MEXICAN COOKERY: WOMEN’S CULINARY LITERATURE FROM 1821 TO 1910

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By

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The following analysis focuses on the creation of Mexican cookery from 1821 to 1910. Analyzing two groups of women and their use of cookbooks and personal manuscripts, I focus on the way in which women of central and southern Mexico engaged in ingredients and dishes that originated from the minds of male publishers. The creation of a national cuisine, Mexican women crafted their own understanding of ingredients, dishes, and the kitchen within the nation. Moreover, at the turn of the twentieth century, women compiled and bound personal recipe books. Female heads of households, *la cocinera*, and domestic staff engaged in the creation of a national cookery that derived from the household, more specifically the kitchen, during an era of nation-state building in Mexico.
The research and writing of this thesis is dedicated to everyone who helped along the way.

Professor Tutino… Thank you for always believing in me, and pushing me intellectually.
Professor Pinkard… Thank you for opening my eyes to the world of food and history.
Mom and Dad… Thank you for your unconditional love and support.
Nana… Thank you for teaching me how to make rice balls.

Con mucho amor y gracias,
Cassie Lee
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Introduction

Surprisingly, my favorite home-cooked meal is not comprised of corn, beans, or chiles. You do not need a molcajete (mortar and pestle) or comal (flat griddle) for preparation, and it was not passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. In fact, my favorite home-cooked meal is comprised of white rice, cheddar cheese, and breadcrumbs. It is pan fried in vegetable oil and, as I learned from Nana (my grandmother) was published in a local newspaper in a border town in South Texas. My favorite home-cooked meal is rice balls.

Rice balls are not your typical dish of a Hispanic family living on the border of South Texas, let alone a Mexican-American family living in the United States. Yet, ever since I can remember, rice balls have been the staple at every holiday celebration and family event. Beginning three hours before dinner, so they would be nice and hot for consumption, all the ladies in the Rodriguez household would gather in the kitchen and take part in an assembly line. Someone would make the batter, another would roll the batter into balls, and then someone (usually my grandmother) would have the honor of frying the balls in a large pan of vegetable oil. Forget the floral arrangements; my grandmother’s dish was always the centerpiece at the dinner table.

My favorite dish diverges from the typical categorization of Mexican food, as well as Tex-Mex. As opposed to homemade tortillas (flat bread) or tamales (starchy

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1 My family identifies as Hispanic; however, I do noy want to assume that all families of Mexican descent and heritage identify as Hispanic. This is the main reason for my differentiation between Hispanic and Mexican-American.

2 Tex-Mex is a wholly American invention that began in Texas with “Americans who enjoyed Mexican food but not the Mexicans learned the secrets and sold the food to their fellow countryman” across the United States”. Arrellano continues the history of the term by informing readers of the fact that “cooks were Mexican but the owner was white” which insinuates a non-Mexican understanding of a cookery that existed in a territory previous
dough, steamed or boiled, filled with meat and wrapped in a corn husk), my family
gathered around a dish my grandmother found in an English language newspaper in the
1960s.3 Barely able to speak and read in English, my grandmother relied on friends,
neighbors, and an English-Spanish dictionary for the translation of the recipe.

After a process of trial and error, my grandmother changed the recipe in order to
accommodate her knowledge of the kitchen and her household’s eating habits.4
Beginning with the ingredients, Nana recreated an Anglo-American5 dish with her own
understanding of cookery from the advice and consultation of others, mostly women.
Moreover, she brought with her a prior knowledge of a kitchen in Guadalajara, Mexico; a
kitchen organized and run by women.

My grandmother, a dual citizen of Mexico and the United States, made an Anglo-
American dish into her own by altering the ingredients, preparation, and cooking process.
Catering to a Mexican-American family of seven (husband, two sons, and three
daughters), my Nana recreated a dish originally conceived by a local newspaper
presumably run by men. My grandmother, in essence, reinforced an American cookery
and engaged in a recipe the only way she knew how, through a process of trial and error
as well as altering and making it into her own.

Following in the footsteps of Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin’s famous quote, “tell
me what you eat and I will tell you who you are,” food and cuisine are at the forefront of

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3 According to my grandmother, the original recipe was published in The Monitor in the 1960s.
She no longer has a copy of the original recipe, and does not keep a record of her own recipe. Please see Appendix A for the recipe.
4 Please see Appendix A for the recipe.
5 I use the term Anglo-American to identify those of non-Mexican descent in South Texas. For a better understanding, please see Montejano, David, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of South Texas*, (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1987).
one’s identity. My research forces me to question the construction and connection of food and identity, specifically that of a national identity. If I am what I eat, then why was I eating rice balls and not *calabacita con pollo* (chicken with zucchini), *chiles rellenos* (stuffed chiles), or *enchiladas* (corn tortilla rolled around a filling and covered with chile sauce)? Why was my grandmother teaching me how to make an Anglo-American dish for the holidays and not tamales like the rest of the Mexican-American families in our community?

More than a personal connection, food brings people together from all walks of life. In fact, it is at the table in which people witness an exchange among nations, cultures, and ethnicities. Restaurants, eateries, and cookbooks all claim to offer dishes and meals of a particular essence for patrons, culinarians, and the everyday foodie. With words such as authentic, traditional, and ethnic dominating the food scene, individuals dine at a restaurant or experience a meal at home tied to a specific social and cultural identity.

The following analysis investigates Mexico’s creation of a national cookery through culinary literature of the nineteenth century. Cookbooks, personal manuscripts, and recipe books not only reveal preferred recipes, ingredients, and dishes, but also a style of cooking and life in the kitchen. No longer a question of what one eats, but the way in which an individual uses a cookbook or recipe book by selecting dishes, preparing meals, setting the table, along with an emphasis of familial and communal engagement in the kitchen.

Cookery derives and culminates in the culinary literature owned and used by women. Beginning with cookbooks published in Mexico City, elite groups crafted a
household and created a cuisine specific to and for the people of a newly independent nation. Mexican women engaged the household kitchen in a way that reinforced a national identity originating from the preconceived notion of the elite. This particularly identity, however, was created separate from a local and communal understanding of the household kitchen. In fact, as I argue, it is with personal manuscripts and recipe books that cookery transitions from the reinforcement of an identity to the personal understanding of ingredients, dishes, and the kitchen. Emerging from the household, Mexican cookery begins in the nineteenth century.

Combining the nation’s political past with the culinary arts, a new history of Mexico arises from within the realm of domesticity. Women, as I argue, are part of this culinary history. Through marginal writing, pencil markings, newspaper clippings, and other personal markers, women actively engaged in the creation of a national cookery. Anita Gonzalez, Juana Cuellar, Ana Vasquez/Navarro\(^6\), and Teresa Blasquez owned nationally oriented cookbooks. As female heads of household, they reinforced a cookery published and presented in the nineteenth century by elite groups. Probably given as gifts, the cookbooks reveal their engagement in a Mexican cookery through the selection of preferred dishes, marginal notes, as well as other personal markers found throughout the pages. Moreover, with the inclusion of personal documents, handwritten recipes, and small drawings, culinary literature represents the life of a woman within the household.

Hortensia Volante, Carmen Volante, Manuela Heredia y Cervantes, Guadalupe Perez, and Susana Irazaqui Palacio were the owners of personal manuscripts and recipe

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\(^6\) It was difficult to identify Ana’s last name. On the inside cover, the name is penned as Ana Maria Vasquez; however, later in the book the name is penned as Ana (illegible middle name) Navarro. Ana did record the following date on the inside cover page, September 13, 1924. *Recetas para cocina*, 2d ed., (Guadalajara: Libreria Catolica, 1898).
books published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These women, in comparison to the previous women, were the creators of their own culinary literature that began during the porfiriato, seeping into the decades of the Mexican Revolution and the cristero revolt. An obvious connection between women and cookery, the female heads of households created their own understanding of Mexican food as the cooks, or *la cocinera*. The personal manuscripts and recipe books reveal a difference in ownership and collaboration among female authors with the variation in handwriting and pencil markings. More importantly, in comparison to the cookbooks, the personally bound books suggest a matrilineal and generational engagement.

Mexican cookery presents itself as a family affair, led by the female head of household along with the cook and her kitchen staff. Cookery is an evolving concept of national and self-identity revealed through female ownership of cookbooks and creation of recipe books. It presents itself in family gatherings and meal preparation, with the rarity of having less than eight people enjoying a meal. In fact, Mexican cookery can even be found in my household with my favorite dish.

My family gathers around a dish my grandmother found and made her own from a small section of an English language, Anglo-American newspaper. My grandmother recreated a non-Mexican dish into her own to serve a Mexican-American family. Her act not only contributes to a conception of an evolving American cookery, but also reinforces the realities in the combination of an American *and* Mexican cookery.

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7 Images of table settings and arrangements are included in some publications. The smallest number for a set table in the primary sources is an arrangement for 8 – 12 people.
Organization of Analysis and Translations

The following analysis begins with addressing the need to change the conversation of Mexico’s culinary history. Not only do I utilize a different term for the connection between Mexican food and identity, but I also challenge the dominant term of cuisine, using the term cookery. Also, in the same section, I lay out the concept of nation and nation-building as presented by the cookbooks.

The second section provides the historical context for Mexico’s culinary literature published between 1821 and 1910. From important dates to historical events, I provide a general overview of Mexico’s history while simultaneously coupling publication dates. Delving into the connection between culinary literature and nation-building, I purposefully place the cookbooks into Mexican history, shifting the dominant political discourse to that of a delicious culinary understanding of a national timeline.

The third section begins the culinary conversation of Mexican cookery. Utilizing a new definition of cuisine within the term cookery, I delve into a history of ingredients, food, taste, and dishes providing a culinary identity for a nation. Cookbooks, as well as a handful of personal manuscripts and household recipe books, serve as my sources for a Mexican cookery derived women’s culinary knowledge and interest for their household.

The fourth and final section looks towards an understanding of a Mexican cookery at the cusp of the Mexican Revolution. Many argue the true emergence of Mexico after the revolution, however, cookery allows for a continuous and evolving process of a culinary identity of the nation-state with the rise of personal manuscripts and recipe books.
One Final Ingredient

Before delving into the analysis, I must make a note about my translations and the culinary literature utilized throughout my research. Unless otherwise noted in a footnote, all Spanish to English and English to Spanish translations are my own. Secondly, the majority of my sources are housed in the Special Collections Department at the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA). I utilize nationally oriented cookbooks that vary in editions, as well as an array of personal manuscripts (cookbooks and recipe books) owned and utilized by women residing in central and southern Mexico during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Section I: Cuisine and Cookery, Nation and Nation-Building

How do you pronounce the word, caramel? Yes, the delicious sweet treat that you eat as a piece of candy or pour over your ice cream as syrup. Do you separate and pronounce the word as care-ah-mel or do you separate and pronounce the word as car-uh-mel? You may be asking yourself, does it really matter how I pronounce it? I mean, as William Shakespeare famously wrote in *Romeo and Juliet*, “What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.” No offense to Shakespeare, who was not talking about food, there is meaning and significance in a name. One would not call a rose, a symbolic meaning of love and affection, simply a flower, just as one should not synonymously use food, cuisine, and cookery.

For this first section, I delve into a new meaning of cuisine as well as elaborate on the distinct characteristics of cookery. I utilize Alberto Capitti and Massimo Montanari’s

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8 UTSA’s Mexican Cookbook Collection includes over 900 titles in both English and Spanish, spanning from 1831 to 2010. It is one of the largest and most extensive Mexican cookery collections in the U.S, with the core of the collection donated by San Antonio resident Laurie Gruenbeck, acquiring the cookbooks during her travels in Texas and Mexico for over 30 years.
definition of cuisine in their historical, culinary analysis of Italy. Transforming the
definition and categorization of what many scholars, chefs, and foodies deem as Mexican
food, I delve into a different concept and present the way in which nineteenth century
women emphasized a Mexican nationhood through cookbooks, personal manuscripts, and
recipe books. The following section delves into the conceptual understanding of Mexican
cookery, and the way in which women played a role in the creation of a culinary identity
from within the household. Bringing their own understanding of ingredients, serving
sizes, methods of cooking, and preferred dishes, cookery derives from the hands of
Mexican women.

Pilcher, Food, and a Mexican Identity

Jeffrey Pilcher employs Benedict Anderson’s definition of a nation as an
*imagined political community*. The nation, limited, sovereign, and communal, derives
from an imagined space invented by the “expression of a radically changed form of
consciousness.”9 Contextualizing Anderson’s conception of nation, Pilcher illustrates an
imagined political community within Mexico created in the nineteenth century by
government officials and elite leaders living in the urban center.10 He historicizes the
connection between nation, cuisine, and the household to a specific non-Spanish identity
through the publication of cookbooks.11 For the newly independent nation, Mexican
independence meant more than political and economic autonomy, but also cultural and
social distinctions from the mother country.

