

## ***Pralines des Voyageurs: An Iconic Intercultural Food.***

(v. May 2021)

Valérie Bouchard, Département d'ethnologie, Université Laval, Québec, QC, Canada

Patrick Charbonneau, Department of Chemistry and Department of Physics, Duke University, Durham, NC, USA, [patrick.charbonneau@duke.edu](mailto:patrick.charbonneau@duke.edu)

Justine de Valicourt, Les Colibris: entreprise permacole, St-Jean-de-Matha, QC, Canada

As far as iconic Canadian foods go, pralines don't spring to mind as immediately as poutine, maple syrup, or *tourtière*. Nowadays, the term is mostly associated with France or New Orleans<sup>1</sup>. But it was not always so. In early 18th century, an original confection also termed praline emerged from the cultural encounter of First Nations people and *voyageurs*. This frontier food remained iconic for roughly a century, as noted by various contemporary observers, such as missionary Joseph-François Lafitau and trader François-Victor Malhiot<sup>2</sup>. In this article, we review the spread of the original pralines from France to England and then to North America in order to contextualize the development of what we term *pralines des voyageurs*, and attempt to reconstruct their recipe.

### **Pralines in France and England**

Pralines originally referred to almonds coated in sugar, in a manner devised by a sommelier of Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin, after whom the 1630s confection is said to be named<sup>3</sup>. Although a 1650 account largely supports this origin story<sup>4</sup>, many of its colorful details remain unsubstantiated<sup>5</sup>. What is clear is that by the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century recipes for pralines appeared broadly in print, which surely helped spark their dissemination. *Prasline d'amandes* is, for instance, found in *L'Escole parfaite des*

*officiers de bouche* (1662)<sup>6</sup>, which sources it from *Le Confiturier de la Cour*, itself initially published as part of *Le Maître d'Hôtel* (1659)<sup>7</sup>. Other versions followed, although with the same basic construction<sup>8</sup>. Within twenty years, Richelet could thus formally define the term as “*amandes qu'on fait bouillir dans du sucre jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient un peu sèches et qu'elles craquent sous la dent*”<sup>9</sup>.

Pralines crossed the Channel before the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but their English name remained in flux. While the two main French-English dictionaries of that epoch<sup>10</sup> – Miège's *Great French Dictionary* of 1688<sup>11</sup> and Boyer's *The Royal Dictionary* of 1699<sup>12</sup> – propose crisp almonds, the English version of *L'Escole parfaite...* preserves “à la praline”<sup>13</sup>. Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, variants such as prawlins, proalins, and prawlongs, along with fry'd, parch'd, and burnt almonds also appear, but the original French vocable also persists<sup>14</sup>. The London-based confectioner Borella<sup>15</sup>, in his influential *Court and Country Confectioner* (1770)<sup>16</sup>, in particular, uses “the words *praline*, and *to praline*, *praliné*, [...] as there is no English word to express the real idea of the French in this sort of preserving of almond”<sup>17</sup>. Whatever the “real idea” behind the term might be, Borella's preference for the French locution highlights its persistence in the English language throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Pralines in North America**

Whichever name *amandes à la praline* were given, the confection was known in both France and England by the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, at least some of the North American colonists must have been acquainted with the delicacy, especially considering the European diet was then largely favored<sup>18</sup>. However, because cookbooks

and dictionaries written in North America only appeared around 1800<sup>19</sup>, we must track cognizance of pralines through other means.

In New France, Mother Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, who spent her childhood in Paris and then years in Québec city's fashionable society before joining the Hospitaller of the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec<sup>20</sup>, referred to the enjoyment of eating pralines to explain the popularity of popcorn to her French correspondent: "*nos Canadiennes sont friandes de [maïs fleuri], et en mangent comme des pralines.*"<sup>21</sup> Going beyond metaphors, Antoine Simone Le Page du Pratz, a French-trained engineer who worked as a Louisiana planter from 1718 to 1734<sup>22</sup>, reports that pecans were then used to make "*prâlines aussi bonnes que celles des amandes*"<sup>23</sup>, maybe inspired by the metropolitan confectioners who were by then similarly substituting pistachios for almonds<sup>24</sup>. These references to pralines in contemporary sources attest of how well-known they were in Europe, and reveal that eating habits were gradually adapting to local ingredients.

In British Canada, however, pralines were not commonly mentioned. Confectioners and other merchants of Québec City and Montréal, for instance, do not use the term in their adverts. James Cockburn, Québec surgeon and pharmacist<sup>25</sup>, sells sweet almonds, not pralines<sup>26</sup>, as does the Montreal-based tradesman James Ellice Campbell.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, the estate of Québec confectioner Richard Shephard lists burnt almonds, which gets back-translated as *amandes brûlées*<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 1). Even French Canadian newspapers rarely use the term. When they do, it is usually in reference to European concerns: *fumier praliné* designates Paris<sup>29</sup>, and praline-making is said to please Spain's regent<sup>30</sup>.

