

Mujeres de la Prensa

Women Printers in Colonial Mexico, 1600-1815

exhibition catalogue prepared by

Kelli Hansen

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Introduction

In 1539, Juan Cromberger and Juan Pablos negotiated the contract that would make Pablos the first printer in the New World. Cromberger, a prominent Sevillian printer, lent his commercial vision and capital to this expansion into new territory, while Pablos, a native of Brescia and a compositor in the Cromberg house, committed himself and his household to print for Cromberger for a period of ten years. While the entire contract is an important document in the history of printing, what is interesting for our purposes is that among the itemized list of behaviors and tasks Pablos would carry out was a stipulation pertaining to his wife, Gerónima Gutierrez.

Item, that the aforesaid Geronima Gutierrez, my wife, shall be obligated to manage and serve the house in everything that may be necessary, without taking from it a sovereign nor any other thing, except what is needed for its maintenance.¹

The house in question being a printer's house, Gutierrez's duties would have included helping with the work of the press as well as managing the business aspect of the enterprise. Cromberger and Pablos agreed on their terms, and printing arrived in Latin America less than a century after its beginnings in Europe, but a full century before Stephen Daye began printing in the British colonies to the north. Although she never produced a book on her own, Gutierrez became the first in a lineage of Mexican women printers that stretched into the nineteenth century.

Like Gerónima Gutierrez, women participated behind the scenes in most of the trades, helping husbands and fathers in the family workshop or market stall. However, in colonial Mexico, as in most of the rest of the world, a woman's official place was in the home, and a life lived quietly in the domestic sphere leaves little trace in the historical record. Uncovering the history of women in Latin America is therefore problematic, and it is difficult to ascertain the level of women's involvement in various economic activities outside the home.² What is known is that women could and did step over boundaries to participate in male-dominated fields, sometimes for the sake of personal ambition, but more often out of economic necessity. Although barred from entering most of the trade guilds, women commanded a sizable minority of weavers, spinners, bakers, tobacco processors, and other skilled trades by the

seventeenth century.³ Printing was no exception, and it in particular became an intersection point between the private family business and the emerging public communications media. As Carolina Amor de Fournier notes, printing was one of the few activities with public impact in which Mexican women could engage during the colonial period.⁴ As in Europe and the North American colonies, a majority of the women printers in Mexico were widows or heirs to male printers. Most did not use their own names in their imprints but rather designated themselves “viuda” – widow – of the original press owner. Some widows acted as regents, holding onto the press until a son came of age, while others became active and prolific printers in their own right.

The history of the first woman printer in Latin America, María de Sansoric, is probably typical for the period. Sansoric was the second wife of Pedro de Ocharte, who started a printing business in Mexico in 1563. Ocharte, not a printer by trade, was first married to María de Figueroa, the daughter of Juan Pablos, around 1561 and purchased his press from Gerónima Gutierrez in 1563. However, María de Figueroa died sometime before 1570, because Ocharte is recorded as marrying María de Sansoric at that time. María de Sansoric took charge of her husband’s press for the first time when he was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1572. Ocharte was able to write her from prison, and one of the surviving letters contains instructions to her for running the press:

What there is to do at home is to have Adrian make up the four forms of the religious charts, and have the Negroes print the charts, and print the first one first. If there is not enough paper, let them ask Senor Miguel de Ecija to do me the favor to provide what is necessary, for I will pay him when I get out of here with the help of God; and all the demy paper in the house will have to be printed. The summaries of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Mexican tongue were in the form which was on the press. Have Pedro Balli called to correct the charts...⁵

The letter makes clear that María’s role was largely administrative. Adrian may have been a compositor employed by the firm; several of the women represented in this exhibition hired male compositors to help oversee the daily operations of the press. It is also an established fact that Mexican printers employed slave labor for the more physically taxing work of printing. Juan Pablos had an African slave, and Ocharte’s allusion to “the Negroes” indicates that he did as well.

Ocharte was released from prison by 1574, and the second time María de Sansoric managed the press was after his death in 1592. She produced the first volume of Manuel Alvarez’s *De institutiones gramaticae* under the imprint “Viuda [widow] de Pedro Ocharte.” Although she soon sold the press to Pedro Balli, she opened another printing business at the Colegio de Tlatelolco a few years later. Melchior de Ocharte, Pedro’s oldest son, took charge of this press upon her death in 1599. What is interesting to note is that the first press in the New World was passed on partially through female inheritance, from Juan Pablos to his wife Gerónima Guterriez, then to María de Figueroa, and by marriage to Pedro Ocharte; to Ocharte’s second wife María de Sansoric, and finally by sale to Pedro Balli. When Pedro Balli

died in 1611, his widow, Catalina del Valle, took up the press in turn. María de Sansoric may be unique for founding her own press after selling her husband's press to a rival printer, but other widows would also take charge of their husbands' establishments in later years.

These first intertwined families in the history of Mexican printing were slowly joined by others. Pablos had printed on his own account after the death of Cromberger in 1547, and he was granted a monopoly that expired around 1560. Antonio Espinosa became Mexico's second printer in 1559, Pedro Ocharte followed in 1563, and Pedro Balli and Antonio Ricardo set up their shops in the 1570s. Although presses flourished, print culture in Mexico was strictly controlled. Each of the colonies had its own branch of the Spanish Inquisition, and these proved to be as zealous as they were in Spain. Printers and booksellers who promoted questionable material risked running afoul of the religious establishment with disastrous personal and professional results, and several, including Pedro Ocharte, were arrested and questioned. Because of this, the book trade in Mexico was largely an auxiliary for Spain's one great industry: the Church. The first printed books in Latin America were devotionals imported from Spain and were destined to be used in efforts to convert the native peoples to Christianity. The first books printed in the New World were meant for the same purpose, and thus the early Mexican presses issued a wide range of books for priests: confessionals, sacramentals, doctrines, hagiographies, devotionals, sermons. They were printed in Spanish and Latin, but also Nahautl, Maya, Mixtec and a number of other indigenous languages. In later years, the provincial governments granted rights and concessions to specific presses, allowing some houses to hold monopolies over certain types of materials. Works of literature, science, and theology continued to be imported from Europe, although some printers began to re-print European works in the eighteenth century.⁶

Although printing spread to Lima, Peru, by 1581, other cities in Latin America were much slower to gain presses. The first presses opened in 1640 in Puebla, Mexico, 1660 in Guatemala, and 1701 in Havana. Other regional centers saw the introduction of printing as the eighteenth century progressed, but Mexico City remained the printing and publishing center for the Spanish-speaking Americas throughout the colonial period.⁷ This exhibition draws attention to a few of the women in charge of printing establishments in the capital city during this period: Catalina del Valle, Paula Benavides, the widow of Juan Francisco Lupercio, María de Benavides, Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera, María de Ribera, the widow of José Fernández Hogal, and María Fernández de Jauregi. Although it has not been possible to consider every woman printer in Mexico City here, it is hoped that the books on view will provide a glimpse into the variety of roles women played in printing during the colonial era.

As this exhibition demonstrates, women were a vital part of Mexico's early print culture, serving as printers, press owners, and editors from the earliest days of printing in Latin America through the end of the nineteenth century. However, despite a long and distinguished tradition of scholarship in the history of printing in Mexico, women printers have received sporadic scholarly attention. Although several articles and essays have appeared on the subject in the past thirty years, a monographic work has yet to be published. Only a few exhi-

bitions and studies of Latin American printing are available in English,⁸ and none of these has examined exclusively the role of women in this context. An exhibition mounted at the Biblioteca Lafragua in Puebla earlier this year appears to be the first to take this subject under consideration.⁹

This exhibition, therefore, attempts to provide an overview of an area underrepresented in existing scholarship. The materials in this catalog are largely drawn from the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin. These substantial holdings are supplemented when necessary by objects from other institutions, and this is noted where it occurs. Illustrations are provided with permission from the Benson Collection, and photographs were taken by the author unless otherwise noted. Taken together, the materials in this exhibition form a broad and varied picture of women's roles in influencing and contributing to the rich culture of Latin America.