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10 I use the term Spanish to refer to Spain and the Spanish crown.
11 Pilcher, Jeffrey, *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*, (New
Presenting Mexico’s culinary literature as gathering all the ingredients in the creation of a true Mexican identity through food, Pilcher stops short in identifying culinary literature as a nationalistic project. Embarking on a culinary journey from pre-contact to the late twentieth century, Pilcher interprets Mexico’s identity as an evolutionary process by providing a history of Mexican foods and cuisines. He implies the existence of multiple cuisines, identities, and nations within Mexico throughout the nineteenth century. In fact, to a certain degree, Pilcher argues against the existence of a unified Mexican cuisine and, instead, argues and places emphasis on regional and local cuisines in the making of a Mexican culinary identity. For Pilcher, it was not about the possibility of a diverse national cuisine, but the creation of an identity through food. Presented in classic Gramscian discourse of hegemony and counterhegemony, Pilcher negates the following concept in the nation-building process: the creation and fortification of a national cuisine/identity through the diversity of cuisines (regional and local) found throughout the country.12

Sidney Mintz, author of *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom*, challenges the existence of national cuisines similar to Pilcher. Mintz, in his chapter “Cuisine: High, Low, and Not at all”, defines cuisine as the “foods of places…. [a] geographically definable place with some sort of borders.”13 The borders, not necessarily political, turn space into place14 by

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14 Although analyzing the physical creation of the nation through cartography, Raymond Craib’s analysis can also be applied to the social and cultural construction of borders as “space becomes stage, history becomes teleology…. The complexity, contingency, messiness, and irony that is human history; the struggles for, and alternative visions of, a better social life; the myriad of ways of organizing and conceiving space; the spatial practices and relationships that were transformed in the process of primitive accumulation and state formation; and, not
way of “common social roots.” Regional cuisines, as a result, are viewed as food of a community, deriving from the core of the household and locality. Viewed less as a nationalist project, regional cuisines do not impose a national identity. No longer about authenticity and tradition, regional cuisines are food of a community and a community of food.

Deconstructing the binary of core-periphery and urban-rural, cookery, as I present it, allows for an evolutionary understanding of a culinary identity and history. I agree with Mintz’ analysis of cuisines and Pilcher’s presentation of Mexico’s identity through food; however, both authors play off a predominant historical discourse of Mexican cuisine; a discourse that exemplifies a history of “Spanish culture predominating around Mexico City and to the north while Indian ways prevailed in the south.” Pilcher, in conjunction with Mintz, create the historical clash of identities (especially political identities) through food and cuisine in the creation of a Mexican nation.

Pilcher defines cuisine as the “complex interplay between regional and national identities”, exemplifying mestizaje and the role of the woman as the backbone in the creation of a more authentic and traditional Mexican identity. In the following analysis, I do not argue the existence (or nonexistence) of national cuisines or even emphasize regional cuisines. Instead, I emphasize the creation of nationalism and nationhood in nineteenth century Mexico through culinary literature (cookbooks, personal manuscripts, least of all, the techniques and technologies of domination – all are flattered and neutralized in the teleological quest for legitimacy, foundational coherence, and the naturalization of the social world.” Craib, Raymond, Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 5.

16 Pilcher, ¡Que vivan los tamales!, 3.
17 Jeffrey Pilcher defines mestizaje as the combination of indigenous and Spanish cultures, in these case ingredients, in the creation of a Mexican culture, in this case a dish. Pilcher utilizes mole poblano as a classic example of the creation of a mestizo cuisine.
and recipe books) used by Mexican women of central and southern Mexico. I analyze the role of women as female heads of households and cooks actively participating and engaging in the creation of Mexican cookery not only for their family, but also in conjunction with a nationalistic conception written and published by men.

Sidney Mintz and Jeffrey Pilcher, unconvinced by even the formulation of a national cuisine, underplay the significance of culinary literature as a nationalist project. This allows me to shift focus from failure to a kind of receptiveness by Mexican women. I emphasize Anderson’s nationalism and nationhood as “something capable of being consciously aspired to… an invention on which it was impossible to secure a patent…. available for pirating by widely different” groups of people and stakeholders. As opposed to emphasizing many Mexican nationalisms and Mexican cuisines within the national unit, I define cuisine as the “unparalleled site of exchange and contamination beyond [its] origin.” Utilized by Capitti and Montanari in their analysis of Italian cuisine, the authors identify cuisine as a place of trade, conversation, and despoilment. Moreover, in the same conception as Mintz, the authors also present a more communal and local understanding of cuisine, arguing for the fortification of a national cuisine in the regional diversity of the country. With this new definition, I now shift focus to cookery and the way in which ingredients, recipes, and the kitchen assist in the creation of a Mexican cookery in the hands of Mexican women.

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18 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 67.
19 Diana Kennedy emphasizes regionalism of Mexico through dishes. She states that “regional dishes of Sonora, or Jalisco, have practically nothing in common with those of Yucatan and Campeche; neither have those of Nuevo Leon with those of Chiapas and Michoacan; in Oaxaca certain chiles are grown and used that are found nowhere in else in Mexico.” Kennedy, Diana, The Cuisines of Mexico, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 3.
Changing the definition of cuisine allows for the inclusion of connections and exchanges between food and identity. Cuisine connects localities and regions to a nation through various ingredients, dishes, and methods of cooking that was constantly utilized by local peoples, regional chefs, and possibly included in national cookbooks. I approach the culinary history of Mexico as coming from foodstuffs (spices, ingredients), cuisine (dishes, style of cooking), and the kitchen (table arrangements, culinary tools), and define the triangulation as Mexican cookery. Capatti and Montanari illustrate the history of Italian cuisine as assorted regional dishes and recipes in dialogue with one another, placing emphasis on elements of conversation, exchange, and communication. In my analysis, I document the beginnings of a national cookery that highlight diversity, but underline a method of unity through the role of women as female heads of households identifying key recipes for their family’s consumption.

Culinary literature, in the eyes of publishers, formulated an identity separate from the Spanish crown, fashioning a cookery specific to and for a Mexican household. From recipes to table arrangements to kitchenware, these publications went beyond today’s standard cookbook of ingredients, instructions, and serving sizes. Mexico’s culinary literature encompassed the new art of cooking, to quote the title of one of my sources *Novísimo arte de cocina*, serving as a manual or handbook for the household. Mexico, no longer interested in their connection to the Spanish crown, forged an identity distinctly Mexican.

Who were these individuals formulating the national identity? Following Anderson, these individuals are known as creole pioneers. In his imagined political
community, Anderson identifies these individuals as the creators and builders of nineteenth century nationalism. Creole pioneers, for the purpose of this analysis, constitute a group of individuals with a strong relationship to European culture, such as the metropolitans of Spain, and were individuals of the upper class who were economically subjected and exploited, but nevertheless essential to the stability of the empire.²¹

Even though I engage a more top-down approach, I do not ignore the significance of non-Creole pioneers in the nation-building process. I choose, however, to emphasize the early nationalistic projects of culinary literature as “concepts, models, and blueprints for the imagined political community, washing away an imperial connection” and creating a sense of nationhood.²² Beginning with the nationalist projects derived from the capital, I compare and argue that women created, recreated, and reinforced their own understanding of a Mexican cookery through marginal notes, pencil markings, and the inclusion of additional recipes (handwritten and newspaper clippings). Mexican women initiated a dialogue between the nation and the household through the nationalist project of food and identity.

Now, turning to cookery, the term combines and fortifies an identity that allows individuals from the nation-state to engage in a household understanding of nation and nationhood through food. Going beyond the notion of a national cuisine, I ask the following questions; how did culinary literature, as a nation-building project, contribute to Mexico’s formation in the nineteenth century and beyond? How did cuisine, defined as conversation, exchange, and communication, create a national community through a

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²¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 58.
²² Ibid, 81.
Mexican cookery? In accordance with Capatti and Montanari in their example of Italian

cuisine, the
transference of resources from country to city, and with the urbanization of
culinary practice, the model of Italian cuisine was potentially established, to the
extent that new centers and marketplaces were now linked up to the national rail
network on which ingredients, tourists, and hence new foods could circulate.\textsuperscript{23}

Mexico’s culinary literature, in comparison, provided the basis for an imagined political
community as well as laid the foundation for Mexican cookery derived from the
household. Whereas cuisine derives from the nationalist project, cookery, in the
following analysis, reveals itself through Mexican women in the kitchen. Over time,
through the utilization of cookbooks, the women of Mexico crafted a national cookery by
means of personal manuscripts and recipe books.

Now, you may still be asking yourself, why cookery? Why instigate a new term to
identify culinary identities with cuisine dominating the area of food studies? Again, I
remind you, would you call a rose a flower, if you wanted to describe the long-stemmed,
red-petal bloom that is associated with love and affection? Would you rather say ‘I
bought a dozen flowers’ as opposed to ‘I bought a dozen roses’ to describe a small, yet
grand gesture for your significant other? Cookery allows scholars to escape the
complexities and array of meanings associated with cuisine, and identify ingredients,
foodstuffs, cooking styles/methods, and kitchenware that connect the household and
community to the nation. In fact, cookery allows for the historical incorporation of
individuals from all levels of society. My research may be scratching the surface for a
deeper analysis of Mexican cookery, but nevertheless reveals the active participation of

\textsuperscript{23} Capatti and Montanari, \textit{Italian Cuisine}, 28.
Mexican women in nineteenth century culinary literature as heads of households, cooks, and kitchen staff.

Cuisine, to put it simply, involves purposeful and conscious cooking. It transforms raw materials and ingredients into a new product through changes in temperature, biochemical activity, chemical characteristics, and the size and shape of the raw materials using mechanical force.\(^{24}\) However, aside from the simplicity of cooking, cuisine implies societal distinctions of ‘high’ and ‘low’, ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ that associate individuals to a particular group of people. Cuisine emphasizes societal structures and hierarchy. Phyllis Pray Bober, for instance, defines cuisine as “transcending mere alimentary function and raised through cookery to social expression, exalted through cuisine to public display of status and power”.\(^{25}\) Bober notes that those in positions of power, which in nineteenth century Spanish America were creole pioneers, possessed the ability to manipulate and manifest food as a representation of society as “signs and symbols that encode social, psychological, economic and religious realities of past or present.”\(^{26}\) Utilizing the new definition of cuisine as well as enforcing a communal aspect of ingredients, food, and the kitchen, cookery transcends the local and regional areas as well as the implication of societal rank and hierarchy.

For this reason, I refrain from using the term cuisine, as well as any of the following terms: *haute cuisine, nouvelle cuisine, cosmopolitan cuisine,* and *cuisine bourgeoise.* Haute cuisine implies both a social hierarchy and elaborate presentations. Cosmopolitan cuisine implies elegant and effervescent presentations with an international


\(^{26}\) Ibid, 1.
artistry of individual chefs. Scholars, such as Pilcher, associate cosmopolitan with the reign of Porfirio Diaz due to his elaborate fascination with French food, clothing, and lifestyle. Nouvelle cuisine identifies a specific time period in which “French chefs revolutionized continental kitchens by replacing sugar and spices or medieval foods with the salt… and herb characteristics of modern cooking”.\textsuperscript{27} Lastly, cuisine bourgeoise implies a specific style of food and eating for middle to upper class peoples, as well as aristocrats, in a society. Out of all the terms identified above, cuisine bourgeoise would be most associated with my analysis, and appropriately so. The majority of sources lay out a culinary literature from the urban center of Mexico City, with female heads of households likely to be a member of the middle to upper class.

So, would you still call a rose a flower? Doing so may not change the physical structure and construction of the inanimate object; however, the concept and significance of the presentation differs substantially. Culinary literature sets the stage as a nationalist project with the emergence of cookery through Mexican women using cookbooks. Moreover, the research suggests that cookery later developed into Mexican women’s own interpretation through the creation of personal manuscripts and recipe books.

One Last Bite: A Note on Recent Publications

In the realm of food studies, recent publications have given new meaning to cuisine in world history. Rachel Laudan in her book \textit{Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History} ties the rise and fall of food cultures and cuisines to religious identities and nation-states. She examines national cuisines in terms of religion, and concludes her analysis with a rise in ethnic cuisines by restaurateurs in the twentieth century. I stay away from the term ethnic throughout my analysis because of the implication of a

\textsuperscript{27} Pilcher, \textit{¡Que vivan los tamales!}, 32.
specific culture and heritage tied to specific ingredients, dishes, and the kitchen. For instance, in Laudan’s analysis in the rise of Chinese restaurants around the world, she suggests that ethnic restaurants

run by migrants introduced diners to new dishes, which often became identified as national…. Chinese restaurants exemplified the storefront of ethnic restaurant; run by hard-working family members, they had exotic décor, [and] long menus adjusted to local tastes.\footnote{Laudan, \textit{Cuisine and Empire}, 330.}

In a similar vein, Gustavo Arellano, author of \textit{Taco USA: How Mexican Food Conquered America}, attributes the rise of Mexican food to the contamination and spread of inauthentic and untraditional Mexican food by non-Mexican restaurateurs putting their own versions of dishes and twists to recipes on the menu. No longer ethnically Mexican, the rise of cuisines such as Tex-Mex and Southwest comes into being throughout the United States.

In the following analysis, the creation of a Mexican cookery extends beyond an ethnicity, occurring through a process of nation and nationhood during the decades of independence, liberal reform, French intervention, and the porfiriato. These women engaged in a Mexican cookery crafted and created from the top, but nevertheless influenced their household’s kitchen affairs.

Section II: A Culinary History of Mexico

As any historian, it is essential to provide a brief overview of a nation’s history before delving into the subject matter. In fact, a chef would not begin cooking a dish without collecting all the ingredients needed for the recipe. The following section provides the foundation for a culinary history that includes the publication dates of cookbooks in conjunction with historical dates and events. I deliciously blend the culinary history of
the nation with political events and debates providing a new understanding of the history of Mexico. Providing the historical context for my research, I layer the nation’s history from 1821 to 1910, the prime years of independence and the nation-building process, with a cookery crafted by publishers in the urban center.