By contrast, in Philadelphia and New York, where a number of French-born confectioners toiled at that same epoch, pralines were advertised. Joseph Delacroix, a merchant first in Philadelphia and then in New York where he eventually opened the famous Vauxhall Garden, lists “prolines” [sic] for sale in 1784, shortly after immigrating to the continent<sup>31</sup>. Although he subsequently dropped the term in favor of burnt almonds<sup>32</sup>—likely reflecting local usage, his son Clément Joseph knew to use the term to target the French-American community decades later<sup>33</sup>. Maximilien-Michel-Cyrille-Auguste Lannuier also lists “prolines” [sic] for sale in 1803, more than ten years after arriving in New York<sup>34</sup>. A couple of decades later, pralines proper appear in ads by the famed confectioners Henrion & Chauveau in Philadelphia<sup>35</sup> and Weller & Thompson in New York<sup>36</sup>.

On VENDRA, au plus, au ONE o'clock, at the house of Mrs SHEPHERD, in the Upper-Town Market, the whole of her Stock in trade, consisting of the following articles: viz.

**PRESERVES.**

Apricots,  
Barberries,  
Oranges and Lemons carved.  
Marmalade. { Orange, Jam. } Strawberry,  
                  { Quince,    } Gooseberry,  
                  { Apple,     } Raspberry.

**PICKLES.**

French Olives, Capers,  
Picalilly, French Beans,  
Girkins, Walnuts, Oysters and Samphire.

**SAUCES.**

Mushroom Ketchup, Caviere,  
Essence of Anchovies, Sauce Royal,  
Walnut Ketchup.

**CONFECTIONARY.**

White and Brown Sugar Candy,  
Candied Lemon, and Orange Peel,  
Lemon and Orange Chips, Citron,  
Eringa Root, and Ground Ginger.

**COMFITS.**

Fine Sugar Almonds, Red and Brown,  
Burnt do. Dragee, and Masquerade Shells,  
Fine ring Comfits, Mixt Comfits, Coloured Non-  
pareils,  
Bergamot Shells, Cinnamon comfits,  
Caraway ditto, Corriander do.  
Mint Pipe, Black Currant paste,  
Jumbles, paste knots, Fruit Dragees,  
Clarified Rose, Lemon, Bath, Mint, and Ginger  
Lozenges.

3 Dozen Show Glasses,

6 Do. Show Boxes,

One sett of Jelly Stands,

Jelly, Whip, Claret, and Ale Glasses,

A few Gallons superior Cognac Brandy, to be sold  
in small lots.

**BAKE-HOUSE UTENSILS.**

Jelly Moulds, Ice Cream do. Gum Paste do. Toy do.  
Freezing Pots, Mortars, Sieves, Pans, &c. &c.  
Three single Stoves with Pipes complete,  
Kitchen Utensils, with a number of other articles  
too numerous to mention.

T. & J. CARY,  
A. &.

Quebec, April 20, 1819.

**VENDREDI** prochain, le 30eme. du courant, à UNE  
heure, à la Maison de Madame SHEPHERD, sur  
le Marché de la Haute-Ville.

Tout le Fond de son commerce, consistant en les Ar-  
ticles suivants :

**CONSERVES.**

Abricois,  
Fruit de l'épine vinette,  
Oranges et citrons ciselés,  
Marmelade de { Oranges,  
                  { Coins,  
                  { Pommes.  
Confitures de { Fraises,  
                  { Groseilles,  
                  { Framboises

**MARINADES.**

Olives françaises, capres,  
Fèves françaises, picalilie,  
Concombres, noix, huîtres  
et crête marine.

**SAUCES.**

Jus de champignons, cavi-  
ère,  
Essence d'anchois, sauce  
royale,  
Jus de noir.

**CONFITURES.**

Sucre-candie, blanc et  
brun,  
Ecorce de citron et orange,  
Do. do. sèche,  
Racine de panicot, gin-  
gembre moulu.

**CONFITS.**

Amandes rouges et brunes,  
Do. brulées, dragées,  
écailles de mascarade.  
Confits à bagues, ditto mé-

lées, non-pareils colorés.  
Ecailles de Bergamot,  
confits de canelle,  
Confits d'anis et coriandre,  
Tuyau de minthe, pâte de  
gadelles noires.  
Mélanges, nœuds de pâte,  
Dragées de fruit,  
Losanges de roses clarifiées,  
citron, Bath, minthe, et  
gingembre.  
3 douz. de vitreaux,  
6 douz. de boites à pâtés,  
1 pyramide à gelée,  
Verres à gelée, à crème  
fouettée, à clair et à  
bierre.

Quelques gallons d'eau-de-  
vie coniac d'une qualité  
supérieure, en lots con-  
venables.

**USTENCILS DE  
BOULANGERIE.**

Moules à gelée, ditto à  
crème glacee, ditto à pâ-  
tés, ditto à joujous, pots  
à gelée, mortiers, sas,  
casserolles, &c. &c.  
3 poêles de fer simples et  
tuyaux, Ustencils de  
cuisine, et une quantité  
d'autres articles trop  
nombreux à mentionner.

T. & J. CARY,  
E. & C.

Quebec, 30eme. Avril, 1819.