Catalina del Valle, widow of Pedro Balli (1611-1613)

Pedro Balli or Vailly arrived in Mexico around 1569, but does not appear to have started printing until 1574. Very little information exists about his press, which appears to have operated sporadically. Some scholars speculate that he may have been in partnership or some other sort of business relationship with Pedro Ocharte. The years in which Balli's press was in operation seem to correspond to those in which Ocharte was unable to print because he was under investigation by the Inquisition.

We have still less information about Catalina del Valle, who was the widow of Pedro Balli and inherited his press upon his death in 1611. She employed Cornelio Adriano César as compositor and printed under the imprint "Viuda de Pedro Balli" until her own death in 1613.¹⁰

- 1 JERONIMO DE FLORENCIA (1565-1633). *Sermon que predico a la magestad del rey don Felipe III. Nvestro señor, el P. Geronymo de Florencia, su predicador y religioso de la Compañia de Iesus : en los honras que su magestad hizo a la serenissima reyna doña Margarita su muger, q[ue] es en gloria en S. Geronymo el Real de Madrid, a 18 de nouiembre de 1611 años.* Mexico: Viuda de Pedro Balli, 1611.
Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico 1612 M4VAL

Jeronimo de Florencia, a Jesuit priest, was a noted preacher in Spain during the seventeenth century and became a confidant and confessor of various members of the royal family. He was also appointed to the reformation council in 1621. Florencia's works were printed and widely circulated throughout the Spanish empire, and he was particularly noted for his eulogies and funeral orations for famous and noble patrons. This sermon would have been reprinted from copies imported to Mexico from Spain, and it served to reinforce Spain's political and religious dominance over its Latin American colonies.¹¹ Pedro Balli died in 1611, and this book would thus have been one of the first carried out under his widow's direction.

Paula de Benavides, widow of Bernardo Calderón (1641-1684)

Paula de Benavides' long career as a printer is one of the most distinguished in the history of colonial Mexico. Married to the printer and bookseller Bernardo Calderón around 1629 at the age of 20, she was left a widow with six small children by the age of 32. Calderón's press on San Agustín Street in Mexico City had only been in operation for ten years at that point, although he had recently gained an important privilege from the provincial government: the exclusive right to print *cartillos*, or primers. Paula de Benavides aggressively pursued and secured that concession in her own right, and went on to win other important governmental preferments from the Duke of Escalona, the Count of Salvatierra, and Archbishop Juan de Palafox. In 1652 her privileges were renewed and extended to include the city of Puebla, and in 1666 she became the official printer of the Inquisition.

Under Benavides' direction, the press was quite prolific; she printed over 300 titles in her 43-year tenure. Like many presses in this period, the San Agustín press issued sermons, miracle stories, and other religious pamphlets in addition to government documents and *cartillos*. However, Benavides showed ingenuity in some of her other publications. Although not a regular periodical, her *Gazeta General* was the first news journal in Mexico and a forerunner of the eighteenth-century *Gazeta de México*, the first regular newspaper. Benavides also published some of the most important literature of the era, including the poetry of the nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. She edited two books as well, both religious works: *Panegirico a la paciencia* by Luis de Sandoval Zapeta in 1645, and *Breviloquio* by Tomás de Velasco in 1681.

The extent of Benavides' involvement with press work is unknown, but a few of her employees' names are recorded. Pedro Quiñones worked for her husband as a compositor and printer and continued to work for her after Calderón's death. Diego Gutierrez also worked for her as a compositor for a short time. Her oldest son, Antonio, was foreman of the press from 1645 to 1649. He went on to study canon law and became a prominent priest, but he may still have been involved with the press until his death in 1668. Benavides' role has been overshadowed in the past by the prominence of her son; one historian even suggested that the nine-year-old boy ran the business after the death of his father. However, the press

continued to flourish under her ownership for sixteen years after his death, and this indicates that he was not as vital to its operations as early scholars claimed.

Although she proved herself an able businesswoman, one of Benavides' most enduring legacies was to establish herself the matriarch of the Calderón-Benavides printing dynasty. The Calderón family would play an important role in printing for another century, and three more women printers would follow in Benavides' footsteps.¹²



2 ROSE OF LIMA. *Vida de la Virgen Rosa de S. María. De la tercera orden de S. Domingo. Contida en la Bv. l. a. de su Canonizacion, por N. M. S. P. Clemente X... Traducida de Latin en romance por el R. P. Fr. Francisco Sanchez ... En Mexico, Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1673.*

Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ 271.9729 R71

Genaro García Collection

The appearance of this book is typical both of printing in Mexico at the time, and of the output of Paula de Benavides' press. The verso of the title page features a woodcut portrait of Rose of Lima in the habit of a Dominican nun. Because she was particularly devoted to the Christ Child, she holds an image of him in one hand and a key in the other. The style of the woodcut is crude compared with European illustration of this period, but it compares favorably with contemporary Mexican book illustrations. Rose is surrounded by a curving baroque frame, and four triangles made up of typographic ornament fill empty space on the page.

Rose of Lima was born in 1586 and became known as a saint during her lifetime in the Peruvian capital. From an early age, she devoted herself to a life of fasting, prayer, mortification, and charity for the sick and poor. Although her family deplored her religious zeal, Rose attracted so much attention that the Dominican order allowed her to join without the usual dowry. She took orders in 1602 and continued her ascetic life-style, dying in 1613 at the age of 31. Rose is considered the patron saint of Lima, but is also revered throughout Latin America.¹⁴

3 **SOR JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ (1651-1695).** *Villancicos, que se cantaron en la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico. En los maitines de la Purissima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora.* En Mexico: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, en la calle de San Augustin, 1676.

John Carter Brown Library BA69- .G643v

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz is a major figure in the literature of Mexico. The illegitimate daughter of a nobleman, Sor Juana grew up a precocious and gifted child. At the age of sixteen she was sent to Mexico City to live with an aunt, where she quickly developed a reputation as a polymath and a prodigy. Her encyclopedic knowledge attracted the attention of the viceroy Antonio Sebastian de Toledo and his wife Leonor Carreto, who took her into their household and acted as patrons until her entry into the convent of St. Jerome in 1669. In the convent she was able to study widely, amass her own library, and hold intellectual salons that included both men and women. Although a nun, Sor Juana wrote secular poetry and drama to popular acclaim, and she was celebrated in Spain and Mexico as the “tenth muse”.

Sor Juana’s worldliness attracted censure, however, and when she dared to openly criticize a sermon by the famous Portuguese Jesuit Antonio de Vieira, she was chastised publicly. After spending two years embattled against her superiors, she abruptly signed a confession and renunciation of her intellectual activities in her own blood and spent her remaining years in prayer, penance, and charity. She died while nursing plague victims in 1695.

This book is an important example of a woman printer publishing a woman writer. Printed by “la viuda de Bernardo Calderón,” Paula Benavides, it is one of Sor Juana’s earliest published works and is a collection of hymns to be sung in praise of the Virgin Mary in the cathedral of Mexico City. Sor Juana was commissioned to write several collections of these songs, called *villancicos*, throughout her career. Drawing on her extensive knowledge of languages, she wrote in Latin, Spanish, Nahuatl, Portuguese, Basque, and an African slave dialect, making her hymns at once erudite and accessible.¹³

ANTONIO NÚÑEZ DE MIRANDA (1618-1695). *Cartilla de la doctrina religiosa dispvesta por vno de la compañía de Jesus: para dos niñas, hijas espirituales suyas, que se crian para monjas: y desean serlo con toda perfeccion. Sacala a luz, en obsequio de las llamadas a religion, y para alivio de las maestras, que las instruyen: el Lic. Do Francisco de Salzedo.* Mexico, Viuda de B. Calderón, 1680.