Now, as this is an analysis of Mexican cookery, it is vital to include women in the creation of a culinary history. Their inclusion in a national history is not as apparent, but cannot be ignored or overlooked as women dominated the private, domestic sphere. My inclusion of Mexican women into the conversation of national history is revealed through newspapers, culinary literature and, in some cases, their own interpretation of history.

A la mexicana (1821 – 1855)

Terms such as a la mexicana, a la frances, and a la español accompany the titles of dishes in order to signify a type of cooking style, ingredient add or change, or presentation not normally associated with the recipe. For instance, huevos a la mexicana, a popular dish one finds at any Mexican restaurant, might mean the addition of certain types of chiles, cheese, and (possibly) beans to the cooked egg. Adding the phrase in the title of the dish allows one to associate a new identity, a new cookery, to the ingredient.

At the onset of independence, usually categorized as the decades before conflict, the nation fashioned an identity separate from the mother country of Spain. No longer Nueva España, Mexico began a process of cultural and social engagement adding ‘a la mexicana’ to their identity that was formerly associated with an empire overseas.

Mexico became an independent nation in 1821. No longer politically and economically tied to the Spanish crown, the former entity known as New Spain asserted itself as an independent player in the global community. In the words of General Agustin
de Iturbide in *The Plan of Iguala*, who was also the first leader of an independent Mexico, “public and general opinion declared that [Mexico] should be absolutely independent from Spain.” The degree of independence can be debated; however, various publications from cookbooks to newspapers indicate a national separateness from the mother country in the direction of a new national identity through words such as *al estilo mexicano*, of Mexican style.

Deemed the century of lights by Salvador Novo, Mexican writer and author, the nineteenth century brought a new sense for Mexican taste and flare for the newly independent nation. Mexico’s search for a national culinary identity began with the publication of *El cocinero mexicano (1831)* and *Novísimo arte de cocina (1831).* Both published by Mariano Galvan Rivera, the cookbooks took on a nationalist tone, with introductions specific to a *mexicanidad*. The title page of *El cocinero mexicano* explicitly states the preparation of worldly cuisines such as Spanish, French, Italian, and English, without omitting any of the flavoring style of Mexico; the *a la mexicana*. The cookbook, as well as all the publications that followed, meant for the creation of a Mexican household, enforcing a domestic and culinary lifestyle separate from the Spanish crown. It was the creation of an identity with all the trappings of foods, goods, and dishes from overseas, but all within the style of a “Mexican-ness”.

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30 *Novísimo arte de cocina* was originally published in 1831, which was utilized by Jeffrey Pilcher in his analysis. In the introduction, I cite the publication housed in the UTSA Special Collections in which I had the opportunity to review for my research.

31 The original text states, “para que al menor costo posible, y con la mayor comodidad, pueda guisarse a la espanola, francesa, italiana e inglesa, sin omitirse cosa alguna de lo hasta aqui publicado para sazonara al estilo de Mexico.” *El cocinero mexicano, ó, Coleccion de las mejores recetas para guisar al estilo Americano, y de las mas selectas segun el metodo de las cocinas española, italiana, francesa e inglesa*, 3 vols, (Mexico: Imprenta de Galvan, a cargo de Mariano Arevalo, 1831).
For these creole pioneers of Mexico City, the presentation of a nationalist tone took precedence in the face of domestic and international turmoil. The decades before liberal reform and French intervention were an “epoch in which difficulties would be expected with the happy sport of the coups… not affecting equally all the inhabitants of the city or trade.”\textsuperscript{32} In fact, in towns such as San Jose de Gracia that are miles away from the city center, citizens experienced ‘national’ conflict on second-hand basis with the wars for independence driving “citizens into the more sparsely populated areas. The highlands of the Cojumatlan and Toluquilla haciendas took in fugitives from a nation in flames” resulting in the disbursement of populations from city centers such as Mexico City.\textsuperscript{33}

The migration of people throughout the vast territory, along with the exchanges and connections made by peoples, facilitated an ongoing process of cookery and culinary arts that first began from individuals at the top and in the city center. With varying experiences all across the country, Mexico’s culinary literature served as an endeavor of national unification, bridging citizens through the realm of domesticity and the kitchen. The attempt of unification, although elitist and heavily within the sphere of middle to upper class families living in urban centers, created a foundation for a cookery through ingredients, cuisine, and the kitchen.

Diana Kennedy’s \textit{The Cuisines of Mexico} includes an excerpt from \textit{Ward’s Mexico} with a

\textsuperscript{32} The sentence in Spanish is as follows, “era una epoca en que dificilmente podia esperarse que el alegre deporte de los cuartelazos… no afectara por igual a todos los habitantes de la ciudad y sus comerciantes”. Novo, Salvador, \textit{Cocina Mexicana, Historia Gastronomica De La Ciudad De Mexico}, (1967).

description of the market in Zacatecas in the 1820s: The quantity of chile disposed of was really prodigious: wagons laden with it, drawn each by six oxen, were arriving hourly from Aguas Calientes, yet their contents rapidly disappeared, piles of capsicum sufficient to excoriate the palates of half London vanishing in the course of a few minutes.  

Ingredients from all across the countryside came together in marketplaces like that in Zacatecas, unifying a nation in times of political and economic turmoil. Even in isolated areas like San Jose de Gracia, community members made a living by “raising cattle, bees, and maguey. In the dry season the cows provided hides, and in the rainy season, cheese; the bees gave them wax, which they bleached; and from the maguey plant they made aguamiel and aguardiente”. Cookery was engaged by all across the vast territory of the newly independent nation, and was utilized by the creole pioneers to unify peoples in the midst of nation-building process.

Even though 1821-1855 can be categorized as the decades before conflict (e.g. liberal reform, French intervention, porfiriato, and Mexican Revolution), that is not to insinuate an era of peace, stability, and unity. In fact, Mexico faced internal political issues with forces from the north seizing “Goliad and San Antonio, and in March of 1836, [Texas] issued a declaration of independence.” It was after this period of northern separation that Mexico experienced a northern aggression on an international level with the United States of America in the 1840s. Culinary literature preempt the domestic and international turmoil with a surge in publications such as Nueva cocinera mexicana (1841), another edition of Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina (1842), La cocinera de todo el mundo, o La cocina sin cocinera (1843), Diccionario de cocina (1845), an international

34 Kennedy, The Cuisines of Mexico, 32.  
35 Gonzalez, San Jose de Gracia, 22.  
publication of *Nuevo cocinero mejicano* (1841), as well as three editions of *Novísimo arte de cocina* (1841, 1845, 1850). Culinary literature reinforced national unity and identity during a time of intervention and invasion by a foreign nation.

Moreover, during this time period, Mexico and the women of Mexico experienced a surge of culinary understandings and skillsets. In fact, newspaper advertisements in Mexico City specifically ask for female cooks with culinary specialties and skills for European cuisines. The earliest date found was May 12, 1842 in *Siglo Diez y Nueve* published in Mexico City. The ad indicated a preference for a female cook, with the feminine use of the word *la cocinera* as opposed to *el cocinero*, who had an expertise in French and German cooking. The ad not only indicate a preference for European culinary taste, but also reveals the rise in female culinary skillsets found within Mexico City. The mass publication of about twelve cookbooks prior to 1842 suggests the rise in a specific skillset for female domestic workers in the kitchen. Additionally, advertisements in newspapers began to include the word ‘salary’ during this time period, which suggests financial and economic independence of women in the city center. The first mention occurs in 1845, just before the US annexation of Texas.

Intertwining culinary and political history, it becomes clear that Mexico’s nation-building process began at the top. Identity then ‘spread’ to the general population through various publications as the national government felt the need to reiterate the nation’s separateness from the Spanish empire as ‘Mexican-ness’, or *mexicanidad*. Mexico’s culinary literature between 1821 and 1855, fueled by heavy domestic political and

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37 *Siglo Diez Y Nueve*, May 12, 1842.
38 Ibid, January 25, 1845.
economic debates about the future, reveals a nation with limited options, grand visions, and domestic strife.  

The role of women, mainly outside the realm of war and politics, remained in the household. One personal manuscript, even though outside the time period of my analysis, suggests the connection of literate, upper class women to the kitchen as female heads of households. I refrain from using the identifier head of household without the term female because men remained well in command of the familial unit and the household, Patriarchy served as the dominant household structure and organization in the urban center. Even more so, the patriarchy can be situated in terms of indigenous households. In a publication of La Mosca Parlera, a fable of Indian origin categorizes two sisters working as cocinera (cook) and jardinera (gardner) for their husband. Even though the purpose of the document is for political and literature leisure, the specific roles given to indigenous women cannot be ignored.

Lastly, and perhaps more important, women of Mexico fashioned their own understanding of Mexican history. In one of the personal manuscripts owned by a Mexican woman, I came across her understanding of Mexican history. Organized by dates, she begins with the Spanish crown, moves on to the independence of Mexico in 1821, and even includes detailed information about Father Hidalgo. Written by a woman in her personal recipe book, the timeline of Mexico’s early history not only indicates the

41 Mosca Parlera, June 14, 1823.
owner’s level of literacy and education, but also reveals a personal interest in Mexican national history with her interpretation. Women, even though confined to the household, found ways to engage and interpret their political history.

**Mexicanizando el imperio**  
(1855–1876)

The decades of La Reforma and the French intervention began with the 1857 Constitution and the creation of the 1860 Reform Laws, both of which crafted a new political society. The government “rendered inadmissible any female participation outside of the holy zone” categorized as the bedroom, the kitchen, household, chores, mass, and the confessional. Women, although historically left to the shadows of the private, domestic sphere, were now officially (and politically) tied to a specific role within the household. Moreover, with newspapers identifying the need for female cooks in both households and restaurants, women held a formal, political prominence in the kitchen now dictated by the national government.

Not just altering roles within the household, the country experienced a transformation in the role of the state, community politics, and the rights of citizens. Mexico, after 1848, destroyed the traditionalist methods of government and nation-building that established independence in 1821. During this era, Mexico focused less on cultural separateness and domestic identity and shifted to government and politics. This ‘rupture’ in Mexican history is not only dealt and identified within the realm of politics but also in culinary history. In fact, Diana Kennedy deems the period as heavily

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influenced by French cookery. She indicates in *The Cuisines of Mexico* that a surge of French influences occurred in the 1860s during the time of Maximilian’s reign, and Mexican cookbooks of the late nineteenth century included recipes for Italian pastas. Today sopa de fideo (vermicelli soup) and dry pastas in tomato sauce (sopas secas) are a firmly established part of the cuisine in Central Mexico. In the capital you can eat European-type cheeses, breads, pork products, and pastries of excellent quality, all made in Mexico.\footnote{Kennedy, *The Cuisines of Mexico*, 4.}

Even though Maximiliano and Carlota “adopted many aspects of the native culture, including mole…. [and] incorporated it into their banquet menus,” the era is dismissed as a blip in Mexico’s national history.\footnote{Ibid, 70.} Pilcher dismisses the inclusion of such dishes in the banquet halls of *Castillo de Chapultepec* as a fad, even though publishers included the recipe in a revision of *Calendario del cocinero* in 1866.\footnote{Ibid, 70.} However, as expressed by Erika Pani, and discussed at the end of the sub-section, the empire cannot and should not be dismissed as an outlier or blip in timeline of Mexican history.

Few publications were circulated in Mexico during 1855 and 1876. New editions of *Nuevo cocinero mejicano* (1858) and *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina* (1865) surfaced onto the national stage, as well as *Manual del cocinero* (1856), *El mayor libro de cocinero* (1864), *El Tesoro de la cocina* (1866), and two editions of *Nuevo cocinero mejicano, en forma diccionario* (1868, 1872).\footnote{I do not mention the publications in chronological order because the two former publications housed in the UTSA Special Collections in which I had the opportunity to review for my research. The latter publications are mentioned in Jeffrey Pilcher’s book.} During this particular era of La Reforma and French intervention, Mexico’s culinary literature diminished as the nation experienced alterations within the government. With the majority of publications centered on new editions of earlier cookbooks, which leads to the presumption of political reorganization as a catalyst for kitchen innovation.
with less of a focus on nation-building through social and cultural identifiers. Moreover, with the emperor and his wife participating in the culinary arts, fashion, and lifestyle of Mexico, the new editions reinforce an already established understanding of Mexican cookery.

In *Para mexicanizar el Segundo imperio: el imaginario político de los imperialistas*, Erika Pani argues for the origins of the second empire as Mexican. The era of independence may have opened a “market for French products that began arriving investments of novelty and prestige”\(^50\); however, the French empire proved to be decidedly Mexican representing a time of continuity and change in which Mexican males, “not foreigners who did not speak Spanish - that tried to provide solutions to problems that the political class came dragging on independence”.\(^51\) Even more so, from the perspective of a culinary history, culinary literature persisted in the creation of cookery that began in the nineteenth century. This decade, although considered a blip in the nation-building process, began at the onset of independence and must be viewed in the lens as a continuous history of Mexico despite the intervention of the French.