[Figure 1 Early 19th Century Québec City confectioner Richard Shepherd's auction sale lists burnt almonds and *amandes brulées* for sale but does not use the term pralines. *The Quebec Mercury*, April 27, 1819, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec Collections.]

Despite the relative absence of the term pralines from the Canadian commercial sphere, the word did not altogether disappear. Many of the imported French and British cookbooks available in British North America used it. Barbeau reports that various

religious congregations in Québec city owned<sup>37</sup> La Varenne's *École des Ragoûts*<sup>38</sup>, Menon's *La science du maître d'hôtel, confiseur*<sup>39</sup>, Nutt's *Complete Confectioner*, and Utrecht-Friedle's *Le Confiseur royal*<sup>40</sup>, all of which contain recipes for *pralines*. This last book is even listed in the 1819 catalogue of the Montreal importers Maison Bossange & Papineau<sup>41</sup>, and an earlier edition, *Le Confiseur impérial*, appears in the 1811 catalogue of Québec city printer-bookseller John Neilson<sup>42</sup>. As further evidence for the persistence of the term, the Ursulines record eating them as part of a 1813 holiday feast<sup>37</sup>, and a maple-syrup based recipe for almond *plarines* [sic] appears in a mid-19th century manuscript of the Augustines<sup>43</sup>.

### ***Pralines des Voyageurs***

The above survey highlights that from early 18th to mid-19th century an important subset of North American French and English speakers were not only aware of pralines, but also knew of it under its original French name. The stage is thus set for considering the emergence of a purely North American version of the confection early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. *Pralines des voyageurs*, made from corn and maple sugar and then simply designated as pralines, appeared at the cultural interface between French colonists and First Nations people, mostly Iroquois. Because both ingredients are indigenous to North America, this delicacy was necessarily a local creation. And because the production of maple sugar is thought to have followed French contact<sup>44</sup>, it seemingly *results* from this contact. In any event, the analogy between *amandes à la pralines* and corn coated in maple sugar is unambiguously a colonial construction. According to Gilles Havard, such “analogies entre aliments nouveaux et traditionnels [rend] plus acceptable la créolisation des goûts.”<sup>45</sup> by giving the Europeans a point of reference. The confection's

persistence suggests that the underlying culinary metaphor resonated strongly. Because this cultural space left little to no paper trail, however, we mostly know of these pralines through the writings of external observers.

*Pralines des voyageurs* first appear in Joseph François Lafitau's ethnographic writings about the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks) of Sault-Saint-Louis (Kahnawake), *Mœurs des sauvages américains...* (1724)<sup>46</sup>. The Bordeaux-born Jesuit missionary reports that Indigenous women “*font cuire leur blé d'Inde en guise de Pralines dans leur syrop d'érable*”<sup>47</sup>. In 1744, Pierre Potier, a Belgium-born Jesuit, then serving at the Huron mission of l'Île au Bois Blanc in current-day Michigan, notes that pralines refer to “*blé d'inde grâlé [grillé] à la poêle dans la graisse*”<sup>48</sup>. The cooking liquid here differs from Lafitau's description. Were this accurate, the resulting corn would have been fried, an outcome quite distinct from *praliner*. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that even though Father Potier had a strong ethnolinguistic interest, he likely had little cooking experience. His personal library, for instance, does not contain a single cookbook<sup>49</sup>.

The consistency of ingredients in subsequent reports supports this interpretation. In his *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1776*, Alexander Henry the Elder<sup>50</sup>, relates having traveled to the prairies with a “small quantity of *pralines*, made of roasted maize, made palatable with sugar”<sup>51</sup>. The fur trader famous for his facile interactions with both his French and First Nations peers thus learned both of the confection and its descriptor. A French Canadian fur trader for the North West Company, François-Victor Malhiot<sup>52</sup>, similarly reports in his journal for

June 5, 1804 “*nous mangeons ce soir nos dernières pralines et, demain midi, nous espérons nous rendre au bout du portage*”<sup>53</sup>. *Praline* here clearly refers to the corn-based delicacy, as an anonymous English translator recognized a century later, describing them as “corn cakes”<sup>54</sup>. A biography of explorer and ethnographer Charles Christopher Trowbridge makes the ingredients even more explicit: “This was not the sugared almond, but parched corn, pounded and mixed with maple sugar, and in the absence of other food it formed our piece de resistance”<sup>55</sup>. As a further evidence for the ubiquity of this frontier confection, a trace of it can be found in a 19th century Kanyen'kéha: (Mohawk) dictionary. Jean-André Cuoq's *Lexique de la langue iroquoise*, which builds on his missionary work at the Sulpician mission of Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes<sup>56</sup> and on Joseph Marcoux' priestly work at Kahnawake<sup>57</sup>, indeed reports that *okwitsera* refers to corn that is “*brûlé et broyé pour faire des pralines*”<sup>58</sup>.

