Beyond Recipes: Mother-Daughter Relations in Nineteenth-Century Mexican Cookbooks

Abstract:

In *The Practice of Everyday Life,* Luce Giard argues for the centrality of food in everyday life and links food preparation to intergenerational relationships. In her piece, she alludes to the importance of writing down recipes for the purpose of matrilineally passing down this knowledge. I argue that there is a direct intentionality from a person to record a cooking preparation practice. As such, the manuscript cookbook is not simply a collection of recipes, but functions as an artifact of a person's connection to everyday food life – eating, drinking, cooking, and their preferences surrounding that. This paper evaluates and analyses cookbook manuscripts as well as published cookbook from the late eighteenth-century and during the nineteenth century. The paper also looks at a set of six family cookbook manuscripts from the end of the nineteenth century. Cookbook manuscripts can be used to study familial life and sociability surrounding food preparation recording practices – particularly, as a knowledge production practice that is created to be a matrilineal legacy.

Keywords: cookbooks, intergenerational history, women's knowledge production, history of everyday life, Mexico, family life, food studies.

Introduction

The life of a person is, ultimately, made up of small, everyday moments. From getting dressed in the morning, to commuting to work, running errands, and essentially, sustaining oneself with food. Eating is a non-negotiable activity. One must eat to survive – if possible, every single day until the end. Despite being mundane, food preparation and cooking are unarguably central to everyday living. In *The Practice of Everyday Life,* historian Luce Giard argues: "Eating, in fact, serves not only to maintain the biological machinery of the body, but to make concrete one of the specific modes of relation between a person, and the world, thus forming one of the fundamental landmarks in space-time."[1] That is, eating supersedes being solely a biological necessity. Following Giard, food and eating, then, is an inherently relational and social activity. The kind of food we eat is relational to the environment – with and without human intervention.[2] Sourcing the ingredients for a meal almost inevitably involves many others, those who grow and farm it, and those who sell it – with many other hands in between. Finally, what we eat is also dependent on *who* is deciding what to eat, and then, *who* is doing the cooking – these are not always the same person and, it implies, at times, a complex power dynamic. As such, it is important to note that not everyone engages with food preparation in the exact same way. Some people cook, and some people do not, but everyone *has* to eat.

Today, recipes are collected in printed cookbooks or scattered across the internet on food blogs. The singular recipe is available to print out or made without even needing a physical copy. However, prior to the internet, recipes lived in notebooks, binders, on notecards, or collated sheets of paper and perhaps, in great part, they still do.[3] But these recipes were handwritten or

[1] Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life. Volume 2: Living and Cooking* (University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 183.
[2] The kinds of food and ingredients is, generally, presently less restricted to us than in the past due to importation and exportation. Although, I acknowledge that this does not account for food deserts or food scarcity.
[3] For one of the author's personal favourite food blogs, see: "RecipeTin Eats - A Food Blog Serving Up Quick & Easy Dinner Recipes," *RecipeTin Eats*, November 14, 2023, https://www.recipetineats.com/.; For examples of

typewritten out. Behind all this, is a direct intentionality from a person to record a cooking preparation practice. There is a person who has decided that these recipes were valuable enough to write down. As such, the manuscript cookbook is not simply a collection of recipes, but it is an artifact of a person's connection to their everyday food and social life – eating, drinking, cooking, and their preferences surrounding them. So, not only is cooking and eating social and relational but it also involves constant and purposeful decision-making.

In an effort to understand the everyday, domestic life of households in Mexico during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, this paper evaluates and analyses cookbook manuscripts from the period. I seek to explore what these primary sources can tell us about the sociability surrounding food preparation practices and to the extent it is possible to research how these practices intersect along class, gender, and racial lines. I argue that cookbook manuscripts, in conversation with published cookbooks after 1831, can offer insight into the inherent sociability surrounding everyday life food preparation practices of Mexico during this period.

This paper is divided into three main sections. The first section makes a case for food as an important lens of analysis by drawing out how conceptions of food's purpose and significance have changed from 1492 to the twentieth century. It also functions as a historiography and is an appraisal of the work already done by historians to evaluate how food has impacted and shaped Mexico over time. The second section analyses a collection of Mexican cookbook manuscripts from circa 1773 to 1870. These cookbooks are put into conversation with the cookbooks published in Mexico after 1831. I position them as distinct genres that can and do intersect. The analysis of the manuscripts pertains to form and composition, but also at the gendered nature of this literary tradition. I also take a comparative approach and draw on the work done by

---

historical cookbook manuscripts, see: The Adam Matthew *Food and Drink in History* primary source database. https://www.foodanddrink.amdigital.co.uk/.

historians on the development of Anglo-American cookbooks (both published and manuscript). The incorporation of published cookbooks into the primary sources of this section serves to tease out some of the tensions surrounding gender-politics and identity that come to the forefront during the nineteenth century and that, evidently, played out within these cookbooks. I argue that these cookbook manuscripts demonstrate that this recording practice existed within a social network. Finally, the last section examines a set of six manuscript cookbooks dated from 1888-1895. I argue that there is a strong case for analysing cookbook manuscripts through the lens of family history. These six family cookbooks position food preparation as a largely matrilineal practice and a legacy valuable enough to pass down.

The Changing Religious, Cultural, and Social Constructions of Food

The markets of Tlatelolco were awash with Mesoamerican foods, vegetables, fruits, plants, and livestock that would come to forever change the global foodways with the impending and costly Columbian exchange. Mesoamerican worldviews and cosmologies were intertwined with food and agricultural practices.[4] But the functionality and understandings of food's purpose have changed significantly since maize was the ruling crop of Mesoamerica. Historian Rebecca Earle's seminal work *Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* argues that food was paramount to the Spanish colonial project.[5] In 1492, the Spanish arrived in the Americas with the belief that the body was mutable and could be changed by food, blood, and the environment. There is a significant religious component to this

[4] Jeffrey Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 7-10, 14-15.; See: James F. Hancock, *World Agriculture before and after 1492: Legacy of the Columbian Exchange* (Springer, 2022).
[5] Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race, and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2.

understanding.[6] The chasm between the Iberian environment and that of the Americas caused concern for Spaniards that their European bodies would become like those of the indigenous peoples of the Americas if they ate and lived like them. Thus, it was of immediate importance to introduce European crops and meats into the Americas, particularly, wheat and grapes for the Christian ritual of Communion – the wheat and grapes transforming into the body and blood of Christ.[7] Although, it took many years for the Spanish to succeed in sustainably cultivating the crops that they had imported from Spain.[8]