**Al gusto mexicano (1876 – 1910)**

From *a la mexicana* to *mexicanizando* to *al gusto mexicano*, the culinary landscape changed to a fashion and style that emerged from the government as well as Mexican women. No longer simply attaching a Mexican-ness to a former identity or the mexicanization of a foreign government, Mexico intentionally crafted a taste and flare for

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50 The original text in Spanish is as follows, “mas ancho camino y Mercado a los productos frances que empezaron a llegar investidos de novedad y de prestigo”.

51 The original text in Spanish is as follows, “una epoca de continuidad y cambios, durante al cual actuaron hombres conocidos – no extranjeros que ni espanol hablaban – que intentaron dar solucion a problemas que la clase politica venia arrastando desde la independencia. Pani, *Para mexicanizar*, 19.
for the state and its’ people. Beginning with the strong-arm ideals of Porfirio Diaz as the nation’s president and then with women crafting personal manuscripts and recipe books, the decades prior to the Mexican Revolution reveal a nation coming into a national self.

The reign of Porfirio Diaz began, as in the words of Emeril Lagasse, with a ‘bam!’ Seizing power from Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada in 1876, “peace and order prevailed, some 19,000 miles of railways were built, and 45,000 miles of telegraph wires were installed” by a powerful head of state.\(^52\) Coinciding with technological innovation, development, and infrastructure, culinary literature published in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century emphasized the creation of a modern nation-state. It is easy to visualize the strong-armed nature of the porfirato with agendas such as positivism\(^53\), technological advancement, and infrastructure. In fact, presenting a continuous national history, Mexico’s creole pioneers at the onset of independence imagined a modern nation-state overcoming the divisions of a colonial caste system and the creation of a domestic middle class.\(^54\)

With the inclusion of culinary literature in the nation’s political history, cookbooks reveals the role of Mexican women in the creation of cookery outside of the government’s range with the rise of personal manuscripts and recipe books. The porfirato began with *La cocinera poblana y libro de la familias* in 1877, with an attempt of crafting a more local, unified nation. Even though I did not have the opportunity to review the original publication, I was able to review a fourth edition published in 1890 that consisted of two volumes. The term *poblano*, similar to the word *pueblo*, insinuates a

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54 Pilcher, *¡Que vivan las tamales!*, 47.
more local understanding of the kitchen, with publishers emphasizing a book with practical recipes for the family.\textsuperscript{55} Presenting a more ‘local’ conception of the nation beginning with the term poblana, national culinary literature began to assert and accentuate a closer connection to the household.

Even after the first publication in 1877, Mexico’s culinary literature reemerged onto the national scene with a plethora of publications reinforcing an al gusto mexicano. The culinary literature published during this era of intense pacification, consolidation, and uniformity fortified Mexico in a political and culinary identity with titles such as \textit{El único y mas extenso cocinero poblano} (1888), \textit{Recetas prácticas para la señora de casa} (1890, 1892), \textit{El cocinero practico} (1892), \textit{El libro de cocina} (1893), and a new edition of \textit{Nuevo cocinero mejicano, en forma diccionario} (1897). More publications include \textit{El libro del hogar} (1893), \textit{Cocina michoacana} (1896)\textsuperscript{56}, \textit{Agenda para familia} (1898), \textit{Recetas para cocina} (1898), \textit{El ama de casa} (1899, 1909), new editions of \textit{Nuevo cocinero mexicano, en forma diccionario} (1899, 1909), as well as \textit{Diccionario del hogar} (1901). The porfiriato illustrates a nation’s desire to fortify a national culinary identity that tied the household directly to the state. Not just in cookbooks, but newspapers such as \textit{Diario del Hogar} publishing pre-set dinner menus for the household.\textsuperscript{57} Moreover, on a final note, Mexico marked its’ entrance into the global community with their debut in the United States in 1893 World’s Columbian Exchange, also known as the Chicago World’s

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\textsuperscript{55} La cocinera poblana y el libro de las familias, 4th ed, (Mexico: Tipografia de Angel Bassols y Hermanos, 1890).
\textsuperscript{56} Pilcher, ¡Que vivan los tamales!, 67.
\textsuperscript{57} Diario del Hogar, March 1, 1882.
\end{flushleft}
No longer a domestic culinary identity, Mexico set the stage for an international and global understanding of a Mexican culinary identity.

This period, as previously stated, reveals a rise in women’s personal manuscripts and recipe books. Women of Mexico, specifically in the central and southern region, worked within the parameters of Diaz’ autocratic regime from 1876 to 1880 and 1884 to 1910. Their roles, limited to the household, fostered an environment of female empowerment and community, as we will see in the next sections, with their active participation in Mexican cookery concocted from their own understanding of recipes, ingredients, and methods.

Before delving into the next two sections, I must acknowledge the work of Vicenta Rubio Torres as presented by Jeffrey Pilcher and his analysis of Mexican women in the creation of a national food identity. He identifies Vicenta Rubio Torres as one of the first female publishers in the creation of a ‘community’ cookbook that began with the state of Michoacán in the 1890s, later embracing the entire nation. Torres set out to record regional dishes, in hopes of creating an all-encompassing national cookbook that defined Mexican cuisine. She, along with other Mexican women, stressed the importance of regional culinary traditions nationally defining a cuisine. Pilcher states that by printing recipes from throughout Mexico, Torres provided the first genuine forum for united regional cuisines into a nation repertoire. Contributors exchanged recipes with middle-class counterparts they had never met, and began to experiment with regional dishes, combining them in new ways that transcended the local traditions.

Mexican cookery, however, consists of much more than the collection of regional recipes. Personal manuscripts and familial recipe books suggest a cookery that originates

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59 Pilcher, *¡Que vivan los tamales!*. 
from the household as opposed to the national culinary beliefs derived from male publishers. Pilcher acknowledges Mexican women in the creation of their own “manuscript and community cookbooks in the late nineteenth century, and in doing so [they] created their own visions of the Mexican nation.”⁶⁰ In the following sections, I further accentuate Pilcher’s initial understandings through my conception of cookery and the female ownership of cookbooks followed by the rise of personal manuscripts and recipe books from the household.

**Section III: Mexican Cookery**

As previously stated, Mexico’s culinary literature fashioned a specific role for women within the household. From nationally oriented cookbooks to personal manuscripts, these books placed women at the heart (or more so the stomachs) of the Mexican family. Through marginal notes, grease stains, pencil markings, and words that indicate a preference for dishes, chefs and scholars alike can find the voice of Mexican women within the realm of domesticity.

The following section delves into Mexican cookery found within the household and the ways in which women exhibited their own ideas in the creation of a menu. I begin with the nationally published cookbooks owned⁶¹ by the following four women: Anita Gonzalez, Juana Cuellar, Ana Vasquez/Navarro, and Teresa Blasquez. From their selection of preferred dishes to marginal notes, as well as the inclusion of additional recipes, Mexican women reinforced and recreated a nineteenth century Mexican cookery.

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⁶⁰ Pilcher, 67.
⁶¹ I base ownership on the female signatures found on the inside cover of national cookbooks, indicating a direct by female heads of households.
Anita and her personal marker on Mexican cookery

Anita Gonzalez Vda de Arroyo penciled her name on the front and back inside cover of the third edition of *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos*, originally published in 1865 in Mexico City. Representative of a cookery from the decades of liberal reform and the French intervention, Anita’s ownership of her Mexico’s culinary literature demonstrates an interest in a kitchen that goes beyond adornments and table service, and hones in on the “recipes [which is the essence of the work] well explained, so that all may be practical.” In fact, differing from other publications, the cookbook accentuates recipes as opposed to the presentation of dishes, included in other publications.

Although not dated by Anita in her own handwriting, the ownership of this particular cookbook suggests Anita’s interest in a nineteenth cookery for her household that extends well beyond the timeline of the analysis. Traces of grease, water stains, and food residue are found throughout the pages of a culinary history originally published and conceived by Luis Inclan. Over forty years after independence, and thirty years after the first published cookbook, culinary literature reinforced a household connection to a national culinary identity that Anita recreated in her household. Using a pencil, personal items, and leaving traces of food and grease stains throughout the pages, Anita made her mark (literally) on the history of Mexican cookery.

Leafing through the heavily used book, I came across what could be the skin of an onion or, more simply, a flower pressed between the pages. The recipes on the pages

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62 The original paragraph is as follows, “no va adoranada de estampas, regla de servicio de mesa, [que esto es variable], ni arte de trinchar, porque todo mi principal objeto es el de que las recetas [que es lo esencial de la obra] vayan bien explicas, que todos sean practicables.” *Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina reposteria y refrescos dispuesto por una Mexicana*, 3d ed, (Mexico: Imprenta de Luis Inclan, 1865).
emphasize meat and seafood based diet. Pilcher identifies meat as “another characteristic of Mexican cuisine…. A quick glance at any nineteenth century cookbook reveals an enormous variety of seasonings and dressings…. [and] women prepared these diverse recipes on a daily basis.” Anitã­a, falling into this categorization of Mexican cuisine, reinforces a diet that even Emperor Maximiliano and Empress Carlota enjoyed in the palace.

Even though I cannot properly identify the ingredient found within the pages, the existence of the item accentuates a personal connection to the cookbook. The purposeful placement of the miscellaneous item illustrates a connection of not only Anitã­a’s ownership, but also the active readership of culinary literature. In addition to the ingredient (as I would like to identify it), a thin, pink ribbon and thin, red braided piece of yarn (probably from a table cloth or an article of clothing) are found on the inside of Anitã­a’s cookbook.

In addition to the personal markers, prominent grease stains are found throughout the pages. Anitã­a’s cooking stains further accentuates meat and seafood diet that includes estofado prieto, pierna enterna de carnero estofado, estofado de ternera, and lomo de ternera estofado. Anitã­a’s engagement in the kitchen and household diet goes well beyond

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63 The recipes on these pages included the following: tortitas de carne, lengua de terna, chicharron esponjado, bacalao o robalo, camarón, arroz, garbazanos, bacalao en ajo comino, bagre adobado, bagre en ajo comino, camarones en cortadillo de huevo, lomo de cerdo adobado, and lomo de cerdo con coliflor.
64 Pilcher, ¡Que vivan los tamales!, 65.
66 The pages on the recipes include the following: asadura de cerdo, pies de puerco, otros en escabeche, guisado para mero blanco o robalo, and trucha estufado.
67 The pages on the recipes include the following; robalo en caldillo de empanada, otro robalo, sardinas, pescados blancos, otros, otros, and pescados blancos en escabeche.
“x marks the spot”, and includes her involvement in the kitchen. In comparison to other owners, Anita’s heavily used cookbook (with no direct pencil markings of preferential dishes like other female book owners) suggests her involvement in a Mexican cookery with indirect signals such as grease and water stains.

In addition to personal items, Anita penciled her known understandings of Mexican cookery by engaging in recipes. Handwriting appears alongside two recipes coliflores en yemas and coliflores en mantequilla, indicating the possible deviation from the published recipes.68 Even though the handwriting has been erased, more than likely for a resale or the exchange from one female cook to another, Anita’s comments and possible deviation from the original recipe indicate the beginnings of her own understanding and recreation of nineteenth century cookery. The mere fact that Anita penciled her thoughts inside the publication of a nationally oriented cookbook suggests her active participation in (and possibly against) a nineteenth cookery.

A cookery deemed French, due to a ‘blip’ in Mexican history, appears to be more than just a passing fad or trend in the region. Published during the years of liberal reform and the French intervention, Anita’s third edition of Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina reinforced a Mexican cookery that began in the nineteenth century. Anita’s cookbook represents an ownership, but also her direct connection to the kitchen and the household’s diet and culinary taste. With her personal belongings indicating her active readership throughout the book, Anita controlled the recipes cooked in her kitchen and the dishes served in her household.

68 Please see Appendix A for recipes.
The next two female owners exemplify a similar understanding of Mexican cookery, but provide a more direct indication of dishes served within the household. Ana Vasquez/Navarro and Teresa Blasquez both owned cookbooks published during the decades of the porfiriato. They marked their cookbooks indicating preferred dishes, guiding their household cook and kitchen staff in the creation of a Mexican cookery.

Ana owned *Recetas para cocina*. Published in 1898 in Guadalajara, which was about halfway through the reign of Porfirio Diaz, the cookbook contains various markings that not only indicate multiple contributors in one household, but also the creation of a Mexican cookery through preferred dishes. The markings range from “x” alongside the titles of recipes to small, thin pencil markings resembling a “1” to medium-large “+” signs at the top of the page. In comparison to Anita’s personal markers found inbetween particular pages, Ana’s cookbook represents direct preference of recipes and, more importantly, a way in which she can indicate to others what to cook and serve in her household.

Now, in comparison to Anita, Ana’s pencil markings concide with grease stains and food residue suggesting her kitchen’s utilization of dishes and recipes as selected by her as the female head of household. Anita’s personal markers suggest a particular diet; however, Ana’s markers along with the stains and residue actual reveal the household’s diet. Emphasizing meat and seafood dishes, as well as revealing familiar recipes such as

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69 Recipes include *de masa, de verdura, de jocoqui, para vigilias, pollo en verdura, otros, bagre en pepian de almendras, and tamales*. Please see the Appendix A for recipes.

70 Recipes include *lomo relleno, asado, jiricalla de almendras, jalentina de leche, and gorditas embentunadas*. Please see the Appendix A for recipes.