These last two descriptions, however, give corn ground to a fine meal, in contrast to the earlier descriptions of whole corn kernels being used. Malhiot, without explicitly describing the confection, syntactically presents pralines as countable, as kernels would be but not flour. The use of sweetened, pounded corn as traveling food-- historically known as rockahominy--was common to many Iroquois communities<sup>59</sup>, but does not naturally match the analogy with *amandes à la praline*. Hence, either the meaning of pralines had by then drifted, or Trowbridge and Cuoq confused the two corn and maple sugar-based travel foods. Pehr Kalm's description of *quitsera* as an Iroquois word that designates a variety of concentrated travel foods based on corn—in different forms, optionally mixed with sugar—favors the former<sup>60</sup>. All that was *quitsera* has, with time, seemingly become pralines.



In any case, at some point during the first half of the 19th century the New World confection disappeared. The emergence and efficiency of pemmican as an energy-rich travel food then broadly displaced corn-based equivalents<sup>61</sup>, seemingly even sugar-enriched ones. The subsequent decline of fur trading for sure put an end to the practice. By the late 19th century, Harvard ethnographer Lucien Carr<sup>62</sup> writes about the confection as a thing of the past<sup>63</sup>. Even sweetened rockahominy was considered ancient by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as was *blé d'inde lessivé* sweetened with maple syrup by the 1940s<sup>64</sup>.

### Reconstructed *Pralines des Voyageurs*



[Figure 2 Reconstructed *Pralines des Voyageurs*, Justine de Valicourt, Private archives.]

What did *pralines des voyageurs* look and taste like? Contemporary North American cookbooks did not document the practice. Hints come from Pehr Kalm's description that "[t]he outer hulls are removed with lye and the grains are dried." From confectionery insight, we here propose to fill the historical void with a recipe for Reconstructed *Pralines des Voyageurs*

(Table 1).

Most likely, the recipe started from dried corn, which could be kept for months. In order to make kernels chewable and more digestible, they were nixtamalized by soaking in

alkaline water. Only then would the corn be *praliné*. Because technical requirements for that operation are akin to those for maple sugar making, this method was well within reach of late 17th century North Americans.

From our experience with the reconstructed recipe, the result is highly palatable. Being made from two highly caloric ingredients—corn and sugar—it is also densely nutritious, thus making it an ideal travel food (see Fig. 2).

Table 1: Recipe for Reconstructed *Pralines des Voyageurs*

<b>Parching:</b>	<b><i>Pralinage:</i></b>
Soak 100 g of dry corn kernels in 1.5L of water, and add 120ml of sieved ashes.	Mix 50g of white sugar, 50g of brown sugar and 50g of water. Add corn. Heat.
Bring to a boil. Simmer for 45 min.	Stir until sugar crystallizes on corn.
Refrigerate corn in alkaline water overnight.	Remove from heat and spread on parchment paper.
Rinse corn with water until it comes out clean.	Cool before eating.
Dry lightly on parchment paper in an oven at minimal temperature for 1-2h.	

## Conclusion

Pralines, in one form or another, have been part of North American culinary culture for the last 300 years. While the iconic status of the New Orleans’ version has been

extensively discussed, its putative connection to *amandes à la praline* remains debated. Here, we have argued that *pralines des voyageurs* were iconic to the frontier experience for over a century, and that their name was directly derived from the French confection. Standard references deserve an update.

We thank Paola Bianchi, Robert Charbonneau, Yvon Desloges, Rien Fertel, Michel Lambert, Jocelyne Mathieu, Karin Michelson, Benoît Thériault, and Matt Thomas for documentary help and stimulating discussions. P.C. acknowledges support from the National Science Foundation Grant No. NSF DMR-1749374.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Laura Mason, "Praline," in *The Oxford Companion to Food*, ed. Alan Davidson and Tom Jaine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 650. Rien Fertel, "Praline," in *The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets*, ed. Darra Goldstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 556-557.
  - <sup>2</sup> Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains Comparées aux Moeurs des Premiers Temps* (Paris: Saugrain l'aîné, 1724), vol. 3, 143. François-Victor Malhiot, "Journal du Fort Kamanaitiquoya à la Rivière Montréal, 1804-1805," in *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: Récits de Voyages, Lettres et Rapports Inédits Relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien*, ed. L[ouis-]R[odrigue] Masson (Québec: A. Côté et Cie, 1889): 223-263.
  - <sup>3</sup> "Praline," *Larousse Gastronomique: The World's Greatest Culinary Encyclopedia*, ed. Joël Robuchon (New York: Clarkson Potter, 2009), 833. Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 569. Gérard Boutet, *La France en Héritage: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique: Métiers, Coutumes, Vie Quotidienne, 1850-1960* (Paris: Perrin, 2007), 1181-1182.
  - <sup>4</sup> Gilles Ménage, *Les Origines de la Langue François* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1650), 37.
  - <sup>5</sup> Interestingly, the first known appearance of the term *praline* in print is not in reference to a confection but to a piece of clothing. In 1649, two anonymous *mazarinades*, which were satirical texts printed at the time of the Fronde conflict, use the term metaphorically, possibly in reference to the du Plessis-led blockade of the south side of Paris. From 1650 on, however, the confectionary use dominates. See: Hubert Carrier, *La Presse de la Fronde (1648 1653): les Mazarinades* (Genève: Droz, 1989). *Les Deux Fripperies, ou les Drilles Revestues. Raillerie en Vers Burlesques* (Paris: Denys Langlois, 1649), 30. *Le Théologien d'État, fidèlement traduit en vers burlesques. Dédié à la reine régente* (Paris: n.p., 1649), 10. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, *Mémoires des Divers Emplois et des Principales Actions du Maréchal Du Plessis* (n.p.: Foucault, 1827), 128-129.
  - <sup>6</sup> *L'Escole Parfaite des Officiers de Bouche; Contenant le Vray Maistre-d'Hostel, le Grand Escuyer Tranchant, le Sommelier Royal, le Confiturier Royal, le Cuisinier Royal et le Pâtissier Royal* (Paris: J. Ribou, 1662), 208-209.
  - <sup>7</sup> Henry Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks in Europe, 1470-1700* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2010), 192. *Le Maistre d'Hostel qui Apprend l'Ordre de Bien Servir sur Table & d'y Ranger les Services* (Paris: Pierre David, 1659), 110-111.

