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Free French "gentlemen of couleur" : reconsidering race, ethnicity, and migration in Philadelphia's catering industry, 1870-1930

Elena G. Palazzolo
University of Richmond

Free French "gentlemen of couleur":

Reconsidering Race, Ethnicity, and Migration in Philadelphia's Catering Industry, 1870-1930

By

Elena G. Palazzolo

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Advisor: Sydney Watts, Ph.D.

“This ‘stint’ has no climbing walls, and almost sweating tears, I know I have a worthwhile job on my hands – but it seems ‘bigger’ than me…Maybe it’s the stubborn persistence of the family’s trait, which has kept me still struggling and trying to ‘make a go’ if it.”

- Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, Letter to H.E. Weber (1977)

Preface

This was not the thesis that I set about to write when I first began to plan this project over a year and a half ago. What began as an idea to look at Paris Police Prefecture archives to formulate a project around nineteenth-century French market culture turned into a proposal about the role of enslaved people in bringing French cuisine to the United States in the Revolutionary Era, particularly the South. In the end my ideas took shape around yet another topic altogether.

Within the first week of research into the latter topic, a paradoxical combination of too many people working on similar research and not being able to find good sources led me to great frustration. Following advice from two of my mentors, I began to look farther north and later in time. Skimming through W.E.B. DuBois' *The Philadelphia Negro*, a section titled "The Guild of the Caterers" caught my eye. A few paragraphs in, DuBois mentioned a number of families of French West Indian descent in this industry. I was hooked. After a few hours digging up anything that I could find on the Augustin, Baptiste, or Dutrieuille families on the internet, I realized that there was much work to be done. While scholars in a range of fields used their businesses as examples, not a single piece focused exclusively on their lives and legacies.

Not anything published at least. Tucked away in a footnote, I caught wind of an unfinished manuscript that one of their descendants attempted to write in the 1970s and 1980s. Days later I was on a train to Philadelphia to find it. Without going into too much detail, from start to finish this thesis has in many ways been the perfect capstone and launching point. Over the past ten months, I have used print and digital archives and secondary sources of all shapes and sizes. I have worked and reworked sources that were interesting, challenging, and oftentimes contradictory. I have edited and peer-edited and shared and submitted various elements at various stages. I have talked about my project to anyone willing to listen and incorporated questions and suggestions wherever possible.

I have also received incredible support in this endeavor. Institutionally, the Arts and Sciences Summer Research Fellowship from the College of Arts and Sciences allowed me to fully focus on this project over the summer. With their grant, I was able to use archives at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Schlesinger Library, and the Library of Virginia. The faculty I have worked with and the classes that I have taken in the History Department are at the foundation of my research. Dr. Sydney Watts and Dr. David Brandenberger, the respective advisers for my thesis specifically and the Honors Program generally have been along for the ride and for all of the twists and turns that this project has taken. The class and conversations that I had last year with Dr. Samantha Seeley were encouraging and eye opening to me as I decided to take on a project deeply rooted in the Black Atlantic and African American history, and her suggestions along the way have been most welcome. She and Dr. Michelle Kahn – who also held me accountable in the final stretch of the drafting process through serious writing sessions at Sugar + Twine – worked wonders for my Introduction back in December when I was frantically perfecting it for a graduate school writing sample. Likewise, I am grateful again to Dr. Sydney Watts and to Dr. Nicole Sackley for welcoming me into the Humanities Connect Seminar on "Contested Spaces: Race, Nation and Conflict." In addition to the robust and creative feedback that I received from the group, I am deeply appreciative of the work that every member shared, as reading and discussing projects beyond my own contributed to my process in ways that may go unseen. The afternoon coffees with the rest of the honors cohort, Caitlin Livesey, Sam Schwarzkopf, and Tom Vanderbeek, albeit few and far between as we were frequently consumed in our work, made the difference

when I thought that the caterers might get the best of me. Of course, this would never have been possible without my most willing editors and biggest fans, Dan, Jennifer, and Sarah Palazzolo. From listening to my often over-detailed ramblings to reading any draft I put in front of them, my family has played a massive role in the success of this project. There would be not evidence from the Dutrieuille account books had they not willingly taken a night in Philadelphia during a family trip for me to take scans!

One of the (many) sources that I found in the archives and loved immediately did not fit in the body of the thesis, but it says a lot about what this project means to me. Tucked between various receipts, price lists, and advertisements in the Albert E. Dutrieuille file at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is a sheet of loose leaf with a recipe for "Parmigiano" scribbled in Dutrieuille's hasty cursive. When I came across this scrap, I pictured this esteemed caterer of French West Indian descent deep in discussion with an Italian American produce vendor at Mariani & Sons, exchanging family recipes. In this market space, Albert used his family's trade to bridge momentarily the ethnic, racial, and class hierarchies forcefully in place in 1940s Philadelphia. He made an exchange as his predecessors had done before him and as many immigrant communities continue to do today.

Primarily, this is a story about mixed-race individuals with complex Atlantic backgrounds interacting with different parts of their racial and national backgrounds to sustain their businesses and contribute to their communities. But it is hard to ignore that their experiences cannot help but speak to the challenges and successes that people entering this country continue to face today, balancing multifaceted identities in their business and public lives to fit in to their new environments, retain their rich heritage, and achieve economic success for themselves and their families.

Introduction

In 1829, when Philadelphia's catering industry was still blossoming, Nicolas Biddle, a white American financier and lesser-known poet wrote "Ode to Bogle." Biddle aimed to highlight the professionalism and popularity of Philadelphia's first African American caterer, Robert Bogle. Bogle was an emancipated slave who came to the city in the early nineteenth century and also worked as an undertaker. The last five lines of the first stanza read:

> ...Colorless colored man, whose brow,
> Unmoved, the joys of life surveys,
> Untouched the gloom of death displays,
> Reckless if joy or grief prevail—
> Stern, multifarious Bogle—hail![1]

Biddle played off Bogle's ability to operate with a certain stoicism both as a caterer in exuberant, celebratory festivities and as an undertaker in the more somber funeral environment. The final invocation, "hail!" indicated that Bogle was indeed worthy of praise. On the one hand, Biddle's description "colorless colored man" could be indicating that Bogle's lack of expression translated to a dullness or modesty.[2] On the other, Bogle's trade permitted Biddle to overlook his race and to suggest that Bogle was simultaneously a "colored man," and "colorless." For Biddle, who wrote in the context of segregated Philadelphia, acknowledging the rank and acceptance of a caterer of color did not require him to ignore Bogle's blackness. Rather, Biddle's words demonstrate the fluid identity of the caterer in the eyes of both black and white clientele which allowed him the unique ability to operate within and between both segments of society.[3]

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[1] Nicolas Biddle, "Ode to Bogle," 1829 in *Verses of Nicolas Biddle* from The Library of Congress (Philadelphia, 1889), 2.
[2] See Danya M. Pilgrim, "Masters of a Craft: Philadelphia's Black Public Waiters, 1820-50," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 142, no. 3 (October 2018): 289. Pilgrim argues that such a description "points to white people's struggle to reconcile mastery, dignity, and consequence with a racist-world view that understood all black people to be debased, lacking in intelligence and industry."
[3] Nicolas Biddle, "Ode to Bogle," 2.

Fluidity marked the catering business from the 1840s to the 1870s, when black-owned catering firms held a near-monopoly on catering in Philadelphia.[4] While African Americans like Bogle ran many of the city's successful establishments, Creole West Indian immigrants also had a notable presence in the industry. For three of Philadelphia's most highly regarded catering families—the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles—their mixed racial backgrounds, French heritage, and West Indian origins helped them consolidate their hold on the business in a period of mounting racial segregation in northeastern cities. These families were part of a wave of West Indian immigrants who, by the early nineteenth century, had entered Philadelphia's economy as members of the black middle class, within which catering was a common trade.[5] By the 1870s, the growing prestige of French cuisine and French chefs, mounting capital of white hotels, and insecurities of the white middle class in dealing with black caterers forced many of Philadelphia's once-celebrated black establishments to close their doors.[6] The level of success that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families maintained through the Reconstruction period stemmed from their ability to operate both as French caterers and as black caterers while foreign competition increased and racial tensions grew.

Within an environment marked by structural racism, the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles built a catering empire. Echoing Biddle's poem about Bogle, in 1879 the writer of a *Philadelphia Times* article on Augustin's establishment at 1105 Walnut Street concluded, "Here abides the foremost caterer, black or white, or of any other color in this city."[7] The claim

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[4] W.E.B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study, 1820-1896*, 1899 (New York: Schoken Books, 1967): 25-39.
[5] Gary B. Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North: Black Saint Dominguans in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 65, Explorations in Early American Culture (1998), 57-60.
[6] Roger Lane, *Roots of Violence in Black Philadelphia*, 1860-1900. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 34-5.
[7] *The Times-Philadelphia*, "Colored Citizens," July 20, 1879, 8.

implicitly acknowledged the racial divisions crackling through the catering industry by the 1870s in suggesting that being black or white might be the foremost qualification of a caterer's success. The writer noted the skill of Peter J. Augustin, the mixed-race, Creole proprietor, by stating that his product and service were able to thrive through constant adaptation and negotiation in face of prevalent racial hierarchies. In fact, all three businesses lasted through several generations, serving meals to both black and white patrons at private parties, church events, public banquets, and within their establishments as well as shipping orders across the country and overseas.[8]

This thesis examines the story of Philadelphia's elite French West Indian catering families. It takes into consideration multiple perspectives to supplement scholarship that focuses on the families solely as West Indian refugees, Creole elites, or exceptional caterers. The history of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families nuances previous works on West Indian immigrants, racial hierarchies, and foodways in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Philadelphia and builds on scholarship about people of mixed racial origins in the Atlantic world. I contend that these families carefully navigated their liminal position in segregated Philadelphia as mixed-race French Creoles to the effect that they were able to transcend social divisions and eclipse racial biases while preserving a multi-racial, transnational identity predicated on their trade.

The temporal scope of this history spans from the point at which marriage joined all three families together in 1870 through the 1930s, when the economic distress of the Great Depression transformed consumption patterns in ways that significantly altered the catering industry. This

[8] *The Times-Philadelphia*, "Colored Citizens--Thirty Thousand Philadelphians of African Descent--Representatives of the Race--Social, Professional, Industrial and Religious Characteristics and Statistics." Sunday Morning edition, July 20, 1879, 8.

time frame encompasses multiple generations and covers major events as well as day-to-day changes within individuals, families, and specific establishments. Moreover, focusing on the period between Reconstruction and World War I, when racial segregation was especially constrictive in the lives of many people of color, underlines the exceptional, cosmopolitan nature of these immigrant families' transnational, Creole identity in building and maintaining a multi-generational catering empire.

Current and contemporary literature asserts that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families came to Philadelphia from the West Indies, although primary sources make pinpointing their places of origin difficult.[9] Between 1978 and 1984, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, a descendant of the families, drafted a family history detailing their time in Philadelphia from the early nineteenth century to when the doors of the last catering firm closed in 1973. In her genealogical research, Shelton struggled to find conclusive answers on her ancestors' origins.[10]

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[9] There is neither consensus nor debate among historians on the questions of race of origin of heads of family of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families. When they are used as one of many examples of caterers or business owners, the details seem to have little import. In their business histories, Jessie Carney Smith and Juliet E.K. Walker refer to Augustin as a "Haitian refugee" and "Haitian-born," respectively (Juliet E. K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 134; Jessie Carney Smith, ed. *Encyclopedia of African American Business*, 2nd edition (Westport: Greenwood, 2017), 166); In their culinary works David Shields calls Peter Augustin a "renowned African American caterer" and Jessica Harris claims that he "arrived in the city from Haiti" and that "the Augustins were joined by the Baptistes, another Haitian family with catering and restaurant business." (David S. Shields, *The Culinarians*, 158; Jessica B. Harris, *High on the Hog,* 119); The idea that Augustin came as a refugee from Haiti appears again in the work of Roger Lane (Roger Lane, *Thomas Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours*, 112); William Weaver and Michael Nash take a more generic approach, citing his origins in the "West Indies" (Michael Nash, "Research Note: Searching for Working-Class Philadelphia in the Records of the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Spring, 1996), 686); William Woys Weaver, *Thirty-five Receipts from "The Larder Invaded"* (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Pennsylvania, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1986), 71); Discussing Pierre Albert Dutrieuille, Alison Duncan Hirsch calls him a "Haitian refugee and entrepreneur; Rachel Kranz asserts that he "came from Bordeaux, France, after spending some times in the French West Indies" (Alison Duncan Hirsch, "Discovering America: The Peopling of Pennsylvania Common Ground: Philadelphia's Neighborhoods Crossroad: Center City Philadelphia. *The Journal of American History*, vol. 81, no. 1 (June 1994): 202; Rachel Kranz, *African American Business Leaders and Entrepreneurs*, (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2004): 76); Perhaps most thoughtfully, John Davies includes an extensive footnote on their ambiguous origins and settles on the label "most likely free Saint-Dominguans families of color." (John Davies, "Saint-Dominguan Refugees of African Descent and the Forging of Ethnic Identity in Early National Philadelphia." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. 134. no . 2 (April 2010), 118).

[10] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 21. In a letter that dates to September 23, 1978, Shelton wrote to the Schomburg Museum seeking clarification on how Eugene Baptiste Sr. and Pierre Augustin came to Philadelphia.

Official records are also unclear, as three different censuses list three different birthplaces for Eugene Baptiste Sr., and a ship manifest from 1808 lists that Pierre Augustin, reputedly from Paris, arrived in Philadelphia on a ship from Havana.[11] What we do know is that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Atlantic migration tales, especially for Creole people of color, were multi-staged, international, inter-continental journeys with lasting impacts on migrants and their families.[12]

For the Augustin and Baptiste families who arrived in Philadelphia in the early nineteenth century, being both French and people of color influenced how their businesses would have been received. On the one hand, late eighteenth-century French émigrés and French-trained African American chefs including Hercules and James Hemings, the enslaved chefs of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, had already introduced luxury French cuisine to the city and demonstrated the ability of people of color to cook it.[13] On the other, race-based discrimination to some degree impeded even these most successful caterers of color. In the North, "free labor" ideology led many white employers to believe that capable free people of color would succeed on their own, thereby reinforcing racist hiring practices.[14] For the Augustin, Baptiste, and

[11] Eugene Baptiste's birthplace was Philadelphia in 1850, Virginia in 1870, and the West Indies in 1900. Information derived from various listings on Ancestry.com: Year: *1850*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Locust Ward, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Roll: *M432_814*; Page: *128A*; Image: *261;* Year: *1870*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Ward 7 District 19, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Roll: *M593_1392*; Page: *394A*; Family History Library Film: *552891*; Year: *1900*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Ward 7, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Page: *7*; Enumeration District: *0127*; FHL microfilm: *1241454*; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1800-1882*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration. Micropublication M425, rolls # 1-71.

[12] I reference here the growing body of Atlantic histories, most recently, for example: Rebecca J. Scott and Jean M. Hébrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Mary Frances Berry, *We Are Who We Say We Are: A Black Family's Search for Home in the Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Lisa Lindsay, *Atlantic Bonds: A Nineteenth-Century Odyssey from America to Africa* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

[13] Jessica B. Harris, *High on the Hog: A Culinary Journey from Africa to America* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011), 117.

[14] Ira Berlin. "The Structure of the Free Negro Caste in the Antebellum United States." *Journal of Social History* vol. 9, no. 3 (1976): 301.

