltimore; west to Chicago and Minneapolis; and south to Georgia and Florida. By 1886, he had six factories in Pennsylvania and Indiana

and 13 branch facilities from Boston to New Orleans. Grocers from coast to coast carried his pickles, sauces, and preserves.

That summer, Heinz made his first foreign sale while vacationing in Europe with his family. In London, he called on Fortnum & Mason and presented seven of his products to the head of grocery purchasing. Employing a standard practice among Heinz salesmen, he offered tastes of each product to the Englishman, who promptly agreed to sell them all. The

ease of that sale inspired Heinz to seek further foreign markets "on this side of the pond" "— to the north in Canada and to the south in Central and South America.



Mr. Henry John Heinz

During the next two decades, Heinz expanded his reach further and further, sending his corps of salesmen to the four corners of the earth to supply even the remotest villages with Heinz goods. The company's in-house newsletter often published reports of Heinz goods in far-flung places. One correspondent ate Heinz pickles at Iquito in Eastern Peru in 1896. In 1899, the newsletter published a letter, untranslated, from a satisfied customer in China, presumably extolling the quality of Heinz goods. In 1902, reported the newsletter, shipments of Heinz goods to the interior of

Colombia were carried over the mountains on donkeys; five years later, it printed a photograph of a cable contraption hoisting goods through the Himalayas.10

BY THE EARLY 1890S, HEINZ EMPLOYED MORE TERRITORIES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES, IN AN ERA WHEN WHOLESALERS, OR JOBBERS, TYPICALLY PEDDLED THE GOODS OF A VARIETY OF MANUFACTURERS, HEINZ SALESMEN SOLD ONLY HEINZ GOODS. H.J. Heinz chose not to deal with wholesalers, and instead warehoused his own goods and

shipped directly to retailers. By 1922, the company had 58 branch houses and warehouses, 70 foreign agencies, and more than 1,000 salesmen.

Heinz was known for his paternalism toward his workers and for his ability to instill loyalty in his employees. He never paid them highly (in 1900, girls made 50 cents per 10-hour day), but he did provide an array of recreational and cultural amenities at the main Pittsburgh plant, including a swimming pool, roof gardens,

reading rooms, an auditorium where organ music was played at lunchtime, and carriage rides through the city's parks and summer boat rides on its rivers.

A similar program was developed for the sales force. Starting in 1889, Heinz held annual sales conventions to bring together traveling salesmen and managers for several days to discuss sales techniques and strategies and to learn about the latest developments in agriculture and manufacturing, and in the advertising of Heinz products. The conventions culminated in banquets marked by rousing speeches and toasts, and every participant received a handsome souvenir.

Heinz trained his representatives in the finer points of salesmanship and held them to the highest standards of conduct. In January 1893, after the annual convention, Heinz remarked in his diary: "not one word of slang on the part of anybody" at the gathering." Alexander MacWillie strived to ensure that he "was never seen under any circumstances that did not reflect credit upon the House."12 Like his boss, MacWillie, for example, did not touch liquor and condemned those who did.

Heinz's moral rectitude stemmed from his deeply religious beliefs. Even in his busiest years of building his company, he found time to attend church and teach Sunday School. He devoted much energy to the World Sunday School Association, holding various executive positions in the

> organization. After visiting Japan in 1902, he realized both the commercial and missionary possibilities in that country and in the rest of the Far East. He was interested in converting foreigners to the American and Christian way of life, which he considered superior to other cultures and beliefs, and he made sure that his salesmen shared his views.

The founder's traveling salesmen performed a wide range of duties. They carried sample cases from store to store in

hopes of convincing grocers to stock their shelves with some of the 57 varieties. Once they established relationships with grocers, salesmen returned often to take orders, introduce new products, and facilitate advertising. They created store and window displays, provided signs and trade cards, and held week-long demonstrations. AT THESE DEMON-TABLE AT WHICH CUSTOMERS COULD SAMPLE HEINZ GOODS, SERVED FROM SILVER CHAFING DISHES BY A WELL-GROOMED YOUNG WOMAN, THE "DEMONSTRATOR." The salesman often sent invitations to local residents to attend the demonstration; at the store, he hovered nearby to ensure that everything went smoothly. All of this work meant months on the road, away from family and company headquarters.



