

Sucre à la crème

Origin and Trajectory of an Authentic Québec Confection

Patrick Charbonneau

Volume 46, numéro 1, 2024

Identités alimentaires au Québec
Food Identities in Québec

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1113964ar>
DOI : <https://doi.org/10.7202/1113964ar>

[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

Éditeur(s)

Association Canadienne d'Ethnologie et de Folklore

ISSN

1481-5974 (imprimé)
1708-0401 (numérique)

[Découvrir la revue](#)

Citer cet article

Charbonneau, P. (2024). Sucre à la crème: Origin and Trajectory of an Authentic Québec Confection. *Ethnologies*, 46(1), 175–198.
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1113964ar>

Résumé de l'article

Bien que l'apparition du sucre à la crème n'ait laissé que peu de traces écrites, divers éléments de preuve suggèrent que son origine remonte vers la fin du 18^e siècle ou le début du 19^e siècle au sein des communautés rurales francophones de la vallée du Saint-Laurent. La préparation de cette confiserie repose sur une maîtrise de la cristallisation du sucre, qui à l'époque était courante chez les producteurs de sucre d'érable et ce, quasi-exclusivement. Ces origines modestes teintent la perception de cette sucrerie depuis lors. Les premiers livres de cuisine canadiens, qui ont principalement adapté la cuisine européenne au contexte local, l'ont notamment négligée. Le sucre à la crème s'est néanmoins largement répandu. Son omniprésence et son originalité lui ont conféré une certaine importance culturelle. Malgré cela, plusieurs historiens de l'alimentation et ethnographes lui ont depuis assigné une origine exogène, perpétuant ainsi les idées reçues à propos de l'histoire du manger et du boire au Québec. À l'aide d'une variété de sources historiques et ethnographiques et de quelques notions de physico-chimie, cet article tente de rectifier l'histoire du sucre à la crème.

SUCRE À LA CRÈME

Origin and Trajectory of an Authentic Québec Confection

Patrick Charbonneau

Duke University

Introduction

In the early 1980s, Institut de tourisme et d'hôtellerie du Québec (ITHQ) attempted to chronicle Québec's traditional cuisine by amassing family recipes from all over the province (ITHQ 1985). A careful distilling of the more than 30,000 submissions – aiming for regional diversity and authenticity – resulted in a beautifully produced cookbook containing about 600 recipes. Despite such high selectivity, *four* versions of *sucre à la crème* made it to print. By contrast, more canonically traditional dishes such as *tourtières* (Lemasson 2011) and cheeses (Ferland 2011) each appeared only twice.¹ Much ink for one confection! But how authentically Québécois is *sucre à la crème* in the first place?

Food historians and ethnographers have long wrestled with that question. In *Encyclopédie de la cuisine de Nouvelle-France*, Jean-Marie Francoeur advanced that religious communities in New France were the natural cradle for the confection (Francoeur 2004: 475). Without explicitly supporting this theory, ethnographer Jean-Claude Dupont tacitly highlighted the cultural importance of “*sucre à la crème des Ursulines*” (Dupont 1993: 131). Ascribing a foundational role to long-established women's orders aligns with Marius Barbeau's tracking the culinary influence of these *saintes artisanes* (Barbeau 1946), although Barbeau himself never proposed such a connection for *sucre à la crème*. By contrast, historian Michel Lambert put forward a lay origin for the confection in M^{me} de Repentigny's early 18th century experimentations with maple sugar, and its spread to the famed sweet tooth of the British migrants following the Seven Years'

1. The ubiquity of the confection is also consistent with a scholarly survey of published cookbooks from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century (Coulombe 2002).

War (Lambert 2017). Ethnographer Jocelyne Mathieu similarly advanced that *sucre à la crème* comes “davantage des apports anglo-saxons que des survivances françaises” (Mathieu 1990: 93). In this vein, a Scottish origin has even been floated (Parisien 2013). Remarkably, these various proposals all follow food historians Marc Lafrance and Yvon Desloges in ascribing Québec’s culinary culture to social forces that “résultent d’un processus de développement social à long terme et sont à la fois moyen d’ascension et forme de différenciation sociale” (Lafrance and Desloges 1990: 18). In other words, *sucre à la crème* has long been assumed to have an elite – be it religious, colonial, or political – origin, and to have only later trickled down to the broader population.

Surprisingly, little direct historical evidence in support of any one of these hypotheses has ever been presented. *Sucre à la crème* first appeared in cookbooks in the early 1880s (Caron 1883), long after these proposed origins, and late enough to be intermingled with the advent of American fudge shortly afterwards (Benning 1993; Stavely and Fitzgerald 2015). Cookbooks alone are therefore insufficient to discriminate one proposal from another or to suggest yet others. The broadening of the available sources made possible by the steady digitization of manuscripts, notary records and newspapers as well as the growing understanding of related North American confections (Benning 1993; Stavely and Fitzgerald 2015; Fertel 2015; Pilcher and Charbonneau 2023; Bouchard, Charbonneau and de Valicourt 2024) allow for a critical reexamination of these proposals and for a more plausible scenario to emerge.

For this analysis, a physical chemistry understanding of the confection is also helpful (Olney 1981; Altan, Charbonneau, de Valicourt 2021). Recall two key steps in its preparation. First, the mixture of (unrefined) sugar and cream must be boiled to the (soft) ball stage to reach the target sugar concentration. Second, the supersaturated solution must be whisked upon cooling to accelerate crystal formation. A certain technical expertise is therefore needed to obtain the polycrystalline – or grained, in confectionery language – material that properly disaggregates into a sweet sand-like product upon chewing.

Using these various resources, this article argues that *sucre à la crème* naturally emerged from the rural maple sugar-making tradition by *habitants*, probably toward the end of the 18th century or the start of the 19th century. The rest of this article reviews first the 18th century uses and prevalence of maple sugar in the St. Lawrence River Valley and then the European confectionery context. Various historical and ethnographic sources that

illuminate the origin of *sucré à la crème* are subsequently presented. Finally, various factors having weakened the association between maple sugar-making and *sucré à la crème* in popular and scholarly consciousness are discussed.

Early Maple Sugar Uses and Production

French colonists to the St. Lawrence River Valley, having learnt about the sweet sap of maple trees from its Indigenous inhabitants, quickly ascribed a curative role to its sugar. They thereby transposed a long European apothecary tradition to the New World (Rousseau 1983: 181-184; Plouvier 1999). Referring to his late-17th century travels to New France, Baron de Lahontan, for instance, reported “[on] fait de cette sève du sucre & du sirop si précieux qu’on n’a jamais trouvé de remède plus propre à fortifier la poitrine” (Lahontan 1728: 63). Similarly, in a paper presented to l’Académie Royale des Sciences, the king’s physician to New France, Jean François Gaultier, noted that:

le sucre d’érable est pectoral & adoucissant. On en fait des tablettes [...] qui sont très estimées. [...] On emploie ces tablettes pour adoucir les acetés du poulmon & de la trachée-artère, & l’acrimonie de la limphe. C’est ce qui fait qu’elles sont si salutaires dans le rhume, pour calmer la violence de la toux (Gaultier 1755: 391-392).