- <sup>8</sup> See, for example, *Le Confiturier François* (Paris: Jean Gaillard, 1660), 24-25. François Massialot, *Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois* (Paris: Laurent Rondet, 1691), 101-102. François Massialot, *Nouvelle Instruction pour les Confitures* (Paris: Estienne Chardon, 1692), 46.
- <sup>9</sup> Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire François* (Genève: J.-H. Widerhold, 1680), 203.
- <sup>10</sup> James David Anderson, *The Development of the English-French, French-English Bilingual Dictionary: A Study in Comparative Lexicography* (London: W. Clowes, 1978), 41.
- <sup>11</sup> Guy Miège, *The Great French Dictionary* (London: J. Redmayne, 1688), 418.
- <sup>12</sup> Abel Boyer, *The Royal Dictionary. In Two Parts* (London: R. Clavel, 1699), vol. 1.
- <sup>13</sup> *A Perfect School of Instructions for the Officers of the Mouth: Shewing the Whole Art of a Master of the Household, a Master Carver, a Master Butler, a Master Confectioner, a Master Cook, a Master Pastryman* (London: R. Bentley and M. Magnes, 1682), 228.
- <sup>14</sup> See, for example, Mary Kettlby, *A Collection of Above Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery* (London: Richard Wilkin, 1714), 82. Richard Bradley, *Dictionnaire oeconomique: or, The family Dictionary* (London: Printed for D. Midwinter, 1725), [28]. Penelope Bradshaw and Edward Lambert, *Bradshaw's Valuable Family Jewel* (n.p.: n.p., 1748), [35-36]. Frederick Nutt, *The Complete Confectioner: Or, The Whole Art of Confectionary* (London: n.p., 1790), 68-69. J. Porny, *The Practical French Grammar* (London: C. Nourse, 1789), 198.
- <sup>15</sup> Little is known about Borella, other than he was a foreigner living in London in 1770, and that around 1772 he became head confectioner to the Spanish ambassador in that city. From 1763 to 1777, Felipe Vittorio Ferrero di Fieschi, Prince of Masserano, a Piedmontese nobleman, held that diplomatic position. Felipe Vittorio's father had uprooted his family to Spain, but was said to have remained particularly fond of his cultural heritage. Borella, whose patronym is common in the Piedmont and is thus likely originally from there, might have been hired by the ambassador for that reason. The cultural and geographic proximity between the Piedmont and France could also explain why Borella was familiar with pralines and attached to their original name. The 1790 Piedmontese cookbook *Il Confetturiere Piemontese Che Insegna la Maniera di Confettare Frutti in Diverse Maniere* indeed reports a recipe for *Mandorle alla Pralina*. Further information about Borella and his relation to the prince of Masserano might be available in the family archive of the Ferrero di Fieschi, at the Archivio di Stato di Torino, as well as at the institutional repository of the Archivos General del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Madrid) and the Archivos General de Simancas (Simancas), but this possibility has not yet been explored. See: Didier Ozanam, *Les Diplomates Espagnols du XVIIIe siècle: Introduction et Répertoire Biographique (1700-1808)* (Madrid: Casa de Velasquez, 1998), 186-187. Paola Bianchi, "I Ferrero Fieschi di Masserano nella Spagna del Settecento," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 127, no. 1 (2015): 248-273. *Il Confetturiere Piemontese Che Insegna la Maniera di Confettare Frutti in Diverse Maniere* (Turin: Beltramo Antonio, 1790), 10-11.
- <sup>16</sup> Borella, *The court and country confectioner: or, The house-keeper's guide* (London: G. Riley and A. Cooke, 1770), 38-40.
- <sup>17</sup> The same text can be found in Mrs. Maria Wilson's posthumous 1800 edition of Hannah Glasse's popular *Complete Confectioner*, but Wilson merely lifts Borella's recipe for pralines, his reasoning for using the name, as well as a lot more. See: Alastair Hamish Tearloch Robb-Smith, "Glasse [née Allgood], Hannah," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed March 19, 2021, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10804>. Hannah Glasse and Maria Wilson, *The Complete Confectioner, Or Housekeepers Guide* (London: J. W. Myers, 1800), 58. Jeri Quinzio, *Of Sugar and Snow: A History of Ice Cream Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 58.
- <sup>18</sup> Yvon Desloges, "Les Québécois francophones et leur "identité" alimentaire: de Cartier à Expo 67", *CuiZine* 3, no. 1 (2011).
- <sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Driver, *Culinary Landmarks: A Bibliography of Canadian Cookbooks, 1825-1949* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008). Waldo Lincoln and Eleanor Lowenstein, *American Cookery Books 1742-1860* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1954). Peter Martin, *The Dictionary Wars: The American Fight over the English Language* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 41-52.
- <sup>20</sup> Jean-Pierre Asselin, "REGNARD DUPLESSIS, MARIE-ANDRÉE, de Sainte-Hélène," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3 (Toronto/Québec: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003),