Benson Collection LAC-ZZ Rare Books GZZ 271.9069 SA39C

This small book is a type of *cartillo*, or primer. Paula de Benavides successfully transferred her husband’s exclusive right to print primers into her own name and continued producing this type of book. An inexpensive tract intended to be used by children, the book is small in size (10.4 x 15.0 cm), with rather large type and little ornament. This copy is bound in limp vellum and originally had ties (which are now lost).

This work is a primer on religious doctrine aimed at young girls who plan to become nuns. On the title page, the author is given as Francisco de Salzedo, the chaplain of a group of nuns of St. Theresa at the convent of St. Joseph in an unnamed town. However, it is thought that this book may have been written by Antonio Núñez de Miranda. Núñez was the confessor of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and is thought to have been involved in her renunciation of writing and scholarship at the end of her life.



Widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio (1683-1696)

Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio was a printer and bookseller at the Puente de Palacio in Mexico City beginning in 1658. Although his works were not numerous, he was responsible for some of the most important books of the time, including the monumental *Sumarios de la Recopilación de los Leyes* (*Summary of the Recompilation of the Law*) by Rodrigo Aguiar y Acuña in 1677. Lupercio died in 1683, and his widow, whose name is not recorded, assumed control of the press in that year.¹⁵ She managed the press until her death in 1696 or 1697. She continued to print pamphlets describing current events, including a description of the triumphal arch constructed to welcome Gaspar de Sandoval, Count of Galve, to the city in 1688, and the text of a sermon dedicating the church of the convent of St. Bernard. She also printed religious works, including a volume in praise of the Virgin Mary which she edited herself. Under her direction the output of the press provides a valuable record of current events in the capital city.¹⁶



ACTA. Acta Capitvli Provincialis, celebrati in Conventu Imperiali Mexiceo S.P.N. Dominici : die 14 mensis Maij Anni 1689. Mexici : apud Viduam Francisi Rodríguez Lupercio, [1689].

Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books BX 3512 S35 D789 1689

Genaro García Collection

This small pamphlet, now disbound, was issued to document the meeting of Dominican clergy in 1689. Pamphlets such as these were printed annually and contain the names of various members of the order and their assignments to parishes throughout Mexico. Printed in small editions, they were ephemeral works meant to be issued to priests and monasteries, not for public consumption.¹⁷ Even so, the widow Lupercio and her workshop created a relatively elaborate title page. In addition to the usual typographic ornament, the work contains an engraving of the shield of the Dominican order in circular format, with its panels of black and white and distinctive cross fleury. The addition of this ornament required an extra pass of the press, but it is carried out here with precision.

5

María de Benavides, widow of Juan de Ribera (1684-1700)

María de Benavides, the daughter of Paula Benavides, married Juan de Ribera in 1655. A printer by trade, he opened his own press in 1677 on Empedradillo Street in Mexico City. María inherited her husband's press when he died in 1684 and is the first woman printer in New Spain to use her own name as imprint, signing herself "Doña María de Benavides" in addition to noting her status as the widow of Juan de Ribera. Although not as profitable or as prolific as the establishment built by her mother, the press was one of the largest in Mexico City at the time.¹⁸ Like many of the other Mexican presses of this period, Benavides' press issued sermons, descriptions of miracles, and official church documents. However, she did not publish news sheets, perhaps not wanting to compete with the press managed first by her mother, then by her brother Diego.¹⁹ Even so, Benavides and her workshop produced several finely printed and illustrated works, as evidenced by the books on display here.



AUGUSTÍN DE VETANCURT (1620-1700). *Teatro mexicano. Descripción breve de los sucesos ejemplares, históricos, políticos, militares, y religiosos del Nuevo Mundo occidental de las Indias ... Dispuesto por el r. p. fr. Avgvstin de Vetancvrt. En Mexico, Por Doña María de Benavides, viuda de Iuan de Ribera, 1698 [1697]*

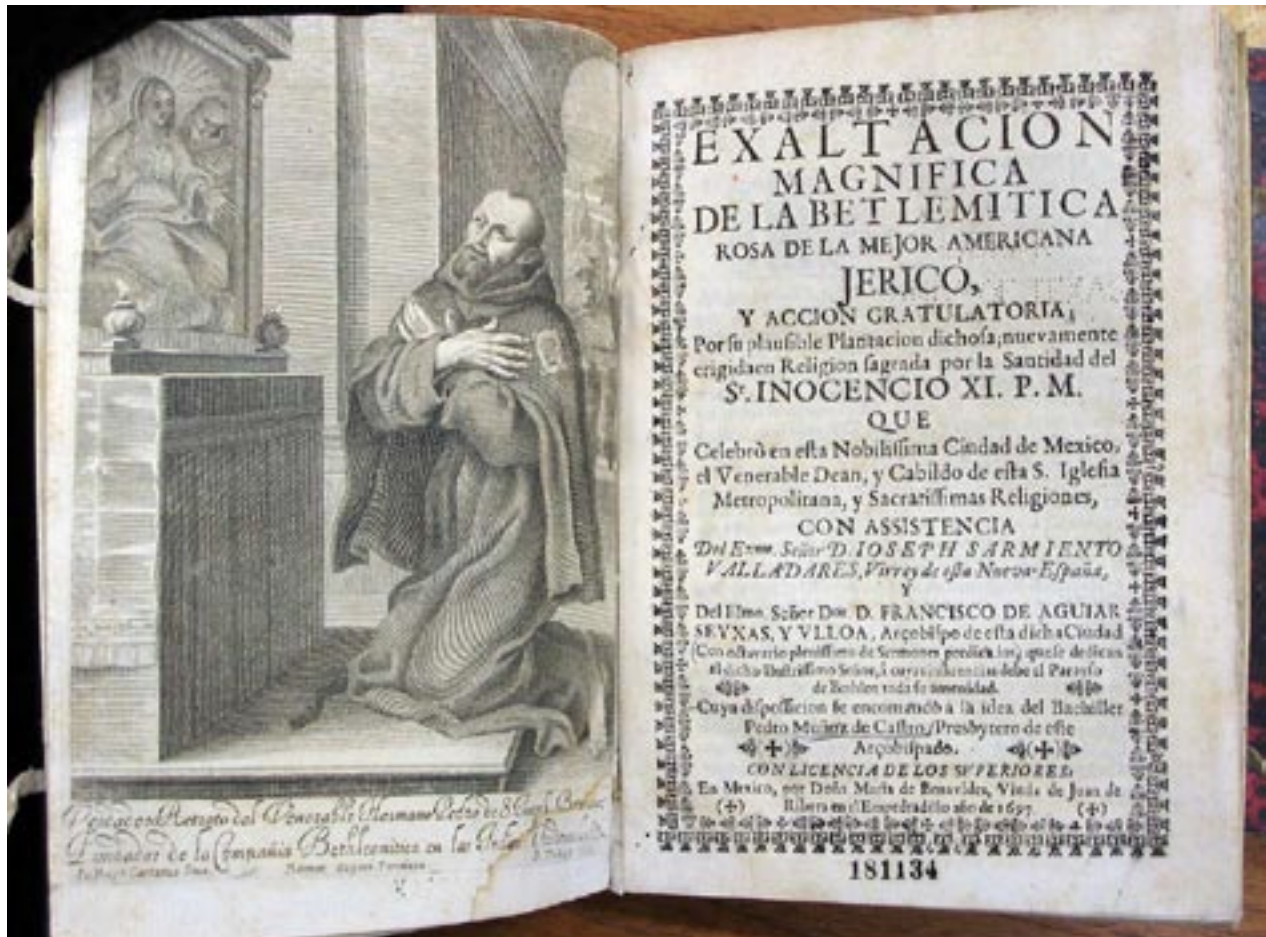
Benson Collection LAC-ZZ Rare Books -Q- GZZ 972.02 V64T

Joaquin García Icazbalceta Collection

This book is the largest and most ambitious product of María de Benavides' press. Written by the historian and linguist Augustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano* was an attempt to relate the history of New Spain from the Conquest to the end of the seventeenth century. Benavides printed it in two columns, in a large format, and issued it in parts. The title pages are printed on heavier stock and may have been the book's original wrappers.