To knit the sales force more closely together, the Heinz Co. began a newsletter for its traveling salesmen in 1897. This monthly organ, first called *Pickles* and later *The 57*, published articles on Heinz products and the vegetables from which they were made, on different departments at the Pittsburgh plant, and on branch factories around the country. Reports on expositions, exhibitions, and conventions ran alongside notes about personnel and social events. *PICKLES* PRINTED ADVICE ON HOW TO SELL HEINZ GOODS AND ESSAYS ON THE QUALITIES (E.G., PERSEVERANCE) ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESSFUL SALESMAN. MORALISTIC IN TONE, MANY UPLIFTING AND INSTRUCTIVE ARTICLES ALSO INCLUDED TUTORIALS IN SALESMANSHIP.

Pickles kept its readership up to date on the activities of traveling salesmen abroad. From 1902 to 1904, the adventures of Alexander MacWillie received almost monthly notice, from brief tidbits to lengthy accounts, as the traveler zigzagged across the South Pacific. MacWillie arrived in New Zealand in March 1902 after brief stops in Hawaii and the Samoan Islands. From Honolulu, he reported that he attended a costume party where a native woman wore an outfit festooned with Heinz watch charms and trade cards. His rhetorical question, "How was that for one of Uncle Sam's latest accessions?" communicated the broader sentiment among Americans that newly subjugated peoples could only benefit from exposure to American business and culture.

Upon his return, MacWillie reported at length on the Hawaiian trade.1 He classified the retail stores in Honolulu as "two high class stores, about a half a dozen medium class stores and the balance of very ordinary character catering to the Japanese and Chinese"; the high and medium class stores were run by Englishmen, and the rest were owned by Chinese shopkeepers. In contrast to Heinz sales in the United States, and owing to his short supply of goods for demonstration work, MacWillie did business with a wholesaler in Honolulu. Presumably, this group included those shops that catered primarily to the non-white population, since this particular wholesaler controlled more than half of the city's grocery trade.15 Commenting on the competition in preserved foods in Hawaii, MacWillie noted that "English goods are very firmly established there [in Honolulu] but they are losing ground now on account of the fact that the Islands are now a part and parcel of the United States." The political annexation of the Hawaiian islands in 1898, spurred by economic motives and assisted by American Marines, facilitated trade with the mainland and proved to be a commercial boon for American business.

From New Zealand, MacWillie sailed to Australia to catch a ship to the Philippines, and then to Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Nagasaki. As evidence of the success of MacWillie's trip, Pickles reported the volume of goods ("3609 cases of assorted goods, 133 barrels of Vinegar, and 9 barrels of Sweet Mixed Pickles") shipped to the



Philippines, New Zealand, and Australia. MacWillie returned to the Philippines in August and remained there for two months. In Manila, he visited almost every retail store. His knowledge of Spanish came into use, as many of the proprietors spoke only that language. THE STORES HE VISITED CATERED TO AMERICAN, SPANISH, CHINESE, AND FILIPINO CUSTOMERS. HOWEVER, MOST OF THE HEINZ TRADE WENT TO GOVERNMENT-RUN STORES THAT SOLD PRIMARILY TO THE WHITES EMPLOYED BY THE CIVIL SERVICE. MacWillie acknowledged that the success of the Heinz business in the Philippines depended on the presence of the American government (and American residents) in that country. "The great bulk of the Filipinos," he declared, "do not use that sort of goods and never will."

MacWillie left Manila in October, spent six weeks traveling back to Hong Kong and Shanghai, and then returned to New Zealand and Australia. He traveled throughout the Australian continent for six months in 1903, hitting the cities of Kalgoorlie and Perth in the west, Adelaide and Melbourne in the south, and Brisbane and Sydney in the east. In July 1903, he sailed for South Africa. He stayed in that country for almost a year, surviving a bout with malaria, before returning to Pittsburgh and the Heinz home office in July 1904.