The Spanish encounter with the fruits, vegetables, and animals of the Americas did not just pose an imagined physiological challenge rooted in humoral beliefs but also triggered awe and wonder in the colonisers.[9] These environmental findings became the objects of colonial exploits to showcase back in Spain. One way in which this was done was through the eighteenth-century invention of the *casta* painting. The *casta* painting functioned as a way to depict the racial mixings of New Spain in an idealised, and hierarchical way.[10] When the Spaniards colonised Mexico it resulted in four dominant racial groups – Spaniards, indigenous peoples, African peoples, and the children that resulted from these mixes.[11] These different racial groups were imperfectly categorised into a hierarchical ranking which had political and social consequences.[12] Thus, this genre of painting came from the *casta* system that was institutionalised during the colonisation of Mexico. The paintings were of a taxonomic style and followed a European mode of natural scientific classification. Art historian Daniela Bleichmar

[6] This conception of the environment impacting and altering the body goes back even further to the times of Hippocrates. Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador,* 21; María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford University Press, 2008), 47-8.
[7] Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador,* 1, 56-7.
[8] Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador,* 5, 67-75.
[9] Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador,* 19-20.
[10] Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Yale University Press, 2004), 10.
[11] Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 218-19.
[12] For a comprehensive study of the origins and complexities of the *casta* system see: Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*.

describes these paintings as "export art" and they came about because of a continental Spanish demand to *see* natural representations of the empire – including the people.[13] Given this, these were highly constructed and staged paintings. The artists made choices about what they wanted elite Spaniards to see of the colonies as well as constructing how the people within the colony were to be perceived. But these paintings do not solely depict people, they also contain material culture within them. This could be textiles, food, and objects found within domestic and market settings. In this way, the *casta* painting also functioned as a vehicle to show goods from the colony to a Spanish audience without having to export the physical object itself.

The *casta* paintings were quite formulaic. They depicted "families," typically a couple of different races and their child. *Casta* paintings came as sets of up to sixteen separate paintings, or a single painting with separate quadrants.[14] It is in the quadrant of the couple *español y negra, mulato* where food takes on a more dynamic role and does not solely remain a static object. There are multiple depictions of this particular couple where the black woman can be seen stirring *chocolate* on the stove (figure 1).[15] In other *casta* paintings the fruits appear in their rawest form, but here there is a transformation of the cacao bean into a consumable and edible good. The implication of this is that it was the preparation of the drink and the drink itself that was of interest for the audience, not just the raw cacao bean. Historian Marcy Norton has traced the Spanish assimilation and adoption of *chocolate.*[16] Through studying chocolate and tobacco,

---

[13] Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 152.
[14] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 5.
[15] José de Páez, *De español y negra, mulato. 6.* (From Spaniard and Black, Mulatto), ca. 1770-80, oil on copper, 50.2 x 63.8 cm. Private collection. Reproduced in Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 25.; In her comprehensive study on *casta* paintings, Ilona Katzew compiled together 265 images. Out of that set, there are 12 that feature this scene. The earliest extant version of this painting is from 1715. See: Katzew, *Casta Painting*.
[16] See: Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Cornell University Press, 2010).; Marcy Norton, "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 660–91, https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.111.3.660.Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*, Cornell Paperbacks (Cornell University Press, 2010).

Norton argues that Europe was profoundly affected by the colonisation of the Americas and that the peoples of the Americas had an active part in that transformation – they were not passive victims.[17] Furthermore, the Spaniards' gradual increase in chocolate consumption was due to adopting the indigenous Mesoamerican aesthetics associated with chocolate in the form they first encountered it in. The transformation of the beverage over time was secondary.[18] Thus, during the eighteenth-century food took on a different meaning – one of colonial exoticisation, othering, and, as seen with the example of chocolate, gradual appropriation.

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Mexico emerged as a nation-state from the wars of independence. Concomitantly, burgeoning questions regarding race, class, and identity came to the political and intellectual forefront. The *costumbrista* artistic and intellectual movement emerged during the transition from colonised New Spain to a newly independent Mexico that was in search of unity under a relatively homogenous national identity.[19] As such, *costumbrista* artists sought to paint the everydayness of "Mexican life."[20] Art historian Mey-Yen Moriuchi's study on *costumbrismo* argues that the art that came from this movement should not be regarded as solely picturesque scenes but also that "undercurrents of social negotiation and identity construction permeate their compositions."[21] Food and food preparation were a common motif in *costumbrista* imagery and *mole poblano*, in particular, was featured in a variety of different paintings.[22]

---

[17] Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures,* 4.
[18] Norton, "Tasting Empire," 660.
[19] Erica Segre, "The Development of *Costumbrista* Iconography and Nation-Building Strategies in Mexican Literary Periodicals of the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 77, no. 1 (2000): 79-80.; Mey-Yen Moriuchi, *Mexican Costumbrismo: Race, Society, and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Art* (Penn State University Press, 2018), 1-2.
[20] Similar to *casta* paintings, this was a constructed and stylised version of the "everyday."
[21] Moriuchi, *Mexican Costumbrismo,* 2.
[22] See for examples: José Agustín Arrieta, *Cocina poblana,* 1865. Oil on canvas, 70 x 93cm. SECRETARIA DE CULTURA.-INAH.-MEX. Reproduced in Moriuchi, *Mexican Costumbrismo*, 25.; Édouard Pingret, *Interior de cocina poblana* (Interior of Poblana kitchen), ca. 1852-55. Oil on canvas, 63 x 50 cm. SECRETARIA DE CULTURA.-INAH.-MEX. Reproduced in Moriuchi, *Mexican Costumbrismo,* 55.

Historian Jeffrey Pilcher wrote the most influential work on Mexican food history: *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. He put forward the argument that food has always been linked to identity but became an institutional tool for fostering a national identity in the nineteenth-century that carried through, and transformed, throughout the twentieth-century.[23] Pilcher explores the fascination with *mole poblano* and its historical mythologising.[24] Evidently, there was institutional backing to make the dish representative of a "national cuisine" throughout the nineteenth-century.[25] This is also echoed in the *costumbrista* paintings that frequently depicted *mole,* either already prepared or in the process of being prepared (figure 2).[26] This speaks to the importance of regionality when discussing Mexico, lest we make the mistake of homogenising a richly diverse nation – Pilcher takes up and briefly addresses this issue.[27] However, the emphasis on *mole* in art, nineteenth century discourse, and contemporary scholarship alludes to the construction of a national identity through the lens of central and southern Mexico, particularly, the states of Puebla and Oaxaca. Consequently, reproducing a centralised notion of Mexico.[28] I have not yet discussed regionality in this piece, but most of the primary sources originate from central and southern Mexico and, thus, it is the more explicit regional focus.[29]

While artists were painting scenes of the "everyday" during the nineteenth century, of which food featured heavily, in 1831 the first two cookbooks were published in Mexico: *El cocinero mexicano, ó colección de las mejores recetas para guisar al estilo Americano* and

[23] See: Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales!*.
[24] Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales!,* 25-7
[25] Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales!,* 42-3, 48.
[26] See: chapter 4 of Moriuchi, *Mexican Costumbrismo*.
[27] Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales!,* 50-1.
[28] The most prolific *costumbrista* artist José Agustín Arrieta was from Puebla. The problem of regionality deserves more consideration but that is out of the scope of this work.
[29] Northern Mexico is worth more scholarly consideration.