This copy, quarter bound in green leather and green marbled paper, belonged to the library of Joaquin García Icazbalceta, a noted historian and bibliographer.

6



- 7 PEDRO MUÑOZ DE CASTRO. *Exaltacion magnifica de la Betlemítica rosa de la mejor Americana Jerico, ... : con octavario plenissimo de sermones predicados, que se dedican al dicho illustrissimo Señor, á cuyas influencias debe el parayso de Bethlen toda su amenidad, cuya disposicion se encomendò a la idea del Bachiller Pedro Muñoz de Castro.* Mexico: Doña María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera, 1697. Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ 271.792 M926

The Bethlehemites were a monastic order founded by Pedro de Betancourt in Guatemala in the mid seventeenth century. Associated with the Franciscan order, the Bethlehemites were mendicants, begging for alms to support themselves and their work. They were principally concerned with caring for the poor and sick, and their order spread throughout Latin America before its suppression in 1820. Betancourt himself was noted for his personal devotion to Our Lady of Bethlehem and for his visits to the sick, poor, and imprisoned.²⁰

This edition of the life of Betancourt includes an engraved frontispiece of him in prayer. The designer is noted as "Io. Bapt. Caetanus" and the engraver as "B. Thiboud", and the print was most likely based on a painting, as many engravings were during this period. Caetanus and Thiboud were most likely artisans working in Mexico City, as they do not appear in listings of European artists during this era.

8 JOSÉ CASTRO. *Vida del siervo de Dios, fr. Juan de Angulo, y Miranda, español indiano, religioso lego del Orden de menores de la regular observancia de la provincia de los Zacatecas ... escribela el m.r.p.m. fr. Joseph de Castro ...* México, Por doña María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera, 1695.

Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ
282.092 AN48C

Juan de Angulo y Miranda, as the title of this book notes, was a missionary to the province of Zacatecas and was revered for his piety.²¹ This book includes a woodcut portrait of him holding a cross and a rosary and surrounded by a scrolling Baroque frame. Although it is not known whether Benavides' printing establishment included illustrators, the quality of this woodcut indicates that it was not made by a professionally trained artist. The lack of specificity in the portrait also suggests that it could have been reused in other publications, although no evidence exists to substantiate this.





- 9 FRANCISCO DE FLORENCIA. *La estrella de el norte de Mexico aparecida al rayar el dia de la luz evangelica en este nuevo-mundo, en la cumbre del cerro de Tepeyac, orilla del mar Tezcucano, à vn natural recien convertido pintada tres dias despues milagrosamente en su tilma ò capa de lienço delante del obispo y de su familia, en su casa obispal, para luz en la fe à los indios, para rumbo cierto à los españoles en la virtud, para serenidad de las tempestuosas inundaciones de la laguna, en la historia de la milagrosa imagen de N. Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico, que se apareció en la manta de Juan Diego. Compusola el P. Francisco de Florencia, de la Compañia de Jesus ... ; con las novenas proprias de la aparicion de la santa imagen.* En Mexico : Por doña María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera ..., 1688.

Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ 282.71 F662

La estrella del norte de Mexico is the first encyclopedic work about Our Lady of Guadalupe, an apparition of the Virgin Mary that reportedly appeared on the cloak of the native convert Juan Diego in 1531. Adopted immediately by Mexico's Christianized native and mestizo populations, the Virgin of Guadalupe did not gain popularity with Spanish immigrants and their descendants until the seventeenth century. Today, the Virgin of Guadalupe is revered as the patroness of Mexico and all the Americas.

This dramatic increase in popularity is partially due to Francisco de Florencia. Born in Saint Augustine, Florida, Florencia probably moved to Mexico City in his teens, where he was educated and ordained as a Jesuit priest. Florencia spent eleven years researching the legends and oral traditions surrounding the miraculous apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe before writing this definitive history on the subject. Florencia attempted to record only the most verifiable claims surrounding the apparition, leading him to reject or modify earlier written and oral accounts. However, his descriptions of the apparition's beauty and the miracles ascribed to her reveal intense personal devotion.²²

This first edition of Florencia's work includes an engraved frontispiece of Our Lady of Guadalupe, printed alongside a description in Latin, despite the difficulties of combining intaglio and letterpress.

Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera, widow of Miguel de Ribera Calderón (1707-1714)

Yet another widow of the Calderón family, Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera married the son of María de Benavides, Miguel de Ribera Calderón, who had inherited the press at Empe-
dradillo Street from the Ribera side of the family. Both Escobar y Vera and her husband had relatively short tenures at the press: Ribera Calderón managed it from 1701 to 1707, and Escobar y Vera from 1707 to 1714. Under her leadership the press continued as it had under previous owners. Although her mother-in-law María de Benavides had used her own name in business, Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera referred to herself as the widow of Miguel de Ribera Calderón in all the publications of her press.

- 10 ANTONIO NÚÑEZ DE MIRANDA (1618-1695). *Distribucion de las obras ordinarias y extraordinarias del dia para hacerlas perfectamente conforme al Estado de las Señoras Religiosas*. Mexico: por la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1712. Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ 271.9 N922D

One of the most important publications of Antonio Núñez de Miranda, this book was intended to instruct nuns on how to arrange their daily lives in order to best pursue spiritual perfection. Núñez was a prominent Jesuit priest of the period, the confessor of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and the author of several works aimed at religious women. The woodcut illustration included in the dedication depicts two patron saints worshipping the Eucharistic host, which is shown in a monstrance.²⁵

This particular copy was owned by a nun, possibly in Mexico City. An eighteenth-century ownership inscription on the front free endpaper identifies her as Sor Antonia Nicesa, at the convent of St. Didacus.





11 **BLAS DEL PULGAR (d. 1709).** *Sermon que en accion de gracias ofredió a Dios, y á su Santissima Madre, en su devotissima imagē de los Remedios por el avgvstissimo parto de la reyna nuestra señora la serenissima doña María Luysa Gabriela Emmanvel de Saboya, en que dió á luz, día de S. Luyz rey de Francia á 25. de agosto a nvestro principe Luys Phelipe dixolo Blas de el Pulgar, á 8. de febrero de 1708.* Mexico: Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1708 [?].

Benson Collection Rare Books DP 195 P982 1708
Genaro García Collection

This sermon was preached in thanks for the safe delivery of the Infante Luis Felipe of Spain and the health of his mother María Luisa. The Virgin of Remedies, another popular manifestation of the Virgin Mary, had been invoked to protect them both during the birth. The Virgin of Remedies was an extremely popular religious image during this period. Credited with miraculous cures, both the native and European populations looked to her for protection and guidance.²³



12 **MIGUEL CASTILLA (d. 1713).** *Sermon de san Nicolas el magno, arzobispo de Mira, patron de la ciudad de Bari, que predico el padre Miguel de Castilla ... : en la solemnidad que en la yglesia de religiosos Bethlemitas desta Ciudad de Mexico celebra todos los años el capp. d. Diego de Berasturi, al presente dignissimo prefecto de dicha congregación ... Mexico : por la viuda de M. de Ribera Calderón, 1709.* Benson Collection Rare Books BR 1720 N46 C37 1709

Genaro García Collection

Nicholas of Myra, also called Nicholas of Bari, is the Saint Nicholas that gave rise to the tradition of Santa Claus in western Europe and the United States.²⁴ Although not a major figure in Latin America, this Bethlehemite sermon would probably have been preached on his feast day, December 6.