The corporate boosterism surrounding MacWillie's trip reflected the ambitious commercial expansion undertaken by

the Heinz Co.; to motivate the sales force, the newsletter broadcast the firm's intentions and successes. In August 1902, under the headline "Branch Correspondence and News from our Travelers," Pickles prefaced a letter written by MacWillie from New Zealand as follows: "Thoroughly in keeping with the rapid strides in the Western Hemisphere has been the great and broad expansion of our business in the Eastern Hemisphere. The earth is encircled by our travelers and on the globe alone can our branches be indicated and our story panoramically told. To South Africa and Australia, to every continent on the earth, our travelers are regular visitors, firmly establishing the '57'." Such hyperbolic commentary reflected American exuberance at flexing its commercial muscle in the international arena. No longer a backwater ex-colony, the United States had entered the ranks of the imperials.

he Heinz Co. was not the only firm to realize the potential of overseas markets. By the 1890s, both political leaders and manufacturers saw exports as the solution to instability in the American economy. Although almost 80 percent of U. S. imports went to Europe in 1898, Americans recognized the limitations of sending manufactured goods to similarly industrialized nations. Many industries looked to the east to develop new markets. In 1902, *Pickles* reported: "The ability of America to produce more than it



consumes ... has given an impetus to American export trade which ... is responsible for the commanding position which this country has assumed in the commercial and political world of today." Although exaggerated in its optimism about America's position in the world order, this proclamation of American superiority reflected the contemporary spirit of patriotism and the 20th century version of Manifest Destiny.

AFTER CELEBRATING AMERICAN ABUNDANCE AND ADVANTAGE, THE *PICKLES* ARTICLE WENT ON TO BOAST OF HEINZ'S ACHIEVEMENT IN EX-

PORTING AMERICAN FOODS AND FOODWAYS: "We have found that not-withstanding the prejudices of most nationalities against the adoption of new articles, especially things potable and eatable, which has sometimes made the introduction of the '57' to new fields comparatively slow at first, our product has invariably proven acceptable as soon as it became known, even though in many instances necessarily offered to palates uneducated to American tastes in food

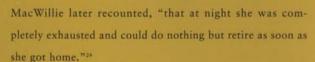
specialties." Reference to the "education of foreign palates" implied that natives of other nations were culturally inferior to Americans. This faith in American superiority blinded the author to the realities of overseas sales. As MacWillie discovered, people did not automatically flock to purchase his goods. In fact, in Hong Kong and Shanghai, the only people who bought Heinz goods were foreign (white) residents. Upper class natives might eventually come around to American condiments, MacWillie optimistically concluded, "but it takes a long time to educate them."²¹

About eight months into his trip, while in Australia, MacWillie realized that he needed to hold demonstrations to attract business and to inform prospective customers about unfamiliar products, such as baked beans or India relish (a sweet mixture of pickles, celery, and spices). He engaged the

services of a 21-year-old American woman named Margaret McLeod to accompany him as a demonstrator. He refused to hire local Australians, commenting later that he "would be afraid to leave any one of them for half an hour." Miss McLeod had come to Australia from Boston with her mother, her sister, and her niece to collect money from an estate left to her mother. The funds in the estate had dwindled away, and the McLeods did not have enough money to return to the United States. Margaret remained in MacWillie's employ for the duration of his trip. ²³

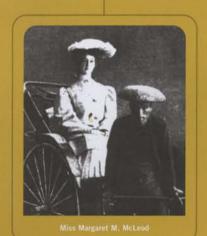
Miss McLeod proved to be quite skillful in dem-

onstration work. Each demonstration took several hours to set up—"first impressions are always lasting," MacWillie explained to his new employee—and lasted for a week or two, from 10 in the morning until 5 p.m. each day. She was assisted by two or three clerks who took customers' orders while she served samples, described the merits of the Heinz products, and suggested ways to incorporate them into everyday dining. "Miss McLeod put so much life into it,"



IT WAS MCLEOD WHO HAD THE NOTION TO SERVE INDIA RELISH WITH BAKED BEANS, WHICH RESULTED IN BRISK SALES OF BOTH PRODUCTS. MCLEOD'S PRESENCE ATTRACTED ATTENTION FROM THE LOCALS, AND EARNED MORE PRESS FOR HEINZ THAN MACWILLIE COULD HAVE GARNERED ON HIS OWN. Apparently, the social role of women as preparers and servers of food crossed cultural boundaries, at least among English-speaking populations.