Curative practices spread broadly. French explorer Jean-Bernard Bossu mentioned that “les apothicaires le préfèrent justement au sucre de canne. [...] Ce sirop est très bon pour les rhumes et pour les poitrinaires” (Bossu 1768: 216). A report from a later English explorer confirms that Canadians use the sugar as “a very good pectoral, and [...] for coughs” (Anburey 1789: 89).

Maple sugar also rapidly found culinary usages (Dièreville 1708; Rasles 1900; Desloges 2009). Gaultier’s predecessor to New France, Michel Sarrazin, noted its use in preserves and in syrups (Sarrazin 1730). Gaultier himself noted its use “pour la préparation des aliments, surtout de ceux qui sont faits avec du lait” (Gaultier 1755: 392), thus hinting at a pleasant pairing of the two ingredients. Maple sugar-based confections were produced as well. Mme de Repentigny at one point used the sugar to make “sucré candy” (rock candy) (Repentigny 1705), and engineer Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry later got tablets prepared, some flavored with angelica root (Chaussegros de Léry 1785). More significantly, corn *praliné* with maple sugar, which emerged at the interface between Indigenous and French culinary practices, became a common travel food for 18th century voyageurs (Bouchard, Charbonneau and de Valicourt 2024).

Because maple sugar was not exported to any great extent and because its internal trade left few traces in the 18th century, its true prevalence is challenging to scope out. A crude estimate of per capita production by Desloges has been invoked to argue for its near irrelevance from a culinary standpoint (Desloges 2009: 72-73). A careful consideration of land transactions and other notary records might offer a more substantive assessment. For this article, it suffices to note that various independent reports suggest a relatively broad availability of the product, at least in certain rural contexts. The Swedish explorer Pehr Kalm's remarks to this effect have been previously documented (Desloges 2009: 73). In addition, Colonel Ralph Burton, then lieutenant governor of Trois-Rivières (Neatby 2003), reported in 1762 that "the Inhabitants [...] draw a great quantity of Syrup [from maple and plane trees], and by boiling make a Coarse kind of Sugar for their own Use" (Shortt and Doughty 1918: 66). A few decades later, Irish traveler Isaac Weld (Craig 2003) similarly observed that:

the maple is the only sort of raw sugar made use of in the country parts of Canada; it is very generally used also by the inhabitants of the towns, whither it is brought for sale by the country people who attend the markets, just the same as any other kind of country produce (Weld 1799: 220).

One can then reasonably conclude that maple sugar was sufficiently common and affordable to certain inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Valley in the late 18th-early 19th century for it to integrate culinary practices.

European Confectioners and Confectionery

Despite the relatively broad availability of maple sugar, British apothecaries and confectioners who settled in Montréal and Québec City following the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) did not sell it.² They did not offer grained confections akin to *sucre à la crème* either. As can be seen in Table 1, what they put forward remained Old-World-like. Henry Taylor, who moved to Québec City soon after the Treaty of Paris was signed (Lessard

-
2. During that period, a single French maître confiseur could be identified. In 1802, Pierre Marmier (1769-1829) moved from Boston to Montréal (Lukin 1802), where he worked as confectioner for over a decade (Kauntz 1817). Although no trace of his offerings could be uncovered, we don't expect much difference with those of one of his contemporaries, Joseph Delacroix, who first settled in Philadelphia and then moved his confectionery business to New York City (Bouchard, Charbonneau and de Valicourt 2024).

1987), advertised *London imports* including “double and single refined sugar” as well as “confectured almonds, [...] barley-sugar and sugar-candy” (Taylor 1764). Half a century later, Richard Shepherd, confectioner in the same city (Bouchard, Charbonneau and de Valicourt 2024), produced and sold a broader array of sweet goods albeit on a similar theme (Cary 1819). Unsurprisingly, these products match what contemporary confectionery cookbooks from both France and England described (Menon 1750; Glasse 1760; Nutt 1790; Friedel 1801). That these works did not characterize the sugar (ball) stage, at which *sucré à la crème* is typically prepared, further dissociates the humble confection from professional wares.

<div>Source</div> <div>Alt. name</div>	Advert (Taylor 1764)	Advert (Sinclair 1782)	Inventory (Fisher Scott 1812)	Advert (Robertson 1816)	Auction (Cary 1819)
rock candy	sugar candy	white and brown candy	rock candy	white and brown candy	white and brown sugar candy
pralines	confectured almonds		confectured almonds	burnt almonds	burnt almonds
	comfits of all sorts		mixt comfits	mixed comfits	mixt comfits
			peppermint drops	peppermint drops and pipes	mint pipe
	barley sugar	barley sugar	barley sugar	barley sugar drops	
			lozenges	various lozenges	various lozenges

Table 1. Confections offered by various apothecaries and confectioners in Québec City from the 1760s to the 1810s. Source: Patrick Charbonneau.

One might nevertheless wonder if a more subtle European transfer could have taken place. In this respect, two grained confections that have been suggested as possible antecedents of either *sucré à la crème* or American fudge are worth considering: Scot *tablets* (Parisien 2013) and Dutch *borstplaat* (Pagrach-Chandra 2013).

Tablets – The apothecariially-named confection is described in an early 18th century Scottish manuscript as treats for the *bairrens*³ (Scott-Moncrieff 1911: lviii), and the first printed Scottish cookbook confirms the culinary association (McLintock 1736). Broadened interest in the confection likely benefited from the retail price of sugar dropping during the 17th century, thanks to slave-produced Caribbean products being locally traded and transformed (Fenton 2007: 104; Nisbet 2013). Tablets have since persisted, remaining a popular children’s delicacy, and appearing in most Scottish cookbooks, e.g. (Nourse 1809). The resulting sweet is properly grained. A *New and Easy Method of Cookery*, for instance, specifies the importance of “always stirring till you pour it on the dish” (Cleland 1755: 145). Unlike the “traditional” recipe reported by folklorist F. Marian McNeill (McNeill 1929: 228), however, dairy was initially absent. Food historian Laura Mason speculates that the inclusion of milk or cream in this type of confections was “probably a nineteenth-century addition” (Mason 1998: 71). In fact, no evidence of dairy products in Scot tablets can be found prior to the turn of the 20th century.

Borstplaat – The Dutch candy, which literally means *breastplate*, followed a similar course, starting from its apothecarial origin as “du sucre candi qui s’attache à la chaudière, & qui est bon quand on a la poitrine enrhumée” (Marin 1717: 135b). By the 1640s, Amsterdam had more than 50 sites refining imports of slave-produced Brazilian sugar, thus lowering retail prices, and fueling the “democratization” of *lekkerheid*⁴ (Schama 1987: 165). Various cookbooks from the second half of the 18th century captured the medication-turned-confection trend (Volmaakte Hollandsche 1746; Brenk 1752). But like tablets, *borstplaten* also remained dairy-free throughout the 19th century. *Roomborstplaat*, i.e., *borstplaat* à la crème, can only be traced back to the 1915 edition of the popular *Het Nieuwe Kookboek* (Gorter and de Boer-de Jonge 1912; 1915).