Novismo arte de cocina, ó excelente coleccion de las mejores recetas.[30] The first pages of *El cocinero mexicano* has a "disclaimer" section that addressed the use of Mexican-Spanish language over Castilian-Spanish was a considered choice as well as the incorporation of "names with a Mexican origin (…) like xitomate, nixcomel."[31] This short, page and a half section was asserting a "Mexican" identity and directly distinguishing it from a "Spanish" one through language conventions. Ultimately, the first published cookbooks reflect a desire to establish a Mexican culinary tradition. Or put another way, by publishing a cookbook that appealed to a national identity rooted in pride and rejecting Spanish cultural hegemony, food and food preparation can be seen as a legitimate mechanism to create that identity – similarly, to how art was also functioning during this period.

The historiography has attended to some of the big and broad concerns around food and its changing intersections with race and class. However, there is a distinct absence of the everyday. Undoubtedly, the introduction of European crops affected how people interacted with food and food preparation over time, but there is an underdeveloped conversation about the personal and social relationship to food and food preparation. Historian Alberto Peralta de Legarreta has begun to fill in this gap with the article "Tables and Families. Value, Emotions and Aesthetics of Conviviality in Two Culinary Manuscripts of the Mexican Elites in the 19th Century."[32] Peralta de Legarreta analyses two manuscripts through the concept of "doing the table." He evaluates these elite manuscripts for affective language, the transmission of culinary knowledge, and the "aesthetics of table settings in private and public spheres."[33] However, the

[30] *El Cocinero Mexicano, Vol 1* (Mexico: Imprenta de Galvan, 1831).
[31] "Advertencia." "nombres de orígen mexicano (…) como xitomate, nixcomel."; *Novisimo Arte de la Cocina* (Mexico: Oficina del C. Alejandro Valdés, 1931).
[32] See: Alberto Peralta De Legarreta, "Tables and Families. Value, Emotions and Aesthetics of Conviviality in Two Culinary Manuscripts of the Mexican Elites of the 19th Century," *The History of the Family* 29, no. 3 (2024): 433–43, https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2024.2369529.
[33] Peralta De Legarreta, "Tables and Families," 434-5

scope of the article and what it accomplishes is limited and leaves plenty of room for further research. I seek to complicate some of the generalised claims that he makes that pertain to the gendered aspect of his analysis. Peralta de Legarreta states that the cookbook manuscripts written by men "had a more orderly and technical character" than the ones credited to women; this claim does not reflect an accurate picture of the cookbook manuscripts studied here.[34]

Cookbook Manuscripts and Published Cookbooks – Distinct but Colliding Genres

The cookbook manuscript and the published cookbook are two different written genres with differing functions. The cookbook manuscript identified women as agents and creators, and the published cookbook tended to position women as recipients and consumers to be directed and advised. However, this is not a neat dichotomy, and it would be a mistake to say that women were not publishing cookbooks during the first half of the nineteenth century just because their names were not explicitly ascribed to the text. Henry Notaker notes that women would use the designation "By a Lady" or just their initials.[35] The reason for this could have been imposed upon them due to contemporary gender norms but not necessarily. It could have been a designation used for a commercial purpose by men as well.[36] This section primarily pertains to analysing a collection of Mexican cookbook manuscripts and cookbooks published throughout the nineteenth century.[37] Whilst the main focus is the manuscripts and published cookbooks, I also take a comparative approach with the literature I use to support the analysis of this section and the

[34] Peralta De Legarreta, "Tables and Families," 435.
[35] Henry Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries* (University of California Press, 2017), 43.
[36] For a more comprehensive discussion on this, see: Margaret Ezell, "'By a Lady': The Mask of the Feminine in Restoration, Early Eighteenth-Century Print Culture," in *Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication, 1600-2000*, ed. R. Griffin (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2003).
[37] These manuscripts have been sourced, predominantly, from the *Mexican Cookbook Collection* housed at the special collections at UTSA and the *American Institute of Wine and Food Culinary Collection* housed at the Special Collections at UCSD.

following one. There has been more work done on cookbooks from the Anglo-American and European regions.[38] I argue throughout the section that writing cookbook manuscripts could be a highly technical endeavour, that women were compiling and writing recipe manuscripts, and, crucially, cookbook manuscripts reveal a broad sociability and networks around food preparation.

The two eighteenth-century cookbook manuscripts demonstrate clear attention to organisation and legibility. The first, dated to 1789 is titled *Cuaderno de Cosina de Doña Ignacita del (mazo) Belarde Calderón de la Barca q.e se acabo el viernes dando las 8 de la noche, A.D.*. The cookbook contains a total of eighty-seven recipes and each of them are numbered. The hand is neat and there is a corresponding index that goes across the two first pages but does not correspond to any page numbers, they are absent. The collection of recipes is a mix of sweet and savoury – cakes, soups, and meat dishes, for example.[39] The other eighteenth-century cookbook does not have a date attached to it, nor does it explicitly have an owner or creator credited – it could have been created before or after the 1789 one. This cookbook is simply named *Libro de Cosina* and the first recipe is titled "How to make *cazuela*."[40] It contains a total of 168 base recipes and many of the recipes have multiple variations. Like the 1789 manuscript, this one is also indexed but the placement of it is at the back of the cookbook. Each recipe is written to correspond to a page number. Despite not having a credited creator, on page 172, a section of the index has written "The recipes of Doña María la Arintero follow."[41] The

[38] See: Sandra Sherman, *Invention of the Modern Cookbook* (Greenwood, 2010); Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England* (The University of Chicago Press, 2018); Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*.
[39] *Cuaderno de Cosina de Doña Ignacita del (mazo) Belarde Calderón de la Barca q.e se acabo el viernes dando las 8 de la noche, A.D..,* 1789, University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716. A1 C83 1789, digital edition https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll10/id/18521.
[40] "De como se hasse la Casuela."
[41] Sigue lo de Doña María la Arintero.

manuscript does appear to have been written in only one, neat and clearly legible hand, but the inclusion of this subtitle suggests collaboration and a sharing of culinary knowledge.[42]

The last colonial era cookbook discussed is the *Cuaderno pa. el modo de hacer Dulces. Pertenece á María Dolores Bustamante* is one of the most highly technical cookbooks from the period and it was put together over the span of thirty years – 1798-1836.[43] This cookbook in particular builds upon this idea that food preparation was and is a social and collaborative practice. It contains at least twenty-six different hands. However, it does explicitly state on the back page that the cookbook belongs only to Doña Dolores Bustamante. It has over four hundred recipes each with a corresponding title and method. These three cookbooks are, to varying degrees, attributed to women and already show consideration for formatting and hint at the production of cookbook manuscripts as a social and networked practice.[44] Bustamante spent over thirty years compiling the recipes together and whilst the title indicates that it was for personal use, it is an impressive and long project.