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accessed March 19, 2021,

[http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/regnard\\_duplessis\\_marie\\_andree\\_3E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/regnard_duplessis_marie_andree_3E.html)

- <sup>21</sup> "Lettre de sœur Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène a Mme Hecquet, 30 oct. 1751," *Nova Francia* IV, no. 1 (1929): 40.
- <sup>22</sup> Joseph G. Tregle, "Introduction," in Antoine Simone Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana* (Bâton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), xvii-lvi.
- <sup>23</sup> Antoine Simone Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris: De Bure; La veuve Delaguette; Lambert, 1758), vol. 2, 26.
- <sup>24</sup> François Massialot, *Nouvelle Instruction pour les Confitures* (Paris: Claude Prudhomme, 1708), 45-46.
- <sup>25</sup> Assemblée nationale du Québec, "James Cockburn (né vers 1763-1819) Biographie," in *Dictionnaire des parlementaires du Québec de 1792 à nos jours* (Québec: Publications du Québec, 2009), accessed March 19, 2021, <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/deputes/cockburn-james-2611/biographie.html>.
- <sup>26</sup> *The Quebec Mercury*, January 27, 1812: 26.
- <sup>27</sup> James Ellice Campbell (1778-1860) was the son of the Scotland-born loyalist from the New York colony, Alexander Campbell, who moved his family to Canada in 1778. He served for the corps of voyageurs during the American war of 1812, and then settled in Montreal, where he eventually became a prominent lumber merchant and ship owner. See: Robert Campbell, *A history of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal* (Montreal: W. Drysdale, 1887), 268-269. James K. McDonell and Robert Bennett Campbell, *Lords of the North* (Renfrew: General Store Publishing House, 1997), 61-62. A list of goods sold at his Montreal retail store appears in *The Montreal Herald*, July 20, 1812: 4.
- <sup>28</sup> Richard Shephard (1789?-1817), confectioner, married Hannah Walter (1794--?), the daughter of Jacob Walter and Hannah Needham, in 1812 in Québec city. Shephard's origin and training as confectioner are unknown. By 1815, he held shop on de Buade Street in Québec City, where he was assisted by at least one indentured servant. His professional equipment and supplies were liquidated upon his death in 1817. See: Greffe du notaire William Fisher Scott, April 5, 1812, Fonds Cour supérieure, District judiciaire de Québec, Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec, CN301, S253. Fonds de la paroisse catholique Notre-Dame (Québec, Québec), Library and Archives Canada, C-2897. *The Quebec Mercury*, April 4, 1817 (suppl.): 1; Personnes incarcérées dans les prisons de Québec au 19e siècle, No 340, accessed March 19, 2021, [https://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=134:11:::NO::P11\\_CLE:353](https://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=134:11:::NO::P11_CLE:353). *Amandes brûlées* figure in the list of goods of this sale advertised in *The Quebec Mercury*, April 27 1819: 1.
- <sup>29</sup> *Le Canadien*, July 13, 1838: 1.
- <sup>30</sup> *Le Canadien*, March 17, 1845: 3.
- <sup>31</sup> Joseph Delacroix (1750?-1839) was born in France and moved with his wife, Marie Joseph (1754?-1837), to Philadelphia in 1784. He first worked as confectioner and perfumer, but quickly expanded into general grocery and distillery. He relocated his family and his business to New York city around 1793, likely fleeing the yellow fever epidemic then ravaging Philadelphia. See: *Notices of marriages & deaths in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, 1791-1839* (Philadelphia: Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, 1899). *Pennsylvania Packet*, January 16 1789. James Hardie, *The Philadelphia Directory and Register* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1793), 34. William Duncan, *The New-York Directory and Register* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1794), 50. Anne Cooper Funderberg, *Chocolate, Strawberry, and Vanilla: A History of American Ice Cream* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995), 8-12. The mention of "prolines" appears in *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 15, 1784.
- <sup>32</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, December 24, 1794.
- <sup>33</sup> Joseph Clément Delacroix (1785-1872), joined the family business by 1801, but left confectionary around 1820 to become a private French instructor in Philadelphia. See: David Longworth, *Longworth's American almanac, New-York register and city directory* (New York: D. Longworth, 1801), 153. New York County, *Letters of Administration*, Nov 8, 1803, Vol. 8, p. 126. *The Evening Post*, February 21 1820: 3. *The National Gazette*, September 17, 1833: 4. For the use of the term *pralines* see, for example, *The Evening Post*, December 31, 1818.
- <sup>34</sup> Peter M. Kenny et al., *Cabinetmaker from Paris: The Life and Work of a French Ébéniste in Federal New York*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 9.
- <sup>35</sup> "Confectionary Trade," in *The Americana: A Universal Reference Library, Comprising the Arts and Sciences, Literature, History, Biography, Geography, Commerce, Etc., of the World. Biographies*, ed.