In July 1903, *The 57* reprinted excerpts from articles in Australian newspapers about the Heinz demonstrations, which commented not only on the novel products being



offered but also on the pair of Americans conducting the demonstrations. The Miner in Kalgoorlie described Miss McLeod as "a young lady of charming appearance and manner;" the Perth News called her "irresistibly attractive" and remarked: "Fancy bringing a young lady 13,000 miles to demonstrate the delectable qualities of Pickles and Preserves to Australian housewives!"25 A Sydney paper reported: "As 'Yankee Doodle' is the national anthem of America, so is Baked Beans the national food of the Great Republic, and a brisk, busy Pittsburgh man, and a sweet, pretty Boston girl have descended on Australia to teach beef and mutton eating colonials the joys of consuming Baked Beans, the superb qualities of India Relish as Chutney, the wonderful staying power of Tomato Soup made with cream, and the delight of a new conserve in the shape of Apple Butter ... "26 This testimonial reflected the perception of a distinct difference in sophistication between Americans, citizens of an up-and-coming world power, and Australians, still colonial subjects of the British Empire.

The foreign press commented on more than just the charm and grace of the Heinz demonstrator. BOTH THE AUSTRALIANS AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS EXPRESSED ADMIRATION FOR THE MARKETING SKILLS OF THE AMERICANS. "WHAT UNCLE SAM DOES NOT KNOW ABOUT ADVERTISING ISN'T WORTH LEARNING," 27 PROCLAIMED AUSTRALIA'S PERTH HERALD. The South African News described the Heinz operation and concluded, "It is enterprise such as this

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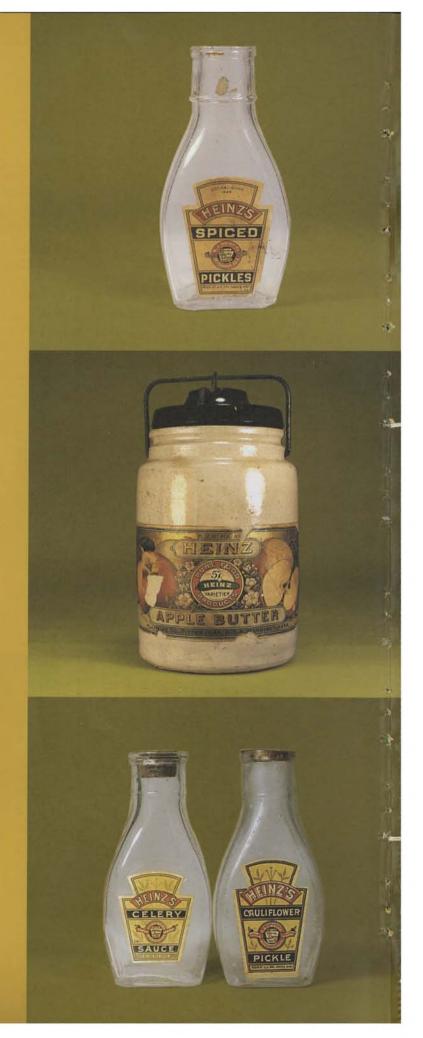
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209 South Craig Street Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213 Phone: (412) 621-5050 that has set the United States on the road to commercial supremacy." MacWillie and McLeod's methods impressed the foreign clientele, who then extrapolated from Heinz to all of American business. "If we may take [MacWillie] for a typical American," announced the Wynberg Courier of Cape Town, South Africa, "there is bound to be before that enterprising nation a great future indeed and an experience of world conquest so complete as never yet seen in the departments of commerce and trade." The article went on to "acknowledge from force of experience, rather than generosity, the superiority of American trade principles ... I[f] [MacWillie's] visit is to have any effect on our community, it should be that of impressing us with the great necessity of waking up, lest the field be mown in front of our feet before we are aware of it!"29

The success of Heinz goods in Australia and South Africa was surprising, considering the relationship between those countries and England. MacWillie commented on anti-American prejudice in South Africa in the wake of the Boer War, and characterized the locals as extremely loyal to the British Crown and, by extension, to its commercial products. However, since South Africa imported a great deal of its goods, MacWillie recognized the opportunity for Heinz to grab a share of the market. He frequented stores run by proprietors of English descent but also those run by Chinese, Indian, Dutch, and Jewish owners in attempt to build business for Heinz, and managed to place the signature ketchup bottle in every store.