Dutrieuille families, the inherent independence that self-employment via a successful catering business could offer made the occupation particularly appealing as jobs in sectors dominated by white workers and business owners were fragile and exclusive.[15] The ability to start up a business in one's kitchen and gradually expand in patronage, product, and scale carried great incentive for caterers with the means to get up and running.[16]

The families' ability to balance their experiences in Philadelphia's African American community with their Atlantic roots and connection to French culture facilitated their businesses by making them purveyors of several popular cuisines. Commercially, the position of these firms within the African American community gave them the authority to serve dishes that would have been regarded as "slave cuisine." For example, an 1889 *Philadelphia Times* article said of the traditional mid-Atlantic delicacy terrapin that "as a rule, negroes excel in cooking the dish. Frenchmen are rarely adept at it."[17] Three years later, the obituary of Peter J. Augustin stated that his "preparations of terrapin and chicken croquettes…were considered by epicures to be unexcelled."[18] Because of his French name and identification with French heritage, Peter J. was also known for the cuisine that "Frenchmen" would have made. The same article that called Peter J. the city's foremost caterer deemed Augustin's "The Delmonico's of Philadelphia," comparing the establishment to New York City's most famous French restaurant at the time.[19] In

[15] Juliet E. K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America*, Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship, 2nd ed. Vol. 1, to 1865 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). For more information on influential people of color in the food industry see Jessica B. Harris, *High on the Hog: A Culinary Journey from Africa to America* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011), 117; see also David S. Shields, *The Culinarians: Lives and Careers from the First Age of American Fine Dining* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
[16] This assumption is made in various texts that address the role of black Americans in the workforce: see DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*; Licht, *Getting Work*; Booker T. Washington, *The Negro in Business* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1970, orig. 1907): 39-41. etc. The point is reiterated in Shelton's manuscript.
[17] *The Times-Philadelphia*, "Seen and Heard in Many Places," Tuesday Morning, March 2, 1897.
[18] *The Times-Philadelphia*, "The Last of the Augustins: The Death of P. Jerome, the Widely-Known Caterer." Monday Morning, June 27, 1892, 6; *The Times-Philadelphia*, "Colored Citizens," July 20, 1879, 8. For information on Delmonico's, see Paul Freedman, *Ten Restaurants That Changed America* (New York: Liveright, 2016).
[19] *The Times-Philadelphia*, "Colored Citizens," July 20, 1879, 8; Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 19, Folder 4, 4/27/77.

terms of their cuisine, the establishments successfully went back and forth between different cultures to appeal to the popular palates of the day.

The clientele that frequented the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles also speak to the relationships that they were able to maintain on account of their multi-faceted identities. The Augustins regularly served the Saturday Club, a declaredly apolitical social group of around 50 elite Philadelphians, where "perhaps without exception, every caterer…was a man of color and famous in his profession."[20] At the same time, their connection to the Catholic Church opened other doors. All three families preserved their French Catholic religion after arriving in the United States. From her memory and family lore, Shelton notes that her relatives were "favored for patronage by the hierarchy of the Catholic archdiocese."[21] While the formality of the relationship between the caterers and their Catholic patrons is challenging to pinpoint, the Church upheld substantial customer accounts at Dutrieuille's in financial records that date from 1921 through 1957.[22]

The personal and economic successes that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families experienced indicate their ability to work within, and at times to take advantage of, the racial prejudices of nineteenth-century Philadelphian society and the increasingly rigid racial hierarchies of the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction periods. Their navigation of complex social relationships and racially sensitive economies extends the longstanding tradition of what Ira Berlin has called the "Atlantic Creole."[23] According to Berlin, Atlantic Creole identity in

[20] *The Times-Philadelphia*, "The Saturday Club: Rise and Decline of a Famous Organization in this City." August 31, 1884, 8.
[21] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers (B19, 3/16/77).
[22] Albert E. Dutrieuille Catering Records. MSS 052, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Book 1: May 1920-June 1924.
[23] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 268.

America was gradually replaced by the assignment of African-ness to all enslaved people.[24] I extend Berlin's concept of the Atlantic Creole through the nineteenth century contending that America's black-white racial binary replaced "African-ness" as the category that sought to erase complex and at times ambiguous racial and ethnic origins. Citing the 1835 anecdote of African Americans teasing a West Indian for his "African-ness," Emma Jones Lapsansky argues that "presenting the image of colored Americans as separate in style and dress from Africans was a highly emotional issue within the black community."[25] The desire to conflate the categories of African and African American exemplifies the social pressure to assimilate into a uniform category of "blackness."

While racial designations in the African American community oftentimes pressured West Indians to deemphasize their Atlantic origins in order to assimilate, a wealth of scholarship on Philadelphia's West Indian community over the long nineteenth century demonstrates the importance of transatlantic connections in the history of race in the city. François Furstenberg and Ashli White have detailed the early French settlement and the mass migration of West Indian immigrants of diverse racial and socio-economic backgrounds that transformed Philadelphia.[26] Gary Nash further elaborates that French West Indians made major contributions to the city's linguistic diversity, bi-racialization of churches, vibrant economic and social diversity, and

[24] Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol, 53. No, 2. (April 1996), 286; see also James Sidbury. *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[25] Emma Jones Lapsansky, "'Since They Got Those Separate Churches": Afro-Americans and Racism in Jacksonian Philadelphia." *American Quarterly*, Vol, 32. No, 1 (Spring, 1980): 76.
[26] François Furstenburg, *When the United States Spoke French: Five Refugees Who Shaped a Nation*, (New York: Penguin Random House, 2015); Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution;* see also Catherine A. Hebert "The French Element in Pennsylvania in the 1790s: The Francophone Immigrants' Impact," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 108, no. 4 (Oct. 1984): 451-469.

political consciousness.[27] The involvement that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families had in Philadelphia's religious, economic, and social spheres was likewise clear and influential.

The Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families wove their ways into the city's African American community, especially at the end of the nineteenth century. While French Caribbean origin separated some West Indian immigrants from other black Philadelphians of African descent in the eighteenth century, John Davies suggests that in the late nineteenth century, later generations of immigrant families grew into the "cachet of being an 'Old Philadelphian.'"[28] Perhaps unsurprisingly, in and after the charter generations, many Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille family members married African Americans, and their social circles—especially outside of the Catholic Church—were marked by their association with well-known African American leaders of their day including James Forten, Martin Cowdery, James Alexander Pace, and many others.[29]

W.E.B. DuBois was one of the first people to incorporate Philadelphia's catering tradition in a major publication when he included a section on the so-called "Guild of the Caterers" in his 1899 book *The Philadelphia Negro*.[30] DuBois argued that caterers, by developing their trade and becoming self-reliant businesspeople, lifted the black community out of what seemed to be a fairly bleak and violent time during the 1840s when the city was heated with racial warfare.[31] DuBois cited Robert Bogle, the first African American caterer in Philadelphia about whom Biddle wrote his poem, and Pierre Augustin, side by side:

> [Bogle] filled a unique place in time when social circles were very exclusive, and the millionaire and the French cook had not yet arrived. Bogle's place was eventually taken by Peter Augustin, a West Indian immigrant...it was the Augustin establishment that made

[27] Gary B. Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North," 57-60.
[28] Davies, "Saint-Dominguan Refugees of African Descent and the Forging of Ethnic Identity in Early National Philadelphia," 109-126.
[29] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers.
[30] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* 32-39.
[31] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* 32.

> Philadelphia catering famous...Other Negroes soon began to crowd into the field thus opened.[32]

While DuBois acknowledged Pierre Augustin's West Indian origins, he ignored his Frenchness, consciously or otherwise, by disassociating him from the "French cook" and Anglicizing his first name. And yet, in the family history Shelton both celebrates her ancestors' place within the black catering community and claims that they were at the "origin of the now legendary French haute cuisine industry."[33] At least to the descendants of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families, their Frenchness was inseparable from their race, and they capitalized on each in their businesses.

Indeed, it is impossible to understand the unique and historically important role that these families played without acknowledging that they were people of color and that they were French. Examining the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families at the crossroads of their immigrant status, racial and ethnic identities, political activities, and business and culinary successes yields a more nuanced understanding of nineteenth-century migration, assimilation, and social organization. My intention here is not to define or attempt to categorize their identity, origins, or history, but rather to explore the complexities of their experience through the sources available. Newspapers, census data, and contemporary texts offer us a better sense of how these caterers and their contemporaries engaged with their communities, as well as how catering as a practice was perceived in Philadelphia.[34] Shelton's unpublished family history monograph reveals how the family history was passed down from generation to generation. While is it is important to compliment more modern family with period sources, the very existence of Shelton's draft

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[32] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* 34.
[33] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Page 9, Folder 9-18.
[34] The majority of the newspaper sources come from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Times*, although there are also various articles from other major daily papers like *The New York Globe* as well as African American newspapers including *The People's Advocate, The Washington Bee*, *The New York Age, The New York Freeman*, and the *Wisconsin Weekly Advocate*.

denotes the import of her ancestors and their accomplishments.[35] The Dutrieuille financial account books offer insights into the day-to-day of business operations as well as into the caterer's major customers and the food they ordered in the early twentieth century.[36] Pieced together, these sources are illuminating because of the questions that they raise: When and how did social, political, and economic structures pressure recent immigrants, people of color, urban elites, and business people to prioritize or compromise various racial or ethnic characteristics for political or financial interests? How does understanding the complexity of individual decision-making within seemingly homogenous groups challenge the ways that we conceive of race and agency in nineteenth-century Philadelphia?

This thesis takes the form of a contextualized narrative, placing snapshots of information about the activities and legacies of these three families into the broader frameworks of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Philadelphia. Food is peripheral to this narrative; rather, I focus on the way that food and the food industry speak to larger questions of race, class, migration, and family in Philadelphia around the turn of the century. The first chapter begins with the marriage of Clara Baptiste and Theodore Augustin before moving into questions of unity on a larger scale through the discussion of the families' involvement in the Philadelphia Caterers Association and the Catholic Church. The second chapter focuses on the table as a contested space to introduce the political activity and representations of these families in comparison to their African American colleagues. The final chapter addresses the day to day activities of the industry and gives attention to cuisine, economic exchange, and gender as representations of a cosmopolitanism that the businesses demonstrated in order to survive in the face of white competition. The conclusion focuses on the place of the Augustin, Baptiste, and

[35] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers.
[36] Albert E. Dutrieuille Catering Records.

Dutrieuille families in the creation of the African American legacy of Philadelphia's great caterers after World War I as part of the inter-war push for civil rights.

The archival sources here are unique and have been explored very little by other historians. Working on this project has brought me close to Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, the family biographer, in many ways that surpass the hours of scanning and days of reading the hundreds upon hundreds of pages she drafted as part of her work-in-progress. Writing when she did in the 70s and 80s, as she neared the end of her life, Shelton followed a broader trend occurring in the United States in the 1970s after the television miniseries *Roots* was broadcast in 1976.[37] She also made an effort to build upon various newspaper and journal articles that she produced periodically throughout her rich and prolific career as a journalist. I imagine too, by the nature of leaving her work unpublished and in the able hands of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Shelton was both frustrated by and hopeful about what her manuscript might become. Shelton knew more about her relatives than I ever will—especially about the Dutrieuilles, whose business remained open until just a few years before she began her project. There are some places where I fill silences in period sources with Shelton's memories and reflections rooted in what I can only presume to be family lore and once-oral history. There are others where I have used secondary and other primary sources from the period to draw comparisons and build out contexts that offer insights to activities at the time.

While the source work is original, I take theoretical and practical cues from more experienced scholars and preexisting historiographies. Martha Hodes makes two claims at the

[37] With the Shelton manuscript, pull in the 1989 article from the HSP which actually has a box about *Roots* and Alex Haley. Include that the project initially began with an invitation from Mrs. Robyn Stone at the Balch Institute in January 16, 1975; she also mentions encouragement from Mrs. Sara Strickland Scott to "'write something' to give to the new Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum" for the bicentennial (Presumably of the Declaration of Independence, so in 1976). See Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Peter Albert Dutrieuille Collection*, Box 1, Folder 1; Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 19, Letter to H.E. Webber, February 15, '77.

beginning of *The Sea Captain's Wife* that have helped me frame my approach to this huge and important narrative. First, she clarifies that her use of words like "perhaps," "maybe," and "probably," are ways of denoting that the narrative embodies "the craft of history, assisted by the art of speculation."[38] Second, she reminds us that "historical actors know more about their own lives than those who write about them ever can, yet historians often grasp more about the context and meanings of those lives than can the actors themselves."[39] Hodes' embrace of the unknown and valorization of thoughtful contextualization are essential to my efforts here. Likewise, this thesis depends on the current scholarship of individual and family narratives in the Atlantic world just as much as it builds on it. Many scholars of Philadelphia, nineteenth-century cuisine, West Indian migrants, and black business and entrepreneurship especially have included the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families as supporting evidence for broader arguments on race and assimilation and compelling anecdotes in far-reaching encyclopedias and anthologies. These families are remarkable and deserve full inclusion in the historiographies of race, migration and cuisine in nineteenth century Philadelphia and the Atlantic world beyond the brief references that histories to date offer.

At the same time, this is not like other Atlantic histories. In terms of precedent scholarship, both current academic work and Shelton's manuscript highlight the challenges facing and the necessity of this type of study. The challenge that Shelton's manuscript poses is the pressure from within the family itself to have something that is worthy of the legacy that they created over four businesses and two centuries. The advantages, though, are far richer: the perspective that Shelton offers in the pages that she has left, the validation of her own confusion

[38] Martha Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 30-31.
[39] Martha Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife*, 31.

about certain things, and the motivation to keep her voice and those for whom she spoke in the historical record. The challenges that contemporary references hold are their labels, that is the desire to call family members Haitian, West Indian, French, African American, Creole, Black, or some combination thereof. These labels, due to limited space and broad spanning focus in these works, lack nuance. Nevertheless, they project a confidence that might lead even the most scrupulous scholar to at times experience doubts. What they highlight, though, is the imperative of microhistory and the complicated and frustrating nature of thorough research.

Looking at the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles as interconnected family units active in social and political life as well as in their businesses compliments a broader body of historiography than that which exists in the realm of food studies. For instance, Peter Albert Dutrieuille's appeal for incorporation of the Caterer's Manufacturing and Supply Company in 1895 and court appearance on a damages claim in 1911 places the regular and continued struggle for rights that black people undertook and undertake in America into a bigger picture of business operations and family life.[40] These caterers and other major contributors to food history in America did not operate in a vacuum, and while praise for terrapin and croquettes seems well-deserved, the quality of their product could not always isolate them from discrimination or economic downturn. To the same ends, their adaptation and resilience often reflects in strategic choices in marketing, cuisine, and trade-based association making that permitted them to sustain their businesses. Thus, especially within the corpus of food studies an inquiry into this tripartite family unit and their social and political milieu underlines the importance of understanding the

[40] "Legal Notices," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Saturday morning edition, April 6, 1895, 8; "Record of the Courts," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Thursday morning edition, October 19, 1911, 5; See note number 7 above for an exhaustive list of these texts.

often interesting and complex backgrounds and environments within which notable culinary figures and those around them operated.

My intention is to call into question the formation of categories of nationality, origin, race, religion, gender, trade, and class as static and non-negotiable. Oftentimes, such labels were evoked to distinguish various members and establishments in the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families when in fact their experiences were far more complex. This work is an invitation to question the labels that we as historians might grow to depend upon and the tensions that we might overlook when we make choices that categorize people in ways that are static and occasionally anachronistic. It is also, in its glaring incompleteness, a nod to the growing body of complete and successful Atlantic microhistories. I have spent the past year describing these families as "French West Indian caterers," and it is only now that I begin to wrap up the first stage of this endeavor that I begin to question the ease with which those adjectives roll off my tongue. Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, as she wrote concrete descriptions of her families' origins in her manuscript, also wrote letters full of doubt to solicit official immigration information on Pierre Augustin and Eugene Baptiste.[41] These types of questions and many like them remain as unanswered to me as they did to Shelton in the 1970s and 1980s. Labels and origins aside, though, this paper demonstrates certain ways in which all three families deliberately and intentionally crossed social and racial boundaries across multiple generations.

While this thesis trickles into filling an important historical silence surrounding these families and their trade, it is by no means complete both on account of the sources I have available and the scope of the project. The following chapters make no effort to clarify the objective experiences or identities of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families. Rather,

[41] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 21.

they invite the reader to realize that families, individuals, and their communities are nuanced and confusing. It is only when we hear a cacophony of voices and embrace silences of equal if not greater magnitude that we can say that we may not know any more than their contemporaries or their own kin how and from where their early ancestors arrived in Philadelphia. But we can gain some sense of the reputations that they gained there, the conflicts that they navigated, and the legacies that they spread through generations to come.