Throughout the nineteenth-century and after the release of the 1831 cookbooks, women continued to write manuscript cookbooks. It was common for people to title their cookbooks. There are four manuscripts that directly name the owner and use the verb "to use" in the title. The first of these is the 1830 manuscript titled: *For the use of Consepcion Gutierres y Franco.*[45] It only contains forty recipes that are neatly written out on paper, and each recipe has a corresponding method. Some of the first recipes were written on hand lined paper and the

---

[42] *Libro de C*osina, circa 18th century, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 L53 1700Z, digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb70423633.

[43] María Dolores Bustamante, *Cuaderno pa. el modo de hacer Dulces. Pertenece á María Dolores Bustamante,* 1798-1836, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 B87 1798, digital edition https://search.library.ucdavis.edu/permalink/01UCD_INST/kueho9/alma9920596989806531.

[44] In Peralta de Legarreta's piece, he makes the statement that cookbook manuscripts attributed to men were more "orderly and technical in character." I fundamentally disagree with this statement. Peralta De Legarreta, "Tables and Families," 435.

[45] Consepción Gutierres y Franco, *Del Huso de Consepcion Gutierres y Franco,* 1830, University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716.M4 G8854 1830Z, digital edition https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll10/id/19139

remaining ones on blank sheets. The handwriting is not consistent and there is some variation that suggests more than one author. The following 1844 manuscript cookbook shares similar characteristics; it is titled *Cookbook for the use of Doña Juanita Montes de Oca.*[46] It is not particularly extensive with only thirty-six recipes, but each are titled with a method. Like Gutierres y Franco's cookbook, the recipes come from at least two different hands. This one also appears to have an incomplete recipe for a beef dish – showing that this recipe book was being created over time and was left incomplete. The third manuscript featuring this title style is the 1847 manuscript "A book of stews and sweets for the use of Doña Eduwige Aboites de Rubin."[47] This cookbook does not have the hints sociability that the other two have. It only seems to be written in one hand, and it is meticulously presented. The final two recipes are for two variations of *pulque* – almond and pineapple. The final manuscript cookbook of this section is named "A book of exquisite recipes for the use of María-Ana Arrieta" and is dated to 1851.[48] In many ways, it follows a similar format to the colonial manuscripts because the author has paginated the book as well as put a corresponding index on the last few pages. The recipes of this cookbook total to about sixty-three and are a mix of both sweet and savoury.

These four manuscript cookbooks show a continuing written tradition that maintained a formulaic structure from the colonial period and throughout the early national period. The authors paid close attention to the presentation of the cookbook, and, in some case, they handwrote page numbers in order to properly index the recipes. The first two discussed here contain multiple hands and that demonstrates that the creation of these cookbook manuscripts

[46] Juanita Montes de Oca, *Libro de cocina para el uso de Da. Juanita Montes de Oca*, 1844, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 M668 1844, digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb4134970k.
[47] Eduwiga Aboites de Rubin, *Cuaderno de guisados y dulces pa(ra) el uso de D(oñ)a Eduwige Aboites de Rubin,* 1847, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 A37 1847, digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb7315270q.
[48] María-Ana Arrieta, *Libro de esquisitos para el uso de María-Ana Arrieta,* 1851, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 A77 1851, digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991000036949706535.

could be a highly social and relational activity. That is, the owners and authors were collaborating with others and sharing culinary knowledge between them. The title of the cookbooks using the word "use" implies that these cookbook manuscripts were written to be used. However, what that use was remains elusive. The cookbooks themselves do not show signs of use; they do not have food stains or any water marks – they are relatively pristine for their age. As such, I posit that the word "use" does not mean cooking, but rather, planning. The cookbook could have functioned to help its owner plan a menu for a meal. Published cookbooks, especially from the late nineteenth-century, frame cookbooks as manuals. This will be explored further in the last half of this section.

The last two manuscript cookbooks that will be discussed contain different title styles that speak to another form of relationship. Instead of collaboration, these two manuscripts are dedicated to a particular someone. The first is a beautiful red leather-bound book with the gilded letters "R.G." on the front – it is titled *Collection of Recipes for Stews and Sweets*.[49] On the title page it features the inscription: "Dedicated to Sra. Rita G. de Garcia."[50] This cookbook is extensive with 380 numbered recipes, paginated pages, beautifully neat handwriting, and a full index on the last few pages. It, evidently, belonged to an upper-class person as there are many recipes for red meat and fish dishes. Because it is dedicated to G. de Garcia, perhaps, it could have been gifted to her as it does not seem that she was the creator – since it is reasonably illogical to dedicate it to oneself. The final manuscript cookbook from 1961 is titled: *Cookbook dedicated to Sra. Doña Concepcion Landa de Ycaza*.[51] It is less well preserved and is in an unbound state. However, it contains *many* different recipes that are clearly titled with neat

[49] *Coleccion de Recetas para Guisos y Dulces,* 1860, University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716.M4 C654 1860z, digital edition https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll10/id/18908.
[50] Dedicado, á la Sra. Rita G. de Garcia."
[51] *Libro de Cocina dedicado á la Sra. Doña Concepcion Landa de Ycaza,* 1861, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 L528 1861, digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb1779971t.

accompanying methods. Like the cookbook dedicated to G. de Garcia, it has page numbers and a corresponding index, but this one is structured alphabetically, not chronologically.