BUSINESS IN AUSTRALIA, MACWILLIE REASONED, WOULD NEVER MATCH THE POTENTIAL IN
SOUTH AFRICA OR THE PHILIPPINES BECAUSE THE
AUSTRALIAN CLIMATE AND ECONOMY COULD
SUPPORT AGRICULTURE AND THE PROCESSING OF
FRESH PRODUCE; LOCAL GOODS WOULD ALWAYS
SELL FOR LESS THAN IMPORTED GOODS. Nonetheless,
he recommended that the company continue "to work the
whole country," advice consistent with Heinz's expansionist
mission.¹⁰ He even advocated "house to house" canvassing in



West Australia and Queensland, where the people were "of ordinary character." Presumably, he surmised that these white, English-speaking residents would be comfortable welcoming Heinz salesmen into their homes and would readily sample the company's wares. By contrast, he discouraged house-to-house work among the Chinese in Hong Kong, because he doubted that the Heinz salesman "could get into the houses."

In contrast to his outward appearances in business dealings, MacWillie maintained private attitudes toward foreign natives that ranged from condescension to outright disdain. He branded New Zealanders provincial, Australians drinkers, the Chinese unintelligent. He concentrated his efforts in the Philippines on the large population of Americans there, although "the work was exceedingly distasteful. Moral conditions were very bad and the climate



A SIDE OF HEINZ, PITTSBURGH-STYLE

Many people start their own businesses, but have you ever wondered what gave Henry J. Heinz the gumption to start his own food company? How about old-time Heinz "Celery Sauce"—who thought of that? Find out in the exhibit, "Heinz 57: Feeding the World," which opens May 22 at the Senator John Heinz Pittsburgh Regional History Center in the Strip District.

In words and objects, Historical Society curators tell the story of the Heinz Company's 130 years in business from its beginnings with homemade horseradish to its current stature as a multi-national conglomerate.

Whether attracted to the founder's early diaries and recipe books, the peculiar assortment of jars and firkins that held his first products, or the many hands-on areas in the exhibit, visitors of all ages are sure to enjoy learning about one of Pittsburgh's oldest and most interesting companies. There's plenty for the kids, too; they get to design their own magazine advertisements for the company, build towering store displays, and race the clock to pack pickles. Loads of special events are planned, and a variety of family oriented tasting and cooking sessions will be offered in the History Center's kitchen.

In six exhibit sections that represent different eras and emphases in the company's history, curators trace the story from its Sharpsburg start in 1869. Lots of space is devoted to the company's especially exciting modern history as the one of the world's premier prepared food giants. You'll be surprised to learn how many popular name brands—ever heard of Starkist tuna?—are part of the Heinz food family.

"Heinz 57: Feeding the World" runs for two years, but don't miss the opportunity to take part in all the special events and family fun planned in the exhibit's opening weeks. With the museum's convenient location near great food and shopping in the Strip and downtown Pittsburgh, why not bring a group for the day? The center is open daily from 10 a.m. till 5 p.m. For information about group sales, call 412.454.6304.

was bad...."33 He spent a lot of time evaluating the character of potential managers of the Heinz account, finding few to his liking. Like his boss back home, MacWillie perceived himself to be a missionary from a more advanced country, sent out to educate the unenlightened about both food and marketing.

IN HIS PREJUDICES TOWARD OTHER RACES AND NATIONS, MACWILLIE WAS A PRODUCT OF HIS NINETEENTH CENTURY AMONG AMERICANS

OF RACES. This theory used Darwinism to bolster the long-standing myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority. In the 1880s, the writings and speeches of John Fiske and the Reverend Josiah Strong, integrating Darwinian evolutionism into an ideology of expansionism based on Anglo-Saxon predominance, received attention and acclamation from government leaders and the general public.14

This message of American (and Western European) preeminence found even broader appeal in the series of world's fairs held in cities across the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, starting with the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. These international expositions housed exhibits on Asian, African, and South American cultures that presented their societies as curious, backwards, and inferior to Western civilization.35 In 1904, for example, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis included a "Philippines Reservation," where 1,200 Filipinos made their home for the duration of the fair, in full view of paying spectators. The exhibit portrayed Filipinos as willing participants in the new American empire and also supported the feeling of superiority among white Americans.36 Such "anthropological" exhibits lent further

support to those Americans who favored the acquisition of colonial territories.