Chapter 1- Professional and Religious Organization
"In Union there is Strength"

People lined the pews of St. Teresa's church at the corner of Broad and Catherine Streets on a cool, autumn, Philadelphia Saturday. Perhaps they remarked on the parish's newly opened school and ornate rectory. Likely they daydreamed of the lavish meal that awaited them following the wedding ceremony of Clara Baptiste and Theodore Augustin, the daughter and son of two of the city's most celebrated catering families. The date was October 8, 1870 and, almost six years after the marriage of Amelia Baptiste and Peter Albert Dutrieuille on December 24, 1864, their union marked the point at which the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families became fully intertwined.[42]

The engaged, Clara about 24 years old and Theodore around ten years her senior, would have been acquainted with each other as descendants of two of the oldest and most prominent Creole catering families in the city: Baptiste's and M.F. Augustin & Son. Their matrimony would determine the retirement of Clara's father, Eugene Baptiste Sr., as he handed over his establishment to the newlyweds, who rebranded it Augustin & Baptiste. Through personal and entrepreneurial ties, the couple also would have known well their priest, Father James Alfred, as their fathers worked closely with the Catholic diocese to cater church events.[43] The reputation and prestige of these two families, and the import of their union, is evidenced through the event's appearance in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, one of the city's main daily papers.

It is fitting that we enter a history of intersectional identities in the context of migration and assimilation in an Irish Catholic church in 1870. Over half a century after Pierre Augustin

[42] "Married," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 10, 1870, 4.
[43] Bernice Dutriueille Shelton's manuscript of her family history has consistent references to religious and commercial connections to Philadelphia's Catholic diocese; Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton papers, MSS 131, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

and Eugene Baptiste Sr. came to the United States, and they themselves had married African American women, their children married each other—partners that shared Creole, mixed-race backgrounds, Catholic religion, and French Caribbean heritage. Equally notable is that Clara and Theodore married in St. Teresa's, a church erected less than twenty years prior in a period of strong anti-Irish sentiments tied to anti-Catholicism. So detested was the church's original Irish Catholic congregation that the first-laid cornerstone of the building's foundation was stolen and had to be replaced.[44] People of color, and particularly immigrants from Saint Domingue, had also faced intense discrimination in the preceding decades as conflicts broke out over employment, housing, suffrage, and other civil rights issues. In the aftermath of the Haitian Revolution, many white Americans associated West Indian immigrants with potentially contagious violence and aggression.

A marriage of this sort would have served to bring together the broad range of friends and customers that the Baptiste and Augustin families attracted. This chapter explores the development of the personal and professional relationships of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families after 1870. Not only did membership in various associations and active engagements with their religious community allow the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille businesses to weather the competition from white American and European caterers, the connections that they made facilitated their ability to both grow and thrive. Active membership in the Mutual Aid Association, the Ugly Club, the Pioneer Building and Loan Association, and numerous other groups kept the families well connected within the African American community in their city.[45] Involvement in the pre-dominantly white Catholic church and connections to the

[44] Walsh, Richard J. "History of St. Teresa's Parish, Philadelphia." *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol, 67. No. 2/4 (June, September, December, 1956): 105-119.
[45] Like many of Philadelphia's black elite, all three families were very involved in a number of these groups. Take for example Peter Albert Dutrieuille who in addition to his active role in the Caterers Association also served as

diocese likewise reinforced their prestige in the elite Catholic sphere. Indeed, the level of success that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families maintained through the Reconstruction period stemmed from their ability to uphold strong relationships with diverse clientele through joining professional organizations like the Philadelphia Caterers Association and upholding ties to the Catholic Church.

Professional and religious organizations helped their businesses succeed and, in turn, their business success gave them greater stature in the organizations in which they participated. The roles that the members of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families played in the Philadelphia Caterers Association as well as the Caterers Manufacturing and Supply Company speak to their successful business efforts and inter-industry networking in face of increasingly tense racial climates. Close and longstanding links to the Catholic church simultaneously permitted these esteemed catering families to service events in the predominantly white diocese and placed them at the helm of the Black Catholic Congresses in the 1890s and in the establishment of St. Peter Claver, Philadelphia's first black Catholic church, in 1886. Racial tensions and European migration tie a common thread between the Caterers Association and the Black Catholic Congresses. The increase in labor competition and the growing number of white Catholics posed challenges to the near monopoly that black caterers had on their trade and to the

treasurer of the Pioneer Building and Loan Association, held office in the Quaker City Beneficial Association, the Negro Historical Society, and St. Mary's Catholic Beneficiary Society, just to name a few; see John N. Ingham and Lynne B. Feldman, *African-American Business Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary* (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 227. Worth emphasizing here is the Pioneer Building and Loan Association of which DuBois writes: "The Pioneer Association is composed entirely of Negroes, the directors being caterers, merchants, and upholsterers. It was founded in 1888 and has an office on Pine street. Its receipts in 1897 were $9000, and it has about $20,000 in loans. Nine homes are at present being bought in this association." Without giving specific names, it is not unlikely that the "caterers" he mentions may be referring to one of the families, especially the Peter Albert Dutrieuille; see DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 157-8. There is also an article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* likely indicating a payment on a mortgage by Clara Baptiste Augustin (listed C. M. Augustin) to the Pioneer Building & Loan Association. See "Large Residence Changes Owners…Mortgages" *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 11, 1913, 13.

comparatively high acceptance of black Catholics in their mixed-race church communities. In both the economic and religious spheres, leads in the black community came together to protect their businesses and exercise their faith.

Reflecting on the past, observing current activities, and musing about the future, W.E.B. DuBois posited in his 1899 publication *The Philadelphia Negro* that "it is apparent that the largest hope for the ultimate rise of the Negro lies in this mastery of the art of organized social life."[46] Indeed, organized social life was an important part of membership in Philadelphia's black community in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Social organizations, secret fraternities, mutual aid societies, professional associations, and above all, religious groups filled many of the civic, political, and social gaps that predominantly white institutions left vacant and in some cases created in order to segregate their communities further and to disenfranchise their neighbors more resolutely.[47] Nevertheless, DuBois concludes with a perplexing yet optimistic suggestion that "the present efforts of the Negro in working together along various lines are peculiarly promising for the future of both races."[48] This conclusion is significant here for two reasons: first, DuBois proposes that through improved collaboration within the black community everyone could become better off; second, he makes clear with the words "both races" that there are only two sides to the political questions of the day: black and white.

Within an increasingly strict racial binary, many African Americans supported W.E.B. DuBois' theory of racial uplift. This theory advocated gaining social acceptance and political rights through improving economic ventures, augmenting education levels, and bolstering

[46] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* 161.
[47] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* 161.
[48] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* 161.

general contributions within the black community under the guidance of black leaders. The Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families certainly demonstrated their belief in the types of organizations for which DuBois advocated. They played substantial roles, often as leaders and occasionally as founders, in a diverse range of professional associations and in the Catholic Church. In return, they also attended the events that such groups held, used the services that they offered, and made and maintained business connections with other members who they also considered colleagues and friends.

Philadelphia Caterers Association

In *The Philadelphia Negro*, DuBois refers to a mythical, or, rather, hypothetical, "Guild of the Caterers" which he dates between 1840 and 1870, when catering emerged as a way to offer economic opportunities to Philadelphia's black community. DuBois names "Bogle, Augustin, Prosser, Dorsey, Jones and Minton" as members integral to the group.[49] It is unclear why he chose this appellation for the group of caterers that he describes, as the closest actual entity to the Guild that existed was The Philadelphia Caterers Association, established in 1876 "for the aid and protection of the Caterer's interests."[50] Five prominent caterers of color, Andrew F. Stevens Sr., Martin V. Cowdery Sr., Andrew Clower Sr., Charles Carter, and Emanual Jones founded the organization as people began to foresee a decline in the industry following Thomas Dorsey's death in 1875 and as caterers of color saw more and more competition from white

[49] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 32.
[50] Howard Johnson. "Philadelphia Notes: *Fete Champetre,*" *The People's Advocate*, June 14, 1879, 2; James G. Fleming and Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, "Fine Food for Philadelphia," *The Crisis Magazine*, April 1938, pp. 107, 113.

European immigrants.[51] The founders effectively acknowledged the need for a collective body to weather the changing markets and increasingly race-based hiring discrimination.[52]

Within a decade of its formation, the Caterers Association rose to great esteem within and beyond Philadelphia. One "Philadelphia Correspondence" in the *New York Globe* in October 1883 claimed that "...one of the most important associations of Philadelphia is the Caterers.'"[53] The article goes on the describe the Association as a group that "comprises many gentlemen of means, influence and culture, and concentrates the interests of the profession," with the goal of "making themselves secure from cut-throat competition which is carried on elsewhere."[54] A little over five years later in February 1889, a *Philadelphia Times* article further described the requirements and expectations for membership as "the ability to get up a party and to serve it and an experience in that business of two years."[55] While the membership tally of 52 in 1889 was down from the 1883 estimate of around 70 caterers, there is nothing to suggest that the organization was at all losing steam.[56]

As the Caterers Association quickly gained a national reputation as an organizational body, the unity that it grew to represent situated itself in a complex position within America's solidifying racial binary. While race-based division was detrimental in the ways in which it created and reinforced prejudices and stereotypes, unification around identification as "colored"

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[51] The New York Age, Special Correspondent of the Age, "Deaths in Philadelphia, A Budget of News from the Quaker City: 'Annual Election and Banquet of the Caterers' Association-Dinner to the Ugly Club,'" March 15, 1890, 1.
[52] The New York Age, Special Correspondent of the Age, "Deaths in Philadelphia, A Budget of News from the Quaker City: 'Annual Election and Banquet of the Caterers' Association-Dinner to the Ugly Club,'" March 15, 1890, 1. Again here, the founding dates of the organization vary, as other sources indicate that the Association came together in 1876 or 1880-1 see "Philadelphia Correspondence," *The New York Globe*, Saturday, October 13, 1883; The Philadelphia Tribune, "PCA Entertains hundreds of guests at supper," January 20, 1917, 1.
[53] The New York Globe. "Philadelphia Correspondence," Saturday, October 13, 1883.
[54] The New York Globe. "Philadelphia Correspondence," Saturday, October 13, 1883.
[55] "Caterers and Waiters: Clash Between two Associations Over a Question of Tickets," *The Times-Philadelphia*, Morning edition. Wednesday, February 20, 1889, 6.
[56] "Caterers and Waiters" *The Times-Philadelphia*, February 20, 1889, 6; The New York Globe. "Philadelphia Correspondence," Saturday, October 13, 1883.

was one step towards combating larger systems of oppression to the degree that it aided in bridging inter-racial divisions and hierarchies. In 1901, *The Wisconsin Weekly Advocate* on "The Catering Art" said of organization:

> "'In union there is strength' is a maxim that is old, but true...Among the first to learn it were the caterers. Every one knows that the city of Philadelphia supports more colored caterers than in other city in the Union. Giving a rough guess I would say there are about 125 in that city. They are all members of the Philadelphia Caterers association…"[57]

The article reinforces the idea that the unity of the caterers allowed an extraordinarily high number of people to prosper, rather than blocking out newcomers or fostering unsalutary competition. A later observer would claim that their annual meeting and election in 1917 fostered a "splendid feeling of friendly rivalry," to say that the cooperative nature of the Association by no means undermined its members' entrepreneurial drives.[58] The group served as a model for other cities across the country, and it also expanded both as members moved to other cities and people came to Philadelphia to open establishments in a favorable and well-supported business environment.[59]

Beyond serving an economic function, the Caterers Association was a social group. For day to day interactions and standard business matters, the Association had "a warm little room in an upper story of 1219 Pine street" where members might come and go.[60] In addition to annual elections, the Caterers Association held yearly picnics for members and their families. Death announcements of members invited colleagues from the Association to attend funerals and visitations following in the tradition of black mutual aid societies that supported their members

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[57] C. H. Sulley, The Wisconsin Weekly Advocate, "The Catering Art," May 2, 1901 vol. IV, no. 1, 1. Notable here is that Philadelphia was the third largest city in the United States by population as of 1900, surpassed only by New York and Chicago. "Population of Incorporated Places," *1900 Census*, (Washington: The U.S. Census Bureau, 1901) vol. 1, pt. 1, lxix.
[58] "Philadelphia Caterers Association holds annual election," *The Philadelphia Tribune*, Saturday, March 17, 1917, 1.
[59] Sulley, "The Catering Art," May 2, 1901 vol. IV, no. 1, 1.
[60] "Caterers and Waiters" *The Times-Philadelphia*, February 20, 1889, 6.

with the organization and cost of funerals and burials.[61] In addition to the family of William H. Price inviting his caterer colleagues to attend his visitation upon his death in 1880, the *People's Advocate* recounted that at his burial "the floral offerings were fine, and the remains were followed not only by the whole congregation and Sunday school, but by the Philadelphia Caterers' Association."[62] At the 1879 picnic, Chairman J.B. Matthews exclaimed to the 300 attendees that "every man should help himself and the association would help all."[63] Membership in the organization was an important support structure that caterers of color from different backgrounds were able to share, and to benefit from in their social and commercial lives.

While evidence of the activity of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families in the founding years of the Philadelphia Caterers Association is limited, Peter Albert Dutrieuille's integral role in establishing the sister organization is documented well. Peter Albert was at the helm of the Caterers Supply Company, a "substantial outcome" of the Caterers Association.[64] The "Legal Notices" column of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on April 6, 1895 reads:

> "Notice is hereby given that an application will be made on the 16th day of April, A.D. 1895, to the Governor of Pennsylvania, by Peter A. Dutrieuille, Walter P. Hall, Martin V.B. Cowdery, Charles H. Richardson. Thomas L. James, John S. Trower and others…for a charter of an intended corporation, to be called, 'PHILADELPHIA CATERERS' MANUFACTURING AND SUPPLY COMPANY,' the character and object of which is to manufacture caterers' supplies..."[65]

The Caterers Supply Company, of which Peter Albert also served multiple terms as President, offered durable goods such as tables, chairs, and table settings in the form of a business cooperative to the city's African American caterers.[66] The cooperative endured until 1916, when

[61] "Died." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Saturday, May 15, 1880, 4. ; see also "Dies…Merryweather." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 14, 1916, 7.
[62] *The People's Advocate*, Saturday, May 22, 1880.
[63] Howard Johnson. "Philadelphia Notes," June 14, 1879, 2.
[64] C. H. Sulley, The Wisconsin Weekly Advocate, "The Catering Art," May 2, 1901 vol. IV, no. 1, 1.
[65] "Legal Notices," *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* April 6, 1895, 8.
[66] Ingham and Feldman, *African American Business Leaders*, 227.

they auctioned off their "effects" in mid-May.[67] Perhaps not coincidentally, this closure occurred in the same year as the deaths of Peter Albert Dutrieuille and Martin Cowdery.[68] Nonetheless, the Caterers Association and the unity for which it stood managed to endure.

By the early twentieth century, the families' presence in the professional and social life of the organization is scattered throughout newspaper clippings and Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton's family history underlines the commitment that the businesses made to racial uplift. An article on the Association's election that appeared in the *Philadelphia Tribune* in March 1912 refers to Eugene Baptiste as the "ex-President" of the organization, suggesting that he served as President the previous term and noting explicitly that he was responsible for swearing in the new officers.[69] During the elections five years later in 1917, the *Tribune* records both Jerome Baptiste and Albert Eugene Dutrieuille as making "very interesting remarks."[70] The exact content of their commentary may be irretrievable, but it appears to have been significant enough that people listened and the newspaper made note. With regard to organizations as a way to bolster economic standing, Shelton cites the business of her father, Albert Eugene Dutrieuille, as "a major affluent and influential power among Blacks" and "the largest single business and the single largest employer of Colored [people] in Philadelphia."[71] It is hard to say what point in time Shelton may have been referring to when she makes this assertion and perhaps more challenging still to corroborate with official employment statistics. The claim serves above all to underline the intergenerational communication of a legacy of racial uplift through employment. The role that members of all three families had in founding, leading, and participating in formal organizations

[67] *The Philadelphia Tribune*, Saturday, March 25, 1916, 1.
[68] Rachel Kranz, *African American Business Leaders and Entrepreneurs*, (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1916), 77.
[69] "Caterers Association Elects Officers," *The Philadelphia Tribune*, Saturday, March 16, 1912, 5.
[70] "Philadelphia Caterers Association Holds Annual Election," *The Philadelphia Tribune*, Saturday March 17, 1917, 1.
[71] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers. Box 1, Folder 11.

and practicing the goals of such organizations in their own management decisions played a role in their business activity at the turn of the century.