The challenge of analysing these manuscripts for sociability is that they lack marginalia. They do not make explicit statements or have notes that directly refer to other people. In this way, the Mexican cookbook manuscripts differ greatly from English household manuals and recipe books. Elaine Leong's *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England* shows how family books were a conscious effort to preserve familial knowledge, including recipes.[52] In addition, books with family knowledge could also include small notes of guidance to the children who would come to inherit them.[53] As such, throughout the English tradition of writing household manuals there is this consciously embedded sociability and familial network on the pages themselves. By contrast, whilst this set of six manuscripts demonstrate a keen attention to detail when compiling and formatting the recipes they do not share these characteristics. The authors did make sure to title each of the recipes and they provided methods that varied in length and thoroughness. These cookbook manuscripts, despite not having the explicit marginalia or notes that show intergenerational connection, do still show that the creation process could be a social and collaborative practice. The strongest evidence for this is the different hands that sometimes appear within one cookbook. In addition, there are, occasionally, small notes to other people like in the index of the 1789 cookbook, and the one belonging to Doña Bustamante.[54] Women were sharing recipes with one another and aiding each other in the creation of these manuscript cookbooks. The titles that dedicate the cookbook manuscripts to each of these respective women also denote a level of sociability. If they were made to be gifted, it shows that these cookbooks carried a level of value

[52] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* 125-6.
[53] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* 139-40.
[54] Bustamante, *Cuaderno pa. el modo de hacer Dulces,* 1798-1836.

to them and this would echo Leong's study where she describes recipe books as "valued objects."[55] More research is needed to know whether gifting recipe books was a common practice amongst upper-class women.

Thus far, I have established that the creation of a cookbook manuscript was an activity that women were actively engaged with at least as early as the end of the eighteenth-century and throughout the nineteenth-century. I now briefly compare this practice with six of the cookbooks published in the nineteenth-century. As previously stated, in 1831 cookbooks published in Mexico begin to make an appearance and they both were immediately directed towards women as consumers. *Novismo arte de cocina* has a dedication to "the young ladies of Mexico."[56] This cookbook ascribes certain gendered values in two significant ways. Firstly, there is a statement on the title page that, when paired with the dedication, creates a link between femininity and economising.[57] Marie Eileen Francois emphasises that women were responsible for the economic functioning of the household; to manage the household efficiently had a moral dimension to it.[58] Secondly, one of the last sections of *Novismo arte de cocina* claims that the *art of carving meat* is an activity for a man to do at the dinner table and that is done to honour and lavish upon the guests of the meal.[59] There is a performance aspect to carving meat and it is done after all the preparation of the meal has been completed. In this cookbook, women were tasked with the logistics of food preparation (whether they were the ones directly cooking or not), and men were then allowed to perform hostly duties once all the preparation and planning was over and the merriment has begun. The language of prescription is evident on the pages and carries through in subsequent cookbooks.

---

[55] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* 126-7.
[56] "Dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas." *Novisimo Arte de la Cocina.*
[57] Valdés, *Novisimo Arte de la Cocina.*
[58] Marie Eileen François, *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920* (University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 21-22.
[59] Valdés, *Novisimo Arte de la Cocina,* 231.

In 1856, one of the published cookbooks is framed as a "manual" and contains a language contradiction. It is titled: *The Cook's Manual* but it is dedicated to the "young ladies of Mexico."[60] The title refers to the "cook" in the masculine – *cocinero* – but the audience of the book is stated to be the young ladies. So, it appears that the publishers of the book are not expecting the women who buy it to be the ones doing the cooking but rather, they will direct the person who is. As stated in the introduction of this paper, the person who is deciding the menu is not always the person who is doing the cooking and this cookbook speaks to that power dynamic within households that could afford to have domestic staff.

So far, there has been a gendered throughline in the published cookbooks. They have been dedicated to the ladies of Mexico. But a cookbook published in 1866 changes this trend and instead of the cookbook being for a Mexican woman it is for the 'family.' It is titled *The Treasure of the Kitchen: A Family Dictionary.*[61] It is stylised as a dictionary but, apart from the format, it is more expansive in its scope. It includes a "gastronomic calendar" in the last section that goes month by month and provides a guide for when to plant what vegetables. In addition, it has a short description for economic and medicinal uses for each of the vegetables. As part of this description, there is also health and nutritional advice. For example, garlic is described as "A remedy against the plague and infectious diseases (…) A clove or two of garlic, crushed with a little honey, is effective against rheumatic pains."[62] This shows that throughout the nineteenth-century there was shift from cookbooks purely containing recipes, to cookbooks also providing

---

[60] "*Mamual del cocinero: dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas, compuesto de recetas de esquisitas viandas, al estilo del país y estranjero, escogidas y arregladas por personas de buen gusto é inteligencia.; Mamual del cocinero (*Mexico: Imprenta M. Murguía, 1856).

[61] "*El Tesoro de la cocina: diccionario de las familias.*"; *El tesoro de la cocina: diccionario de las familias, la cocina puesta al alcance de todas las inteligencias y fortunas* (México: Imprenta de Juan Nepomuceno, 1866).

[62] "un preservativo contra la peste y contra las enfermedades contajiosas (…) Un diente ó dos de ajo machacado con algo de miel, producen buenos efectos á los dolores reumáticos." *El tesoro de la cocina,* 13.

advice for cultivation of plants as well as advising for medicinal remedies that could be made in the household.[63]

The final cookbook to round out this section is one that was written by a woman. Previously, the scholarship has often cited as the earliest cookbook written by a woman to be Vicenta Torres de Rubio 1896 *Cocina Michoacana.*[64] However, there is a much earlier cookbook published by a woman with the first edition appearing in 1836. Antonia Carrilla authored *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos;* it was printed in Mexico City by the Imprenta de Santiago Perez. The subtitle of this cookbook identified a woman as the author: "Created by a Mexican Woman and tested by intelligent people before it was given to be printed."[65] However, her name does not appear anywhere in the manuscript and the copyright information contradicts the gender of the author: "This work is the property of its author and no one may reprint it without his permission."[66] In the original Spanish phrasing, the noun "autor" is gendered in the masculine, not in the feminine. So, whilst the title page explicitly states that a woman has authored this cookbook, there is no name attached and masculine nouns were used. However, this changes somewhat in the second edition of the cookbook that was published in 1842 by Imprenta de Vicente Garcia.[67] The gendered language is more consistent in this edition. The subtitle includes the note: "The second edition, expanded and revised by the author" and the copyright information now uses the word "autora" instead of "autor."[68] The third edition of the cookbook published in 1865 and printed by Imprenta de Luis Inclan finally contains an identified

---

[63] Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales!,* 47.

[64] Vicenta Torres de Rubio, *Cocina Michoacana* (Imprenta Moderna, 1896).; Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales!,* 48.; Maite Gomez-Rejón, "Mexico's Early Cookbooks," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, ed. Ángela Vergara (Oxford University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.655.

[65] "Dispuesto por una mexicana, y esperimentado por personas inteligentes antes de dares a la prensa." Carrillo, Antonia. *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos.* Imprenta de Santiago Perez, 1836.

[66] "Esta obra es propriedad de su autor, y nadie la reimprimirá sin su permiso."; Carrillo, *Nuevo y sencillo* (1836).

[67] Carrillo, Antonia. *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos.* Imprenta de Vicente Garcia Torres, 1842.