Therefore, although a substantial 18th and 19th century Scottish immigration wave reached Canada and cookbooks containing tablet recipes came along (Williamson 2021; Nourse 1845), it would be anachronistic to ascribe *sucre à la crème* to this source. An intermediated relationship between early Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam and their French counterparts in the St. Lawrence River Valley would similarly have been of

3. *Bairrens* is a form of *bairns*, children in Scots dialect.

4. *Lekkerheid* is the Dutch craving for sweetness.

little confectionery influence. In short, no connection between 18th century European confectionery and *sucre à la crème* appears to exist.

From *sucre d'érable* to *sucre à la crème*

With this maple sugar-making and confectionery context, a careful examination of the early mentions of *sucre à la crème* becomes possible. The earliest known such instance appeared in the post-Patriotes newspaper *L'Aurore des Canadas*, which described it as “une pièce de dessert Canadienne [...] molle comme du sucre de sève [d'érable]” (*Aurore des Canadas* 1844; Table 2). This passage offers a key material insight. The process described is indeed consistent with Dupont's ethnographic observations – specifically referring to late 19th century practices – that traditional *sucre crème* is akin to *sucre mou* (and softer than *sucre ordinaire*) made from maple sap (Dupont 2004: 103); both preparations need to be stirred strongly as they cool to achieve the desired polycrystallinity. Weld, the late 18th century Irish traveler, had previously observed in Lower Canada that maple sap “simply boiled down into cakes with milk [...] is very agreeable to the taste”, although without specifically naming the product (Weld 1799: 221). Interestingly, the description in some ways matches the American doctor Benjamin Rush's late-18th century account of sugar clarification with eggs and milk (Rush 1793). However, unlike eggs, which effectively trap particles as they coagulate and hence do clarify sugar, milk merely whitens the product. Given the price premium afforded by clarified sugar, such experimentation might have nevertheless been widespread and may even be responsible for the contemporaneous (and independent) development of a grained confection analogous to *sucre à la crème*, *panocha* (or *panochita*) *de leche*, in New Spain (Charbonneau and Pilcher 2023).

This passage also offers a key cultural insight. At the time, the *Canadienne* confection is clearly understood as a French-Canadian product. That association is echoed in other sources. Patriote François-Xavier Prieur (Parsons 1967) fondly reminisced – during his Australian exile – of “bâtons de sucre à la crème” being available to children of colonists having settled west of Montréal Island in the 1820s and 1830s (Prieur 1864: 364). Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, who had strong Patriotes sympathies and went on to be the first premier of Québec, had similar youthful memories from that same epoch in Québec City (Chauveau 1877: 250; Hamelin and Poulin 2003). These recollections further echo a certain patriotic ethos surrounding maple sugar. Following the March 1837 rejection by London of a proposal for revising colonial governance in Lower Canada, a boycott

effort against imported goods, including sugar, sought leverage against the anglophone elite and traders controlling the political system.⁵ Patriotes leader Louis-Joseph Papineau then specifically proclaimed:

Quant aux sucres, la providence se déclare en faveur du pays opprimé, et nous en a donné une abondante récolte qui aidera beaucoup de pauvres, et nuira au revenu du mauvais riche, qui veut vivre d'un argent volé. [...] J]'ai de suite renoncé à l'usage du sucre raffiné, mais taxé, et acheté pour l'usage de ma famille du sucre d'érable (Papineau 1837: 1).

This extract stresses the goal of reducing the flow of imported goods and associated tax revenues – as pre-revolutionary Bostonians did decades earlier (Greer 1991) – but also the “providential” origin of maple sugar in the land and an eagerness to sustain the fellow rural (poor) inhabitants that produce it. Hence, at a Montréal banquet for the following Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, which Patriotes made into a French-Canadian patriotic festival starting 1834 (Lebel 2003), “[o]n y trouvait [...] du sucre, mais du sucre d'érable”, Papineau's son later noted (Papineau 1972: 38).

Yet *sucré à la crème* did not appear in the first couple of original French-language cookbooks in Canada. *La Cuisinière canadienne*, published by Louis Perrault, who had himself been a Patriote, mostly adapted French cookery for a Canadian audience (*Cuisinière canadienne* 1840; Roy 2003; Driver 2008: 74).⁶ Although the work does integrate some New-World ingredients (Portebois 2014), it mostly shuns maple sugar, possibly for “se démarquer de pratiques plus humbles”, as previously suggested (Parker 2006: 106),⁷ or maybe to steer clear of its political undertones in the aftermath of the Lower Canada Rebellion. That cookbook, which remained in print for decades, was also a major source for *Directions diverses données par la Rev. Mère Caron* (Caron 1878; Driver 2008: 75). This second work, which summarized Mère Caron's 1860s cookery classes offered at Institut de la Providence – partly funded by Perrault's aunt (Perrault 2023) – similarly neglected maple sugar. Given the uplifting, urban educational context for the work, that exclusion is not overly surprising. The second (extended) edition of the book, however, did include *sucré à la crème* (Caron 1883;

5. This wave of protests led historian Hélène-Andrée Bizier to associate *sucré à la crème* with Patriotes in her submission (Bizier c1983) for a blurb in the ITHQ cookbook (ITHQ 1985), although without further evidence.

6. Only the heavily revised 1910 edition of *La Cuisinière canadienne*, which is the source of the 1984 reprint (Driver 2008), integrated *sucré à la crème*.

7. Maple sugar/syrup is only mentioned as a possible sweetener for a sauce served with certain puddings (*Cuisinière canadienne* 1840: 54-55).

Table 2), and that recipe left a mark. Only a few years later, a writer from the youth magazine *Le Couvent* implored readers to stop sending it to her, copied “mot pour mot du livre des Soeurs de la Providence” (Bonconseil 1889; Roy and Savoie 2021). Mère Caron’s book was also reprinted well into the 20th century.⁸

Despite the relatively late appearance of *sucré à la crème* in cookbooks, the confection was already circulating widely. It was notably served at a dinner celebrating the 1876 consecration of a bishop in Saint-Hyacinthe (Courrier de St-Hyacinthe 1876), sold by a Sherbrooke confectioner (Villeneuve 1884), offered at the church consecration in Saint-Lin-des-Laurentides (Consécration c1891), and reported in Halifax (William and Jones 1888; Table 2).