While mixed-race, Creole families like the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles may have used organizations such as the Caterers Association to better ally with other black-owned businesses, white observers continued to make distinctions based on race. In her 1914 reflection on the City of Brotherly Love, Elizabeth Robins Pennell reflected fondly on a certain "Augustine," presumably Peter James. Asserting Augustin's popularity with the clarification that "the explanation is superfluous for Philadelphians of my age," Pennell described the caterer who she praised most highly for oyster croquettes as "a coloured man with the genius of his race for cookery."[72] She assumes that Augustin's blackness is the source of his culinary skill. Pennell again acknowledged his race in her note that he had "probably a drop or more of the white blood."[73] Rather than leaving her evaluation of Augustin's mixed-race heritage as a physical description of a caterer and restaurateur that she and her elite, white peers favored and frequented, Pennell adds that Peter James' "[white blood] developed in him also the genius for organization, so that he was a leader among caterers, as well as a master among cooks."[74] This builds off of stereotypes persistent in the United States since the antebellum years that became more widespread after emancipation and the mass migration of free slaves into urban areas that black workers were lazy and incompetent—even those who cooked well.[75] Pennell assumes, too, that Augustin's "whiteness" made him better able to organize and lead. A "drop of white blood"

[72] Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Our Philadelphia, described by Elizabeth Robins Pennell* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippinncott Co, 1914), 438. From Hathi Digital Trust.
[73] Pennell, 438.
[74] Pennell, 439.
[75] W.E.B. DuBois himself makes allusion to the stereotype that "The Negro is, as a rule, willing, honest, and good-natured; but he is also, as a rule, careless, unreliable and unsteady." DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 69; Richard R. Wright is one of many of DuBois' contemporaries who points out that this lack of exigency is part of the legacy of slavery within which there was no need to concern oneself with the labor competition that exists in the free market. See Richard R. Wright, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern Printers, 1912), 70.

obviously made no difference in anyone's cooking or leadership abilities, but it did perhaps open opportunities for mixed race entrepreneurs to adopt a sort of comportment to which white customers and neighbors might be more privy.

It is unclear, but not unlikely, that the leadership groups of black secret societies, social and professional organizations, or other groups made distinctions or promotions based on race or skin tone. Many of Philadelphia's leading members in the black community were mixed-race and had lighter skin tones, and voices within the black community even tied such physical traits to whiteness and white ancestry and certain positive qualities such as organizational leadership therewith associated.[76] If anything, Pennell's observations exemplify that mixed racial appearance allowed people to pick and choose what qualities, connoted with blackness or whiteness, they wished to assign to a mixed-race person. This same racial "ambiguity" at times may have also allowed mixed-race individuals to assert their own whiteness or blackness in a way that was socially uplifting or economically profitable. Race aside, Pennell denotes Augustin as influential within the Caterers Association, and whether or not his racial heritage had a hand in his stature, his talent most surely did.

And yet, Pennell's assumptions about race shed light on the increasingly hostile white consumer base that pressured African American caterers to organize. The concern of the white middle class in hiring caterers and waiters of color began to appear in the press by the 1880s and 1890s, suggesting that Philadelphia's caterers of color joined together at the appropriate time. In 1889, the *Philadelphia Times*' "Gossip of the Week" column highlighted the shift away from

[76] This argument has received significant attention. Specific to the case of Philadelphia, see Emma Jones Lapansky, "Friends, Wives, and Strivings: Networks and Community Values Among Nineteenth Century Philadelphia Afroamerican Elites," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 108, no. 1 (January 1984), 3-24; see also Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1990), 153-173.

hiring waiters and caterers of color, stating that "the colored waiter can no longer find employment either in the clubs or the greater hotels even in this city, and the colored caterer, once the monarch of all he surveyed, is gradually yet surely being crowded out by his foreign rival."[77] It is true that the city's white, "foreign born" population grew significantly at the end of the nineteenth century, increasing from 183,642 people in 1870 to 295,340 people in 1900; the black population augmented as well, from 17,809 people in 1870 to 62,414 people in 1900.[78] The growth of both groups points to increasing competition within the industry.

As competition from such "foreign rivals" grew, Philadelphia's caterers of color consolidated under a few major establishments. Four years after the article above, the *Times* published another piece called "The Custom Dying Out" that explained the consequences of the drop off in hiring:

> "The colored caterer, too, is on the wane...Many who would be good and efficient caterers if they could conduct independent business are compelled to content themselves as waiters in the employ of the few colored caterers who do find business as of yore. Among these may be mentioned Andrew Stevens, Joshua Matthews, Charles N. Brown, the Augustines, Baptists, and Martin Cowdery. The large dinners, banquets, balls and receptions are monthly superintended to-day by white caterers and served by white waiters."[79]

Caterers whose establishments successfully maintained their reputations and consumer bases in face of increased competition from white European caterers and increasingly race-based prejudices did well for themselves. Although it is difficult to argue that the owners of the establishments that closed were *not* members of the Caterers Association, those here described as thriving most surely did take part.[80] Among two of the founders of the Caterers Association,

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[77] "The Gossip of the Week - A Decline of Colored Servants in American Cities," *The Times-Philadelphia,* March 31. 1889, 4.
[78] U.S. Census Bureau 1870; U.S. Census Bureau 1900.
[79] "The Custom Dying Out: Colored People May Regret Deeply that it is: Once Servants and Friends," *The Times-Philadelphia,* Edition: The New Year Times, December 31, 1893.
[80] As cited throughout this paper, Cowdery and Stevens were both founding members, Joshua Matthews was the Chairman in 1879. Charles Brown was the Marshal in 1880 and on the Board of Managers in 1890. See The New

Cowdery and Stevens, we also find the names of Augustin[e] and Baptist[e]. This reiterates the connection between business success and high stature in the industry. It likewise highlights the degree of their social assimilation within the city's black elite as well as the categorization of their businesses among other black establishments. Also worth noting here is the idea that waiters of color worked for caterers of color and white waiters worked for white caterers. This reflection of America's racial binary is echoed in the stereotypes expressed about waiters to describe both the perceived drawbacks and advantages of hiring waiters of color. The race-based generalizations about the abilities of black caterers and waiters correlated with the formation of professional organizations: the Private Waiters Aid Association organized in May of 1877, about a year after the Caterers Association started.[81]

The waiting and catering trades were closely tied, and the varied opinions on whether or not waiters of color were effective staff members in a home, restaurant, or hotel in the late nineteenth century likely echo doubts about black caterers.[82] Vocal perspectives both in support of and against hiring waiters of color as opposed to white waiters were persistently based on racial stereotypes rather than individual performances or abilities. In an 1883 interview for an article entitled "Good Waiters and Bad," the head waiter at the Hotel Lafayette described the difference in service quality between black and white waiters as "simply a question of race and brains."[83] He illustrated his point with the conjecture that, when compared, a "white waiter will serve eight persons with ease and satisfaction while the other ["colored waiter"] is serving five,

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York Age, " News from the Quaker City" March 15, 1890, 1; Johnson, *The People's Advocate*, "Philadelphia Notes" June 14, 1879, 2; Howard, "Philadelphia Notes," *The People's Advocate*, Saturday, March 27, 1880, 2; The New York Age, "A Budget of News from the Quaker City" Saturday, March 15. 1890, 1.

[81] The New York Globe, "The Quaker City," Saturday, November 3, 1883.

[82] See Pilgrim, "Masters of a Craft," 269-293.

[83] "Good Waiters and Bad: A Growing Demand for White Flunkeys of the English Type." *The Times-Philadelphia,* Sunday Morning edition, March 4, 1883.

or six at the utmost."[84] To some white employers, race alone was enough to make a judgement on a worker's capabilities, and they made no distinction regarding education, experience, or other pertinent factors.

Even advocating for workers of color in the food industry had a tendency to reinforce racial stereotypes and prejudices. In *The Stewards Handbook* (1889), Jessup Whitehead makes the claim that "in all the cities where the colored element is found in great and increasing numbers, the schools are turning out thousands of half-thought, half-polished young men who are almost entirely shut out from learning trades, and who come crowding into the waiters' ranks, finding there a species of occupation for which they are well-fitted."[85] According to Whitehead, many qualities went into making men of color so adept to the waiters' trade. He suggests that "guests find colored waiters more meek and obliging" and that working with their mothers growing up or in the Southern service industry led them to acquire good instruction early in life.[86] He suggests that the black waiter had "freedom from oversensitiveness" because "his feelings are not very high strung," and finally his "skin is so thick these stings and arrows [from diners' complaints] do not strike through, but he laughs through it all."[87] The arguments presented for and against hiring "colored waiters," respectively, both drew presumptions based on physical as well as intellectual or emotional qualities incapable of changing and linked with specific behaviors and a homogenous African American identity. The Hotel Lafayette head waiter and Whitehead share the capacity to totally ignore individual abilities, diverse national and regional origins, and the complex hierarchy within black communities. Because education,

[84] "Good Waiters and Bad" *The Times-Philadelphia*, Sunday Morning edition, March 4, 1883.
[85] Jessup Whitehead, *The Stewards Handbook* (1889): 211-212. Schlesinger Library.
[86] Whitehead, *The Stewards Handbook*, 211-212.
[87] Whitehead, *The Stewards Handbook*, 211-212.

family connections, and social presence were immensely important in black Philadelphia, such neglect reflects the mentality that chooses to ignore complex identities and societal nuances.

Caterers and waiters saw an opportunity to link together to combat the potentially damaging economic consequences of white perceptions of a homogenous black identity. In order to weather the effects of increasingly race-based discrimination and categorization, diverse groups joined together commercially and socially. In so doing they tended to assimilate and interact within the racially-defined units earlier prescribed. However, the caterers in particular used such social groupings to their advantage. The Caterers Association, while professional in nature, filled important social functions for Philadelphia's caterers of color and their families by fostering social capital at regular events and creating a more unified approach to commerce within the industry.

Another important place of organization for Philadelphians both black and white outside of professional alliances was the church. Not unlike the marketplace, by the end of the nineteenth century places of worship were also important spaces of contest in debates surrounding segregation, education, and social mobility. Movements for greater rights both between black and white congregations and within racially homogenous groups in segregated congregations began in the late nineteenth century. It was at this point when "outsiders" – recently immigrated white Europeans and recently emancipated black people – entered Philadelphia's well-established congregations of all denominations. In addition to addressing the social questions of the day, the church became a place for people to make social and economic, in addition to spiritual, connections.

The Catholic Church

Even before Pierre Augustin and Eugene Baptiste arrived in Philadelphia in the early nineteenth century, the city's black population had begun to establish the church as a central locus of community building and civic activism. Well-known places of worship such as the Free African Society, Bethel Church, and St. Thomas' developed around the city as bastions of abolitionism and hotbeds of political activism for black leaders and their white allies.[88] Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian, respectively, these institutions spread to people of African descent free and enslaved throughout the country over the course of the nineteenth century. The Society of Friends also gained a reputation across the Atlantic world for its strong anti-slavery stance and effective abolitionist activism.[89] Philadelphians both black and white were involved in religious organizations, and many of these organizations also took action in social and political debates.

DuBois highlights two observations about the church as a social institution: first that each church formed social circles out of which members seldom strayed and second that the church was primarily a social institution.[90] Black congregations and religious leaders played important roles in the emancipation struggle, and after the Civil War black churches continued to grow in number, from 25 churches and missions in Philadelphia in 1880 to 80 in 1897.[91] Such growth is attributable both to post-war urbanization and migration as well as an increased focus on building and exercising social capital within the black religious communities.[92] For African Americans who either did not hold high social ranking or who attended black churches, finding and building social and resource-providing support networks would have been critical. For the

[88] Matthew S. Hopper, "From Refuge to Strength: The Rise of the African American Church in Philadelphia, 1787-1949," *The Preservation Alliance*, 1998, 2-8.
[89] Hopper "From Refuge to Strength," 5.
[90] DuBois, 145, 146.
[91] DuBois, 143.
[92] Hopper, "From Refuge to Strength," 16-23.

Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families who were Catholic, rich social circles outside of the church were essential complements to their business success. As comparatively few members of Philadelphia's black community practiced Catholicism—only about 400 or 500 people by the end of the nineteenth century—connections with the other giants in the catering field and the black upper-class community were largely secular. At the same time, while the church was primarily a social and religious institution for these families, it also represented a formidable economic interest. As the Catholic church, like its Protestant counterparts, took positions and actions on questions of race and rights within the church and the country, the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families' involvement was also political, especially in the early 1890s surrounding the three Black Catholic Congresses.

The Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families were proud, self-declared Catholics to the extent that religion is arguably the most consistent element in both the period sources between 1870 and 1930 and Shelton's manuscript. An emphatic line from an 1879 *Philadelphia Times* articles states: "The Augustins were always free. They came originally from the West Indies. In religion they are Roman Catholics."[93] Shelton in her manuscript wrote that "all of these pioneers and their descendants were devout Catholics," carefully noting the exception of Eugene Baptiste Jr.'s children who did not grow up Catholic after his wife Mary Stewart Baptiste refused to permit it.[94] To the family members, claiming this identity could have solidified their ties to France and Frenchness. It also would have been a way to stay connected with white Philadelphia as they were increasingly categorized as black. In some ways, beyond their surnames it is through their Catholic religion that the families most strongly and consistently

[93] "Colored Citizens. --Thirty Thousand Philadelphians of African Descent--Representatives of the Race--Social, Professional, Industrial and Religious Characteristics and Statistics." *The Philadelphia Times*, Sunday Morning, July 20, 1879, 8.
[94] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, July 2, 77, B19.

connected to their French West Indian Creole heritage as nuanced racial and ethnic identities began to fade in face of polarizing race relations.

The Catholic church itself, like most of the other religious institutions frequented by black and white Philadelphians, underwent significant changes between when Pierre Augustin came to the city in 1808 and Albert E. Dutrieuille closed his doors in 1973. In the late nineteenth century, noteworthy reforms occurred within the Church as a whole and the black Catholic community specifically. Immigration into Philadelphia—particularly of Irish and Italian Catholics—alongside education and conversion efforts continuously altered the face of the Catholic church of which the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families made part. Early on, when people were migrating from Saint Domingue to Philadelphia *en masse*, there were three Catholic churches where most of the refugees settled. Two in particular, St. Joseph's and Holy Trinity, demonstrate through marriage and confirmation records a near immediate acceptance of émigrés of diverse racial backgrounds into their communities.[95]

To the extent that French Creole church members gradually began to assimilate into the churches in their new communities, their religious life would have changed alongside their congregations. The Irish population augmented substantially in the United States over the course of the nineteenth century. While the dominating numbers of French Creoles in New Orleans often resisted the influences of the Irish Catholic church, Irish and Italian immigration had a more enduring impact on Catholicism in Philadelphia.[96] In 1890, 110,935 people or over 41% of

[95] Gary Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North," 59; For an overview of Catholic thought towards slavery and emancipation, and the ways in what that translated to attitudes in support of expatriation of enslaved people in the mid-nineteenth century, see Nicholas M. Creary, "The Demands of Humanity and Religion: The U.S. Catholic Church, Colonization, and the Mission to Liberia, 1842-44," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 100, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 27-51.