Sermons such as the two on this page were bread and butter for printers in colonial Latin America. This sermon was originally issued as a small pamphlet, and was at some point bound together with others of its type into a volume. It has since been removed from its binding for conservation purposes.

María de Ribera Calderón y Benavides (1732-1754)

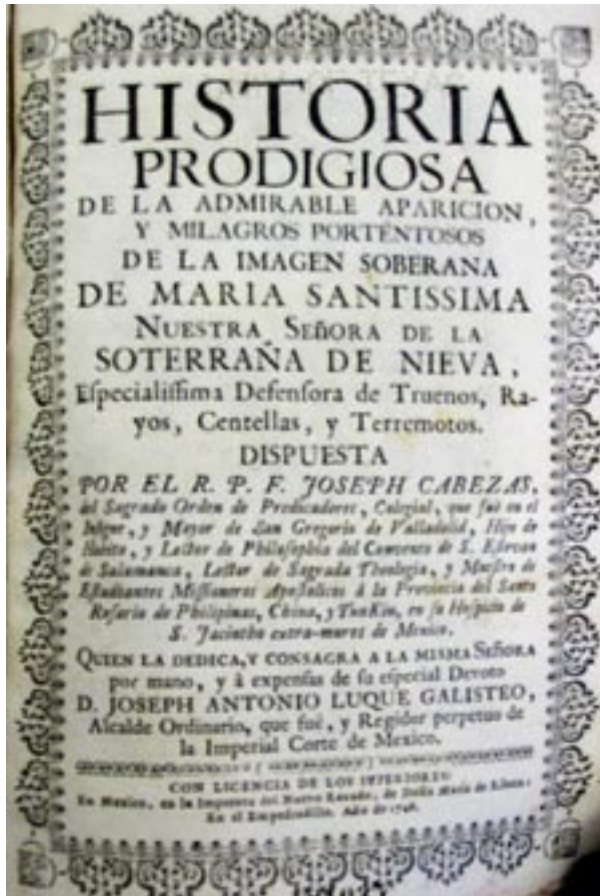
After the death of Gertrudis de Escobar, the press at Empedradillo was held for eighteen years by a company called “Heirs of the widow of Miguel de Ribera Calderón.” However, in 1732, María de Ribera Calderón y Benavides, the daughter of Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera, took over the press in her own right. She issued books, pamphlets, and news sheets under the name María de Ribera and became the second woman in Mexico, and the second at the Empedradillo, to identify herself personally with the products of her press. In later years, she also used the title “Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno” (Royal Press of the Superior Government) along with her name. Under the heirs of the widow of Miguel de Ribera Calderón, the Empedradillo establishment had succeeded to a high level of privilege, and by including it in her imprint Ribera indicated that this privilege had passed to her.²⁶

Ribera’s production at the press was prolific. Following in the footsteps of her great-grandmother, Paula de Benavides, she printed the *Gazeta de México*, the country’s first newspaper, which had begun in 1722, from 1732 to 1737. In addition to the usual fare of the Mexican press, she was especially noted for her printing in Latin, and she re-equipped the business with new types and updated equipment in 1733, a fact which she noted in detail in that week’s *Gazeta*:

On [February] 10, 11, 12, and 13, there was opened, in the shop in which this Gazette is printed, the new printing press which came on the recent fleet, and which is composed of very clean and well-molded letters, of those which make up a complete press; there are characters of song or music, great canon, small canon and the respectively smaller ones of the missal, paragon, text, Old English, small pica, long primer, brevier, gloss, minuscule, nonpareil, with Greek and Hebrew, and among these there are others, such as text and Old English, between small pica and long primer, etc., with spaces, quads, two-line titles, and various curiosities for vignettes. Its principal instruments are divisorium, gripper, type galley, galley slice, chase, furniture, end rules, slide rules, tympan, inner tympan, guides, wedges, frisket, and inking balls; its principal workmen are: compositor, pressman, and brayer, and this last one’s duty is to make and apply

the ink, which is composed of pitch, oil, and lamp-black, or if it is colored, of vermilion.²⁷

This long and detailed listing reveals a considerable pride in the press and its work, and it can only be assumed that Ribera herself played an important part in the press's daily operations. The use of new equipment made a marked improvement on the quality of printing at Empedradillo Street. María de Ribera's impressions tend to be clean, crisp, and well inked, in contrast to the somewhat fuzzy ones printed under her mother's ownership.



- 13 JOSÉ CABEZAS. *Historia prodigiosa de la admirable aparición, y milagros portentosos de la imagen soberana de María Santissima, Nuestra Señora de la soterraña de nieva, especialissima defensora de truenos, rayos, centellas, y terremotos. Dispuesta por el R.P.F. Joséph Cabezas ...* Mexico, Impr. del Nuevo rezado, de María de Ribera, 1748.

Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ 282.7 C111

This book is a reprint of an edition originally published in Spain concerning a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary in Segovia called Nuestra Señora de la Soterraña (Our Lady of the Cave). This image was supposedly discovered in 1391 by a shepherd after he saw a sign in the sky. It is believed that the Guadalupe legend is part of this tradition, and it in turn inspired a number of new reports of apparitions in Spain.²⁸

The engraving displayed here is printed on a slightly smaller sheet of paper and was bound in after the title page. It depicts the miraculous image enshrined, and the plate is signed "Navarro fec. Mexico ano d Ci, calle de Palma." Toribio Medina records a José María Navarro working in Mexico City as an engraver twenty years after the publication of this print; they may be members of the same family.²⁹



14 MARCOS DE SAAVEDRA. *Confessionario breve activo, y passivo, en lengua mexicana. Con el qual los que comienzan (sabiendolo bien de memoria) parece, que qualquiera estará suficiente mientras aprende mas. Dispuesto por el P.F. Marcos de Saavedra ...* Reimpresso en Mexico, en la Imprenta real del superior gobierno, y del Nuevo rezado, de Doña María de Ribera, 1746.
Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ 497 SA12C 1746

Another small religious pamphlet, this guide to confession for use by priests was printed in two columns with Spanish on the left and Nahuatl on the right. It appears to be preserved as issued, a single gathering sewn together with the first leaf serving as wrapper and title page. This and the history displayed here were produced at the height of María de Ribera's press, after she ceased printing the *Gazeta* and before a rival press opened at the Colegio de San Ildefonso.³⁰



15 FRANCISCO XAVIER DE FARÍA. *Vida. Y heroicas virtudes del Vble. padre Pedro de Velasco, provincial, que fué, de la Compañia de Jesus, de Nueva-España. Por el P. Francisco Xavier de Faría de la misma Compañia de Jesus.* Mexico, En la imprenta de Doña María de Ribera, 1753.
Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books GZ 271.59 V541
Genaro García Collection

Pedro de Velasco was a Jesuit missionary to northern New Spain in the area that is now Arizona. The son of a powerful political family, he refused high religious offices in Mexico City in favor of staying in the north. He learned three of the native languages in the area and served as the head priest in the region from 1646 to 1649, the year of his death. Francisco Xavier de Faría was a fellow Jesuit missionary in the same area toward the end of the seventeenth century.³¹

This copy, like many others of this period, is plainly bound in limp vellum with ties. The title is hand-lettered on the spine in brown ink.

Widow of José Bernardo de Hogal (1741-1755)

José Bernardo de Hogal appears to have arrived in Mexico in 1720 and set up a press in 1724 in Mexico City. His printing was characterized by care and precision, and he was known to have produced at least one book in Greek characters. While this was not the first such book printed in Mexico, it was a rarity that few printers could manage at the time. His shop was also fairly large and well documented. It is known that he employed José de Munguía y Saldaña and the brothers Antonio, Miguel, and José Fernández Orozco as compositors, as well as Jerónimo Cirilo de Ibarra as printer and José Salvador Delgado as manager of the bookshop and office. The council of Mexico City ruled him the best printer in the city in 1727, and in 1730, he received the exclusive rights to print certain government and ecclesiastical documents.