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- Frederick Converse and George Edwin Beach (New York: The Encyclopedia Americana Corporation, 1923), vol. 7, 487. *The Evening Post*, December 30, 1846: 3.
- <sup>36</sup> David S. Shields, *The Culinarisians: Lives and Careers from the First Age of American Fine Dining* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 74-76. *The Evening Post*, December 20, 1842: 1.
- <sup>37</sup> Marius Barbeau, *Saintes Artisanes II-Mille Petites Adresses* (Montréal: Fides, 1946), 106-108.
- <sup>38</sup> Pierre François La Varenne, *L'Ecole des Ragoûts ou le Chef-d'œuvre du Cuisinier, du Patissier et du Confiturier* (Lyon: Jacques Canier, 1688), 394.
- <sup>39</sup> Menon, *La Science du Maître d'hôtel, Confiseur, à l'Usage des Officiers* (Paris: Paulus-du-Mesnil, 1750), 415-416.
- <sup>40</sup> Louise Béate Augusta Utrecht-Friedel, *Le Confiseur Royal, ou l'Art du Confiseur Dévoilé aux Gourmands* (Paris: Tardieu-Denesle, 1816), 51-52. Earlier edition: Louise Béate Augusta Utrecht-Friedel, *Le Confiseur Impérial, ou l'Art du Confiseur Dévoilé aux Gourmands* (Paris: Henri Tardieu, 1809), 99-101.
- <sup>41</sup> Yvan Lamonde, "La librairie Hector Bossange de Montréal (1815-1819) et le commerce international du livre," in *Livre et Lecture au Québec (1800-1850)*, ed. Claude Galarneau and Maurice Lemire (Québec: IQRC, 1988): 59-92. Bossange and Papineau, *Catalogue des livres à vendre en leur maison, rue Notre-Dame, Montreal* (Montréal: J. V. Delorme, 1819), 7.
- <sup>42</sup> John Hare and Jean-Pierre Wallot, *Le Livre au Québec et la librairie Neilson au tournant du XIXe siècle*, in *Livre et Lecture au Québec*, ed. Claude Galarneau and Maurice Lemire (1800-1850) (Québec: IQRC, 1988): 93-112. John Neilson, *Catalogue of books, imported from London, and for sale at J. Neilson's shop, no. 3, Mountain Street, Quebec* (Québec?: n.p., 1811), 32.
- <sup>43</sup> *Cahier de recettes – manuscrit. 19th Century*, Fonds Monastère des Augustines de l'Hôpital Général de Québec, HG-A-22.1.3.1.2.
- <sup>44</sup> James F. Pendergast, *The origin of maple sugar* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, National Museum of Natural Sciences, 1983). Lucien Campeau, "Les origines du sucre d'érable," *Les Cahiers des dix* 45 (1990): 53-66.
- <sup>45</sup> Gilles Havard, *Histoire des coureurs de bois* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2016), 512.
- <sup>46</sup> William N. Fenton, "LAFITAU, JOSEPH-FRANÇOIS," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3 (Toronto/Québec: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed March 19, 2021, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/lafitau\\_joseph\\_francois\\_3E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/lafitau_joseph_francois_3E.html).
- <sup>47</sup> Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains Comparées aux Moeurs des Premiers Temps* (Paris: Saugrain l'aîné, 1724), vol. 3, 143.
- <sup>48</sup> Robert Toupin, *Les Écrits de Pierre Potier* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1996), 450.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 1209-1230.
- <sup>50</sup> David A. Armour, "HENRY, ALEXANDER (1739-1824)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6 (Toronto/Québec: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed March 19, 2021, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/henry\\_alexander\\_1739\\_1824\\_6E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/henry_alexander_1739_1824_6E.html).
- <sup>51</sup> Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1776* (New York: I. Riley, 1809), 265.
- <sup>52</sup> George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company: Including that of the French Traders of North-Western Canada and of the North-west, XY, and Astor Fur Companies* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1910), 178-180.
- <sup>53</sup> François-Victor Malhiot, "Journal du Fort Kamanaitiquoya à la Rivière Montréal, 1804-1805," in *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: Récits de Voyages, Lettres et Rapports Inédits Relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien*, ed. L[ouis-]R[odrigue] Masson (Québec: A. Côté et Cie, 1889): 223-263.
- <sup>54</sup> François Victor Malhiot, "North West Company, and State Historical Society Of Wisconsin," *A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal* 19 (1910): 163-233.
- <sup>55</sup> James V. Campbell, "Biographical Sketch of Charles C. Trowbridge," *Pioneer Collections* 6 (1884): 478-491.
- <sup>56</sup> Pierrette L. Lagarde, "CUOQ, JEAN-ANDRÉ (Nij-Kwenatc-anibic, Orakwanentakon)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12 (Toronto/Québec: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed March 19, 2021, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cuoq\\_jean\\_andre\\_12E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cuoq_jean_andre_12E.html).