[96] Michael Doorley, "Irish Catholics and French Creoles: Ethnic Struggles, 1835-1920." *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 87, no. 1 (January 2001): 34-54; The Irish Catholic church's antebellum abolitionist efforts are well expressed in John F. Quinn, "Expecting the Impossible? Abolitionist Appeals to the Irish in Antebellum America. *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 82, no. 4 (December 2009): 667-710.

the city's foreign born population was Irish; between 1870 and 1930 the Italian population jumped from 516 to 182,368.[97] In the late nineteenth century, Church reform in Ireland following the potato famine as well as the reforms in American cities became geared towards the promotion of "regular religious observance, unquestioning faith, respect for clerical authority, and support for parish schools."[98] That such an agenda closely resembles the goals and motivations of groups and associations in the black community, religious and otherwise, should come as little surprise. Nativist mentalities that coexisted with the same racist attitudes directed towards Philadelphia's communities of color led to anti-immigrant sentiments which fueled anti-Catholicism.[99] Marginalized communities turned towards their religious organization as a source of solidarity, strength, and uplift.

Imaginably, like the other major immigrant groups, including white French Catholics, Irish Catholics, and Italian Catholics, black Catholics would have faced the waves of anti-Catholicism that reverberated transnationally and in Philadelphia by the end of the nineteenth century. For example, focusing on the First Vatican Council in 1869 and 1870, Timothy Verhoeven points out that one of the major reasons Protestant groups disdained the Catholic church was the hegemonic, transnational influence that it had; the decision on papal infallibility that the Council made—determining that the Pope's word could not be contested—resonated in a way that was particularly offensive to America's democratic ideals, progressive norms, and modern values.[100] A few months after the Council ended, Clara Baptiste and Theodore Augustin

[97] Barbara Klaczynska, "Immigration (1870-1930), *The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, Online edition. Accessed 2/17/19. https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/immigration-1870-1930/.
[98] Doorley, 37.
[99] Theodore Hershberg, "Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia: A Study of Ex-Slaves, Freeborn, and Socioeconomic Decline," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Winter, 1971-1972), 185.
[100] Timothy Verhoeven, "Transatlantic Connections: American Anti-Catholicism and the First Vatican Council," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 100, no. 4 (Autumn 2014): 701.

married in St. Teresa's, a church erected less than twenty years prior.[101] While the rivalries between Irish Americans and black Americans should not be understated, within the Catholic church, shared religion facilitated coexistence for some and alliance for others, the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families included.

Church leadership expressed an interest in greater inclusion, even if sometimes their congregations were slow to adjust to ideas of integration and change. In 1917, Catholic scholar Joseph Butsch offered his own analysis of the acceptance of people of color into the Catholic church, and the potential discrepancies between institutional policy and congregational reception:

> Usually where white and black are together, the priest may be zealous and fair-minded, and may desire to treat the blacks with all charity in accordance with the spirit of the Church and of her Divine Founder, but there is likely to be a class of people in the congregation, who may resent what they deem to be the intrusion of the Negro, and then prejudice and discrimination may arise. The Negro, like other races, is sensitive of the treatment accorded members of his race. As a rule when he perceives that he is not welcome, he is not apt to venture where he feels he is not wanted.[102]

According to Butsch, the Catholic church as a whole recognized and accepted black Catholics, although they could only have but so much control over their individual members and for much of the nineteenth century had segregated congregations. There are examples in Philadelphia of white Catholics making exceptional efforts to bring recently emancipated slaves as well as Native Americans under the auspices of the church. Perhaps most notably, Katharine Drexel founded a number of schools and missions to help these populations.[103] However, by the time Philadelphia's black Catholic community founded St. Peter Claver in 1893, it was clear that they

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[101] Richard J. Walsh, "History of St. Teresa's Parish, Philadelphia." *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol, 67. No. 2/4 (June, September, December, 1956): 105-119.
[102] Joseph Butsch, "Negro Catholics in the United States," *The Catholic Historical Review,* vol. 3, no. 1 (Apr. 1917): 33-51.
[103] Margaret M. McGuinness, "Sisters and Saints: The Catholic Faces of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Legacies* (Fall 2015): 12-17.

were seeking something beyond what the white-run Catholic churches they had been attending could offer.[104]

The Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families were likely caught between racist attitudes among congregants and close relationships with church leaders. Despite personal friendships and long standing economic exchange conducted through priests and other officials in the Catholic diocese, the families still may have had grievances within their congregations. Gary Agee notes that in the late-nineteenth century, black Catholics may have been forced to sit in the balconies of their churches or required to wait for communion until after white church members had been served.[105] Nevertheless, Shelton asserts that her family was "favored for patronage by the hierarchy of the Catholic diocese" and describes close, personal friendships.[106] Eugene Baptiste, although he never fully retired, drew away from his business ownership as "the vast majority of his elite clientele, as well as the members of the Catholic hierarchy, had preceded him in death." Specifically Shelton mentions Cardinal Dennis Dougherty and Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara who had been, beyond clients, "best friends."[107] While, again, it is hard to determine the exact nature of the relationship between the caterer and the archbishop, they had enough interaction for their relationship to enter the family history in the long term.

These catering families were so involved with the diocese as a whole that, unlike the proclivity that DuBois mentions of people to stay within one church community, they appear to have had a hand in multiple different parishes. While we know that Clara and Theodore married at St. Theresa's, Eugene Baptiste and Florence May Waters took their vows at another church

[104] Rachel Moloshok, "Memories of St. Peter Claver Church," *Pennsylvania Legacies* (Fall 2015), 3.
[105] Gary B. Agee, "Racial Equality, Catholicism, and the Third Colored Catholic Congress," *Pennsylvania Legacies* (Fall 2015): 19.
[106] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, (B19, 3/16/77)
[107] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, (B19, /during reign of, 2).

called St. Patrick's, and Peter Albert Dutrieuille and Amelia Baptiste were wed at Old St. Mary's. A priest from Saint Agatha's visited Florence May Waters at her deathbed, although Jerome Baptiste and Clara Baptiste Augustin are known to have donated a "handsome, stained-glass window" and two hundred dollars to St. Peter Claver, respectively.[108] The extensive involvement of many branches of all three families within different churches in Philadelphia, both black and white, indicates that they valued their relationship with the increasingly Irish Catholic congregations that they maintained personal and economic relationships with and that they were hopeful for and supportive of the establishment of a black Catholic church.

Not only did Clara and Jerome make noteworthy donations towards St. Peter Claver's, various family members were involved in a nationwide movement towards the furthering of black Catholicism. As Roger Lane notes, during the conversion efforts in the post-Civil War period "the descendants of Haitian and other French West Indian emigres gave Philadelphia a small but economically important nucleus of black Catholics, led by the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles."[109] By the late 1880s, black Catholics across the country were beginning to come together as Daniel Rudd of Cincinnati started to publish the *American Catholic Tribune* between 1887 and 1894.[110] The canonization of Peter Claver, "declared a special patron of the Negro," in 1888 and the release of Pope Leo XIII's anti-slavery encyclical the same year likewise offered momentum for the Black Catholic movement.[111] In Philadelphia specifically, the establishment of St. Peter Claver's Union in 1886 and St. Peter Claver's Church in 1892 at Twelfth and Lombard streets represented major milestones within the black Catholic

[108] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, box 19.
[109] Lane, *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours*, 241.
[110] David Spalding, "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol 55, no. 3 (October 1969), 338.
[111] Spalding, "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894," 338-9.

community.[112] The most tenable descriptions of these families' efforts in the black Catholic community culminate around the Black Catholic Congresses and the foundation of St. Peter Claver's Church. Jerome Augustin in particular played a well documented role in the Catholic Congresses, and proved integral to bringing the third of four meetings to Philadelphia.[113] The Congresses as a whole and the position that Jerome Augustin occupied within them demonstrate the continued importance of the families' involvement in the black community. Especially considering the increasingly tense racial climate of the late nineteenth century and the ways in which religion connected to their success as mixed-race caterers of French West Indian descent, Jerome's actions demonstrate his ability to practice racial solidarity efforts and maintain a strong rapport with the church.

While shared religion and common grievances within church communities initiated the Catholic Congresses, the issues that the delegates discussed related primarily to education rather than faith. The first Congress in Washington focused heavily on the establishment of Catholic schools for African American children.[114] While the second Congress surpassed a focus on education to pass resolutions on equal access to public places and unions, the two most pressing issues at the third Congress in Philadelphia regarded educational opportunities in the community and the creation of a permanent Colored Catholic congress.[115] The fourth and final Congress made demands for "civil and social equality in education, public facilities and other

[112] Previously, Philadelphia's Black Catholics had worshipped at St. Augustine's, St. Mary's, and St. Joseph. According to Hinton, it was the pastor Father Hilterman at the German Catholic Church, Holy Trinity, which opened its mass to Black Catholics in 1886, who encouraged the formation of the Union of Saint Peter Claver. See Hopper "From Refuge to Strength," 24.
[113] Agee, "Racial Equality, Catholicism, and the Third Colored Catholic Congress," 21; For an overview of Black Catholics in the United States and the development of different schools and churches throughout the nineteenth century, see Paul Green, "African Americans in Urban Catholic Schools: Faith, Leadership and Persistence in Pursuit of Educational Opportunity," *Urban Rev* no. 43 (2011): 436-464.
[114] Green, 448, citing Cyprian Davis, *The history of black Catholics in the United States*, (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1990).
[115] Green, 448.

opportunities" and explicitly drew out the intention to critique the racism in the Church without compromising loyalty to Catholic doctrine.[116]

Present at the first Congress, in Baltimore, as well as the third, in Philadelphia, Jerome Augustin held commendable roles in both of the gatherings that he attended. At the inaugural meeting of the Congress, Jerome served on three different committees: the Committee on Permanent Organization, the Committee on Finance, and the Committee on Printing.[117] While there is no way of knowing exactly what led to his appointment to any of these committees, it is fair to surmise by his role on the Committee on Permanent Organization, he believed that the group ought to continue to meet on a regular basis according to a certain schedule and consistent procedures. His reputation as a man of business would have qualified him well for a position on the group in charge of finances, whereas from the print committee he would have been involved in spreading the resolutions and discussions of the black Catholic community leaders to the rest of the Church. At the penultimate meeting in Philadelphia, Jerome sat on the Resolutions Committee, which concluded the Congress with a public address underlining that Catholic parish schools have never made and never will make any distinction whatsoever among their students based on their race. The Committee likewise cited a quote from Archbishop Patrick John Ryan in which he claimed that: "The Church recognizes no class or condition of men. She preaches one origin for all man-kind, and therefore, all are brothers and sisters."[118] Here the Congress engages mostly with the question of education and acknowledges the overarching importance of race but focuses on policy implications in the form of education. Jerome and his peers who made and announced the resolutions realized that a statement with the potential to intensify racial adversity

[116] Green, 449.
[117] *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, *The American Catholic Tribune*, Cincinnati Ohio, 1893. 17, 27, 60
[118] *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 156.

would not help them achieve their most immediate goals. Universalist rhetoric to promote shared goals might have been the most efficient way to advocate for progress in the education system for black, specifically black Catholic, youth.

Jerome's participation in the Colored Catholic Congresses simultaneously exemplifies the families' involvement in the religious questions of the 1890s and underscores his awareness that political-religious activity and social and economic standing went hand in hand. Jerome would have recognized that directly tying calls for equality within the church to broader agenda for equal rights may have been incendiary. Agee suggests that Jerome only succeeded in bringing the Congress to Philadelphia "after congress leaders assured Archbishop Ryan that the meetings would be 'conducted on the lines and the spirits of the former two meetings,' which were decorous affairs and did not embarrass the Catholic Church."[119] David Spalding brings to light a warning in Washington's *Church News* just before the Philadelphia Congress warned that: "The congress may be tempted to deal with the question of civil rights. However much the members may feel that they are aggrieved, they will run a great risk of injuring their cause if they do not practice the greatest prudence."[120] With these caveats against political action in mind, it is not surprising that especially entrepreneurs like Baptiste who had vested business interests within white Catholic leadership and congregations might have thought twice about aggravating clients. On the other hand, it is also quite possible that his business savvy and connections within the black and white communities made him uniquely qualified to bring the Congress to Philadelphia.

By the 1920s, the Dutrieuilles' continued success within the secular and religious groups that the families had worked with for decades appears in their account books. The Catholic

[119] Agee, "Racial Equality, Catholicism, and the Third Colored Catholic Congress," 21.
[120] Spalding, "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894," 346.

Church held some of the most substantial accounts at Dutrieuille's between December 1924 and December 1929. Transactions with churches and individuals holding church titles during this time frame add up to $39,580.[121] The biggest payment that the establishment received came from Reverend Thomas McKay in 1929, when he payed $1,839 for a commemoration dinner.[122] Although he spent an extraordinary amount of money on this event, McKay was not one of Dutrieuille's most frequent ecclesiastical customers during this time period. The most frequent payment in the account books came from Cardinal Francis Dougherty, Reverend Hugh Bowen, Reverend Thomas Buckley, William Garrigan, and Reverend John J. Walsh to name a few.[123] While the account books have much to offer about how much business was done with whom, secondary sources offer insights on the experiential side of the events. Shelton proclaimed that the church activities her family members catered were "extremely lavish, and bordered on sheer extravagance at some affairs."[124] She described the range of activities that Dutrieuille catered within the church as including "ordination breakfasts, forty-hour luncheons, and visiting celebrity banquets."[125] Dutrieuille profited immensely from the sustenance of the relationships that his predecessors were able to forge with the church. These fruitful connections that carried into the twentieth century were made possible by the pragmatic efforts by Dutrieuille's predecessors earlier on, as his relatives fostered and built relationships with the Catholic church across racial lines at the end of the nineteenth century.

[121] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Book 3.
[122] Peter Albert Dutrieuille Collection, Book 3.
[123] Peter Albert Dutrieuille Collection, Book 3.
[124] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 19. 8/16/77.
[125] Peter Albert Dutrieuille file, Box 1, Folder 1, Letter to Mrs. Robya I. Stone.

Conclusion

Diverse and deep connections across different communities were essential in business success, and business success hinged on staying in good graces with a wide array of customers. But connections required tactful, back and forth social interaction. The period studied here traverses the difficult years in which Philadelphia's black-owned catering businesses were consolidating and adapting and church communities were growing and changing. Being able to go between economic and religious spheres that were not only different but always changing adds to the understanding of the skill with which the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families operated. In Richard Wright's 1912 publication *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, he writes: "to-day catering is not house service in the common sense; it a business which requires not only skill and capital but business ability and connections."[126] In many ways, the four proposed requirements—skill, capital, business ability, and connections—are not so different. Resource capital would have been indivisible from social connections, and attaining either would hinge on demonstration of business skill. In the catering industry and the church, growing populations of white European immigrants and increasing racial tensions inspired unity and adaptation. The combination of racist and anti-Catholic ideology would not have created the ideal environment for caterers who were less apt to social navigating. For the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles, the Caterers Association and Caterers Manufacturing and Supply Company were ways for them to exercise and to share their capital and business ability in order to build social connections. The Catholic Church was a place where they again used their social connections to grow their business and their business success to craft relationships in the church that would have been especially unique for black Catholics. Organizations and associations helped to perpetuate the once trademark

[126] Wright, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, 76.

social and economic fluidity that successful caterers managed to maintain and to profit from despite evermore rigid racial climates.

From marriage to professional organization to religious life, union here arises as a common theme. The marriage of Clara and Theodore demonstrates an awareness that M.F. Augustin and Sons and Baptistes, soon to be Augustin-Baptistes, were on par with each other and that their owners were interested in matchmaking within their community that might facilitate further growth. An understanding of how Philadelphia's African American caterers organized at the end of the nineteenth century into the Philadelphia Caterer's Association and the Caterer's Manufacturing and Supply company points to the importance of the families' relationships within the black community and to their ability to sustain and support black catering for their own businesses and their colleagues. Moreover, it underlines their awareness of white competition and the essentiality of racial solidarity to combat it. A look into the Catholic church over the same time frame provides a lens into their involvement in Philadelphia's white Catholic community. The Black Catholic Congresses represent the intersection of both of these realms, and the leadership role that Jerome Augustin assumed points towards the fluid and liminal position of the caterer. Perhaps more so than fluidity, Jerome possessed credentials that he had gained from successful business ownership that endowed him with skills that proved useful serving on a range of committees. He also came from a politically-moderate and religiously well-connection family, and people in the black and white catholic communities likely trusted the respectability and integrity of his actions based on his family name.

The Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families operated with pragmatism and tact. At times linking more closely with Philadelphia's black elites in their shared trade and at times crossing racial lines with economic incentive, family members operated with great intentionality.

The go-between roles that they played in the Caterers Association and the Black Catholic Congresses would have been far less urgent if nineteenth-century race relations had not placed economic survival and religious rights on the chopping block for black Americans. Within one generation these immigrant families were beginning to interweave themselves quite closely in the the social fabric of black Philadelphia.

Chapter 2 – Political Activity
"If others break the ice, I may follow"

Moving beyond involvement in specific organizations, the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families also had to operate within the broader industry of catering and the political systems of their city, state, and country. The sources available give little insight into what political affiliations the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families held or whether they aligned with specific party platforms at all. Diverse perspectives surely existed between the family members, for instance Jerome Augustin signed Frederick Douglass' 1863 Call to Arms while his brother James abstained.[127] Without attempting to understate the influence that these actors had in public culture outside of the political sphere, this chapter attempts to highlight the business-minded approach to politics that may have contributed to the prolonged patronage and business success that allowed these French West Indian catering families to run thriving businesses which predated and outlived many of their contemporaries' firms.

Compared to other noteworthy caterers of the era, the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles left a less prominent political legacy. Especially prior to the 1876 establishment of the Philadelphia Caterers Association, the politically diverse range of customers to whom Augustin's in particular catered suggests that commercial success and social prestige were perhaps more important than political or ideological credence. Many of the caterers of color in nineteenth-century Philadelphia had personal experiences with or close connections to the institution of slavery and voiced their opposition to its proponents and its perpetuation outright. However, the voices and the silences that we have from representatives of the Augustin,

[127] Lane, *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours,* 420-2.

Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families hint that they prioritized business over politics and nonetheless retained a diverse and elite class of customers.

This chapter begins with a discussion of commensality facilitated by descriptions of instances in which caterers of color refused service to customers with whom they held political and ideological disagreements. Thomas Dorsey and Henry Minton, two highly regarded African American caterers, acted as outspoken advocates of abolition and aligned for the most part with the Republican party. These caterers were known to serve or deny customers on the basis of their political beliefs. Augustin's, on the other hand, served people with political views that diverged from and at times opposed the anti-slavery platform for which Dorsey and Minton fought. Following this juxtaposition, I introduce a comparison of the legacies of some of Philadelphia's most noted caterers to suggest that unlike homages to Minton, Dorsey, and other leaders in the black catering community like Andrew F. Stevens, business leaders from the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families were better known for their professional successes than their political strivings.

In the second section, I extend commentary on symbolic political action through service and denial thereof to a discussion of the families' interactions with the U.S. Census and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The work of catering establishments and cuisine itself offer one lens into how these Creole caterers balanced multi-faceted racial and ethnic backgrounds with integration into Philadelphian society. However, running a catering establishment extended far beyond the day to day of cooking, working with clients, and serving events. An intersectional analysis of overarching policies about and attitudes around race and their practical impacts on commercial activity and everyday life offers important insights on turn-of-the-century businesses in Philadelphia, especially those that people of color owned,

Service and Political Activism

The Augustins left behind a smaller political presence in the late-nineteenth century than many of their most renowned contemporaries. Status, education, and access to white society were powerful political tools for many upper class people of color in Philadelphia during the half-century when questions of emancipation, reconstruction, and integration of the approximately 3.9 million enslaved people of African descent consumed American politics.[128] Also at hand were debates over civil rights and civil liberties that touched black and mixed-race Americans every day. Such debates regarded equal rights to public education and to public accommodation as well as voting rights, which were legally denied between 1838 and 1870 and effectively suppressed for decades following.[129] While many of Philadelphia's African American caterers were active in the abolitionist movement or aligned with Republican politics, the Augustins appear less frequently in the political discussions of their day.

Who one elects to serve or deny service to is inherently political. Augustin's legacy is one of wide scope—temporally, geographically, and with regard to the people they served.[130] There are no sources to suggest that they denied service to anyone or made strong public stands for any specific cause in the political realm.[131] Compared to some of their peers, race may have influenced political activity less for the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families than did

[128] Ira Berlin. "The Structure of the Free Negro Caste in the Antebellum United States," 313-4.
[129] Eric Ledell Smith, "The End of Black Voting Rights in Pennsylvania: African Americans and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837-1838," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol, 65, No. 3 (Summer 1998), 280-299. https://www.jstor.org/sable/27774118.
[130] Mary Frances was known to have catered a meal for Lafayette, a fervent abolitionist, during his visit to Philadelphia in September 1824. They likewise served General Meade in the field outside of Warrenton Junction, Virginia per order of the Pennsylvania reserve Corps following the Battle of Gettysburg and the tenth annual reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland in Saint George's Hall in Philadelphia in 1876. About two months prior, Augustin's catered a dinner welcoming British Minister Edward Thornton in the same venue as part of the city's Centennial Exhibition in honor of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. They are likewise well known for their service to the different Catholic churches in the area.
[131] See Chapter 3 for an extensive discussion of the Black Catholic Congresses, which we interesting because they denied that they were meeting to build policy platforms yet held discussions that read as more political than religious in nature.

family history, ethnicity, socio-economic status, religion, or prestige. While certain family members married African Americans who had connections to the slave system, none of the family members or their immediate descendants themselves experienced slavery first hand.

Other well known caterers, Thomas Dorsey, Henry Minton, and A.F. Stevens, were remembered for their contributions both to the catering industry and to racial advancements in the political sphere. Thomas Dorsey was "said to rule the social world of Philadelphia through its stomach" but it was also said that "his experience with the horrors of slavery had instilled him with an undying reverence for those champions of his down-trodden race, the old-time abolitionists."[132] Henry Minton, celebrated in his field, was also "an ardent supporter of all anti-slavery movements."[133] Such dual legacies were no exception to the norm. Andrew F. Stevens, another prominent caterer and co-founder of the Philadelphia Caterers Association, was "one of the most highly respected members of the colored race in this city;" after his death the *Philadelphia Inquirer* recalled that Stevens had "always been active in public affairs and a devoted worker for the welfare of his people. In politics he was an ardent and uncompromising republican, a born organizer, and was always liberal in his contributions to campaign funds."[134] As much as their culinary achievements were important, the contributions of Dorsey, Minton, and Stevens to emancipation efforts and later political advancements were equally worth noting.

To concentrate on Dorsey and Minton, both men came to Philadelphia as young adults from Maryland and Virginia, respectively. They worked their ways through the professional ladder on account of their culinary and networking skills. Various anecdotes illustrating their "radical" politics stick out from contemporary newspaper commemorations. The willingness and

[132] The Philadelphia Times, "Seen and Heard in Many Places," October 17, 1896, 4.
[133] The New York Globe, "The Late Henry Minton: A Review of the Life of One of the Men Who Came up under Trial and Tribulations, and Acquitted Himself Nobly." June 2, 1883.
[134] The Philadelphia Inquirer, "AF Stevens dead: A well-known caterer passes away." April 2, 1898, 4.

reputation of Dorsey and Minton to deny potential customers on account of their political allegiances indicate that their political motives surpassed their business interests.

Minton and Dorsey were outspoken regarding questions of slavery, which should come as no surprise, as both men had been born into the institution and witnessed and experienced its horrors first hand. Minton's *New York Globe* obituary describes the way in which he denounced slavery, "speaking his sentiments in the boldest manner at times and in places were it was dangerous for even white men to do so, and frequently when it was injurious to his business."[135] The piece gives particular attention to the economic repercussions of his anti-slavery stance. The articles notes that Minton had been forced "on several occasions to request customers to leave his saloon, when they would advocate any pro-slavery sentiments."[136] Equally willing to welcome a fellow abolitionist as he was to deny a supporter of upholding slavery, Minton "frequently referred with pride to the honor he had of entertaining at his home with bed and board, old John Brown of Osawatomie, when he passed through Philadelphia shortly before his raid on Harper's Ferry."[137] Dorsey is also cited to have turned potential customers away according to their partisan affiliations. Upon realizing one of his customers was a Democrat, Dorsey is claimed to have said "'No, I cannot serve a party who is disloyal to the government; and he,' pointing to a picture of Abraham Lincoln on the wall, 'is the government.'"[138] That said, Dorsey's Republican affiliation was not without critique. Not only was Dorsey selective in who he served, he was vocal about instances of his own exclusion from public spaces that would have been easily accessible for a white man of his social stature.

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[135] *The New York Globe*, "The Late Henry Minton: A Review of the Life of One of the Men Who Came up under Trial and Tribulations, and Acquitted Himself Nobly." June 2, 1883.
[136] *The New York Globe*, "The Late Henry Minton," June 2, 1883.
[137] *The New York Globe*, "The Late Henry Minton," June 2, 1883.
[138] *The Philadelphia Times*, "Seen and Heard in Many Places," October 17, 1896, 4.

A reception that the City of Philadelphia hosted for the Russian Grand Duke Alexis during his visit in 1871 offers an interesting example of how James and Mary Frances Augustin were in some instances able to operate more fluidly in white society than caterer-activists like Dorsey. After being denied entry to the event which was held in Philadelphia's Academy of Music, which was not integrated until 1877, Dorsey wrote a letter to the Czar that reportedly read: "I regard you as a much better republican than those Americans who have in my person, insulted a man on account of the accident of his complexion: The act would not be tolerated in Russia, and I believe you despise it..."[139] In this case, Dorsey linked his political action more strongly to anti-slavery and civil rights than to an unbreakable allegiance to party politics, even though he identified as a Republican. While there is no way to tell whether the Academy would have admitted the Augustins as guests—and indeed safer to surmise that they would not have—they did cater the meal.[140] This instance demonstrates their ability to traverse one community that excluded on the basis of race and another that unified on identical grounds.

There is little evidence to suggest that the same client selectivity on the basis of party allegiance or ideological stance on slavery took place at Augustin's. Unlike Thomas Dorsey and Henry Minton, the Augustin's had a record of serving individuals regardless of their stance on slavery and civil rights more or less since their doors opened around 1816. Mary Frances Augustin, the wife of Pierre Augustin and mother of James, Jerome, and Theodore Augustin, ran M.F. Augustin & Sons with the help of James and Jerome from her husband's death in 1844 to her own in 1890. Her obituary in the *The Philadelphia Inquirer* offers some insight into the

[139] Roger Lane, *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours*, 20; *The Philadelphia Times*, "Seen and Heard in Many Places," October 17, 1896, 4.
[140] "She Served Lafayette. History of Mary Augustin, Widow of the Great Caterer," The Times-Philadelphia, Thursday morning edition, March 6, 1890, 2.

bipartisan nature of her establishment's services.[141] The brief description of her long and accomplished life references the prestige that Mary Frances earned and the pride she took in serving a diverse array of well-known characters in nineteenth century civic and political life.

One guest in particular who sat at a table that Augustin's served in the early years of the establishment would have gotten along well with anti-slavery activists like Dorsey and Minton. In 1824, Mary Frances Augustin served a banquet to the esteemed French General Lafayette during his visit to the United States.[142] Lafayette's visit was by no means apolitical, as he had become a vocal abolitionist in the Atlantic world. By the time he dined in Philadelphia, Lafayette, "a promoter of the emancipation and improvement of the colored people" and active member of the New York Manumission Society, had already been to New York, where he visited the African Free Schools.[143] He would go on to tour the southern part of the country where he would continue to denounce slavery "with all its sad and monstrous consequences."[144] Lafayette's connection to anti-slavery would have reflected positively on Pierre and Mary Frances integration into Philadelphia's elite black community, which was becoming increasingly active in both abolitionist and colonization movements.[145]

At the same time, Lafayette's visit may have also strengthened Pierre and Mary Frances' connection to France and Frenchness. To serve the iconic French hero of the American Revolution within the first decade of what would become a long and prosperous establishment must have meant something to Pierre and Mary Frances. Imaginably, the closer someone like

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[141] "She Served Lafayette," *The Times-Philadelphia,* Thursday morning edition, March 6, 1890, 2.
[142] "She Served Lafayette," *The Times-Philadelphia*, Thursday morning edition, March 6, 1890, 2.
[143] Butsch, Joseph, "Negro Catholics in the United States," *The Catholic Historical Review,* vol. 3, no. 1; Apr. 1917, pp. 33-51. Catholic University Press.
[144] Auguste Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or, Journal of a Voyage to the United States* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1829), 203. From Hathi Digital Trust.
[145] See Richard Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early American Republic*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002): 39-59. And Samantha Seeley, "Beyond the American Colonization Society," *History Compass*, vol. 14, no. 3 (2016): 93-104.

Pierre who arrived in the city from the West Indies could link himself directly to European heritage, the farther he could remove himself from the fear and paranoia that many of his white neighbors—and potential customers—had surrounding possible veterans of the Haitian Revolution.[146] Lafayette would have been the perfect person to serve to affirm both French identity and American patriotism, as during his 1824 visit the General's nationality and accomplishments symbolized both.[147]

While Lafayette was an activist and abolitionist, at times Augustin's also served political figures tied to pro-slavery sentiments. The *Inquirer* obituary also recalls a dinner that Augustin catered to Robert P. Stockton aboard the U.S.S. Princeton in 1844.[148] The Princeton was part of the naval expansion project that President John Tyler undertook in order to reinforce the United States' capacity to protect commercial interests overseas and potentially to annex Texas, which had seceded from Mexico in 1836.[149] Tyler's Secretary of State, Abel Upshur, who was aboard the Princeton in early 1844 if not at the time of Augustin's meal, worked throughout 1843 and 1844 to convince Northern congressmen to allow Texas to enter the Union as a slave state. The Princeton never saw battle, however, as a celebratory demonstration of its gun "The Peacemaker" misfired during a party put on to showcase the warship. This incident killed eight people, injured dozens more, and took the ship out of commission. Upshur was among the casualties, and his replacement John C. Calhoun took to the White House his avid and infamous defense of America's "peculiar institution."[150] It would be erroneous to suggest that Augustin's

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[146] See Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution*.
[147] Robert P. Hay, "The American Revolution Twice Recalled: Lafayette's Visit and the Election of 1824, *Indiana Magazine of History,* vol. 69, no. 1 (March 1973): 43-62.
[148] "She Served Lafayette. History of Mary Augustin, Widow of the Great Caterer," *The Times-Philadelphia,* Thursday morning ediiton, March 6, 1890, 2.
[149] Anthony E. Kaye, "The Second Slavery: Modernity I the Nineteenth-Century South and the Atlantic World," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 75, no. 3 (August 2009): 648-649.
[150] Lee M. Pearson, "The 'Princeton' and the 'Peacemaker': A Study in Nineteenth-Century Naval Research and Development Procedures," *Technology and Culture*, vol 7, no. 2 (Spring, 1966): 177.

service to individuals who worked for a pro-slavery administration is tantamount to an endorsement of the ideologies that they represent. Rather, this sort of working across political divisions demonstrates a unique orientation towards business as opposed to social or political interests.