When Hogal died in 1741, his widow, whose name is unknown, took ownership of the press, printing as “La Viuda de Don Joseph Bernardo de Hogal,” and sometimes additionally as “Impressora del Real y Apostólico Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada” (Printer of the Royal and Apostolic Tribunal of the Holy Crusade). The number of Hogal’s employees suggests that she would have been more of a business manager than a printer herself. However, she showed considerable initiative, printing Mexico’s second periodical, *Mercurio de México*, and issuing numerous news sheets.³² She must also have shared Hogal’s emphasis on quality, because the press produced its finest and most important books under her leadership. All three of the books printed by the widow Hogal in this exhibition are large, impressive works with two-color title pages. Two of them are among the most important books printed in eighteenth-century Mexico: *Theatro americano* and *Escudo de armas de Mexico*. Hogal’s widow managed the press until her death in 1755.



- 16 JOSÉ ANTONIO DE VILLASEÑOR Y SÁNCHEZ. *Theatro americano: descripción general de los reynos, y provincias de la Nueva-España, y sus jurisdicciones: dedicala al rey nuestro señor el señor d. Phelipe Quinto, monarcha de las Españas.* México, Impr. de la viuda de d. J. Bernardo de Hogal, 1746-48.

Benson Collection LAC-ZZ Rare Books -Q- GZZ 917.2 V713T V.1

Ex-libris of Joaquín García Icazbalceta.

José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez was a Mexican historian and cartographer and was appointed cosmographer of the realm. This work, his most famous, was ordered by royal charter and is an encyclopedic history and geography of New Spain. It was issued in two volumes, one in 1746 and the second in 1748. The work is a valuable primary source about conditions in New Spain for historians today.³³

Published in a large folio format, the title page was printed in red and black. An engraving is bound in after the title page. This illustration depicts Philip V standing atop a globe, flanked by a personification of the Americas and a figure representing the author presenting his book. The engraving is signed by Balbas, an engraver who is recorded in Mexico City in the middle of the eighteenth century.³⁴



CAYETANO DE CABRERA Y QUINTERO (d. 1775). *Escudo de armas de Mexico : celestial proteccion de esta nobilissima ciudad, de la Nueva-Espana, y de casi todo el nuevo mundo, Maria Santissima, en su portentosa imagen del mexicano Guadalupe, milagrosamente aparecida en el palacio arzobispal el año de 1531. Y jurada su principal patrona el pasado de 1737. En la angustia que ocasiono la pestilencia ... Mexico : Impreso por la viuda de d. J. B. de Hogal, 1746.*

Benson Collection LAC-Z Rare Books -L- GZ
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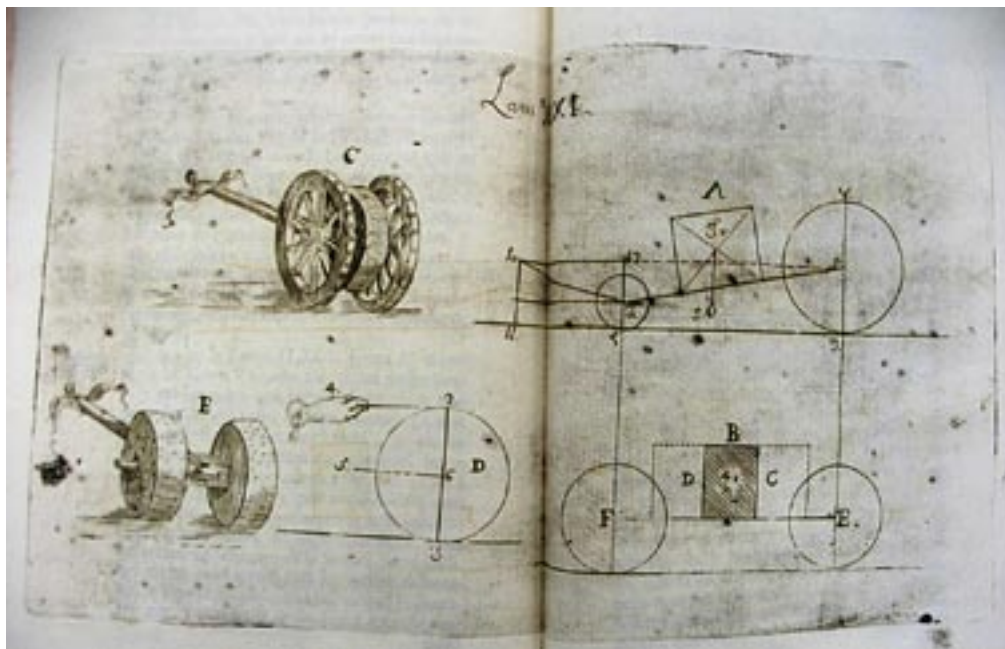
Genaro García Collection

This book, printed by order of Viceroy Vizarrón, chronicles an epidemic of a terrible sickness called *matlazagual* in Mexico City, and its miraculous resolution through the intercession of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the shield, or *escudo*, of the nation. The size of the original edition is known to be eight hundred. However, the book contained passages that were considered offensive to native-born Mexicans, and another Viceroy, Guemes y Horcasitas, ordered all copies destroyed. His order was not terribly effective, as it is estimated that almost half the edition survived.

This book was printed with the same care and precision that characterize other Hogal works. Although the registration of the two-color title page is a bit off, it is balanced by a beautiful frontispiece engraved by Baltasar Troncoso after a design by José de Ibarra.³⁵



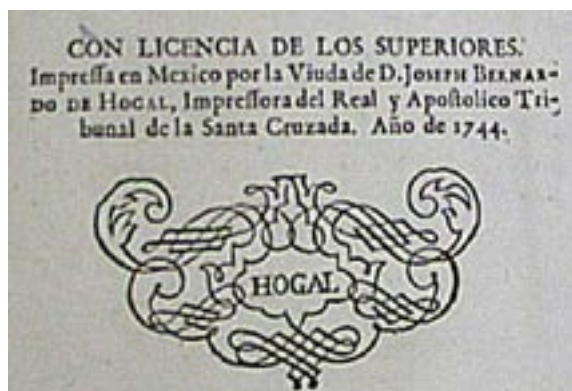
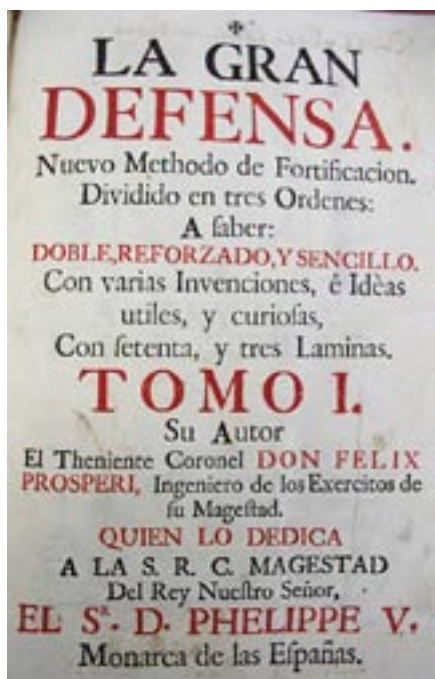
Photo: Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City



- 18 FÉLIX PRÓSPERI (b. 1689). *La gran defensa. Nuevo methodo de fortification. Dividido en tres ordenes: a saber: dobel, reforzado, y sencillo. Con varias invenciones, é idèas utiles, y curiosas, con setenta, y tres laminas. Tomo I.* Mexico, Por la viuda de d. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, impressora del real y apostolico Tribunal de la santa cruzada, 1744]

Benson Collection Rare Books -Q- UG 400 P756

Félix Prósperi was an Italian military engineer in the service of the Spanish monarchy. This text proposed a number of new types of fortifications, including walled cities in the shape of a triangle and star-shaped military installations.³⁶ As with the other Hogal productions in this exhibition, this book has a title page in red and black that is severe in its lack of ornamentation. The imprint does not appear on the title page but has instead been moved to a colophon at the end of the text, accompanied by the Hogal device. The text is printed in a large font with a clear, unornamented two-column layout. Judging from the quality of the plates, which show wear, scratches, and a dark plate tone, the Benson copy may be a late impression.