The confection also made an impression south of the border. A *special correspondent* to Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue reported how a (seemingly fictive) Hectorine Alphonsine described the “quite simple” process for making it (F. J. D. 1883: 3). A pseudonymous Iris recounted how Canadian girls in New York, having “learnt from the *habitan[t]s* how to make a sort of candy called ‘*sucré-de-la-crème*’ which is without parallel in this world”, had been selling it with great success (Iris 1888: 12). A Montréal-based writer for the women’s magazine *Good Housekeeping* described the craving of a (likely fictive) European visitor to Canada for *sucré à la crème*, which he had sampled in a “quaint and beautiful old ‘Seigneurie’ twenty year prior” (Brooks 1891: 77).⁹ Most importantly, these exoticizing descriptions all point toward a rural French-Canadian origin for the sweet.

8. No other record from religious communities even mentions *sucré à la crème* until at least the start of the 20th century. The confection therefore appears relatively late in these milieus. That is true even among the Ursulines de Québec, for whom the sweet is a point of pride, being specifically mentioned in their *Inventaire du patrimoine immatériel religieux du Québec* (St-Pierre and Chhem 2012), in their memorial cookbook (Larouche and Audet 1989) and is fondly recollected by 20th century boarders (Verge 1998: 57). Although *sucré à la crème* does appear in a manuscript cookbook dated 1858 from in the archives of the Augustinian Monastery in Québec City (Monastère des Augustines 1858), its recipe is found late – after a few changes of handwriting – and surrounded by dishes (and ingredients) associated with late 19th–early 20th century cooking. It is also nearly identical to a version published in the early 1900s (Passe-Temps 1901; Encyclopédie canadienne 2013).

9. The recipe associated with that piece was published in England as a “Canadian recipe” a few years later (De Salis 1898).

The heterogeneity in content and phrasing of early printed recipes is further evidence of a wide circulation (see Table 2).¹⁰ None of them appear copied, adapted, or translated from another. The proportion (and measuring unit) of sugar and cream varies a fair bit as does the precise type(s) of sugar used. Cooking instructions also differ. Some refer to specific sugar stages others to boiling durations. The graining process is achieved through beating, “stirring until the mixture cools and begins to thicken,” or omitted altogether. (Accurate descriptions might not always have been of paramount importance to their author.) Except for recipes published in works by English-speaking communities from Montréal, who preferred *maple cream*, the resulting confections are nevertheless always identified as *sucre à la crème*.

(Aurore des Canadas 1844: 3) “**Sucre de crème** : Prenez une livre de sucre d’érable bien raffiné, hachez menu, mettez-le dans une poêle, ajoutez un gobelet de crème douce, et faites cuire jusqu’à ce que le sucre file ou soit de la consistance à faire de la tire; ôtez alors du feu, et portez en lieu froid, (à la cave ou glacière l’été, sur la neige l’hiver); brassez avec une cuillère, en tournant, et sans cesser, jusqu’à ce que le mélange soit parfaitement refroidi. Battez, ensuite, retirez de la poêle, façonnez à votre fantaisie, la substance qui vous reste, molle comme du sucre de sève, et qu’on appelle *sucre de crème* : d’un goût riche et agréable.”

(F. J. D. 1883: 3) “**Sucre à la crème**: I melt [1 pound of] maple sugar in a pan; I put my pan in boiling water. Then I put into it [half a cup of] cream as thick as one makes pancakes. I give it ten minutes of boiling. Then I pour my sucre à la crème into a well-buttered dish and cut it into squares.”

(Caron 1883: 149-150) “**Sucre à la crème** : Faites bouillir deux tasses de sucre dans un peu d’eau, lorsqu’il est en tire, on met une tasse de crème douce. Laissez bouillir jusqu’à ce qu’il soit cuit, ce qui se reconnaît facilement en le mettant dans l’eau froide. Retirez du feu, en brassant, jusqu’à ce qu’il soit en grains.”

(William and Jones 1888: 107) “**Sucre à la crème**: One pound maple sugar melted, boil twenty minutes, three quarter pounds of grated cocoanuts, boil five minutes, put in three quarters of a cup of good cream, stir well, pour out on a buttered dish.”

(Peerless Cook 1888: 91) “**Maple cream**: Two cupfuls of brown sugar, half a cupful of milk, two tablespoons of molasses or maple syrup, butter the size of a walnut, flavor with vanilla. Boil six minutes. Pour into buttered plates and cut in squares.”

10. No similar confection could be identified in English-speaking North America during the first few decades of the 19th century. Neither (maple) molasses candy (Beecher 1846: 292), maple sugar sweeties (Traill 1854: 146; Cooke and Lucas 2017: 152), nor maple sugar candy (Haskell 1861: 193) pair dairy with maple sugar. Given the extent to which 19th century printed material has been digitized, a large corpus of maple-sugar-based recipes is unlikely to be discovered.

(Clever Cooking 1888: 82-83) “**Maple cream:** Two cups of scraped maple sugar, one cup cream, butternuts. Take the meat out of the nuts and break into pieces, boil the cream and sugar until it candies, stirring always one way, then put in the nuts, take off the fire, and stir in the opposite direction until nearly cold, pour on buttered plates and cut into squares when cold. Walnuts can be substituted for butternuts if preferred.”

(Buffalo Commercial 1891: 6) “**Sucre à la crème:** made from maple sugar and sweet cream boiled together till the sugar mixture is about the consistency of caramel candy. Break a pound of maple sugar in bits and add a pint of cream. Stir the sugar and cream together till the sugar melts and let the mixture boil for one hour rapidly. Then test it by dropping a little into a glass of ice-cold water. If it is of waxy consistency and moderately firm it is done; if it is soft and sticky it requires to be cooked longer. The time of cooking depends entirely upon the rapidity with which the sugar is boiled and the amount of moisture in the maple sugar. Some maple sugar will require to boil an hour and a half or longer. When the mixture is done pour it out into well-buttered tin pans. Unless the pans are new and bright, spread them with paper which has been well-buttered or with confectioners’ waxed paper.”

(Brooks 1891: 78) “**Sucre à la crème:** To every pound of maple sugar, allow one pint of fresh cream. Break the sugar into small pieces, and put it, with the cream, into a white-lined sauce pan. Put the latter on a fresh fire, and boil the cream and sugar together for one hour. Stir constantly in one direction. When the boiling is over, take the saucepan off the fire, and continue the stirring until the mixture cools and begins to thicken. Then pour into buttered soup plates or flat dishes, and put it to harden. In summer the process is accelerated by putting the dish on the ice in the refrigerator, and in winter by putting it into the cold air out of doors.”

Table 2. Early recipes for *sucré à la crème*/maple cream. Source: Patrick Charbonneau.