Augustin's entrepreneurial pragmatism carried into the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, as they continued to serve both unionists and secessionists across party lines. It is claimed that in 1863, Augustin's prepared a meal that they transported from Philadelphia to Washington to a camp around five miles from Warrenton Junction, Virginia for the Army of the Potomac following their march South in the wake of the Battle at Gettysburg.[151] The Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, which organized the celebration for General Meade, assured that it was Augustin's, rather than a more local establishment, that cooked for the soldiers.[152] Over a decade later, Augustin's catered the tenth annual reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland in Saint George's Hall in Philadelphia.[153] In between, an account in the *Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph* in 1867 described Augustin's as a place where "if a gentleman, or more than one, wishes to give a private dinner party he can do it," before recounting a private party given for once-President James Buchanan that "the *crème de la crème* of the [Confederate] sympathizers" attended.[154] According to the article, it was Pennsylvania's Secretary of the Senate John W. Forney who stumbled upon the banquet on his way home from the Union League "when he espied the lights in Mr. Augustin's dining room" and "'Surely,' thought he, 'loyalty is banqueting here, and where loyalty is, there I must be welcome."[155]

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[151] "Major Bogle's Reign: The First Colored Caterer to Establish the Business in Philadelphia," *The Times-Philadelphia*, Sunday morning edition, March 16, 1884.
[152] "Major Bogle's Reign: The First Colored Caterer to Establish the Business in Philadelphia," *The Times-Philadelphia*, Sunday morning edition, March 16, 1884.
[153] *The Times-Philadelphia*, "Colored Citizens," July 20, 1879, 8.
[154] "The Dog on the Door-Steps" *Daily Evening Telegraph,* February 1, 1867, 2.
[155] "The Dog on the Door-Steps" *Daily Evening Telegraph,* February 1, 1867, 2.

Although Forney may have been surprised and indeed outraged to see a reunion of advocates for the lost cause at Augustin's, he did not hold it against them for long. He hired out their services for a private dinner just four years later.[156]

Documented service to politically diverse customers over a period of decades likely benefitted the Augustin family business in numerous ways, but it did not shield them from pervasive and omnipresent race-based discrimination. The reputations of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families as mixed-race people of French origin who had always been free and the quality and popularity of their cuisine contributed to their ability to capitalize on the fluidity associated with their trade. Nonetheless, as people of color, the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families would have faced discrimination starting with their arrival to or birth in the United States; for those family members born before the 1870s, the end of the nineteenth century would bring further restriction of opportunities and increased hostility from their white neighbors.

From the beginning, racial categorization obviously existed and affected these caterers. Shelton's manuscript reveals the family narrative that as people of color, her ancestors had to work against distinct disadvantages immediately upon their arrival in Philadelphia. Shelton writes that: "those sturdy, determined voyageurs, finding 'no jobs for Coloured,' in industry, or shops—a stern credo, set about to open avenues of their own...No time for tears, or self-pity over the dashing hopes for employment, or the other hurdles they were to surmount. Not the least of which was prejudice."[157] Changes in census-taking procedures in 1880, 1890, and 1900 as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and its overturning eight years later offer some insights onto how

[156] Augustin's 1871 Banquet to James Foley. HSP Menu Collection, "Private Dinner to Hon. John W. Forney, At Augustin's, March 4, 1871, at 3 ½ P.M. [Peter J.] Augustin, caterer. Embossed and engraved menu. [Philadelphia, 1871.]. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
[157] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton papers, Page 35, Folder 5-18, 4/12/81.

mixed-race people like most of these family members were categorized by the state as well as the ways that Philadelphia's elite African American community of which these families made part interacted with changes in and restrictions on their legal rights.

The Census

At the end of the nineteenth century, the distinction of race was growing increasingly strict. Changes in the United States Census in the latter half of the nineteenth century illustrate perfectly the legal erasure of mixed-race identities, an essential step in the polarization of black and white communities. In 1870 and 1880, census enumerators were given the same set of rules with regards to determining an individual's race: "Be particularly careful in reporting the class *Mulatto*." The reason for taking such care is equally ominous…"important scientific results depend on the correct determination of this class."[158] In 1870 and 1880, all of the family members recorded are described as "mulatto," with the exception of Peter Albert Dutrieuille who is described as "black." In 1890, the Census Bureau again changed the rules, adding "quadroon, octoroon, Chinese, Japanese, or Indian" to the potential racial categories with the caveat the "be particularly careful to distinguish between blacks, mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons."[159] A fire in 1921 destroyed the majority of the 1890 data, but it seems that the attempt to add nuance to racial categories in 1890 did not succeed. By 1900, the census labels everyone as "black," "white," or "Indian," reaffirming the racial binary that society had already long imposed. In his work, "The Negro Population," which discusses the 1900 census, Walter Wilcox explains that "for census purposes a negro is a person who is so classed in the community in which he resides.

[158] Walter F. Willcox, "The Negro Population: Summary of Results Negroes," 14. Stable URL: https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/03322287no8ch1.pdf
[159] Walter F. Willcox, "The Negro Population: Summary of Results Negroes," 14.

The enumerator is supposed to know this fact or to ascertain it by observation or inquiry."[160] From 1900 on, all of the family members are described as "black."[161]

The ways in which the censuses describe members of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families offer an insightful case study of the indeterminate and inconsistent nature of the population tracking system. As was common for people of color recorded in the census at the end of the nineteenth century, most notably in the Augustin family, discrepancies arose in racial categorization. [162] While "mulatto" in the 1870 Census, James Augustin is "black" on his death certificate in 1878.[163] Perhaps more striking yet is that his mother, Mary Frances Augustin, who appears in the Census as "mulatto" throughout her life, was deemed "white" on her death certificate.[164] These examples serve mostly to affirm that the system was complicated, surprisingly subjective, and frequently imprecise. Nevertheless, the labels that census takers used reflect more general social attitudes towards race and status.

Records of Mary Frances make extraordinarily evident the connections between race and status in official labels, which likely reflect social ideals. In the 1870 Census which describes Mary Frances as "mulatto," her occupation is "Keeping House." On her 1892 death certificate where she is "white," her occupation is "Lady." In reality, at both points in time Mary Frances was a successful businesswoman and entrepreneurial caterer, and her gender prevented her from being described as such. However, here the emphasis is on the power of racial category in

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[160] Walter F. Willcox, "The Negro Population: Summary of Results Negroes," 14.
[161] From *Ancestry.com*: Year: *1900*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Ward 7, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Page: *7*; Enumeration District: *0127*; FHL microfilm: *1241454*; Year: *1900*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Ward 8, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Page: *6*; Enumeration District: *0151*; FHL microfilm: *1241455*
[162] See Martha Hodes "Fractions and Fictions in the United States Census of 1890" in Ann Laura Stoler, Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History (Duke University Press, 2006): 240-270.
[163] Year: *1870*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Ward 8 District 22, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Roll: *M593_1393*; Page: *35A*; Family History Library Film: *552892*; Ancestry.com. *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Death Certificates Index, 1803-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.
[164]Ancestry.com. *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Death Certificates Index, 1803-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.

determining whether a woman perceived as someone who tends to her home and family is housekeeper or a "lady."[165] Official records denied women of color the possibility of being a "lady," thereby ignoring and restricting the social rank that they might achieve. As the racial binary pervaded official documents, categorical choices associated with race reiterate the social value of "whiteness" and the link between whiteness and affluence or prestige.[166]

The fluidity of the caterer, or at least some caterers, in the black-white racial binary of late-nineteenth century Philadelphia allowed for individuals in the trade to operate between both segments of society. At the same time, it allowed elite white society to deracialize or simply neglect the racial identities of individuals that they were willing to accept. This took root in whiteness as a symbol of social superiority and in many ways perpetuated this same notion. In the section that follows, the discussion shifts from more general social structures to a case study of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to see how pressures to assimilate into a black-white racial binary played out in day to day life and across class lines and inter-racial hierarchies as well as its role in immigrant assimilation.

The Civil Rights Act of 1875

How did the status of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families as members of the Philadelphia elite, people who had always been free, and immigrants affect their interest and involvement in pressing civil rights issues following emancipation? The Civil Rights Act of 1875 is one possible litmus test of political involvement in the 1870s. Signed into law on March 1st,

[165] See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 251-274.
[166] Gatewood, 1990, 153; see also Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968) and Mia Bay *The White Image in the Black Mind: African-American Ideas about White People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

1875 after almost five years of debate in Congress, this legislation is also known as the "Enforcement Act" or "Force Act" in reference to its intentions to "enforce" the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.[167] Its function was two-fold: to re-establish the right to equal access to accommodations and public transportation and to end the exclusion of African Americans from serving on juries.[168] The immediate failure of the act was lack of recognition of an equal right to education for black and white students, although even the elaborated "rights" failed within a decade of being passed.[169]

People were skeptical about how successful the law might be from the outset, either because it did too little or because it did too much. Between March and April 1875, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* published three very different perspectives on what the city's black community might make of the Civil Rights Act:

> *March 1, 1875* - "...We doubt the Civil Rights bill will give us the least satisfaction to the colored people, for they did not strive for social recognition so much as for the benefit of free education for their children."[170]
>
> *March 17, 1875* - "...The colored race, however, will not be satisfied with the privileges which have been granted to them. They will continue to agitate the subject of equal rights in the political arena, and will not be quieted until they enjoy to the fullest extent every right of American citizens."[171]
>
> *April 1, 1875* - "...The colored race may feel strongly upon the subject, but the wisest of that class, even, must feel that the law has been injurious to them rather than beneficial because it attempted to do too much."[172]

The possible impacts that this small step towards racial integration might hold remained unclear. Perhaps Philadelphia's black community would quite simply be disappointed by the lack of

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[167] William P. Vaughn, "Separate and Unequal: The Civil Rights Act of 1875 and Defeat of the School Integration Clause." *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (1967): 152. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42867502.
[168] Vaughn, "Separate and Unequal," 152.
[169] Vaughn, "Separate and Unequal," 152.
[170] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, "The Civil Rights Bill," March 1, 1875, page 4.
[171] *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* [from Associated Press] "Civil Rights: How the Law Operates in Baltimore," March 6, 1875, page 1.
[172] *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* "Cutting Away the Civil Rights Law," April 1, 1875.

education provisions. Maybe this small concession would fuel a movement for even more rights. Not inconceivably, the sagest black Philadelphians might perceive that having more rights harmed them, as they acquired too many at once. These three possibilities, each disseminated two weeks apart, illustrate the unsureness that surrounded the Civil Rights Act.

In addition to these three articles that offered a white perspective on the impact that the law would have on the "colored race," the *Inquirer* also gave a glimpse into what some members of the black community made of the recent changes. On March 4, 1875, three days after President Ulysses S. Grant signed the Civil Rights Act into law, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* published another article entitled "Civil Rights: Its probable effect in this city" which included the perspective of James Augustin alongside two hotel proprietors - Mr. J. E. Kingsley of the Continental Hotel and Mr. Henry Kanaga of the Girard House.[173] In the article, both men express a sense of racial solidarity on the question of education. The debates over accommodations, on the other hand, highlight the attention that the two well-off businessmen gave to class distinctions.

The perspectives that the March 4th *Inquirer* article offer on education and accommodation underline some intersections of class and race. While individuals held different opinions about whether and how school integration should take place, the discourse on public education included everyone regardless of their social status.[174] However, the patronizing views that Kingsley, Kanaga, and Augustin espouse towards lower class people of color in terms of accommodations vary only minimally from arguments that conservative white actors took on the

[173] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, "Civil Rights: Its probable effect in this city - the proprietors of the continental and grand hotels on the subject-views of representative colored men." Thursday March 4, 1875, page 2.
[174] See David Brion Davis, "Culmination of Racial Polarities and Prejudice" *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 19, No. 4 Special Issue on Racial Consciousness and Nation-Building in the Early Republic (Winter, 1999), 770-771 for an elaboration of attitudes towards education and class division among white abolitionists and members of the black middle class..

issue; class surpasses race in importance in determining their stances. At the same time, it is possible that they might have moderated their points of view for an interview with a white newspaper. This in its own right reflects an ability to go back and forth between two different groups who were frequently in conflict. The main difference between the perspectives espoused by elite members of the black community and pro-segregation whites is that the black elite here acknowledge an inter-racial class hierarchy whereas white actors generalize the poverty of lower class people of color.

Education

As the debate over what to do about school integration was both the most contentious part of the bill and an outstanding question in Pennsylvania politics, the question of education marks one of the major failures of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The Civil Rights bill created in the House of Representatives called for "separate but equal" schools, while the Senate bill called for desegregated, federally-funded schools. Stephen Kellogg, a Representative from Connecticut, proposed an amended bill in the House that made no reference to education whatsoever.[175] The education system integration debate was on the table in the Pennsylvania state government prior to the national act in 1875. A state statute segregated Pennsylvania's schools on May 8, 1854 and remained in place after the House pocket-vetoed a bill that had passed through a Republican-dominated state senate in 1874.[176] Black congressmen who understood that federalism had a determinant role in Reconstruction-era public school systems and that national-level protections alone might permit students of color to receive a quality education, largely supported the Senate version of the bill. Ultimately, though, Kellogg's bill, silent on the education question, passed.[177]

[175] Vaughn, 1967, 152.
[176] "Desegregation of Pennsylvania Schools." *Pennsylvania Heritage Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 2, (Spring 2010).
[177] Vaughn, 1967.

Perhaps because education was so contested, it appears to be the issue in which James Augustin expressed greatest interest. According the the *Inquirer*, James Augustin "was not pleased with the provision which makes him pay taxes according to the valuation of his property, and yet deprives his children of the privilege of attending the schools which he is thus taxed to maintain."[178] Seeing as in 1870 James' personal estate value was $11,300 and real estate value was $22,000, the taxes he paid in 1875 would have been substantial—and indicative of his business success.[179] On the one hand, Augustin's comments reinforce the March 1st article that argues social recognition is less important to people than free education. On the other, he does not explicitly state that he wishes for public schools to be integrated—simply that he would like a tax deduction if they are not or for his tax dollars to go to the schools that his children can attend. While black elites valued education highly, especially in Philadelphia, the city fit into a nationwide debate over whether integration of schools would be good for assimilation as a whole, integration might be good but should take place over a longer period of time, or segregation was better.[180] It is not clear where Augustin falls on this spectrum, but regardless of the legal impediments he successfully educated his children.

In fact, the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families were all well-educated. The 1870 Census documents all of the Baptiste family as literate save Matilda Sr. who on account of her gender and race would have likely been denied education in the early nineteenth century and Matilda Jr. who was seven years old at the time.[181] In 1880, Jerome's son was in school despite

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[178] "Civil Rights: Its probable effect in this city - the proprietors of the continental and grand hotels on the subject-views of representative colored men." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Thursday March 4, 1875, 2.
[179] Under the name "Peter J. Augustin" in 1870 Census, accessed through *Ancestry.com* - Year: *1870*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Ward 8 District 22, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Roll: *M593_1393*; Page: *35A*; Family History Library Film: *552892*
[180] Patrick O. Gudridge, "Privileges and Permissions: The Civil Rights Act of 1875." *Law and Philosophy* 8, no. 1 (1989): 99, 120-28.. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3504632.
[181] Year: *1870*; Census Place: *Philadelphia Ward 7 District 19, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Roll: *M593_1392*; Page: *394A*; Family History Library Film: *552891* Accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

legal school segregation, and his sister-in-law who was living with the family was working as a school teacher.[182] The value of education for these families, both as people of color and as immigrant families in the nineteenth and twentieth century was enormous, and something in which they took great pride through to the 1980s when Shelton uses the manuscript to detail the pedigree of her relatives and many of their close friends.[183] Clearly, the founding and second generations placed a premium on education, even though James' perspective on school integration in 1875 can be interpreted as fairly depoliticized. The silence on this issue could well be a sign that he did not want to share overtly his political stance with Philadelphia's white daily paper to which his customers likely had access. Endorsing education in general would have been a far more popular opinion than vocal pro-integration advocacy.

James Augustin's valorization of an education for his children aligns with the expressed preferences of the broader black community at the time. In the 1840 publication *Sketches of the Higher Class of Colored Society*, Joseph Willson observed "that among no people, in proportion to their means and advantages, is the pursuit of knowledge more honored than among the colored inhabitants of Philadelphia."[184] To Philadelphia's black community leaders, education was more important than wealth in making a name for oneself. Professions in which a well-educated person could become self-sufficient such as doctors, lawyers, and caterers were valued most highly.[185] In fact, members of the black community created a number of elite institutions over the course of the nineteenth century from church schools to technical schools, most notably the

[182] Year: *1880*; Census Place: *Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*; Roll: *1171*; Page: *451A*; Enumeration District: *147* Accessed through *Ancestry.com*.
[183] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton manuscript.
[184] Joseph Willson, *Sketches of the Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thomson, 1841), 94. Accessed from Hathi Digital Trust.
[185] Gatewood, 1990; Lapsanky, 1980 6-7.