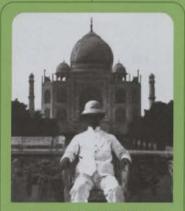
While imperialists and anti-imperialists debated the meaning of Manifest Destiny for the United States at the turn of the century, American manufacturers actively sought and developed markets for American-made goods overseas. The availability of American goods, they contended, would ameliorate the conditions in what they perceived as backward nations, at least for the Americans who resided there. In describing the Philippines to his fellow travelers five years after his first visit to the islands, MacWillie wrote that the

> "American business firms who cater to the wants of the foreign population, coupled with the formation of delightful social clubs since the American invasion, have all combined to improve living conditions in Manila."37

> Blithely oblivious (as were most Americans) to the American massacre of 600 Filipinos one vear earlier, MacWillie believed wholeheartedly in the necessity of an American military presence in the Philippines. "[I]f the United States would

affirm a permanent policy with respect to the country and establish a government similar to" the one in Puerto Rico, MacWillie concluded, "the islands would have just reason to bless the advent of the American nation."38 Fully steeped in the imperialist rhetoric of his day, MacWillie fit his role as a Heinz salesman into a broader design of American expansion.

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF ALEXANDER ELERS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY SOLD MUCH MORE THAN THE GOODS IN THEIR SAMPLE CASES. THEY ALSO PEDDLED THE NEW AMERICAN CON-SUMER CULTURE. A key facet of securing the mass market was the establishment of brand name recognition. Just as salesmen had to convince customers in the United States to ask for a particular brand of pickles and preserves, their



overseas counterparts also had to establish the relatively novel concept of brand loyalty, specifically, to American brands. The Heinz representative competed with salesmen from Curtice Brothers (Blue Label) of New York and Crosse & Blackwell of England in the condiment market. His trade cards, newspaper advertisements, window and store displays, and week-long demonstrations were all designed to keep the Heinz name in the forefront of the customer's mind. In the field of international sales, so new that specific sales tactics had not yet developed, MacWillie used the same techniques that worked back home.

Yet, the in-store product demonstrations effectively promoted far more than the 57 varieties: foreigners learned of the bounty of America's fields and factories. One journalist who attended an in-store event in Perth proclaimed that he tasted "more table luxuries in five minutes than he had ever heard of in five-and-twenty years."39 At the demonstrations, Margaret McLeod's cheery commentary instructed people on how to use the various condiments and convenience foods at breakfast, lunch, and dinner. A Sydney newspaper described McLeod as "HAVING COME ALL THE WAY FROM BOSTON TO SHOW US WHAT WE SHOULD EAT, HOW WE SHOULD EAT IT, AND OUT OF WHAT PARTICULAR PICKLE JAR OR CONDENSED SOUP CAN WE SHOULD OBTAIN THE SUC-CULENT NUTRITION."40 The touch of irony notwithstanding, Australians seemed genuinely interested in learning what to do with baked beans, apple butter, and India relish. MacWillie reported that crowds of

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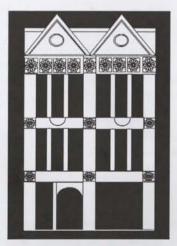
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more than 100 people lined the sidewalks waiting to enter the demonstration in Perth, and that sales in the store were even greater the week afterward.

As the result of MacWillie and McLeod's efforts, Heinz distributing agencies were established in 21 cities in the Far East by 1908.41 Just two months after his return to the United States in 1904, MacWillie boarded a steamer for Australia to begin another two-year tour of duty for Heinz. These travels took him to India, Ceylon, and Siam. Other Heinz salesmen continued his work in Australia and South Africa, Good diplomatic relations with Britain made Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India fair game for American commercial growth, which was further abetted in those countries by the lack of a language barrier. The persistence shown by the Heinz representatives proved to be successful, winning over consumers around the world.