71 Recipes include *otra, en frio, albondigas con vino, otro, envinada, otra, asada, otro, con lechuga, and otro, en mole poblano*. Please see the Appendix A for recipes.
tamales and mole poblano, the household cookbook also includes handwritten recipes. Ana inscribed a recipe for “panque” on the page prior to the title page. The inclusion of her recipe not only indicates an active participation in creation of Mexican cookery not included in the original publication, but also the beginning of a personal understanding in the selection of particular dishes and tastes for her family.

In addition to the recipe, a loose paper lies between the pages; a report/attendance card for a first grade student by the name of Alicia Melendez that is dated October 31, 1921. The report card originates from a school in Guadalajara, reaffirming the location of the household, and represents the continuous use of the cookbook beyond the porfiriato. Mexican cookery extends beyond the urban center of Mexico City, an endeavor and idea first initiated by the creole pioneers, and found its’ way into the household of Ana in Guadalajara, Mexico. Moreover, Ana’s book indicates a multi-generational ownership with variations in pencil markings and an additional date on the inside cover.

The inclusion of personal belongings, such as the report card, indicates the importance of culinary literature in the lives of female heads of households. These women placed their personal documents and other belongings within the pages and, as previously stated, even penciled their own thoughts and understandings of other topics such as the history of their country. However, in addition to personal belongings and pencil markings, women included newspaper clippings and written recipes.

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72 The original date was October 14, 1921; however, the 14 was scratched out and replaced by 31.
73 The date on the page is September 13, 1927.
74 Refer to footnote 43.
75 In my research, I found a number of newspaper clippings of recipes included within the pages of cookbooks. This leads me to believe an active participation and engagement of a Mexican cookery by women, even if the culinary literature cannot be traced back to the owner.
Teresa Blasquez, owner of *Verdadero practico: manual para las familias*, published in 1910, included a newspaper clipping for a recipe titled *pasta de nuevo* as well as a loose-leaf, lined paper for a recipe that she wrote titled *Galletas Marias*. The inclusion of the written recipe may not be her penmanship, as Teresa marks only with a small “+” next to preferred recipes, but the inclusion of additional recipes indicates the household’s engagement of nineteenth century Mexican cookery. Moreover, it is heightened by the word *probado* (“tried” in English) alongside a single recipe.

Both cookbook s likely remained within their household. With personal papers and variation in penmanship, Ana and Teresa represent a Mexican cookery that creates a household menu and emphasizes a generational lineage within the kitchen.

**Juana and her stamp on Mexican cookery**

Juana Cuellar, the last female head of household analyzed in this section, owned *Recetas practicas para la senora de la casa*, with little indication of a legacy or familial ownership of the nationally oriented cookbook. Published in 1890, Juana signed the title page, as well as stamped her name on the first page of recipes, indicating her direct ownership of the national cookbook. The stamp, in comparison to previous women who used a pencil, indicates a household with access to publication and writing materials, establishing her status as a member of the middle to upper class. Although no direct indication of bookmarks or food residue, in comparison to Anita’s and Ana’s cookbooks, Juana’s method of preferential dishes appears in the form of a lower case ‘v’ beside

76 With no indication of direct use or preference of these dishes, I do not include the recipes in the appendix.

77 The recipes include *mole de pavo, torta de garbanzo, condes de pasta de mantequilla, pan ingles, lengua de gato, bizcocho de chocolate, gorditas de maiz cacahuazentle, brioch*, and *chalupitas*. Please see the Appendix A for recipes.
various recipes similar to Teresa.\textsuperscript{78} For this household, their diet consisted of soups, meats, and potatoes, with direction set by Juana to the cook and the kitchen staff.

In addition to the small markings besides recipes, Juana includes a marginal note alongside a dish she deemed as buena, which in English translates to ‘good’.\textsuperscript{79} The dish, called sopa de bolita de arroz, provides insight into one of the household’s preferred, possibly favorite, dish. However, with little wear and tear, as well as few grease stains and food residue, Teresa’s cookbook reveals an active readership of nineteenth century Mexican cookery as opposed to the possible participation in the kitchen. This leads to a new understanding of female heads of households and their role in the kitchen.

With such little indication of Teresa being the actual cook, la cocinera, the previous cookbooks led me to believe that their role as female heads of households meant a heavy hand in the kitchen directing the cook and the staff, organizing their household’s diet and menu. Cookery, as the four Mexican women indicate through personal markings, signals the kitchen the recipes to cook and the dishes to serve for the family.

Mexican women included their own version and understanding of Mexican cookery. However, who actually did the cooking in a nineteenth century Mexican household? What was the connection between the female heads of households with the cook and the kitchen staff? With all these indications of ownership, pencil markings, wear and tear, as well as edits and additional steps in the cooking process, the cookbooks suggest that the female heads of households directed the kitchen and possibly forged working relationships with the cook and the kitchen staff.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{78} Recipes include sopa de carne, sopa de seoso, sopa de macarrones, carne asada, lomo frito, lomo tullido, otro lomo, papas, otra (salsa) de perejil y almendra, and otra (ensalada) de papas. Please see Appendix A for recipes.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{79} Recetas practicas para la senora de casa, 23. Please see Appendix A for recipe.
\end{flushleft}
Culinary Literature, Used but Not Owned

Now, what about cookbooks that indicate household ownership, but not a direct indication of female ownership (e.g. name written on the inside of the book)? The previous four cookbooks contained an explicit connection to the household with Mexican women creating the household menu and directing the kitchen. The next set of cookbooks, however, suggests a more direct connection in the creation of a Mexican cookery with the excessive wear and tear found throughout the pages. For instance, the third volume of *El cocinero mexicano* suggests a Mexican woman’s engagement in the kitchen as the household cook. Indicating preferential dishes, specific measurements of ingredients, and additional instructions for the cooking process, la cocinera created and recreated a nineteenth century Mexican cookery for the household.

The household that owned *El cocinero mexicano* reveals a preference for *bizcochos rellenos* through a pencil marking, as well as *Bunuelos de queso*, *Otros*, *Id. de geringa*, and *Otros* with the appearance of significant grease stains alongside the recipes. The pencil marking may have been the product of a female head of household; however, the grease stains suggest a ‘straight from the kitchen to the stomach’ belief at the hands of the cook. Without any pencil markings, the cookbook reveals a female cook’s hand in the kitchen with the possibility of a more independent role in the creation of a household menu.

Another indication of the female cooks’ control in the household’s diet and culinary taste is by the preferences for ingredient sizes in the margin. The cook, in doing

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80 Please see the Appendix A for recipes. *El cocinero mexicano*, 145.
so, indicates a change in the preparation and cooking process by directly indicating one ounce equals thirty-one grams.\textsuperscript{82} The standard conversion is one ounce equals twenty-eight grams (more or less); however, it is interesting to note that the conversion for one troy ounce equals about thirty-one grams. Troy ounces are used in the measurement for precious metals, gold, and jewelry, which leads me to assume that the same measurements were used in the kitchen.\textsuperscript{83}

Additionally, and probably most important, the cook of \textit{El cocinero mexicano} made her own contribution to the nationalist ideology of Mexican cookery by adding a final step in the process of making \textit{tortillas de harina}. She includes at the end of the recipe, “se forma las tortillas y se cuecen al comal o al horno”\textsuperscript{84}, which follows the original text of, “se hace la masa con una libra de harina, cuatro onzas de manteca, tres yemas y dos claras de huevo y tres onzas de azucar, deshaciéndose con agua tibia.”\textsuperscript{85} The clarification of the cooking process indicates the necessity to specify a style of cooking within the kitchen and (ultimately) the household.

The additional instructions involve a clarification in the actual cooking process, e.g. placing the uncooked product on heat, and the way in which the food should be prepared by the cook and the kitchen staff. The cook recreated a nineteenth century Mexican cookery that differed from the original publication. Similar to the Anita’s marginal writing that accompanied two recipes, prior to erasure, indicate the cook’s

\textsuperscript{82} \textit{El cocinero mexicano}, 7.
\textsuperscript{83} It must be noted that a second notation indicating that one ounce equals about thirty-one grams; however, it was made in purple ink and in different handwriting in comparison to the marginal note made early in the book in pencil. Indicating a wide range of assumptions, I presume that the notation in ink suggests a second domestic worker in the kitchen.
\textsuperscript{84} The translation is as follows: “you form the tortillas and you bake on a griddle or oven.”
\textsuperscript{85} The translation is as follows: “you make the dough with a pound of flour, four ounces of butter, three yolks and two egg whites and three ounces of sugar, disposing with warm water.”
active participation in Mexican cookery and the recreation of a recipe through her own understanding of the kitchen.

Lastly, even without direct indication of ownership or even the household’s location, the marginal writing accompanying this particular recipes indicates a household preference for wheat tortillas. Diana Kennedy states that the “wheat growing area in Mexico is the flat, irrigated land of Sonora and the northern part of Sinaloa. Tortillas of wheat flour (tortillas de harina de trigo) are common all over the north of Mexico” suggesting the household location of this nineteenth century cookbook in northern Mexico as opposed to the central and southern region.\textsuperscript{86}

Women were creating a Mexican cookery for the household derived from the culinary literature of the nineteenth century. In some cases, the female head of household dictated the order in which recipes should be prepared and served. For instance, \textit{La cocinera de todo el mundo}, without any indication of ownership, contains markings that suggest active readership and engagement in the kitchen. The cookbook, published in 1843, indicates an owner who numerically identifies preferred dishes. The chapters include salads; appetizers, stews, and distinct pastries; and refreshments, creams, and gelatin which suggest a variety in household diet and culinary taste.\textsuperscript{87}

The first set of sequences, not in numerical order, span pages 16 and 17 and include the following salad dishes: \textit{otra de betables y fruta} (another of vegetables and fruit), \textit{otra de moras} (another of blackberry), and \textit{otra de coliflor} (another of cauliflower). The second sequence span pages 205-213, and include the following dishes of appetizers, stews, and distinct pastries: \textit{frijoles blancos en leche} (white beans in milk), \textit{papilla de la

\textsuperscript{86} Kennedy, \textit{The Cuisines of Mexico}, 60.
\textsuperscript{87} The names of the chapters in Spanish are as \textit{ensaladas}; \textit{antes, guisados y postres distintos}; and \textit{Refrescos, helados y jalentinas}. 
reina (porridge of the queen), encarbonadas de leche (steak? of milk), and arroz en leche almendrado (rice in almond milk). The third (and final) set of numerical sequence span pages 37 through 56 in the chapter for refreshments, creams, and gelatin: otra de chiles rellenos (another of stuffed chiles), otra de limones (another of lemon), otra de jitomates (another of tomatoes), otra de higos (another of figs), and tirillas de durazno (another of peach). What do the numerical sequences represent? Was the owner indicating preferential dishes to a kitchen, or was this her way of indicating a numerical menu? The handwriting throughout the book remains the same, leading me to believe the creation of a household menu was in the hands of a female head of household.

Lastly, the final owner-less cookbook analyzed in this section was a Catholic woman. She inserted pieces of her life in Manual de cocina, originally published in 1905, which included papers, some marginal notes, and a copy of a hymnal. The hymnal includes a list of ingredients, possibly to buy at the local market after church, for a Sunday dish. Not only does this capture a snapshot of a Mexican woman sitting in mass with something other than God on her mind, but illustrates a woman’s mind focused and centered on the kitchen and feeding her household. More importantly, the cookbook, represents an idea that the personal lives of Mexican women tied directly to her role in the household and, more importantly, in the kitchen.

Mexican women were actively engaged in the kitchen. Through their nation’s culinary literature published during the decades of independence, liberal reform, French intervention, and the porfiriato, women engaged in a cookery that defined, and in some cases redefined, the nation and the household. The culinary literature of the nineteenth century existed well beyond the nineteenth century. In fact, as I argue in the next section,
culinary literature transitioned and developed into the creation of a familial and local understanding of ingredients, recipes, and dishes. With the rise of personal manuscripts, women wrote (by hand) and bound (for their personal, household use) personal manuscripts and recipe books creating their own understanding of a Mexican cookery beyond that of the published cookbooks.

**Section IV: Looking ahead… The Porfiriato and Beyond**

The previous section highlights nineteenth century Mexican cookery with the ownership of nationally oriented cookbooks by four women. Turning away from the cookbooks, I now turn to the creation of nineteenth century cookery from a familial and communal understanding with the rise of personal manuscripts and recipe books. The initial findings in this section scratch the surface for cookery initiated by Mexican women, and suggests the beginnings of a household cookery no longer relying on a culinary literature from the urban center.

As stated in the previous section, culinary literature provides a view of the life of Mexican women in an urban household. Through marginal notes, pencil markings, grease and water stains, women as heads of households, cooks, and kitchen staff initiated a nineteenth century Mexican cookery. Personal manuscripts and recipe books, however, provide a more intimate view of cookery with the personal collection and compilation of recipes in a bound book. These personally created and owned books, moreover, reinforce a familial and communal understanding of Mexican cookery with multiple authors and contributors, usually within the same family unit.

The following section delves into the personal manuscripts and recipe books dated between 1890 and 1910. Women such as Guadalupe Perez, Manuela Heredia y
Cervantes, Hortensia Volante, Carmen Volante, and Susana Irazoqui Palacio suggest the beginnings of a household construction of Mexican cookery. Each woman, residing in Mexico, created a cookery specific to and for their household, as well as enforce a familial and communal understanding of the kitchen.