[68] "Segunda edicion aumentada y corregida por su autora."; Carrillo, *Nuevo y sencillo* (1842).

author, although it does not appear on the title page. The copyright note read: "The author of this work was Sra. Doña Antonia Carrillo de Madrid; it now belongs to her daughter."[69] There was a period of almost thirty years before Carrillo's name was attached to the cookbook. This set of published complicates the narrative that there was not a cookbook published in Mexico by a woman until 1896. But the absence of the name of the author for almost three decades does indicate that it was not common for women to assign their name to published works.

The published cookbooks mentioned in this paper are not exhaustive of all of the ones published throughout the nineteenth-century, but it is a sample that offers insight into some of the changing trends throughout a period of almost forty-years. Crucially, for the next section that will discuss a set of six family manuscript cookbooks, there was a shift from women as the audience as seen in the dedications to the household and the family taking its place.

Escritó con amor – A Set of Six Family Cookbooks Across Two Archives

The previous two sections have offered multiple conclusions. The first is that food has been and is a productive lens of analysis for understanding changes in social, cultural, and religious identity from the colonial period through the nineteenth century. The third section has demonstrated that women were involved in the production of cookbook manuscripts from at least as early as the late eighteenth-century. In addition, these manuscript cookbooks strongly suggest that their creation was, at many times, a collaborative and social practice, even when not explicitly stated. Finally, the assessment of published cookbooks has served to illustrate that women occupied two different positions: as consumers and audience, and as authors, although that was a more obscured role. This section takes up the analysis of six cookbook manuscripts

[69] "La autora de esta obra fué la Sra. Doña Antonia Carrillo de Madrid; por su fallecimiento es su hija." Carrillo, Antonia. *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos.* Imprenta de Luis Inclan, 1865.

that are found across two archives: Special Collections at the University of Texas at San Antonio and Special Collection at the University of California San Diego. I believe that these six manuscripts are connected and were produced by the same family – Virginia Rivera is the creator that UCSD attributes these manuscripts to. For clarity, when I refer to this set of six cookbooks together, I will call them the Rivera family cookbooks. The Rivera family cookbooks all follow very similar formatting and there are reoccurring motifs featuring women, families, children, and nature. The cookbooks were created over a period of seven years and are titled, respectively: *Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas* (1888), the two volume *Herencia de sabores* (1888) and *Delicias y sabores* (1889), and, *Delicias de familia* (1891), *Sabores legado de familia* (1891), and *Recetas de mi madre con amor* (1895) (fig. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9).[70] The manuscripts discussed in the prior section were neat and organised. Some of them were indexed with page numbers, they had clear titles for each of the recipes, and a corresponding method. The formatting of the Rivera family cookbooks does not structurally follow many of the previously mentioned manuscript cookbooks, but these six cookbooks all explicitly invoke a matrilineal tradition related to cooking that is intergenerational. In addition, they reinforce the idea that cooking, food preparation, and recording recipes was a communal and social activity, except, unlike the other mentioned manuscripts, this is rooted in familial sociability. As such, I argue that these cookbook manuscripts are a starting point for offering insight into the more sentimental and interpersonal aspects of mother-daughter relationships, intergenerational knowledge production, childrearing, and even children's (or young women's) pastimes. In addition, the periodisation of these six cookbooks more or less coincides with the published cookbooks directed towards the family and household management.

[70] Title translations*: Recipes That My Mother Wrote with Love for Her Daughters* (1888), *Inherited Flavours* (1889), *Treats and flavours* (1889), *Treats from the family* (1891), *Flavours, legacy of the family* (1891), *Recipes from my mother, with love* (1895).

Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas is the first one of these manuscripts to be created (fig. 4).[71] The cover page of the manuscript dates it to 1888. The notebook is unlined, and only forty-eight of the pages contain written recipes, with the rest of the pages left blank. On the first page there is a pasted cut out of a woman and young girl embracing, and a girl of toddler age seated, and reaching out to them. Whilst the archival metadata suggests that this manuscript (and the others) could be from later than what is stated on the cover page, the hair and dress silhouette of the woman resemble fashion plates of this era (figure 3). The facing page contains the title: *Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas,* and information such as the year: 1888, origin: Mexico, the initials V.R., and two additional paper cut outs of a bird and a woman. This title conveys sentimentality and love between a mother and her daughters, which is further emphasised when paired with the facing picture. It seems that the cut out of the woman with the two young girls could be representative of the mother and daughters from the title.[72]

Recetas differs greatly from other cookbook manuscripts, in structure and presentation from the same period. For example, as has already been established it was not uncommon for people to title, number their recipes, paginate, and include indexes. By contrast, in *Recetas* the handwriting is not as clearly legible and, whilst the recipes are titled, it is not as distinct so as to effectively separate it out from the method of the recipe itself – structurally, and visually, this manuscript is much messier. The production of this cookbook manuscript implies that there were at least two people involved in its creation: a mother who wrote the recipes, and at least one of the daughters who compiled them. The possessive of "*my* mother" in the title gives ownership of

[71] *Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas,* 1888. University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716.M4 R434835 1888. Digital edition https://utsa.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01UTXSANT_INST/jcgihc/alma9937319463904621.
[72] *Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas,* 1888.

the manuscript to one of the daughters. Thus, it is unclear if the mother wrote the recipes herself in the book, or if the recipes were transcribed by one of the daughters. However, whilst the recipes feature a title and a method, it appears that an important aspect of *making* the manuscript was the crafts that went into it, too. When compiling the recipes, the creator also decided to choose illustrations to paste onto the pages that thematically reflect the sentimental titles. This will be a motif that appears in the following five manuscripts. [73]

The second set of primary sources, *Herencias de sabores* and *Delicias y sabores,* are dated to 1888 and 1889, respectively (fig. 5 and 6).[74] These two volumes both follow the same visual format to *Recetas.* In *Herencias,* the cover page contains a pasted picture of two young women outside cutting roses. There is also a young girl placing the flowers in a basket.[75] Similarly to *Recetas,* there is a sweet illustration of two women and a young girl in a garden setting. It invokes the idea of an affective bond between girls and women. The facing page contains the following information: *Deliciosas recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* 1888, Mexico, and the initials V.R.. Similarly, the cover page of *Delicias y sabores* has a pasted in banquet scene, and the facing page has the title: *Delicias llena de sabores y aromas herencia de mi mama.* It has a small, pasted image of a woman knitting in the upper righthand corner. Additionally, the cookbook also has the date: 1889, Mex., and the initials V.R..[76] The final page has another pasted cut out of a woman sitting in a chair with a book in her hand and there is an inscription underneath: *con amor a mi madre* (with love for my mother). These two-volume

[73] *Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas,* 1888.
[74] Virginia Rivera, *Deliciosa recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* vol. 1 and vol. 2, 1888-1889, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58835 1888, digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991000101449706535.