Expansion into foreign markets fit into the larger American design of manifest destiny, and H.J. Heinz devoted considerable resources to capturing overseas markets for his goods. Through the work of his salesmen and demonstrators, he also introduced American foodways to new customers. With the 57 varieties served at tables from Pittsburgh to Perth, the Americanization of eating had begun.

NOTES:

- 1 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 1904, 1, Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village Research Center, Dearborn, Mich., Acc. #53.41, Box 54, Folder 54-17.
- ² See Susan Strasser, Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market (Pantheon Books, 1989).
- William T. Stead, The Americanization of the World (H. Markley, 1901).
- 4 Ray Stannard Baker, "The American Commercial Invasion of the World" Harper's Weekly XLV (16 Feb. 1901), 174-5.
- Susan Strasser, "'The Smile that Pays': The Culture of Traveling Salesmen, 1880-1920" in James Gilbert, et al. (editors), The Mythmaking Frame of Mind: Social Imagination and American Culture (Wadsworth Publishing, 1993), 155-77; Olivier Zunz, Making America Corporate, 1870-1920 (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1990).
- * Timothy B. Spears, 100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture (Yale Univ. Press, 1995).
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- ⁸ Thomas J. Schlereth, Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915 (Harper Collins, 1991), 163,
- 9 Quoted in Robert C. Alberts, The Good Provider: H. J. Heinz and his 57 Varieties (Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 79.
- 16 Pickles (Jan. 1897), n.p.; Pickles (April 1899), n.p.; Pickles (May 1902), 11; The 57 (April 1907), 8. H. J. Heinz Company Corporate Information Center, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- 11 Transcript of Henry J. Heinz's diary by Robert C. Alberts, 201. Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, MSS# 37, Box 4, Folder 1.
- 12 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 4.
- 15 Pickles (May 1902), 11.
- 14 "Conversation with Mr. MacWillie," July 19, 1904, 3, Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village Research Center, Dearborn, Mich., Acc. # 53.41, Box 54, Folder 54-17
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- 16 Pickles (July 1902), 3.
- 17 "Conversation with Mr. MacWillie," 45-47.
- 18 Pickles (Aug. 1902), 5.
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- 26 "Foreign Trade in American Products" Pickles (Oct. 1902), 2.
- 21 "Conversation with Mr. MacWillie," 52, 54.
- 22 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 23.
- 23 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 23-4.
- 24 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 29-32.
- 25 The Miner (Kalgoorlie, Australia), reprinted in The 57 (July 1903), 5; "American Enterprise" Perth (Australia) News, reprinted in The 57 (July 1903), 3.
- 26 "New American Invasion" Sydney Morning Telegraph, reprinted in The 57 (July 1903), 2.
- 27 Perth Herald, reprinted in The 57 (July 1903), p. 3.
- 28 "Pure Food and Pure Grit" South African News, reprinted in The 57 (Sept. 1903), 3,
- Wynberg Courier, reprinted in The 57 (Feb. 1904), 6-7.
- 30 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 55, 50, 52, 43.
- 31 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 21-22.
- 32 "Conversation with Mr. MacWillie," 53.
- 33 "Story of the Trip of A. MacWillie," 6, 11, 16, 18.
- 34 Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Beacon Press, 1955), 176-9.
- 35 See Robert W. Rydell, All the World's a Fair (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1984).
- 36 Robert W. Rydell, "The Culture of Imperial Abundance: World's Fairs in the Making of American Culture" in Simon J. Bronner, ed., Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920 (W. W. Norton & Co., 1989), 194-6.
- 37 Alexander MacWillie, "Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore and Batavia" The 57 Life (June 1907), 6.
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- 41 The 1908 Heinz Current Price catalogue listed 36 branch distributing houses and 46 distributing agencies. The agencies in the Far East were located in Australia (Adelaide, Brisbane, Fremantle, Melbourne, Sydney); New Zealand (Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, Wellington); South Africa (Cape Town, Durbin, East London, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria); Honolulu, Hong Kong, Manila, Shanghai, Singapore, and Yokohama. Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, MSS# 57.

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