**Personal Manuscripts and Recipe Books of the Nineteenth Century**

Towards the end of the porfiriato, personal manuscripts and recipes books rose like bread baking in the oven; individually created and owned by female heads of households in the nineteenth century. Not only exemplifying a familial understanding of ingredients, food, and dishes, these personally bound books emphasize a knowledge of a cookery originating from a national understanding in the previous decades. Vicenta Torres’ publication *Cocina michoacana* set the stage for Mexican women with the compilation of recipes. The personal manuscripts, however, represent a more communal understanding, with the evidence leaning towards a direct oral-to-written transcription of recipes. With the variation in penmanship, as well as personal markers of female life in and out of the kitchen, personal manuscripts and recipe books represent an untapped and untouched realm of Mexican life for women during the era of the nation-building process.

Before delving into the personal manuscripts and recipe books, I need to reacknowledge the work of a Mexican woman from Michoacán. Prior to the turn of the twentieth century, Vicenta Rubio Torres published the first community cookbook in conjunction with other Mexican women across the nation. Torres, as identified by Jeffrey Pilcher, set out to record regional dishes in hopes of creating an all-encompassing national cookbook. By stressing regional culinary traditions as a national cuisine, Torres
defined Mexican cuisine as the daily practice of women. Now, many are skeptical with
the creation of a ‘national’ cuisine through the compilation of regional recipes. For
instance, food reviewers in the *Times Literary Supplement* remain unconvinced that
recipe collections could leave readers with a shared sense of identity, especially a
national identity. However, analyzing the personal manuscripts in conjunction with
cookbooks, the following section presents the development of Mexican cookery that
began with women using cookbooks created by male publishers and ends with women
who implemented personal knowledge with recipe books.

Beginning with a manuscript outside of my time period, Dona Ygancia Belarde
created her own understanding of cookery in 1789. The recipe book originated during an
era of the Spanish crown and within a territory identified as Nueva España, or New
Spain. Her personal recipe book not only predates the first nationally oriented cookbook
published in 1831, but also predates the independence of Mexico as a nation. Even
though the recipe book lies outside of my time period, and predates the conception of the
nation-state, it is necessary to acknowledge the creation of cookery originating within a
household that predates a national understanding.

The women of New Spain, specifically those of Spanish descent, facilitated their
own understanding of cookery that did not always coincide with their homeland. For
Dona Ygancia, her cookery originated from an Old World understanding but nevertheless
constructed in a New World setting. With hardly any marginal writing or even
corrections as in other personal manuscripts, her recipe book suggests a direct oral to
handwritten translation of recipes. Moreover, it suggests a personal knowledge of the

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88 Debra Goldstien, “Add Marmalade,” *The Times Literary Supplement*, December 19 & 26,
2014, 38.
kitchen from ingredients to the cooking process as well as her physical presence in the creation of dishes. Dona Ygnacia sets the stage for an analysis of recipe books created and owned by female heads of households engaged in the kitchen.

The first recipe book within my time period is that of Guadalupe Perez from Acatzingo, Pueblo. Complied and bound in 1884, Guadalupe crafted her own personal manuscript that even included her own revisions and substitutions. For instance, in the recipe titled *Otros* that are featured after *Biscochos de vino*, Guadalupe substitutes an ingredient (vino jerez) with other ingredient (water).\(^8^9\) She scratches out water and chooses to replace it with vino jerez, the ingredient in the previous recipe, suggesting a process of trial and error. Similar to my grandmother’s experience with the original recipe for rice balls, Guadalupe engaged in a Mexican cookery that best suited her style in the kitchen and her household. Additionally, the different styles in handwriting, variety in organization and structure, and handful of corrections and alterations throughout the recipe book reveal collaboration among women within the Perez household.

In a similar manner, the recipe book owned by Manuela Heredia y Cervantes in 1886 presents an extensive list of recipes. This particular recipe book suggests a household within the upper class due to the inclusion of a maiden name in her signature. Moreover, Manuela’s elegant penmanship and the inclusion of a pre-national history of Mexico suggest a literate, educated female head of household. The structure and organization of her recipe book suggests a highly organized cookery with her household kitchen. Similar to Dona Ygancia, Manuela’s recipe book suggests her physical presence in the kitchen with very little corrections that deviate from her original recipes. Even more so, Manuela includes a matrilineal legacy at the end of the book that suggests the

\(^{8^9}\) Perez, Guadalupe, *Libro de Recetas de Cocina*, 1884.
personal manuscript staying in the household and being passed down from generation to generation.

Next, I acknowledge the personal manuscripts and recipes books crafted and owned by Susana Irazoqui Palacio, Hortensia Volante, and Carmen Volante. All three women represent a legacy of nineteenth century Mexican cookery that goes well beyond the Mexican Revolution. Susana Irazoqui Palacio resided in the state of Durango, and penned her recipes in July of 1907. With multiple handwriting found throughout the pages, the recipe book suggests collaboration in the kitchen by Mexican women.\footnote{The Special Collections Department at the University of Texas at San Antonio identify the cookbook as a set of six early twentieth century manuscript cookbooks written by a family of related women from Durango of traditional home recipes. Palacio, Susana Irazoqui, \textit{20th Century Mexican Cooking Manuscripts Volume 1: Libro de Recetas}, 1907.} Moreover, on a particular page in which Susana signed her name, multiple words are penciled randomly indicating the elementary school practice of spelling words. Words such as \textit{gato} (cat), \textit{pito}, \textit{vaca} (cow), \textit{perro} (dog), and \textit{toro} (bull) suggest the handwriting of a child and, more importantly, the child’s presence in the kitchen. The page, deviating from its’ use as a recipe book for the Palacio household, indicates a collaboration between a mother and (more than likely) her daughter spelling and pronouncing words and sharing a Mexican cookery in the kitchen.\footnote{Ibid, 85.}

Lastly, Hortensia and Carmen Volante’s extensive set of recipe books began at the turn of the twentieth century. The one indication of a household relationship, biological or matrimonial, is with Carmen’s signatures in Hortensia’s personal manuscript \textit{Cuaderno de recetas de cocina} compiled in 1903.\footnote{Volante, Hortensia, \textit{Cuaderno de recetas de cocina}.} The signature, dated the 31\textsuperscript{st} of 1928, suggests a legacy of female recipe books within the Volante household.
Additionally, the signature suggests an elder Hortensia with the compilation of her first personal manuscript in 1900, followed by two in 1902, another in 1903, and Carmen’s personal manuscript dated in 1904.

**Conclusion**

Mexico began a cultural initiative in 2011 with the publication of *recetas antiguos* (old/antique recipes) of the nineteenth century. A total of eleven volumes that addresses food and popular festivals, the volumes dedicated to nineteenth century Mexican cookery are *Formulario de la cocina mexicana. Puebla siglo XIX* and *Recetario tradicional, Celaya, fines del XIX* by Celerina Maldonado.\(^\text{93}\) Both publications open with the voice of Mexican women describing the historical recipes and the kitchen; however, it is the latter publication in which the daughter of Celerina Maldonado describes her mother’s role in the kitchen and, in my opinion, the creation of a cookery.

A nation that began the creation of a culinary identity through a nationalist project of publishing cookbooks now embarks on the publication of recipe books owned by women from across the country. In essence, the books represent a twenty-first century nation-building project as CONCULTA harks back to the beginnings of a national cookery found in the household kitchen. Moreover, with the personal manuscripts created and crafted by Mexican women, Mexico no longer focuses on the creation of a national cuisine but the use of ingredients, recipes, and dishes of the households as crafted by female head of households and la cocineras, which can be one of the same.

The previous analysis focused on Mexico’s creation of a national cookery through culinary literature of the nineteenth century. The cookbooks, personal manuscripts, and

recipe books owned and created by Mexican women reveal preferred recipes, ingredients, and dishes, as well as a style of cooking and life in the kitchen. What began as a personal connection to food and cuisine with my grandmother’s rice balls, ended with a new understanding of food, cuisine, and identity.

Following in the footsteps of Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin’s famous quote, I question the construction and connection between food and the creation of a national identity. Utilizing a different definition for cuisine and simultaneously challenging the dominant term of cuisine, I shift the conversation to the term cookery. Cookery, especially Mexican, presents itself as a family affair in cookbooks, personal manuscripts, and household recipe books. Through the marginal writing, pencil markings indicating preferred dishes, newspaper clippings of additional recipes, and other personal markers, women actively engaged in the creation of a cookery that derived within their household.

Beginning with nationally oriented cookbooks owned by Anita Gonzalez, Juana C. Cuellar, Ana, and Teresa Blasquez, Mexican women utilized nineteenth century culinary literature in the creation of their own understanding of Mexican cookery originally published by males. However, were these women (as female heads of households) actively engaging the ingredient preparation and cooking process? How were these women connected to la cocinera? Was la cocinera following the recipes word for word? In some of these cases, one may never find out the exact answer; however, one can further speculate that upon more discoveries of cookbooks that a correlation between identified owners and unidentified owners might shed light on the identity (or possibly identities) of la cocinera.
Another, and more obvious, connection of Mexican women and the creation of a cookery originates from the personal manuscripts and recipe books owned by Hortensia Volante, Carmen Volante, Manuela Heredia y Cervantes, Guadalupe Perez, and Susana Irazaqui Palacio. As the female heads of the households, as well as a more obvious connection to their role as *la cocineras*, they enforced a familial and communal cookery within their household. Moreover, these women created their own understanding of Mexican cookery by involving the entire household, specifically female members, as well as reinforcing a matrilineal notion of Mexican cookery.

Cookbooks, personal manuscripts, and household recipe books serves as my sources for a Mexican cookery derived from Mexican women’s own knowledge and interest in ingredients, food, dishes, and kitchenware. The next step in a more specific and detailed understanding of a Mexican cookery is through the analysis of specific ingredients and possibly finding a correlation of popular dishes among nationally oriented cookbooks. Additionally, the analysis of personal manuscripts and recipe books might entail a more detailed understanding in the relationship between dishes and ingredients actually cooked in the household. The future of Mexican cookery lies in the hands of Mexican women in the kitchen and the craft of familial, local, and communal understanding of ingredients, food, recipes, and dishes.

I am what I eat, and my favorite home-cooked meal forms a part of my identity. It reveals to others of my grandmother’s integration into a new way of life and cookery, and her incorporation of an American and Mexican cookery. It may not be ‘Mexican’ per se, but it is her legacy as a dual citizen of Mexico and the United States. And, just as she has done with me, I will instruct my daughter and granddaughter in my culinary methods. I
am a Tejana, born and raised in a Mexican-American household in the state of Texas, and
I eat rice balls.
Appendix A: Recipes

The following are the recipes mentioned in the analysis. They are organized in the order in which they were mentioned, and all recipes are a transcription of the original recipe or reproduced from the original text, with any edits I believed to be misprinted or misspelled to be in parenthesis and additions/alterations to be in italics. Lastly, the ellipses indicate the recipe followed onto the next page. I choose not to include the entire recipe, as I desired to gain a foundation in household diet.

Riceballs, the original recipe
1 cup of rice
2 cups of water
1 cup of cheddar cheese
1 cup of radish
2 egg yolks (save the egg whites)
Little less than half a cup of breadcrumbs

Boil the two cups of water in a medium sized pot, and add one cup of rice. After rice is done cooking, mix the cheddar cheese, radish, and egg yolks in the same pot with the cooked rice. Form the mixture into small balls, then smash the balls like a pancake. Coat the rice ‘ball’ in egg whites, and then place in a large frying pan with vegetable to cook. Cook until both sides are golden brown, turning the rice ‘ball’ over every so often.

Riceballs, Nana’s recipe
1 cup of rice
2 cups of water
Cheddar cheese
(Note: Not measured, but uses more than one cup)
2 whole eggs
Seasoned breadcrumb

Boil the two cups of water in a medium sized pot, and then add the one-cup of rice. After the rice is fully cooked, add the cheddar cheese, eggs, and seasoned breadcrumbs. Form the mixture into balls, smash the small balls like a pancake, then fry it in vegetable oil.

Coliflores en yemas
Se frieran en manteca tiras de jamon, rebanadas de chorizon, trocitos de longanzia ya cocidos; en seguida ajos molidos, y cuando estén se les agrega sal, clavos, pimienta, azafrán molido, perejil picado, caldo [y si fuere de gallina será mejor], yemas batidas coratadas con vinagre, y cuando todo este hirviendo se echan las coliflores en trozos ya cocidas; asi que hayan hervido bien, al apartarlas se le agrega aceite, aceitunas y chilitos

Coliflores con mantequilla
Quemada mantequilla que no este rancia, se freira en ella un poco de cebolla picada, se la agrega canela, clavos, pimienta molida, harina dorada en manteca, caldo, y quando este hirviendo se echaran las coliflores cocidas y en trozos, y quedaran algo secas.
De masa
Se toman tres textales de masa y se muelen con tres yemas de huevo cocidas, un pedazo de queso fresco y una onza de mantequilla. Con esto se hacen bolitas y se frien en manteca. Despues se hace el caldillo lo mejor que se pueda, con verduras, chorizo y jamon (todo cocido), y al servir la sopa se ponen las bolitas en el caldillo caliente.

De verdura
Se toman toda clase de verduras crudas se pican sobre una tabla hasta que quedan muy menuditas y se frien en manteca. En seguida se la pone a esto el caldo con ajo, pimienta y nuez moscada y antes de servirse la agrega un huevo batido para torta. Cuando...