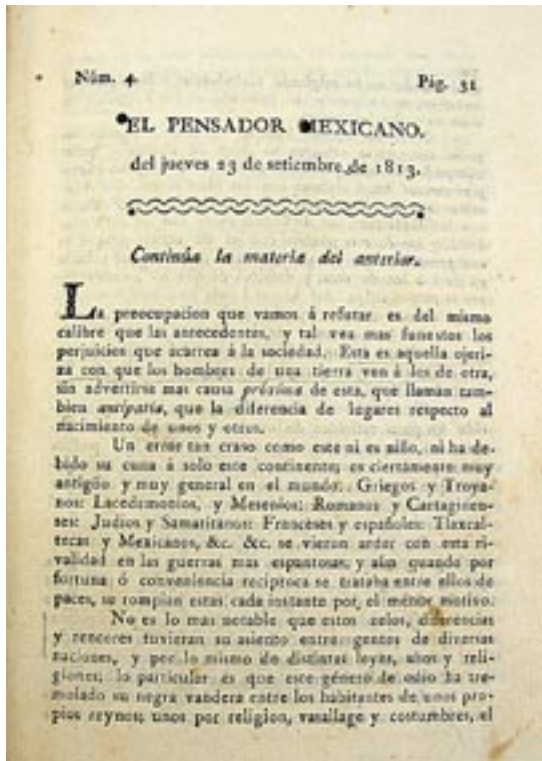


María Fernández de Jauregui (1800-1815)

After the death of María de Ribera, the Empedradillo Street press was acquired by José de Jauregui, a member of the clergy, who printed from 1766 to 1778. María Fernández de Jauregui inherited the establishment in 1800, although by then it had moved locations and changed hands within the Jauregui family two more times. Like María de Ribera, Jauregui was unmarried and used her own name in her business.³⁷

Jauregui printed the usual church documents and religious works, but her press was more highly focused on periodicals than the others considered in this exhibition. After the Mexican War of Independence in 1810, the Mexican press was briefly granted complete freedom from censorship. Newspapers and political pamphlets flourished, and printers took advantage of a brisk business. Jauregui printed the *Diario de México*, the first daily newspaper, during the first year of its existence, 1805-1806, and again in 1812-1813. She was also responsible for the printing of numerous magazines, among them some of the first aimed at women and children. She thus played an important role in the emergence of Mexican journalism.³⁸

Jauregui died in 1815, and her press was acquired by Alejandro Valdés the following year. She was the last woman printer in Mexico City until the twentieth century.



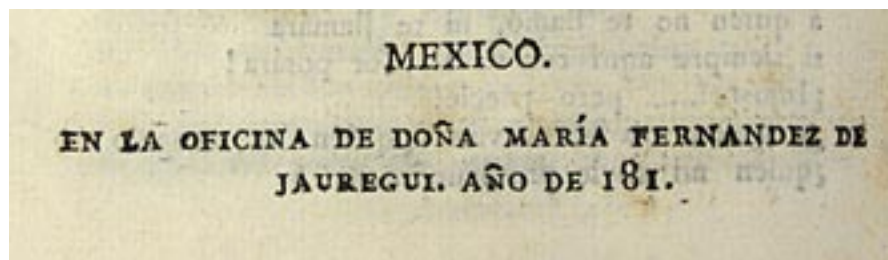
19 **EL PENSADOR MEXICANO.** México: Impr. De Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui, 1812- 1814. Benson Collection Rare Books PQ 7297 F37 P275 T.2 1813 NO.1-18

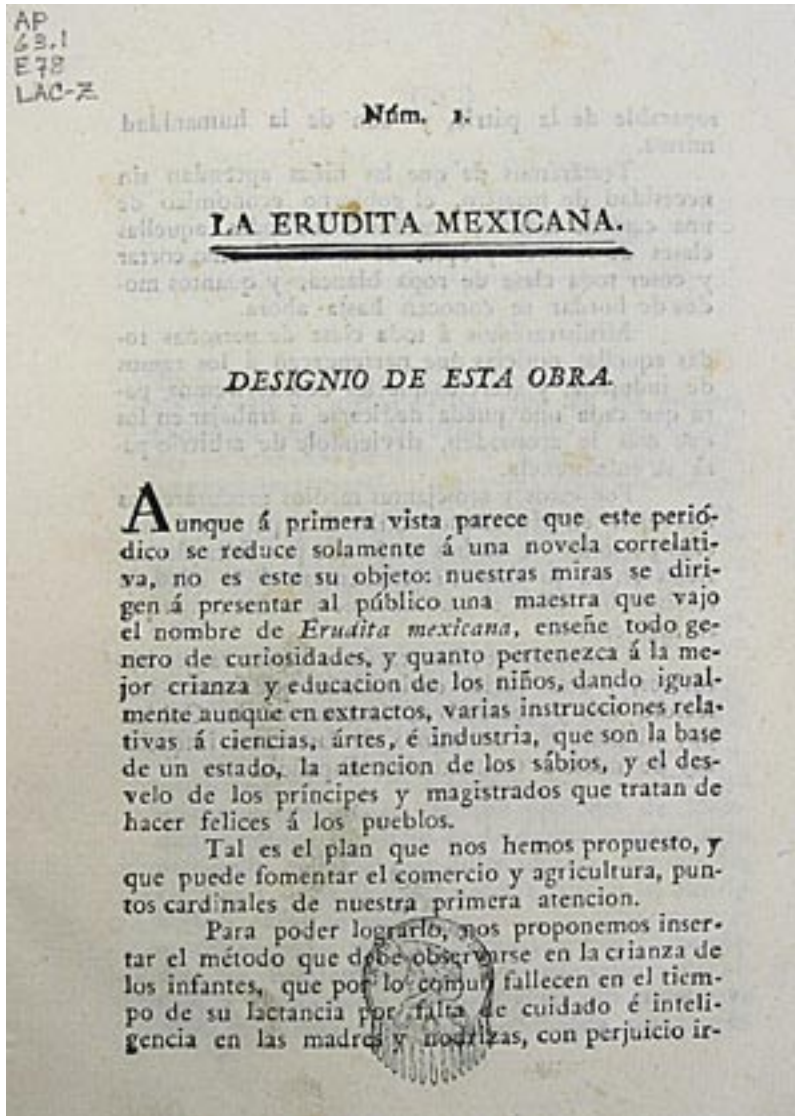
El pensador mexicano (*The Mexican Thinker*) was edited by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, considered one of the first Mexican political journalists and possibly also the first Latin American novelist. Although this publication started during the freedom of the press in 1812, Fernández de Lizardi was arrested and imprisoned in 1813 because of the views expressed here.³⁹

Newspapers in Mexico during this period were not printed on large sheets as they are today, but instead were issued as small booklets or pamphlets. This volume contains the first eighteen issues of the newspaper bound in mottled calf and decorated in gilt.

AMIGO DE LA PATRIA. México : Impr. de doña María Fernández de Jáuregui, 1812-[1813]. Benson Collection Rare Books NEWSPAPER 1812 NO.1- 1813 APR.30

Ramón Roca and Florencia Pérez Comoto were the editors of *Amigo de la patria*, another political periodical started during the press freedom of 1812. It was a weekly publication issued as a pamphlet of two gatherings, with sixteen pages for each week, and it ran from November 6, 1812 to April 30, 1813.⁴⁰ Like *El pensador mexicano*, these issues of *Amigo de la patria* have been bound together in one volume and feature a simple, unornamented typographic style.