How can the apparent broad circulation of *sucré à la crème* be reconciled with the relatively sudden wave of recipes appearing in print in the 1880s? Mason ascribes the broad emergence of grained confections toward the end of the 19th century to a global decrease in sugar prices (Mason 1998: 71). For French Canadians, growing urbanization might have been a compounding factor (Goheen 1980). In rural settings, technical expertise to grain (or crystallize) maple sugar naturally carried over to making the confection, as discussed above. That knowledge was then mostly transmitted orally and experientially, especially given the low literacy rate (Greer 1978). Late 19th century Montrealers, more literate but relatively far from *sucreries*, might have lost that connection and hence driven the interest for written recipes. By the early 20th century, instructions for making *sucré à la crème* were repeatedly requested. The long-running feminine page of *La Presse*, “Le Courrier de Colette” (Savaria 2020), exasperatedly announced: “J’ai donné cent fois ici la recette du sucre à la crème; il fallait la conserver, je ne puis répéter la même chose indéfiniment” (Lesage 1908: 20). Yet readers’ frustration might not have been with obtaining a written recipe per se,

but with learning the technical know-how for boiling and graining sugar, and hence succeed at preparing the confection. In any case, the growing urban-rural disconnect surely weakened the (previously clear) association between maple sugar-making and *sucre à la crème*.

Losing track of *sucre à la crème*

That disconnect and the limited availability of the written record do not, however, fully explain why late 20th-early 21st century historians and ethnographers lost track of the origin of *sucre à la crème*. Ingredient and language shifts also likely played a part.

As the relative availability and price of maple and brown sugar got to favor the latter over time, many switched out of using the former. Already in the 1890s, Doctor Wilfrid Grignon, father of writer Claude-Henri Grignon (Valdombre 1939), complained that:

la cassonade se vend si peu chère qu'on ne veut pas se donner le trouble de tailler nos sucreries. Avec la cassonade fondue on ne fera jamais un sirop aussi agréable au goût que le sirop d'érable bien fait. Et le *sucre à la crème* préparé avec le sucre du pays est digne de figurer sur la table des plus grands gourmets (Altivir 1895: 2).

Despite the taste differential, the substitution became increasingly common. For instance, a copy of the fifth entry in Table 2 did not bother to include maple sugar (nor syrup) in *maple cream* (James 1892). Even the famed Five Roses corporate cookbooks, printed in Montréal, listed recipes for brown sugar-based maple cream (Five Roses Cookbook 1915; Cuisinière Five Roses 1915; Driver 2008). Ingredient costs can easily drive changes in humble dishes, and many, including one of the recipes in the ITHQ cookbook, have followed along for *sucre à la crème*.



Figure 1. *Maple fudge* is here depicted along other maple-containing delicacies as part of a booklet promoting Citadelle, a brand of the Québec Maple Sugar Producers Association (Vaillancourt c1932). The accompanying recipe, however, is for *creamed sugar*. (The image by commercial illustrator Tom Herbert Hall is reproduced with permission from his estate).

The variety of English appellations is another possible source of confusion.¹¹ By the end of the 19th century, an American journalist noted that the maple confection is “known [in English] under various appellations, although the orthodox *sucre à la crème* is still used” (Buffalo Commercial 1898: 5). Of these other appellations, maple cream (candy) seemingly came first (see Table 2), but the broader North American surge in grained confections in the late 19th century also saw the emergence of maple *fudge* (Norton 1903) and maple *panocha* (Rorer 1902), thus sowing terminological mayhem. Even famed culinary author Jehane Benoit would later propose a recipe for *penuche à l’érable* (Benoit 1952).

Maple cream is not a vocable without complication either. It also commonly describes (creamless) whipped maple sugar, *i.e.*, maple butter (Correct Art 1894; Vermont Maple Sugar Makers Association 1894). That ambiguity had some ripple effects. In the 1920s, as part of the effort to promote their relatively expensive product line, the Québec maple industry pleaded with the federal government to restrict the use of the word “maple” (Ramsingh 2018). The resulting *Maple Sugar Industry Act* (1930), led to regulations establishing that “Maple Cream shall consist entirely of the product of maple sap and shall contain not more than fifteen (15) per cent of water” (Grisdale 1931: 2197). In other words, the dairy-containing confection was outlawed under its main English name. To get out of this conundrum, Québec maple sugar promotional cookbooks migrated from maple cream candy (Vaillancourt c1925) and maple sugar cream (Lajoie-Vaillancourt c1925) to creamed sugar (Vaillancourt c1932; Fig. 1), thus further complexifying the historical record.¹²

11. The relative stability of *sucre à la crème* did not fully isolate it from equivocations either. A 1910s language purist complained that *cream-sugar* was commonly (mis) used in French (Blanchard 1913: 28).

12. Some American cookbooks stuck with maple cream, *e.g.* (Chenoweth 1936). For Arthur Gilmour, terminology became a business problem. Hoping for his Montréal-based firm to commercialize maple cream, he lobbied for revised regulations such that “Fresh sweet cream (butterfat content up to 20%) is permitted to be incorporated in the manufacture of maple cream.” Weakening the wording, however, was politically unpalatable. The Québec Maple Sugar Producers Association bought out Mr. Gilmour instead. [Letter to the Honourable Mr. Laurent Barre] (10 March 1948) and Wheeler, R. L. “Memorandum for the Director of Marketing Services”. *Department of Agriculture*, Ottawa (19 April 1948). Source: Maple Products Industry Act. “Maple Cream”, “Québec *Sucre à la Crème*”. [Amendments to the act to incorporate and label a new Maple Product]. Library and Archives Canada. RG17, Vol. 3220, File: 158-6, 1999240.

Conclusion

This article has argued that *sucré à la crème* derived from rural French-Canadian maple sugar-making in the late 18th-early 19th century. The humble confection has since been woven into the culinary identity of their descendants, as illustrated by its multiple occurrences in a 1980s ITHQ cookbook. Consciousness of that origin, however, appears to have eroded starting around the turn of the 20th century, notably due to changes in North American sugar production, confectionery practices, and terminology. Given the limited (and until recently hard to extract) written record, the bias of many food historians and ethnographers for a trickle-down theory of culinary innovation could then take over.

More generally, while the origin of British sweet tooth is well-established (Mintz 1986), that of St. Lawrence River Valley *habitants* for maple sugar remains to be fleshed out. Such a research avenue could be promising. As ethnographer Jacques Rousseau noted:

Dans un pays aussi froid que le Québec, où le vin fait défaut, le dessert constitue un élément particulièrement soigné. La cabane à sucre devient un sanctuaire de la gastronomie au “temps des sucres” (Rousseau 1967: 27).

Sucré à la crème may then be the most authentic embodiment of the Québécois taste for sugar.

Acknowledgments

This article is dedicated to the late Bernadette Gratton (1924-2023), who for many years prepared *sucré à la crème* for the author, her great-nephew. The author acknowledges many stimulating discussions with Valérie Bouchard, Justine de Valicourt, and Jocelyne Mathieu. Robert Charbonneau is warmly thanked for his immense help gathering some of the primary sources. Various exchanges with Steven Bednarski, Hélène-Andrée Bizier, Benoit Charbonneau, Elizabeth Driver, Wouter Ellenbroek, Jean-Marie Francoeur, Steve Gray, Michel Lambert, Brigit Ramsingh, Haley Scholz, Nicoline van der Sijs, Matt Thomas, and Gynette Tremblay are also gratefully acknowledged. This work was partly supported by National Science Foundation Grant No. DMR-1749374.