De jocoqui
Doce tortillas delgaditas se untan de mantequilla por los dos lados y se calientan en una cacerola. Ya se tendrá una panela desmoronadas: esto se pone dentro de las tortillas, doblándose en forma de ench...

Para vigilias
Preparadas las tortillas como para la anterior, se van mojando en una caldillo espeso de frijoles, frito con cebolla, jitomate, oregano, queso seco y pimienta en polvo. Una vez mojados y va al servirla, se hacen los tacos con el rellano siguiente: chicharos, papas, zanahorias y camarones, cocido y frito todo esto, y además pimienta en polvo. Ya para sacar la cazuela, se le revuelve en ella rellano un huevo. Al servirse en los platos, se les pone a los tacos queso secorayado, fruta en vinagre y charales fritos.

Pollo en verdure
Despues de bien lavado el pollo, se parte en cuartos y se pone en una cazuela con el agua que se considere necessaria para que se cueza; así que se haya ablandado, se le mezclan de todas verduras sancochadas, una echarada de manteca cruda, pimiento, clavo, does enredos de pan molidos en seco, y un cuarto de Carlon. Así se deja sazonar y se sirve luego con tornachiles, acietunas y alcaparras.

Otros
Se cuecen en agua dos pollos, hasta que se considere que quedan tiernos; despues se pone a cocer bastantes tomates, se pasan por el metate y se les muela chorizo y jamon cocidos. Luego se frie una poca de cebolla y se pone allí lo que se molio. Ademas se le agrega un poco de perejil molido, cuatro yemas de huevo cocidas y un poco de caldo, para que quede con bastante salsa.

Bagre en pepian de almendras
Se limpian las almendras, se tuestan y se muelen juntamente con un pedazo con un pedazo de pan frito, chiles colorados tostados y unas semillas de melon; luego se deshace todo con caldo caliente; se sazona con sal y pimiento y se frie en manteca. Junto con esto se pone a cocer al bagre que separadamente se ha de haber ya sancochado.

Tamales
Después de bien refregado un almud de nixtamal, se le quitan las cabezas y se deja en agua limpia y al sereno durante una noche. Al día inmediato, se escurre; se muele lo más seco que se pueda; al tiempo que ya este rendida la masa, se le incorporan tres libras de manteca muy bien lavada y batida hasta que quede como espuma; ya incorporado, se bate todo, hasta que poniendo en el agua un pedacito de la masa, sobrenade; y por último, se desbarata sal en un cuartillo de agua fría; se le mezcla esta agua y una onza de carbonato de sosa a la propia masa; se deja luego reposar durante media hora; se forman después con ella los tamales y se rellenan con lo que se quiera. Si deben ser de chile, se frien en poca manteca unos chiles gordos asados y deshebrados, y unos jitomates asados y exprimidos jocoqui gordo, panela buena y mantequilla. Con esto se rellenan los referidos tamales.

Lomo relleno
Se hace el lomo cecina gruesa y se le pone pimiento, clavo, canela, ajo y un poco de vinagre; así se deja hasta el día siguiente. Llegado este, se coce una poca de carne de Puerco picada, se muele y se pone a la lumber en la cazuela con manteca, en la cual se echa también cebolla y jitomate. Cuanda esta ya frito esto se la agrega jamón y chorizo cocido pasas, almendra, alcaparras, acéitunas y ciruelas de España; con esto se rellena el lomo, agregándose sardinas y mamon mojado con Jerez seco; después se cose con canamo el lomo, y se frie. En fin cuando este ya dorado, se le pone agua y unas hojas de laurel, se deja hervir cuatro horas, se deja secar luego, se le pone jitomate asado y se sirve todo con ensalada.

Asado
Desde la vispera se toma un lomo tierno, se pica can (con) un tenedor después de haberle quitado los nervios y gordos se le pone después un cuartillo de vinagre corriente y luego cuatro docenas de pimientos y dientes de ajo. Después se echa en una cazuela cuatro onzas de manteca y se pone al fuego agregándole ahí dos cucharadas de harina; y cuando la manteca este dorada se le pone también unas cebollitas tiernas, un cuartillo de vino tinto y dos cuartillos de caldo. Luego se hace ruedas el lomo y se pone en la cazuela que la misma, no es suficiente para que se ablande de la carne, se le sigue poniendo mas caldo. Una hora antes de sacar este lomo se la agrega bastante jitomate asado, molido y colado. Este asado ha de quedar con salsa, y se sirve con alguna ensalada.

Jiricalla de almendras
Remojense las almendras, y al siguiente día muelanse y disuelvanse (disvuelvanse) en leche; cuélsense después y vuelvanse a moler hasta que no quede nada sólido; agregúenseles entonces mas leche, que deberá estar endulzada lo suficiente y colada; pongase todo a hervir con una raja de canela; después del hervor, saques de la lumber, pongase a enfriar y quitese la canela; ya así, batanse unas yemas de huevo en el mismo jugo de almendras, advirtiéndose que deberán corresponder tres yemas a cada taza caldera; sirvase estas con agua hirviendo y cubráseles con algo que contenga lumber. Conviene saber que en aquella agua solo deberán sumerjirse hasta la tercera parte de su altura, para que el líquido no se los introdúzca al hervir; y también que se puede cuajar esa jiricalla al vapor de la olla, caso en el cual aunque estén mas sumergidas las tazas dentro del recipiente en que se las
coloque, no hay cuidado, porque no hervira esa agua, pero así tardan mucho en cuajar. Se
conocera que ya esta lista la jiricalla, cuando metiendo un popote en las tazas salga
limpio. Así que esto sucede, se apartan de la lumbre, se enfrian y se las espolvorea
canela.

Gorditas embentunadas
Se revuelven dos libras de harina con una libra de manteca, en la que previamente se
haya embebido un cuatro de agua de tomates refregados, seis onzas de azúcar y cuatro
yemas de huevo. Luego que el conjunto este bien revueltos, se hacen las gorditas y se
meten al horno; se sacan antes de que se dore, se dejan enfriar, se untan con betún y se
vuelven a meter al horno, para que se les cuaje el betún.

Otra, en frio
Se pone a cocer una lengua de res, después de azotarla bien; se le sirve vinagre, vinto
tinto, ajos, pimientas, clavos y canela, todo molido, y además, laurel, tomillo y mejorana.
Cuando ya este tierna esa lengua, se saca del fuego, se le quita el cuero y se prensa,
poniendola de lado. Al dia siguiente, se pica bastante cebolla y mucho jítomate, se frie
todo esto en un cuarto de aceite requemado, procurando apretar frecuentemente esta
fritura con la cuchara. Después se le pone medio cuartillo de Jerez seco, una nuez
moscada rallada, pimiento en polvo, oregano y mejorana. Cuando haya hervido esta salsa,
se cuela por un cedazo, se pone una poca de ella en un platon, se rebana la lengua y se
acomoda esta allí; y por fin, con la salsa sobrante se bana la lengua, poniéndole encima
chorizo y carne prensada y cocida, yemas de huevo cocido, alcaparras, acietunas,
cebollitas en vinagre y tornachiles.

Albondigas con vino
Desde temprano se pone a remojar en leche media torta de agua; en seguida se muele con
una libra de carne de puerco picada y una bola de chorizo, todo que no tenga mervios;
lugeo se agrega una nuez moscada rallada y pimiento en polvo [al gusto]. Con todo eso se
van formando las albondigas de un tamañó regular, poniéndole una pasa en el centro a
cada una; en seguida se frien en manteca; cuando tomen color de oro, se les pone
bastejítomate asado y exprimido; luego que este seco el jítomate, se les sirve una poca
de agua; y por fin cuando ya esten tiernas, de modo de servirse, se les agrega medio
cuertill o de vino de Madera, o tinto. Se sirven con ensalada.

Otro, envinada
Se muele jítomate asado, juntamente con clavo, pimiento y ajo; se frie luego esto en
aceite; se le pone despues caldo del cocido y un cuartillo de vino de Madera, y se deja
todo cocer a dores fuegos mansos. Cuando este guisado este ya con salsa, se sirve caliente.

Otra, asada
Sancochada una liebre entera con agua y hierbas olorosas, como laurel, tomillo y
oregano, se saca del fuego y se unta por fuera con una salsa que se hace de pan tostad,
ajo, pimienta y clavo, disuelto esto con vinagre; en tanto que por dentro se le pone
manteca a la misma liebre. Así se mete al horno, y al sacarla de el se sirve con alguna
ensalada.
Otro, con lechuga
Se compran costillas de carnero con lomo cargado y se preparan desde la vispera del día en que se van a server, con vingare, sal y pimienta. Al día siguiente, se frien en manteca; después que quen hayan dorado se les pone agua fría; cuando ya estén tiernas, se dejan secar; luego se les pone jitomate asado y exprimido, una cebolla en ruedas, una lechuga picada y unos seis clavos molidos. Cuando se vea que esta cocida la lechuga, se le sirve al carnero un poco de caldo del cocido, procurándose que al fin no quede muy seco aquel. Por último, cúñese de servirlo muy caliente.

Otro, en mole poblano
Se limpia el guajolote en cuartos y después se pone a cocer en una cazuela grande, juntamente con el mole siguiente. Se desvena media libre de chiles anchos y se frie en manteca; y otro tanto se hace con cuatro onzas de chilacate y otras cuatro de chile pasilla. Luego se tuestan en manteca cuatro onzas de almendras limpias, otro tanto de taltacahuate, otro tanto de nueces, otrotanto de ajonjoli tostado en un comal, dos onzas de cilantro de bola, también tostado en comal, un plato común colmado de tomates cocidos, una torta de pan, una tortilla tostada en manteca, y además se tuestan también las semillas de todos los chiles de que se hablo arriba. Hecho esto, se muele todo, cosa por cosa, y se va colando de la propor manera por cedazo, hasta que quede todo rendido; entonces se mezclan estas diversas cosas y se le agrega una cabeza de ajo asada y molida, cuatro docenas de pimientos, una de clavos, un pedazo de jengibre y una tablilla de chocolate, todo molido; luego se pone esto mismo en la lumbre juntamente con el guajolote y el agua necesaria para que se cueza, y en vez de manteca se le pone a hervir allí libra y media de lonja de Puerco en pedaciatos…

Mole de pavo
Este guisado, netamente del pais, es muy sabroso y se acostumbra mucho en las grandes comidas de los rancheros.

Modo de hacerlo
Cantidades para un pavo.

8 chiles colorados
8 “ mulatos
8 “ anchos
6 jitomates grandes
1 rama de silantro
50 gramos de chocolate
100 “ almendras
50 “ azucar
10 granos de anis
20 “ “ ajonjoli
6 dientes de ajo
3 tortillas
6 granos de pimient
3 granos de clavos
Un poquito de canela

Los chiles se desvenan y se frien en manteca, teniendo cuidado que no se pasen de tostados, y todo lo demás se frie y se muele muy bien; el pavo se corta en pedazos y se frie también; se le agrega caldo suficiente, hasta que el pavo quede bien cubierto con la salsa, y se deja sazonar tres horas.

Torta de garbanzo, para 8 personas
Desde la vispera se ponen a remojar 500 gramos de garbanzos; al siguiente día se cuecen con agua (sin sal), y después de cocidos, se les quitan los ollejos, se dejan enfriar y se muelan perfectamente. En una sopera se baten 6 claras de huevo a punto de turron y se le agregan yemas y el pure de garbanzos; después se le agregan 200 gramos de queso rallado, de crema de Holanda; en una budinera engrasada de mantequilla, y con pan rayado, se mete al horno, durante una hora, a fuego lento.

Condes de pasta de mantequilla
Las mismas cantidades que los anteriores.

La pasta de los condes se hace de la misma manera que las tostaditas, dándoles también las mismas 6 vueltas a la pasta; el betún de encima se prepara de la siguiente manera: En una taza se pone una clara de huevo; se bate con un tenedor de palo, o en su defecto con una cuchara de madera de tamaño pequeño; cuando la clara esta bien disuelta, se la agregan 50 gramos de azucar perfectamente bien molida; se sigue batiendo hasta que esta perfectamente disuelta; después se le agregan otros 50 gramos y se le hace la misma operacion; tiene que quedar la pasta consistente; si se ve que todavía no esta, se le agregan otros 50 gramos de azucar; se bate otra vez y al final se le mezcla media cucharada sopera de harina que se le incorpora en la clara batida con el azucar; la pasta de mantequilla se extiende con el palote del grueso de medio centímetro y encima se extiende con un cuchillo la pasta de la clara con el azucar; se cortan lo mismo que los palitos de queso; se dejan en las latas 15 minutos para que se seque un poco la pasta de la clara, y se cuecen a horno regular; se sacan de un color dorado muy ligero.

Pan inglés

Cantidades.

- 250 gramos de azucar granulada o molida
- 300 gramos de harina flor, tamizada
- 80 gramos de mantequilla derretida
- 12 huevos

Modo de preparar la pasta
En un cazo de cobre o en un cazuela honda de barro, se ponen 8 yemas de huevo y 4 enteros y la azucar; se bate con un batidor de alambre en forma de globo; se bate hasta que la pasta haga ojos, es decir, cuando la pasta se ve que esta gruesa; después, con una cuchara grande de madera, se mezcla la harina, sin batir la pasta, nada más mezclandola; aparte se baten las claras con el mismo batidor a punto de turron y teniendo cuidado de que las claras no se engranen, que esten muy tersas y muy duras; luego se mezclan las
claras batidas con la pasta de las yemas, también sin agitar la pasta, nada más mezclándola con mucho cuidado, y se le agrega la mantequilla derretida; se mezcla todo y se echa la pasta en moldes cuadrados previamente engrasados con mantequilla y espolvoreados de harina; se llenan los moldes hasta last res cuartas partes y luego se meten en el horno a una temperatura regular, es decir, ni muy caliente ni muy frío; tardan en cocerse 50 minutos.