21 *LA ERUDITA MEXICANA.* [Mexico City] : En la Impr. De Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui, 1812-
Benson Collection Rare Books AP 63.1 E78 NO.1 1812

La erudita mexicana, yet another of the periodicals started during 1812, was an early example of a women's magazine. The Benson volume contains the publication prospectus, in which the editors explain that they wish to educate young women in order to make them model citizens of the new nation. They outline the things they think girls should know:

We propose to insert the method that should be observed in the raising of infants, who commonly die as nurslings for the want of care and intelligence in their mothers and nurses, with irreparable damage to the nation, and even to humanity.

We will attempt to make it so that young girls learn, without need of a teacher, the economic management of the home, teaching them all the types of labors appropriate to their sex, how to cut and sew all types of linens, and what types of embroidery are currently known.⁴¹

Notes

- 1 Author's translation. The original text: "Item, que la dicha Gerónima Gutierrez, mi mujer, sea obligada a regir y servir la casa en todo lo que fuere menester, sin llevar por ello soldada ni otra cosa alguna, salvo solamente su mantenimiento." Quoted in Carolina Amor de Fournier, *La mujer en la tipografía mexicana* (Mexico City, 1972), p. 4.
- 2 Asunción Lavrin, "In Search of the Colonial Woman in Mexico: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Westport, CT, 1978), pp. 23-59.
- 3 Susan Midgen Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 112-129; Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1854* (Stanford, 1985), pp. 154-205.
- 4 Amor de Fournier, p. 1.
- 5 Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City, 1914), pp. 98-100. Translated and quoted in Helen Fay Passmore, *Women Printers, Publishers, and Journalists in Colonial Mexico*, (M.A. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1939), p. 7.
- 6 Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Breve historia del libro en México* (Mexico City, 1999), pp. 39-74.
- 7 José Luis Martínez, *El libro en Hispanoamérica: origen y desarrollo* (Madrid, 1987), 27-28.
- 8 For example, Julie Greer Johnson, *The Book in the Americas: The Role of Books and Printing in the Development of Culture and Society in Colonial Latin America* (Providence, 1988); Lawrence Sidney Thompson, *Printing in Colonial Spanish America*, (Hamden, CT, 1962).
- 9 The exhibition was entitled *Las Otras Letras: Mujeres Impresoras de la Biblioteca Lafragua* and is available online at <http://www.buap.mx/impresoras/index.html>.
- 10 José Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceanía*, (Santiago, Chile, 1958), vol. 1, pp. 114-116, 143.
- 11 Jaume Garau, "Notas para una biografía del predicador real Jeronimo de Florencia (1565-1633)" *Revista de Literatura* LXVIII, no. 135 (Jan.-June), pp. 101-122.
- 12 Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros and Luz del Carmen Beltrán Cabrera, "Paula de Benavides: impresora del siglo XVII. El inicio de un linaje," *Contribuciones desde Coatepec* no. 10 (Jan.-June 2006), pp. 103-115; Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta*, pp. 151-152; Passmore, pp. 33-37.
- 13 Pamela Kirk Rappaport, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Selected Writings* (New York, 2005), pp. 12-15.
- 14 Aymé, Edward. "St. Rose of Lima." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 13. New York: Robert Appleton

- Company, 1912. 6 Dec. 2008, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13192c.htm>.
- 15 Toribio Medina, *Historia de la Imprenta*, pp. 157-158.
- 16 Sara Poot-Herrera, "El siglo de las viudas. Impresoras y mercadoras de libros en el XVII novohispano," *Destiempos: Revista de curiosidad cultural* vol. 3, no. 14 (March-April 2008), p. 309.
- 17 *List 236: Impresos Novohispanos*, Philadelphia Rare Book and Manuscript Company. Available online at http://www.prbm.com/special/List_236_-_Impresos_Novohispanos.pdf
- 18 Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta*, p. 162.
- 19 Passmore, 48-49.
- 20 Besse, Jean. "Bethlehemites." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907. 8 Dec. 2008, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02534b.htm>
- 21 He was also the uncle of Antonio Núñez de Miranda, as noted by Dolores Bravo Arriaga, *El discurso de la espiritualidad dirigida: Antonio Núñez de Miranda, confesor de Sor Juana* (Mexico City, 2001), p. 143.
- 22 Sylvia R. Santaballa, "Writing the Virgin of Guadalupe in Francisco de Florencia's *La estrella del norte de Mexico*," *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1998, pp. 83-103.
- 23 Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Native Icon to City Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism, and the Virgin of Remedies," in *The Church in Colonial Latin America*, ed. John F. Schwaller (Lanham, MD, 2001), 183-208.
- 24 Michael Ott, "St. Nicholas of Myra." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 11. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. 6 Dec. 2008 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11063b.htm>.
- 25 Dolores Bravo Arriaga, *El discurso de la espiritualidad dirigida: Antonio Núñez de Miranda, confesor de Sor Juana* (Mexico City, 2001), pp. 7-8, 89.
- 26 Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta*, pp. 187-189.
- 27 The English translation is Passmore's, with some minor changes by the author. "Los días 10, 11, 12 y 13 [de febrero de 1733] se abrió la nueva imprenta, en la que se imprime esta *Gaceta* que ha venido en la presente flota y se compone de muy limpias y bien vaciadas letras, de las que consta una cabal imprenta; son caracteres de canto o música, gran canon, menor peticanon y respectivamente menores la de misal, parangona, texto, atanasia, lectura, entre dos, breviario, glosa, miñona, non parella, con griego y hebreo, y entre estas hay otras, como texto y atanasia, entre lectura y entre dos, etc., con espacios, cuadrados, títulos de dos líneas, y varias curiosidades para viñetas. Sus principales instrumentos son divisorios, mordante, galera, volandera, rama, cabeceras, cruceros, medianiles, llave, prensa, campeones, cofre, cigüeña, carro, tímpano, timpanillo, punteras, chavetas, frasqueta y balas; sus principales oficiales son: componedor, tirador y batidor, y a este último le toca el fabricar y dar tinta, que se compone de pez, aceite y humo de tea, o si es colorada, bermellón." See Passmore, p. 56.
- 28 William A. Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1989).
- 29 Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta*, 228.
- 30 Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta*, 188.
- 31 Charles W. Polzer, *The Jesuit Missions of Northern Mexico* (London, 1991), pp. 151-152, 225.
- 32 Passmore, p. 60.
- 33 Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Mexico (1539-1821)* (Santiago, Chile, 1908), vol. 5, no. 3802, p. 41.
- 34 Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta*, p. 228.

- 35 Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Mexico*, no. 3752, p. 21.
- 36 Aurora Rabanal y Yus, “El concepto de ciudad en los tratados de arquitectura: militar y fortificación del siglo XVIII en España,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 81, 2002.
- 37 Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta*, p. 212.
- 38 Passmore, pp. 63-70.
- 39 Jean Franco, *An Introduction to Spanish-American Literature* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 34.
- 40 Amaya Garritz Ruiz, *Impresos novohispanos, 1808-1821* (Mexico City, 1990), no. 1558, p. 345.
- 41 Author’s translation. The original text: “...nos proponemos insertar el método que debe observarse en la crianza de los infantes, que por lo común fallecen en el tiempo de su lactancia por falta de cuidado e inteligencia en las madres y nodrizas, con perjuicio irreparable de la patria, y aún de la humanidad misma. Trataremos de que las niñas aprendan sin necesidad de maestro, el gobierno económico de una casa de familia, enseñandoles todas aquellas clases de labores propias de su sexo, como cortar y coser toda clase de ropa blanca, y quantos modos de bordar se conocen hasta ahora.”