[75] Rivera, *Deliciosa recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* vol. 1, 1888.
[76] The metadata from UCSD Special Collections names the creator as Virginia Rivera.; Rivera, *Deliciosa recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* vol. 2, 1889.

manuscript set does seem to be written in a different hand, and potentially, could have been done by one of the other daughters.[77] The challenge is that all three feature the same V.R. initialling.

The next one is the 1891 *Delicias de familia* (fig.7).[78] In this one it does not have the V.R. initials until the penultimate page. The first page features a simple cutout of a young woman, and the facing page has a title: *Recetas de delicias aromas y sabores* (Recipes of delicious aromas and flavours). It also has a cutout of an elegantly dressed woman out in nature. The clothing of each of the two images are not from the same period. As noted, the title page does not have the initials V.R. like the other three manuscripts did but does have a last name written on it – Ribera. What is significant about this manuscript is that it shows continuity between the cookbooks. That is, the very last recipe is for a dish called "Pastel Chino" and it is an incomplete recipe that has a note saying, "continues in the other cookbook."[79] I cannot yet find evidence of where the continuation is and this could indicate that there are more cookbooks from this family that the archives do not yet have, or are in other archives. Whilst the other three prior cookbook have explicitly made reference to a mother and grandmother and have used sentimental language like that word "love," this cookbook is noticeably missing that direct link. However, the title on the very front does call the book "*Treats from the family*" there is still a thread of familial connection.[80]

The penultimate cookbook is titled: *Sabores legado de familia* and dated to 1891 (fig. 8).[81] The first three pages contain an image on each. The first one is of a young girl who seems to

---

[77] Rivera, *Deliciosa recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* vol. 1 and vol. 2, 1888-1889.
[78] Virginia Rivera, *Recetas de delicias aromas y saboras/Ribera,* 1891, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58841 1891, digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004647199706535.
[79] "sigue en el otro cuaderno."; Rivera, *Recetas de delicias aromas y saboras/Ribera,* 1891.
[80] Rivera, *Recetas de delicias aromas y saboras/Ribera,* 1891.
[81] Virginia Rivera, *Delicia de sabores herencia de mi madre,* 1891, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58842 1891, digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004644639706535 .

be letting a bird out of a cage (or putting it in one). It is perched on her hand, and she is in a woods-like setting. The facing page has a woman holding a sleeping toddler in her arms while she looks over at a young girl. The title below it retakes the connection of matrilineal inheritance: *Delicia de sabores herencia de mi madre* (A delight of flavours, a legacy from my mother). This is further emphasised with the images of the young girls and the mother figure. The next page has another young girl, there is a detailed image of her writing something on a desk with a little pot of ink, and then a larger image of her in a farm setting. There is a dog, chickens, peacocks, doves or pigeons, and she is interacting with two rabbits in a cage. The page next to it has the phrase "Huevos, huevos, Recetas de huevos" and the whole cookbook is just different recipes for eggs.[82]

The last manuscript from this section has no title on the front cover, however it is titled inside the book like all of the others (fig. 9).[83] The first page has an image of a scene around the table with two women, and three men. There are two more women in the background, and a woman holding a cat but her face and upper torso. The page next to it has the title: *Recetas de mi madre con amor* (Recipes from my mother with love). There is a young girl holding a doll on the upper righthand corner and flowers and a butterfly in the lower left corner of the page, and the initials V.R.. The handwriting is not very neat, and the formatting is the same as the other five – a recipe title that consistently blends into the method with no clear demarcation.[84]

Despite these six manuscript cookbooks being housed by two different collections they contain almost the exact same formatting, and it seems more than likely that they are all from the same family given the same initialling. Two of the titles feature the word "love" and "mother,"

[82] There is also a pasted plant on this page as well, however, I cannot yet identify it. More research can (and should) be done on the botanicals that are featured in the images.; Rivera, *Delicia de sabores herencia de mi madre,* 1891.
[83] Virginia Rivera, *Recetas de mi madre con amor/ V.R.,* 1895, Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58843 1895, digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004645699706535.
[84] Rivera, *Recetas de mi madre con amor/ V.R.,* 1895.

and in three of the manuscripts there is notion of culinary inheritance and legacy in the titles from grandmother and mother to a daughter. The only manuscript to not have these sentimental aspects to it still has the word "family" on the cover and the lack of initialling on the front page is one of the sole differences. However, as noted, it does still appear on the final page. The main difference is that there is variation in the handwriting in between at least three of the manuscripts. But, as the title of the first manuscript indicates, the family had more than one daughter, and thus, more than one of the daughters could have made the cookbooks.

There is considerably more work to be done with these cookbooks, especially, with the recipes themselves. That a single cookbook was dedicated to just eggs is fascinating in and of itself. In addition, the metadata does suggest that the cookbooks could have been produced at a later date, but with not much more information as to why that is. Studying the history of paper during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and binding practices may lead to more insights on this line of inquiry. However, what is of significance is that these cookbooks show that there was value placed in recording familial recipes and that food and food preparation can form a part of the legacy of a family.

Conclusion

Historical scholarship on Mexican cookbook manuscripts is an underdeveloped field. There are, currently, more questions than answers and the conclusions that I have drawn from the published and manuscript cookbooks I offer fully aware that much more still needs to be done. There is still space to address the issues of class and race more explicitly and with the care that they deserve. A future project could integrate the written, literary practice of cookbook writing and recipe collection with the actual networks and practices involved with preparing a meal. This

would involve looking at food preparation from the perspective of "from market to table," so to speak. The nineteenth-century manuscript cookbooks studied in section two as well as the Rivera family cookbooks from section three have laid the groundwork for analysing cookbooks through the lens of family history and thinking about food and food preparation not just as modes to create broad cultural, national, and patriotic identities, but also micro, familial identities. Leong's framing of recipe books as "valued objects" opens up the space for more research on women's knowledge production in the Mexican household and to study not only what was happening, but how women were recording knowledge. Going forward, I would like to expand on this project to include a more focused discussion on class and gender in cooking practice in the late colonial period and during the nineteenth-century. To do so I will need to expand the primary sources, and I would study it in terms of the relationships that form in different spaces of the physical household.

List of Figures

Figure 1



José de Páez, De español y negra, mulato. 6. (From Spaniard and Black, Mulatto), ca. 1770-80, oil on copper, 50.2 x 63.8 cm. Private collection. Reproduced in Katzew, Ilona. *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico.* Yale University Press, 2004._

Figure 2



José Agustín Arrieta, Cocina poblana, 1865. Oil on canvas, 70 x 93cm. SECRETARIA DE CULTURA-INAH-MEX. Reproduced in Moriuchi, Mey-Yen. Mexican Costumbrismo: Race, Society, and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Art. Penn State University Press, 2018.