Lengua de gato
Cantidades.
150 gramos de azúcar blanca, molida
150 “ “ harina flor tamizada
1/8 de litro de leche cocida y fría
5 claras de huevo, vainilla y
75 gramos de mantequilla

Modo de hacer la pasta
En una cazuela limpia se pone la harina cernida y el azúcar; se mezcla con una cucharada de palo y se la agrega la leche y la vainilla molida; se bate muy bien y se le pone la mantequilla derretida; se vuelva a mezclar bien; las claras se baten aparte, en un cazo de cobre, con un batidor en forma de globo, a punto de turron; las claras batidas se mezclan con la pasta, con una cucharada de palo; luego se engrasan las latas con muy poco mantequilla, y se espolvorean de harina; luego, con una bolsa de mate acordonada, y con un tubo de hoja de lata del diámetro de un lapis Delgado, se cortan en forma de soletas delgadas y se cuecen a horno caliente; luego que estan dorados, se sacan del horno y calientes se depegan con un cuchillo.

Bizcocho de chocolate
Cantidades.
200 gramos de chocolate ‘menier’ rayado
200 “ “ azúcar muy molida, con una poca de vainilla
200 “ “ mantequilla
100 “ “ harina flor tamizada
8 huevos, y media cucharadita de Royal

Manera de prepara la pasta
En un cacerola se pone la mantequilla y se amasa con la mano hasta que quede muy blanda; luego, con una cucharada de palo, se bate otro poco; se le agrega el azúcar, el chocolate y 2 huevos enteros; se sigue batiendo con la misma cucharada de palo y se le agregan 6 yemas de huevo; se bate otro poco y se le mezcla la harina, juntamente con el Royal. Las claras se baten aparte en un cazo de cobre y con batidor de alambre en forma de globo; luego que estan muy duras, se mezclan con la otra pasta, se incorpora todo y se pone la pasta en un molde o en una charola cuadrada honda, engrasada de mantequilla y forrada de papel blanco; se echa allí la pasta y se cuece a horno suave; dilate en cocerse una hora. Después de cocido el bizcocho y frío, se rebana en pedazos cuadrados y se remoja con la siguiente crema.
Gorditas de maíz cacahuazentle  
Cantidades.  
- 300 gramos de maíz cacahuazentle, previamente molido y pasado por el cernidor.  
- 150 gramos de azúcar blanca muy menudita  
- 150 gramos de manteca  
- 1 huevo entero  

Manera de hacer la masa  
Se forma un círculo con la harina, y en el centro se pone el azúcar, la manteca y el huevo; se mezcla con la mano y se la agrega la harina; después se incorpora todo con un cuchillo; luego se forman unas bolitas del tamaño que se desee y se aplastan con el fondo de un vaso labrado; se ponen en charolas y se cuecen a horno regular.

Brioch  
Cantidades.  
- 500 gramos de harina flor, cernida  
- 250 gramos de mantequilla fresca  
- 25 gramos de azúcar blanca, molida  
- 2 onzas de levadura Flechisman  
- 6 huevos y media cucharadita de sal molida  

Manera de preparar la masa  
Con 75 gramos de harina se hace un círculo y en el centro se ponen las 2 onzas de levadura con un poco de agua tibia; se disuelven las pastillas y se le mezcla la harina; se amasa bien hasta que quede muy fina la levadura y de bastante consistencia la pasta; debe procurarse que no quede suelta, mas bien dura; se le da un corte en cruz a la bola de la levadura y se deja fermentar en un lugar caliente; entretanto fermenta la levadura, con la harina restante se forma un círculo y en el centro se pone le sal, el azucar y 4 huevos enteros; se mezcla todo y se le agrega la harina; es decir, primero se revuelve con la mano la sal, el azucar y los huevos, y después es cuando se le agrega la harina; se golpea la masa con la mano encima de la mesa, por unos minutos, luego se le agregan los dos huevos restantes y se sigue golpeando la masa; luego, si la levadura fermenta bastante, que se vea como una esponja, entonces es cuando se pone la levadura en la pasta y se revuelve; luego que la levadura esta incorporada a la pasta, se le agrega la mantequilla y se sigue golpeando; luego que todo esta perfectamente mezclado, se pone la pasta en una cazuza de tamaño tres veces mayor que el volume de la masa; se engrasa por encima con manteca, y se deja reposar la pasta en lugar caliente durante 5 horas. Si se empieza a preparar la masa a las 9 de la manana, a last res de la tarde esta lista para formar los Briochts. La pasta, después de 5 horas de reposo, se pone encima de la table de amasar, previamente espolvoreada de harina; se dobla la pasta en cuatro partes y se corta por la mitad; a lo largo se toma una parte y se estira con la mano, hasta formar un rollo; luego, con un cuchillo, se van cortando en pedazos del tamaño de un huevo; cada pedazo se redondea con la mano y se van colocando en las latas; despues que ya estan todos los pedazos redondeados, se aplastan con la mano un poco, y en el centro se pone una balita de masa del tamaño de un decimo; se dejan las latas en lugar caliente, para que suban los Briochs; el punto para saber si estan listos, se conoce cuando se ven los Briochs muy...
tersos y esponjados; entonces, con una brocha y un huevo entero batido se les va poniendo a cada uno por encima; se cuecen a horno regular.

Chalupitas
Se toman 750 gramos de masa de nixtamal y se la agregan 250 gramos de queso fresco y un poco de sal molida; luego se muele en el metate; después se toma un poco de esta masa del volumen de un huevo y se forma una cazuelita; se hacen todas de la misma forma; luego se frien en manteca de unto y se les prepara el siguiente relleno. 16 cucharadas de frijoles cocidos y molidos en el metate, una lata de Sardinas en aceite, sin espinas. Se pone una sarten con 4 cucharadas de aciete, una cebolla picada y 2 dientes de ajo, también picados; luego que esta dorado, se le agregan 2 jitomates asados y molidos; después se le ponen los frijoles y se deja friver perfectamente; luego se le agregan las sardinas picadas, sal y pimiento; con este relleno se llenan las chalupitas y por encima se les pone queso fresco; se sirven calientes.

Sopa de carne
Se muele una libra de carne de “paloma” con una torta de pan remojado en leche, una poca de pimienta, nuez moscada y sal. Se frie en manteca harina: así que esta un poco pasada de color se le pone cebolla picada menudita, jitomate asado y exprimido y perejil; ya que esta frito, se le poneal caldo suficiente, un polvo de pimienta nuez moscada, verdura de toda, ya cocida: chicharos y acelgas picadas. Se van poniendo en esta caldillo pedacitos de la.…

Sopa de seoso
Se picanjitomate, cebolla y ajo y se frien anadiendoles acelgas cocidas: cuando todo este bien frito, se le pone el caldo, sesos picados y unos tallarines fritos y se deja hervir.

Sopa de macarrones
En una cazuela se pone, una capa de macarrones, otra de cebolla y jitomate picados y fritos con chorizos, otra de queso seco rajado, y bolitas de mantequilla. Se pone a dos fuegos.

Carne asada
Se le hacen a las carnes unas tajadas, se le pone sal unas gotas de limon y se tiene así, una o dos horas. Se pone en la lumbre la parrilla, cuando este muy caliente se coloca la carne untada de mantequilla, se aviva al fuego y se voltea sin cesar. Se conoce que esta cocida cuando se le forma una costra medio dorada. Se sirve inmediatamente para que no pierda el fuego.

Lomo frito
Se hacen al lomo unas cortaduras que pasen al otro lado y se ponea cocer un una allo con sal, ajos molidos, manteca, tomillo y unas hojas de laurel. Cuando este cocido se frie en una cazuela con manteca, poniendole colado el caldo que quedo en la olla y se deja consumir, poniendole a dos fuegos.

Lomo tullido
Se pica la carne de res, se muele y se revuelve con chorizo y huevo: agregandole, chicharos, papas, frutas en vinagre, aciete y un poco de vinagre. Se pone un papel untado de manteca se rellena con el picadillo que se tiene dicho, se envuelve y se frie en manteca.

Otro lomo
Se rebana el lomo y se sancochan las rebanadas en aciete con un poco de vinagre y sal. Despues se asan en la parrilla y se sirve con la salsa.

Papas
Cocidos y rebanadas se acomodan en una cazuela untada de manteca y polvo de pimienta, queso seco rallado, mantequilla, poca leche y sal, a dos fuegos suaves se cocen.

Otra (salsa) de perejil y almendra
Cocido el perejil, se muele con almendras: y se sanoza con vinagre, aceite y sal

Otra (ensalada) de papas
Despues de cocidas, peladas y rebanadas las papas, se les agregan yemas de huevo cocidas y dehechas en vinagre, con aciete, sal y pimienta.

Sopa de bolitas de arroz
Cuatro onzas de arroz se cuecen en un cuartillo de agua hasta que seque, despues se le pone un cuartillo de leche; cuando este seco, se muele con sal, se le ponen dos huevos, se hacen bolitas, se frien en Manteca, y se ponen en el caldillo

Tortillas de harina
Se hace la masa con una libra de harina, cuatro onzas de Manteca, tres yemas y dos claras de huevo y tres onzas de azúcar, deshaciéndose con agua tibia. *Se forman las tortillas y se cuecen al comal o al horno.*

Bizcochos rellenos
Se dividen bizcochos chicos, como los de a cinco por ejemplo, y se les saca el migajón, que se revolverse con mantequilla derretida, azúcar y canela. Con esta pasta se vuelven a rellenar los bizcochos, que untados con huevo batido se frien en mantequilla. Despues se echan en una cazuela con leche hervida con azúcar y una raja de canela: se ponen a dos fuegos hasta que espese la leche y se le añaden entonces ajonjoli tostado, pasas, almendras, y canela. Se pueden hacer tambien sin frierse, sino echandose despues de rellanos en la leche hervida, pero entonces se añaden a esta los huevos.
Appendix B: Jeffrey Pilcher’s Primary Sources

The following list is of the nationally oriented cookbooks utilized by Jeffrey Pilcher in his dissertation, ¡Vivan los tamales! The Creation of a Mexican National Cuisine, published at Texas Christian University in 1993. I include the list as a means of providing a historical context in “Section II: A Culinary History of Mexico”.


El cocinero y cocinera mexicanos con reposteria y refrescos. Mexico City: Impreso por Antonio Diaz, 1851.


La cocinera poblana y el libro de las familias. 2 vols. Puebla: Tip. de Narciso Bassols, 1881.

La cocinera poblana y el libro de las familias. 5th ed. 2 vols. Puebla: Tip. de Narciso Bassols, 1895.


Manual del cocinero y cocinera, tomado del periodico literario La Risa. Puebla: Imprenta de Jose Maria Macias, 1849.

Novisimo arte de cocina – o – escelente coleccion de la mejores recetas, para que al menor costo possible, y con la mayor comodidad, pueda guisarse a la espanola,
francesa, italiana e inglesa; sin omitirse cosa alguna de lo hasta aqui publicado, para sazar al estilo de nuestro pais. Mexico City: C. Alejandro Valdes, 1831.


Novisimo arte de cocina – o – Excelente coleccion de las mejores recetas. Mexico City: Imprenta a cargo de Manuel N. de la Vega, 1845.


Nuevo cocinero mejicano, excelente coleccion de la majors recetas. Mexico City: Impreso por Luis Heredia, 1841.

Nuevo cocinero mejicano en forma de diccionario. Paris: Libreria de Rosa y Bouret; and Mexico City: Libreria Mejicana, 1858.

Nuevo cocinero mejicano en forma de diccionario. Paris and Mexico City: Libreria de Rosa y Bouret, 1868.


Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos, dispuesto por una mexicana, y experimentado por personas inteligentes antes de darse a la prensa. Mexico City: Imprenta de Santiago Perez, 1836.

Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos, dispuesto por una mexicana. 2d ed. Mexico City: Imprenta de Vicente Garcia Torres, 1842.


Recetas practicas para la senora de casa sobre cocina, reposteria, pasteles, neveria, etc. Guadalajara: Imp. del Orfanatorio del Sagrado Corazon de Jesus, 1892.
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*El cocinero mexicano, ó, Coleccion de las mejores recetas para guisar al estilo Americano, y de las mas selectas segun el metodo de las cocinas española, italiana, francesa e inglesa.* 3 vol. Mexico: Imprenta de Galvan, a cargo de Mariano Arevalo, 1831.

*La cocinera de todo el mundo, o la cocina sin cocinera.* Puebla: Imprenta de Juan Nepomuceno del Valle, 1843.


*Nuevo y sencillo arte de cocina, reposteria y refrescos, dispuesto por una Mexicana.* 3d ed. Mexico City: Imprenta de Luis Inclan, 1865.


Perez, Guadalupe, *Libro de recetas de cocina.* 1884

Recetas practicas para la senora de casa sobre cocina, reposteria, pasteles, neveria, etc. Guadalajara: Tip. de M. Perez Lete, 1890.


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