References

- Altan, Irem, Patrick Charbonneau and Justine de Valicourt. 2021. "Sugars: Soft Caramel and Sucre à la crème – an Undergraduate Experiment about Sugar Crystallization". In Róisín M. Burke, Alan L. Kelly, Christophe Lavelle, Hervé This vo Kientza (eds.), *Handbook of Molecular Gastronomy*: 545-547. New York: CRC Press.
- Altivir [pseud. Wilfrid Grignon]. 1895. "A travers les cantons du Nord (Ste-Adèle)". *Le Nord* 18 (9): 2.
- Anburey, Thomas. 1789. *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*. London: W. Lane.
- Aurore des Canadas. 1844. "Sucre de Crème – Pièce de dessert Canadienne". *L'Aurore des Canadas* 6 (56): 3.
- Barbeau, Marius. 1946. *Saintes artisanes II : Mille petites adresses*. Montréal: Éditions Fides.
- Beecher, Catharine Esther. 1846. *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Benning, Lee Edwards. 1990. *Oh Fudge! A Celebration of America's Favorite Candy*. New York: Macmillan.
- Benoit, Jehane. 1952. "Mangeons". *La Revue moderne* 33 (11): 23.
- Bizier, Hélène-Andrée. c1983. "Sucre à la crème d'Hermance". In Hélène-Andrée Bizier and Jacques Lacoursière (eds.), *[Histoire de l'alimentation du Québec]: [anecdotes historiques]*: 13.1.7. [Montréal]: Centre de recherches technologiques, Institut de tourisme et d'hôtellerie du Québec.
- Blanchard, Étienne. 1913. *En garde! Anglicismes et termes anglais*, 4^e éd. Montréal: Imprimerie à la Croix.
- Bonconseil, Adelina [pseud.]. 1889. "Méli-Mélo". *Le Couvent* 4 (34): 49-54.
- Bossu, Jean-Bernard. 1768. *Nouveaux voyages aux Indes occidentales*. Paris: Le Jay.
- Bouchard, Valérie, Patrick Charbonneau and Justine de Valicourt. 2024. "Pralines des Voyageurs: An Intercultural Food". *Cuizine* 11 (1) [online]. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1112245ar>
- Brenk, Gerrit van den. 1752. *T'zaamenspraaken tusschen een mevrouw, banket-bakker en confiturier*. Amsterdam: J. van Egmont.
- Brooks, H. J. 1891. "Some Canadian Dishes". *Good Housekeeping* 12 (February): 77-78.
- Buffalo Commercial. 1891. "Oh, this is nice!". *The Buffalo Commercial* 59 (19, 653): 6.
- . 1898. "By the Evening Lamp". *The Buffalo Commercial* 66 (21,725): 5.

- Caron, [Émilie]. 1878. *Directions diverses données par la Rev. Mère Caron, sup. gén. des Sœurs de la Providence pour aider ses sœurs à former de bonnes cuisinières*. Montréal: s.n.
- . 1883. *Directions diverses données en 1878 par la Révérende mère Caron alors supérieure générale des sœurs de charité de la Providence pour aider ses sœurs à former de bonnes cuisinières*, 2^e éd. Montréal: s.n.
- Cary, T[homas] and J[oseph] Cary. 1819. "Sales by Auction". *The Quebec Spectator* 15 (17): 2.
- Charbonneau, Patrick and Jeffrey M. Pilcher. 2023. "From Panocha to Fudge: Mexican Roots of an American Candy". *Gastronomica* 23 (1): 100-111. <https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2023.23.1.100>
- Chaussegros de Léry, Gaspard-Joseph. 1785. Brouillon d'une lettre de Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry à son fils François-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry, ingénieur à la Guadeloupe (17 août 1785). Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Fonds Famille Chaussegros de Léry. P386, D384.
- Chauveau, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier. 1877. "Légendes canadiennes: introduction". *Revue de Montréal* 1 (4): 243-253.
- Chenoweth, Walter W[infred]. 1936. *How to Make Candy*. New York: Macmillan.
- Cleland, Elizabeth. 1755. *A New and Easy Method of Cookery*. Edinburgh: W. Gordon.
- Clever Cooking. 1888. *Clever Cooking for Careful Cooks*. Montréal: John Lovell and Son.
- Consécration. c1891. *La Consécration de l'église de St-Lin des Laurentides d'après les rapports de la presse: 29 avril 1891*. Montréal: C.O. Beauchemin.
- Cooke, Natalie and Fiona Lucas. 2017. *Catharine Parr Traill's The Female Emigrant's Guide*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Correct Art. 1894. *The Correct Art of Candy-Making*. New York: Butterick Pub. Co.
- Coulombe, Caroline. 2002. *Un siècle de prescriptions culinaires: continuités et changements dans la cuisine au Québec, 1860-1960*. MA Thesis, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières.
- Courrier de St-Hyacinthe. 1876. "Le Sacre". *Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe* 23 (131): 1-2.
- Craig, G[erald] M[arquise]. 2003. "WELD, ISAAC". In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8. Toronto and Québec: University of Toronto and Université Laval. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/weld_isaac_8E.html

- Cuisinière Five Roses. 1915. *La Cuisinière Five Roses*. Montréal: Lake of the Woods Milling Co.
- Cuisinière canadienne. 1840. *La Cuisinière canadienne, contenant tout ce qu'il est nécessaire de savoir dans un ménage [...]*. Montréal: Louis Perrault.
- De Salis, Mrs. [Harriet Anne]. 1898. *The Housewife's Referee: A Treatise on Culinary and Household Subjects*. London: Hutchinson.
- Desloges, Yvon. 2009. *À table en Nouvelle-France*. Québec: Éditions du Septentrion.
- Dièreville, Marin. 1708. *Relation du voyage de Port-Royal de l'Acadie*. Rouen: J.-B. Besongne.
- Driver, Elizabeth. 2008. *Culinary Landmarks: A Bibliography of Canadian Cookbooks, 1825-1949*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dupont, Jean-Claude. 1993. "Traditions alimentaires et classes sociales". In Gérard Bouchard (ed.), *La construction d'une culture. Le Québec et l'Amérique française*: 119-145. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- . 2004. *Le Temps des sucres*. Québec: Les Éditions GID.
- Encyclopédie canadienne. 2013. "Le Passe-Temps". [online]. www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/fr/article/le-passe-temps
- Fenton, Alexander. 2007. *Compendium of Scottish Ethnology*. Vol. 5: *The Foods of the Scots*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Ferland, Catherine. 2011. "Fromages du Québec". *Encyclopédie du patrimoine culturel de l'Amérique française*. [online]. http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/fr/article-640/Fromages_du_Qu%C3%A9bec.html
- Fertel, Riené. 2015. "Praline". In Darra Goldstein (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets*: 556-557. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher Scott, William. 1812. James Reid's Estate Inventory (27 October 1812). Notary Registry of William Fisher Scott. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. Fonds Cour supérieure. District judiciaire de Québec. Greffes de notaires. CN301, S253.
- Five Roses Cookbook. 1915. *Five Roses Cookbook*. Montréal: Lake of the Woods Milling Co.
- F. J. D. [pseud.]. 1883. "Plats Canadiens". *The Times (Philadelphia)* 2902: 3.
- Francoeur, Jean-Marie. 2016. *Encyclopédie de la cuisine de Nouvelle-France*. Anjou: Fides.
- Friedel, Louise-Augustine. 1801. *L'Art du confiseur, ou Manière simple et facile de faire toutes sortes de confitures au four et à la poêle, dragées, pastilles, fruits confits, gelées*. Paris: Fuchs.