Figure 3



Women 1888-1889, Plate 038, Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York. Digital edition https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll12/id/7998/rec/38.

Figure 4



Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas, 1888. University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716.M4 R434835 1888. Digital edition https://utsa.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01UTXSANT_INST/jcgihc/alma9937319463904621.

Figure 5



Rivera, Virginia, *Deliciosa recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* vol. 1, 1888-1889. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58835 1888. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991000101449706535.

Figure 6



Rivera, Virginia, *Deliciosa recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* vol. 2, 1888-1889. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58835 1888. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991000101449706535.

Figure 7



Rivera, Virginia, *Recetas de delicias aromas y saboras/Ribera,* 1891. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58841 1891. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004647199706535.

Figure 8



Rivera, Virginia, *Delicia de sabores herencia de mi madre,* 1891. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58842 1891. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004644639706535 .

Figure 9



Rivera, Virginia, *Recetas de mi madre con amor/ V.R.,* 1895. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58843 1895. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004645699706535

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscript cookbooks

Aboites de Rubin, Eduwiga. *Cuaderno de guisados y dulces pa(ra) el uso de D(oñ)a Eduwige Aboites de Rubin,* 1847. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 A37 1847. Digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb7315270q.

Arrieta, María-Ana. *Libro de esquisitos para el uso de María-Ana Arrieta,* 1851. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 A77 1851. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991000036949706535.

Coleccion de Recetas para Guisos y Dulces, 1860. University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716.M4 C654 1860z. Digital edition https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll10/id/18908

Cuaderno de Cosina de Doña Ignacita del (mazo) Belarde Calderón de la Barca q.e se acabo el viernes dando las 8 de la noche, A.D.., 1789. University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716..A1 C83 1789. Digital edition https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll10/id/18521.

Bustamante, María Dolores, *Cuaderno pa. el modo de hacer Dulces. Pertenece á María Dolores Bustamante,* 1798-1836. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 B87 1798. Digital edition https://search.library.ucdavis.edu/permalink/01UCD_INST/kueho9/alma9920596989806531.

Gutierres y Franco, Consepción. *Del Huso de Consepcion Gutierres y Franco,* 1830. University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716.M4 G8854 1830Z. Digital edition https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll10/id/19139

Libro de Cocina dedicado á la Sra. Doña Concepcion Landa de Ycaza, 1861. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 L528 1861. Digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb1779971t.

*Libro de C*osina, circa 18th century. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 L53 1700Z. Digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb70423633.

Montes de Oca, Juanita. *Libro de cocina para el uso de Da. Juanita Montes de Oca*, 1844. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 M668 1844. Digital edition https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb4134970k.

Recetas que escribió mi madre con amor para sus hijas, 1888. University of Texas at San Antonio, TX716.M4 R434835 1888. Digital edition https://utsa.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01UTXSANT_INST/jcgihc/alma9937319463904621.

Rivera, Virginia, *Delicia de sabores herencia de mi madre,* 1891. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58842 1891. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004644639706535 .

Rivera, Virginia, *Deliciosa recetas que me heredo mi abuela y mi madre,* vol. 1 and vol. 2, 1888-1889. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58835 1888. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991000101449706535.

Rivera, Virginia, *Recetas de delicias aromas y saboras/Ribera,* 1891. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58841 1891. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004647199706535.

Rivera, Virginia, *Recetas de mi madre con amor/ V.R.,* 1895. Special Collection & Archives, UC San Diego, TX716.M4 R58843 1895. Digital edition https://search-library.ucsd.edu/permalink/01UCS_SDI/1be9fsd/alma991004645699706535

Published cookbooks

Carrillo, Antonia. *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos.* Imprenta de Santiago Perez, 1836.

Carrillo, Antonia. *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos.* Imprenta de Vicente Garcia Torres, 1842.

Carrillo, Antonia. *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos.* Imprenta de Luis Inclan, 1865.

El Cocinero Mexicano, Vol 1. Mexico: Imprenta de Galvan, 1831.

El tesoro de la cocina: diccionario de las familias, la cocina puesta al alcance de todas las inteligencias y fortunas. México: Imprenta de Juan Nepomuceno, 1866.

Mamual del cocinero. Mexico: Imprenta M. Murguía, 1856.

Novisimo Arte de la Cocina. Mexico: Oficina del C. Alejandro Valdés, 1931.

Torres de Rubio, Vicenta. *Cocina Michoacana.* Imprenta Moderna, 1896.

Secondary Sources

Bleichmar, Daniela. *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*. University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Certeau, Michel de, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol. *The Practice of Everyday Life. Volume 2: Living and Cooking*. University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Donahue-Wallace, Kelly. *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*. University of New Mexico Press, 2008.

Earle, Rebecca. *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race, and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Ezell, Margaret. "'By a Lady': The Mask of the Feminine in Restoration, Early Eighteenth-Century Print Culture." In *Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication, 1600-2000*. Edited by R. Griffin. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2003.

François, Marie Eileen. *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920*. University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

Gomez-Rejón, Maite. "Mexico's Early Cookbooks." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, edited by Ángela Vergara. Oxford University Press, n.d. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.655.

Hancock, James F. *World Agriculture before and after 1492: Legacy of the Columbian Exchange*. Springer, 2022.

Katzew, Ilona. *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. Yale University Press, 2004.

Leong, Elaine. *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England*. The University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Martínez, María Elena. *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion and Gender in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford University Press, 2008.

Moriuchi, Mey-Yen. *Mexican Costumbrismo: Race, Society, and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Art*. Penn State University Press, 2018.

Norton, Marcy. *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. Cornell University Press, 2010.

Norton, Marcy. "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics." *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 660–91. https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.111.3.660.

Notaker, Henry. *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries*. University of California Press, 2017.

Peralta De Legarreta, Alberto. "Tables and Families. Value, Emotions and Aesthetics of Conviviality in Two Culinary Manuscripts of the Mexican Elites of the 19th Century." *The History of the Family* 29, no. 3 (2024): 433–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2024.2369529.

Pilcher, Jeffrey. *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

"RecipeTin Eats - A Food Blog Serving Up Quick & Easy Dinner Recipes." *RecipeTin Eats*, November 14, 2023. https://www.recipetineats.com/.

Segre, Erica. "The Development of *Costumbrista* Iconography and Nation-Building Strategies in Mexican Literary Periodicals of the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 77, no. 1 (2000): 77–106. https://doi.org/10.3828/bhs.77.1.77.

Sherman, Sandra. *Invention of the Modern Cookbook*. Greenwood, 2010.