<sup>57</sup> Henri Béchar, “MARCOUX, JOSEPH,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8. (Toronto/Québec: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed March 19, 2021, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/marcoux\\_joseph\\_8E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/marcoux_joseph_8E.html)

<sup>58</sup> Jean-André Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise* (Montréal: J. Chapleau & fils, 1882), 67.

<sup>59</sup> Arthur C. Parker, “Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants,” *Education Department Bulletin* 482 (1910):76-77. F. W. Waugh. *Iroqu[o]is Foods and Food Preparation* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916), 88.

<sup>60</sup> Father Jacques Bruyas, a 17th Century Jesuit missionary to Kahnawake reports a related Kanyen'kéha: (Mohawk) word: Onnong8itsera, or 'farine épaisse'. Yet the root of both French words is clearly distinct from that of flour, which is based on that for 'to pound', for example, othé-tsli' in Oneida. A complete list of cognates of the Iroquois word (Table 2). The term instead derives seemingly from the word for grits, which was common to the Five Nations, and formed the basis of rockahominy (or *sagamité*, in French).

Table 2: Iroquois languages cognates for ground corn

Language	Period	Word: definition	Source
Oneida	1 <sup>st</sup> half of 20 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Ono'okhwi-sá</b> : corn, parched and cooked corn, gruel made from corn <b>Ono'ókhwa?</b> : corn, coarse ground corn, grits	Abbott, 1996
Oneida	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 20 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Ono'ókhwa?</b> : corn, ground corn	Michelson, 2002
Seneca	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 20 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>?onó?khwishæ?</b> : a sweetened corn preparation	Chafe, 1967
Onondaga	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 20 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Onó'okhwa?</b> : ground corn	Mithun, 1984
Mohawk	17 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Onn8k8itsera</b> : farine épaisse <b>Gannok8iseróon</b> : faire de la farine épaisse; sagamité	Bruyas, 1863
Mohawk?	18 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Quitsera</b> : Some people take the coarsest part of the ground maize and put it in a sack for themselves and eat it mixed with fat. People of quality mix maize flour or grits with [maple] sugar, but this is chiefly a food used by the wealthy on journeys. Those who cannot afford sugar use only maize for a concentrated food. The outer hulls are removed with lye and the grains are dried. These grains are taken on journeys. They are cooked in a pail or kettle; a little fat, such as one can obtain on a journey, is added, either of bear, deer, or something else. Then it becomes a very good food. This concentrated food, which the savages first invented, is called Quitsera by the Iroquois.	Kalm, 1752
Mohawk	18-19 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Okwitsera</b> : blé d'inde brûlé et broyé pour faire des pralines	Cuoq, 1882
Mohawk	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 20 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Ono'kwitshera?</b> : boiled and sweetened corn	Michelson, 1973
Mohawk	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 20 <sup>th</sup> C	<b>Okwi:tshera</b> : scorched corn that is ground into meal	Maracle, 1990

Sources: Amos Christjohn, Maria Hinton, and Clifford Abbott, *An Oneida dictionary* (Oneida, Wis: A. Christjohn, 1996). Jacques Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language with their Derivatives* (n.p.: n.p., 1863). Wallace L. Chafe, “Seneca Morphology and Dictionary,” *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* (1967): 1-126. Jean-André Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise* (Montréal: J. Chapleau & fils, 1882). Esther Louise Larsen and Pehr Kalm, “Pehr Kalm's Description of Maize, How It Is Planted and Cultivated in North America, Together with the Many Uses of This Crop Plant,” *Agricultural History* 9, no. 2 (1935): 98-117; David R. Maracle, *Iontewennaweienhstáhkwa' = Mohawk language dictionary* (Belleville, Ont: Mika Pub., 1990). Gunther Michelson, *A thousand words of Mohawk* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1973). Karin



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<sup>61</sup> George Colpitts, *Pemmican Empire: Food, Trade, and the Last Bison Hunts in the North American Plains, 1780-1882* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 21.

<sup>62</sup> David L. Browman and Stephen Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 92-99.

<sup>63</sup> Lucien Carr, "The Food of Certain American Indians and Their Methods of Preparing It," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 10 (1895): 155-190.

<sup>64</sup> Arthur C. Parker, "Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants," *Education Department Bulletin* 482, 1910:76-77. *Cuisine traditionnelle du Québec - Correspondance, notes, recettes provenant de diverses congrégations religieuses* Fonds Marius Barbeau, Canadian Museum of History Archives, B272, f7.