- Gaultier, Jean François. 1755. "Histoire du sucre d'érable". *Mémoires de mathématique et de physique présentés à l'Académie royale des sciences par divers sçavans, & lus dans les assemblées*, vol. 2 : 378-392.
- Glasse, Hannah. 1760. *The Compleat Confectioner: Or the Whole Art of Confectionary Made Plain and Easy*. London: Mrs. Ashburner's China Shop.
- Goheen, Peter G. 1980. "Some Aspects of Canadian Urbanization from 1850 to 1921". *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*: 77-84. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1020698ar>
- Gorter, A[nn]a and G[e]zina A[nn]a M[argaretha] de Boer-de Jonge. 1912. *Het Nieuwe Kookboek*, 2nd ed. Groningen: P. Noordhoff.
- . 1915. *Het Nieuwe Kookboek*, 3rd ed. Groningen: P. Noordhoff.
- Greer, Allan. 1978. "The Pattern of Literacy in Quebec, 1745-1899". *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11 (22): 293-335.
- . 1991. "La République des hommes: les Patriotes de 1837 face aux femmes". *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 44 (4): 507-528. <https://doi.org/10.7202/304922ar>
- Grisdale, Joseph Hiram. 1931. "Regulations: The Maple Sugar Industry Act, 1930". *Canada Gazette* 64 (32): 2194-2197.
- Hamelin, Jean and Pierre Poulin. 2003. "CHAUVEAU, PIERRE-JOSEPH-OLIVIER". In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11. Toronto and Québec: University of Toronto and Université Laval. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chauveau_pierre_joseph_olivier_11E.html
- Haskell, [Elizabeth] F. 1861. *The Housekeeper's Encyclopedia of Useful Information for the Housekeeper in All Branches of Cooking and Domestic Economy*. New York: D. Appleton.
- Institut de tourisme et d'hôtellerie du Québec (ITHQ). 1985. *Cuisine du Québec*. Montréal: Éditions La Presse.
- Iris [pseud.]. 1888. "How to Make Pin-Money". *The Times-Democrat*, May 6: 12.
- James, V[irginia] E. 1892. *Mother James' Key to Good Cooking*. New York: N. D. Thompson.
- Kauntz, Paul. 1817. "Reprise d'établissement". *Le Spectateur canadien* 5 (18): 1.
- Lafrance, Marc and Yvon Desloges. 1990. "La sensibilité alimentaire au Canada aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: Approches et survol des sources". *Ethnologie* 12 (3): 15-40.
- Lahontan, Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce baron de. 1728. *Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale ou La suite des voyages de Mr. le baron de Lahontan*. Amsterdam: François L'Honoré & Compagnie.

- Lajoie-Vaillancourt, Blanche. c1925. *These Recipes are Contributed by the Women's Institutes of the Province of Quebec*. Lévis: Québec Maple Sugar Producers Association.
- Lambert, Michel. 2017. "Le Sucre à la crème". *Le Québec cuisine* [online]. <http://www.quebecuisine.ca/?q=le-sucre-a-la-creme>
- Larouche, Gertrude and Francine Audet. 1989. *350 ans au coin du four*. Québec: s.n.
- Lebel, Jean-Marie. 2003. "DUVERNAY, LUDGER (baptized Joseph-Ludger)". In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8. Toronto and Québec: University of Toronto and Université Laval. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/duvernay_ludger_8E.html
- Lemasson, Jean-Pierre. 2011. *L'Incroyable odyssée de la tourtière*. Outremont: Numeriklivres.
- Lesage, [Édouardina] Colette. 1908. "Le Courrier de Colette". *La Presse* 25 (35): 20.
- Lessard, Rénald. 1987. "Le Secret de la bière d'épinette". *Cap-aux-Diamants* 2 (4): 2-56.
- Lukin, Peter. 1802. Bail de maison par Marie-Anne de Rouville à Pierre Marmier (8 June 1802). Notary Registry of Peter Lukin, père. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. Fonds Cour supérieure. District judiciaire de Montréal. Greffes de notaires. CN601, S269.
- Marin, Pierre. 1717. *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch woordenboek/ Dictionnaire Complet Hollandois & François*. Amsterdam: Wye-Capelsteeg.
- Mason, Laura. 1998. *Sugar-Plums and Sherbet: the Prehistory of Sweets*. London: Prospect Books.
- Mathieu, Jocelyne. 1990. "Emprunts anglo-saxons dans l'alimentation québécoise". *Ethnologie* 12 (3): 89-93.
- McLintock, Mrs. 1736. *Mrs. McIntock's Receipts for Cookery and Pastry-Work*. Glasgow: s.n.
- McNeill, F[lorencia] Marian. 1929. *The Scots Kitchen*. London: Blackie & Son.
- Menon, Joseph. 1750. *La Science du maître d'hôtel confiseur*. Paris: Paulus-Du-Mesnil.
- Mintz, Sidney W[ilfred]. 1986. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin.
- Monastère des Augustines. 1858. *Cahier de recettes – manuscrit*. Fonds Monastère des Augustines de l'Hôpital Général de Québec, HG-A-22.1.3.1.2.

- Neatby, Hilda. 2003. "BURTON, RALPH". In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3. Toronto and Quebec: University of Toronto and Université Laval. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/burton_ralph_3E.html
- Nisbet, Stuart M. 2013. "Sugar and the Early Identity of Glasgow: Glasgow Planters in the Leeward Islands c. 1650-1750". *Scottish Archives* 19: 65-82.
- Norton, Caroline Trask. 1903. *The Rocky Mountain Cook Book for High Altitude Cooking*. Denver: CO, C. T. Trask.
- Nourse, Mrs. [Elisabeth]. 1809. *Modern Practical Cookery. Pastry, Confectionary, Pickling, and Preserving with other Useful Receipts and Directions*. Edinburgh: George Ramsay and Company.
- . 1845. *Modern Practical Cookery, Pastry, Confectionery, Pickling and Preserving: With a Great Variety of Useful and Economical Receipts*. Montréal: Armour & Ramsay.
- Nutt, Frederick. 1790. *The Complete Confectioner: Or the Whole Art of Confectionary*, 2nd ed. London: J. Matthews.
- Olney, Richard. 1981. *Confectionery*. Amsterdam: Time-Life Books.
- Pagrach-Chandra, Gaitri. 2013. *Sugar & Spice*. Northampton, MA: Interlink Books.
- Papineau, Amédée. 1972. *Journal d'un Fils de la liberté, réfugié aux Etats-Unis, par suite de l'Insurrection canadienne en 1837*, vol. 1. [Montréal]: Réédition-Québec.
- Papineau, Louis-Joseph. 1837. "Discours de l'Honorable Louis-Joseph Papineau à l'Assemblée du Comté de Montréal, tenue à St. Laurent, le 15 Mai courant, pour prendre considération les Résolutions Coercitives du Ministre anglais contre les droits et libertés de cette Colonie". *La Minerve* 11 (31): 1-2.
- Parisien, Vincent. 2013. *Le Bec sucré*. Montréal: Éditions Hélio trope.
- Parker, Julie. 2006. "La Cuisinière canadienne. Contenant tout ce qu'il est nécessaire de savoir dans un ménage [...] : Témoin de l'émergence d'une cuisine nationale au carrefour des cultures au XIX^e siècle. MA Thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal.
- Parsons, Vivienne. 1967. "Prieur, François Xavier (1814-1891)". In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2: 352-353. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press.
- Passe-Temps. 1901. "Recettes culinaires". *Le Passe-Temps* 7 (159): 165.
- Peerless Cook. 1888. *The Peerless Cook Book*. Montréal: Babcock and Son.
- Perrault, Raymond. 2023. "Agathe Perrault, veuve et philanthrope". *Bulletin de la société d'histoire du Plateau-Mont-Royal* 18 (3): 10-11.

- Plouvier, Liliane. 1999. "L'introduction du sucre en pharmacie". *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 87 (322): 199-216.
- Portebois, Yannick. 2014. "La Cuisinière canadienne, contenant tout ce qu'il est nécessaire de savoir dans un ménage [...]. Montréal, imprimée et publiée par Louis Perrault, 1840, 114 pages". *Cuizine* 5 (1) [online]. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1024282ar>
- Prieur, François-Xavier. 1864. "Notes d'un condamné politique de 1838". *Les Soirées Canadiennes* 4: 167-407.
- Ramsingh, Brigit. 2018. "Liquid Gold: Tapping into the Power Dynamics of Maple Syrup Supply Chains". *Dublin Gastronomy Symposium 2018 Food and Power* [online]. <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/dgs/2018/may30/13/>
- Rasles, Sébastien. 1900. "Lettre à M. son neveu. Sébastien Rasles; Nanrantsouak, October 15, 1722". In Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.) *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. LXVII. *Lower Canada, Abenakis, Louisiana 1716-1727*: 83-119. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company.
- Repentigny, Agathe de. 1705. Lettre de M^{me} de Repentigny au ministre sur les productions du Canada [...] (13 octobre 1705). Library and Archives Canada. MG1-C11A, Vol. 22, Reel F-22, 344.
- Robertson, David. 1816. "Wholesale & retail Confectioner & Baker". *The Quebec Mercury* 12 (38): 5.
- Rorer, S[arah] T[yson]. [c1902]. *Mrs. Rorer's New Cook Book: A Manual of Housekeeping*. Philadelphia: Arnold and Company.
- Rousseau, François. 1983. *L'Œuvre de chère en Nouvelle-France: le régime des malades à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Rousseau, Jacques. 1967. "Quelques jalons de l'histoire et de la géographie gastronomiques du Québec". *Les Cahiers des Dix* 32: 13-35. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1079674ar>
- Roy, Jean-Louis. 2003. "PERRAULT, LOUIS". In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9. Toronto and Québec: University of Toronto and Université Laval. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/perrault_louis_9E.html
- Roy, Julie et Chantal Savoie. 2021. "De la couventine à la débutante: signature féminine et mise en scène de soi dans la presse au XIX^e siècle". In Guillaume Pinson (ed.), *La Lettre et la presse: Poétique de l'intime et culture médiatique*. Médias 19 [online]. <https://www.medias19.org/publications/la-lettre-et-la-presse-poetique-de-lintime-et-culture-mediatique/de-la-couventine-la-debutante-signature-feminine-et-mise-en-scene-de-soi-dans-la-presse-au-xixe-siecle>

- Rush, Benjamin. 1793. "An Account of the Sugar Maple-Tree of the United States, and of the Methods of Obtaining Sugar from it". *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 3: 64-81.
- St-Pierre, Louise and Rémy Chhem. 2012. "Le Patrimoine culinaire et les recettes traditionnelles des Ursulines de Québec". Dans Laurie Turgeon (dir.), *L'Inventaire du patrimoine immatériel religieux du Québec : Université Laval* [online]. <http://www.ipir.ulaval.ca/fiche.php?id=1036>
- Sarrazin, [Michel]. 1730. "Observations botaniques III". *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences*: 89-90. Amsterdam : Pierre Mortir.
- Savaria, Maude. 2020. « Écris donc à Colette » : représentations de femmes et discours de genre dans le « *Courrier de Colette* », 1903-1956. MA Thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal.
- Schama, Simon. 1987. *The Embarrassment of Riches*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Scott-Moncrieff, Robert. 1911. *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692-1733*. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Shortt, Adan and Arthur G. Doughty. 1907. *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*. Ottawa: S. E. Dawson.
- Sinclair, James. 1782. "Advertisements". *The Quebec Gazette* 857: 2.
- Stavelly, Keith and Kathleen Fitzgerald. 2015. "Fudge". In Darra Goldstein (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets*: 287-288. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, Henry. 1764. "Advertisements: Just Imported in the Nancy". *The Quebec Gazette* 2: 4.
- Traill, Catherine Parr Strickland. 1854. *The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping*. Toronto: Maclear and Company.
- Vaillancourt, Cyrille. c1925. *Quebec Standard Products: Maple Syrup and Maple Sugar*. s.n.
- . c1932. *The Maple "Pride of Quebec"*. Lévis: Québec Maple Sugar Producers Association.
- Valdombre [pseud. Claude-Henri Grignon]. 1939. "Hommage of Vieux Doc". *L'Avenir du Nord* 43 (45): 1.
- Verge, Gabrielle K.-L.[aflamme]. 1998. *Pensionnaire chez les Ursulines dans les années 1920-1930*. Sillery: Éditions du Septentrion.
- Vermont Maple Sugar Makers Association. 1894. *Vermont Maple Sugar and Syrup*. St. Albans, VT: Wallace Printing Company.
- Villeneuve, William Rodrigue. 1884. "Bonne Nouvelle". *Le Progrès de l'est* 1 (104): 3.
- Volmaakte Hollandsche. 1746. *De volmaakte Hollandsche keuken-meid*. Amsterdam: Steeve van Esveltdt.

- Weld, Isaac. 1799. *Travels Through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*. London: Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly.
- William, [Mary] Lawson and Alice Jones. 1888. *Church of England Institute Receipt Book*. Halifax: Holloway Bros.
- Williamson, Mary F. 2021. *M^{rs} Dalgairns's Kitchen*. Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press.