Institute for Colored Youth which Quakers helped to establish in 1842 for teacher training.[186] Moreover, Walter Licht makes the point that low employment rates rooted in racially-discriminatory hiring practices kept black students in school longer, and in general Philadelphia's black youths tended to equal or surpass their white counterparts in education levels while they lacked opportunity to gain technical skills.[187] Although elites would have had access to the best teachers and the best schools, education in Philadelphia's black community trickled down much further than to those who met the most economic success. However, the commitment that James Augustin and his fellow elites had to free and equal education for black students did not directly transfer to a commitment to equal accommodation rights. Class and occupation, in some cases, had more influential repercussions on the individual's access to public spaces and services than did race.

Accommodations

Individuals both black and white were skeptical of the repercussions of equal accommodation rights. When asked about the "hotel privilege" that fell under the umbrella of equal access to accommodations, James explained that "the colored people are, as a rule, too poor to be able to pay the expenses of hotel life, and those who have sufficient means procure for themselves homes." Here, Augustin elects to separate himself from "colored people" in general, and his ability to do so stems from his profession and his class. Particularly striking is the resemblance between Augustin's comment and a contribution to the Congressional debates on the bill from James Blount, a Southern Democrat and Confederate Army veteran from Georgia

[186] Milton M. James, "The Institute for Colored Youth," *Negro History Bulletin*, vol. 21, no. 4 (January 1958): 83-85.
[187] Walter Licht, *Getting Work: Philadelphia 1840-1950* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 43-50, 85.

who claimed that "These people are poor, and these things they care nothing about…"[188] Blount's take lacks the recognition of a black elite, however, both perspectives allude to the inutility of the act on account of high rates of poverty among black Americans. Kanaga of the Girard House also espoused the importance of class rather than race on the question of accommodations, stating "If a colored gentleman come to the house we will give him a room...But if a colored loafer comes, we shall treat him just as we treat white loafers."[189] Here, Kanaga claims that for him class trumped race in deciding who to serve. While Kanaga was black, especially to a white proprietor, the line between a gentleman and a loafer was likely rather arbitrary and presumably predicated on race, at times. Within black communities, too, though, individuals made strong class distinctions.

Historians have outlined various reasons of how and why class divisions developed among people of color. Following Emancipation, free people of color took haste to create distinctions between themselves and recently freed slaves, and often looked down upon the recently emancipated because members of the upper class felt that they were unique in their ability to contribute to racial betterment.[190] However, the black upper class was cloistered by social discrimination as well as active separation from white people and lower class black people. Again regarding the newly established accommodation legislation, Augustin stated that "he could not have personally cared for the hotel privilege."[191] The view is practical, as oftentimes the most elite members of black society did prefer to socialize and board privately

[188] A. Liam Higginbotham Jr., *Shades of Freedom: Racial Politics and Presumptions of the American Legal Process* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 95.
[189] *The Philadelphia Inquirer.* "Civil Rights - Its probable effect in the this city--the proprietors of the continental and girard hotels on the subject--views of representative colored men." Thursday, March 4, 1875, 2.
[190] Gatewood, 1990, 13; Lapsansky, 1980, 142.
[191] *The Philadelphia Inquirer.* "Civil Rights - Its probable effect in this city." Thursday, March 4, 1875, 2.

rather than face discrimination in a public restaurant, hotel or other social space.[192] Even highly respected people of color faced open discrimination in the public sphere.

However positive press coverage of the Augustin family and business may have been, even in mainstream Philadelphia papers, James' comments on the Civil Rights Act affirm that racism affected him and his family. Because the 1875 Act also opened up the ability for people of color to go to theaters, Augustin was posed the question "do you think your people will attend theatres any more than they did?"[193] Augustin responded that he had no desire to do so, having been "so very roughly used" during his past visits; he suggested that "if others break the ice I may follow, but I will not be the first to force it upon myself."[194] Despite his esteemed role in many aspects of his life, James alludes here to having faced disparaging racist discrimination from white Philadelphians who did not know him for anything beyond an immediately obvious assignment of blackness. This sort of ambivalence to theater integration also hints at an independent mentality likely privileged by holding elite status within the black social hierarchy and an ability to craft comments to the newspaper's white readership. With strong family and social networks, a successful business and a seemingly unique ability to navigate between white and black society, at least commercially, James here seems ambivalent to taking a leadership role in integration efforts.

A series of state and federal legislation in the 1880s illuminates the extent to which James' perspective that the Civil Rights Act was both limited and flawed was realistic. In 1883, the Civil Rights Cases overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1875, paving the way for Jim Crow

[192] Gatewood, 1990, 194.
[193] *The Philadelphia Inquirer.* "Civil Rights - Its probable effect in this city." Thursday, March 4, 1875, 2.
[194] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. "Civil Rights - Its probable effect in this city." Thursday, March 4, 1875, 2.

Laws in the south and legalizing continued race-based discrimination across the United States.[195] In 1881, Pennsylvania passed a state law prohibiting discrimination in public schools.[196] In 1887 the state passed a second law prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations.[197] *De facto* segregation in schools and other spaces, however, remained. Superintendent Martin Brumbaugh instituted a series of "intelligence" tests to maintain racial segregation in schools, and active hostility and unaddressed racist attitudes perpetuated a white-dominated public sphere.[198]

Augustin's comments open up the issue of education with regard to the Civil Rights Act in a way that challenges common perceptions that equal, integrated schools were an immediate goal and the assumption that black students and therefore the black workforce were less educated than their white counterparts. The responses of all three men to the equal accommodation provisions within the context of the class divisions challenge some aspects of racial solidarity. Augustin's lukewarm reactions to the critical questions of black acceptance into the public sphere and desegregation of the education system that came with the 1875 Civil Rights Act could have any number of explanations. His lack of political fervor that might stem from the status that he held because he was able to provide for his family, he consistently had customers walking through his doors, and he never had the same personal ties to and experiences in America's slave society as his colleagues such as Dorsey and Minton. Lack of fervor is not necessarily political passivity, though. as Augustin's approach in certain ways foreshadows Booker T. Washington's later program for racial progress through entrepreneurship and education.[199] The idea that his

[195] Gudgridge, 1989, 83-84; Stephen Robinson, "African American Citizenship, the 1883 *Civil Rights Cases* and the Creation of the Jim Crow South," *The Journal of the Historical Association* (2017): 225-241.
[196] Ira V. Brown, "Pennsylvania and the Rights of the Negro, 1865-1887," *Pennsylvania History* (1961): 45-57.
[197] Ira V. Brown, "Pennsylvania and the Rights of the Negro, 1865-1887," *Pennsylvania History* (1961): 45-57.
[198] Licht, 1992, 83.
[199] Present much of Washington's advocacy, take for example, Booker T. Washington, *The Negro in Business,* 1907, (Johnson Reprint Corp, 1970), 41 when he specially gives the example of catering as racial uplift - it is possibly the [business] in which the largest number of fortunes have been made by the colored people."

origins in a free family made him less inclined to fight for civil rights is unconvincing, especially as we know he was mistreated in public. But perhaps his social standing and economic relationships made the potential defamation of political advocacy less appealing. While Augustin remained outspoken on political issues in comparison to other contemporary black caterers, Chapter 1 demonstrated that Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille were all involved in black social and business alliances within their industry.

Conclusion

The discussion around public education in the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and the accomplishments of the Philadelphia Caterers Association outlined in the previous chapter suggest that incorporating people of mixed-race identities into the category of blackness could be a powerful way to include their voices in the day to day struggles imposed by white power structures. At the same time, the discussion of accommodations in the Civil Rights Act demonstrates that, in certain contexts, class can be more influential than race. The lack of overt political action by some members of the Caterers Association as a professional organization points towards the diversity of perspectives among the members and the divergence between social, economic, and political activity. While there is little evidence of Augustin, Baptiste, or Dutrieuille family members taking on much political involvement in the 1870s and 1880s, they surely had social ties to some of the most vocal black leaders of the day.

The Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families managed to network with black social activists and, at least in the case of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, had a voice in political questions. At the same time, they must have been highly aware that turning someone away from a table on the basis of political disagreement would have held a social symbolism that may have

been harmful to customer relationships in the white community. What appears to be a non-scrutinizing attitude towards anyone willing and able to pay for their services was also a way to avoid agitating high ranking white Philadelphians whose good graces may have aided in their abilities to take actions and make agreements in other realms.

It is impossible to pinpoint exactly why the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families were more inclined to identify with blackness on the education question and with regards to joining the Caterers Association than in denying service. Immigrant status, economic success, and mixed racial origins all influenced the social, economic, and political decisions that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families made. Access to sources places some limits on the depth of understanding possible for their political beliefs. Working through mostly public, published documents that frequently appeal to a white readership restricts us to the perspectives that family members were willing to let everyone read and know. Nonetheless, although the racial binary categorized these families as black, their physical appearance and free, French West Indian descent afforded the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families opportunities and perspectives that set them apart from other members of Philadelphia's black community. They did not always act alongside other black elites in the struggles for emancipation and civil rights, even though they acted in solidarity on issues that held immediate personal consequences in the social and corporate realms such as public education and professional organizations.

Chapter 3 – Cuisine and Operations
"You'll Enjoy THIS Dinner, We Serve You RIGHT."

In 1874, the *New York World* called James Augustin "French out and out." In 1930, Dutrieuille's ran an advertisement in the *Evening Public Ledger* for a "Chicken & Waffle…Dinner from a Plantation Chef." Over the course of nearly six decades, the business models clearly changed. To build on the more macro-scale networks of social and religious involvement and large scale political engagements, this chapter takes place at the level of the family and they way that their communities perceived them and their cuisine and business operations. It is here where changing notions of French and African American culture and cuisine come most strongly into this conversation. The chapter begins with the argument in the nineteenth century, Augustin's emphasized their French roots to meet elite demand and to oppose the ostensibly American cuisine of their main rival, Parkinson's. From there, I discuss some of the specific dishes that Augustin's produced that might have led them to associate with both French and African American cuisines. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the setting and day to day operations in Dutrieuille's, which supports the idea that the flexibility and attention previously demonstrated were indeed essential to their sustained success.

At every step, the family names appear as important indicators of quality and reputation. Particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the proprietor of a restaurant would label their restaurant with their own surname. Just so, the establishments carried on the legacies of their founders. To the same ends, social stature and prestige was indivisible from quality of business performance. While names represented tradition and continuity, at this point in time successful dining establishment also adapted to a changing consumer base and increasingly cosmopolitan tastes—a task for which the families were well suited.

"French out and out"

In the aftermath of his visit to the United States in 1871 and 1872 that Thomas Dorsey protested, the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia enraged the renowned Philadelphia caterer James Parkinson when he declared that "there were 'no American dishes,' and 'no American cooks.'"[200] In response, Parkinson published a treatise called *American Dishes at the Centennial* in 1874. In his treatise, Parkinson argued that America had a rich culinary culture based on their abundance of high quality fish, poultry, game, and produce and the skill of the home chef. He likewise proclaimed that culinary competition at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia would bring American culinary prestige to the foreground of the world's culinary scene.[201] Parkinson wrote:

> "Let but justice be done to our own country at the coming World's Fair; let American viands and American cookery be brought to the front, and we shall forthwith abolish the sickly and humiliating affectation of French cooks, and French dishes with French names. Our *Menus* will be Bills of Fare. Our American dishes, served up in genuine American style, will bear their American names, and be printed in plain American English. The current will be reversed; the tables will be turned. Instead of our pretending to ape the French, the French shall be brought to imitate us."[202]

Parkinson's manifesto reads as both an explication and a preemptive defense of American food, as well as an indictment and attempted unmasking of French influences. Frustrated that people were confused by the French names given to American dishes in order to raise their status and disappointed that the poorly-informed and unskilled hotel keepers overshadowed the private chef in the eye of the foreign critic, Parkinson made a cry for justice.

Parkinson's calculated crusade against French cuisine may have had economically practical motivations in addition to strong ideological underpinnings. While a denunciation of

[200] "Centennial Cookery," *New York World,* August 6, 1874, 4.
[201] James W. Parkinson, *American Dishes at the Centennial*, (Philadelphia: King & Baird, Printers, 1874), 8-17.
[202] Parkinson, *American Dishes at the Centennial*, 8.

the sort would have disassociated him from the fashionable French cuisine of his day, it also set him apart from his local rival, Augustin's. The French roots of the cuisine that Parkinson's biggest competitor in Philadelphia proffered had to have crossed his mind when he launched his campaign for American culinary superiority. In 1871, the Committee on the Reception of the Grand Duke Alexis reported a $1761 expenditure to Augustin & Son for refreshments, one of the heftier payouts in all of the accommodations that they provided.[203] Asserting a distinction between the American cuisine at Parkinson's and the French cuisine at Augustin's may have made the choice of the host or the diner more challenging, but asserting the superiority of American cuisine likewise asserts the superiority of Parkinson's. If American cuisine is not only different but also better, the most fashionable consumers would have but one choice.

As the debates between French and American cuisine began to unfold in Philadelphia, competition between Parkinson's and Augustin's was noteworthy. In the wake of *American Dishes at the Centennial*, the *New York World* published an article reflecting on Parkinson's claims. The piece remarked that, despite an understandable interest in rallying around a distinctly American gastronomic culture, in reality Philadelphia was "hopelessly divided on the cookery question."[204] Although many held Parkinson in high regard, French food and French chefs retained a reputation and a consumer base. The concluding paragraph of the *New York World* article held:

> "But there in Philadelphia, right in the Parkinson path, stands he of saintly name, 'Augustine.' He is French out and out. No Parkinson can come near his '*croquettes*' or '*ris de veau*.' His '*consomme*' is clear, his '*fricandeau*' full of juices, and, with his aristocratic patronage, he has no idea of surrendering at the bidding of Parkinson…"[205]

[203] "The Grand Duke," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Monday, December 25, 1871, 3.
[204] "Centennial Cookery," *New York World*, August 6, 1874, 4.
[205] "Centennial Cookery," *New York World,* August 6, 1874, 4.

This excerpt offers important additions to our understanding of the way that the press represented the Augustins in 1874 and raises numerous questions about when and why that representation began to change. It is clear here that his "saintly name" is, alongside his French culinary specialties, one of the key legitimizing factors to his Frenchness. Augustin's name would have been inseparable from his establishment, seeing as they were identical.

The *New York World* article constructs Augustin's Frenchness in opposition to Parkinson's American cuisine both in the details that it includes and those which it omits. First, the article claims that James Augustin, the head chef at the time, was "French out and out" but makes no mention whatsoever of either his race or his West Indian origin. Second, although the piece highlights *croquettes*, *ris de veau*, *consomme*, and *fricandeau* using their French names, there is no reference to other "American" delicacies for which Augustin's was well known such as terrapin or oysters.[206] Finally, there is an emphasis on "aristocratic patronage," which implies that Augustin's French cuisine was restricted to an exclusive group of Philadelphian elites as compared to more accessible, democratic American fare. That the Augustin family valued their French heritage, their establishment produced traditional French dishes, and their clientele held elevated social stature in their community are almost all most assuredly true. At the same time, the ethnic and racial origins, culinary offerings, and social and commercial network of the Augustin's surpassed the limited illustration that the *World* provides in this sketch.

Indeed, James Parkinson's outspokenness about the American-ness of his own cuisine likely led contemporaries to overstate the extent to which Peter James Augustin, who ran the family business through the 1870s, and his cuisine were French. While Peter James' father Pierre Augustin may very well have come from the Metropole before migrating from Cuba to

[206] "Centennial Cookery," *New York World,* August 6, 1874, 4.

Philadelphia, his mother Mary F. Augustin was born in Washington, D.C. from which she reportedly came to Philadelphia with her mother at the end of the eighteenth century.[207] If Pierre was or did consider himself "French out and out," his death in the 1843 predated the *New York World* article by more than thirty years.[208] There are no sources available that suggest that the second generations of Augustins did or would have confirmed or denied being labelled "French out and out," although the limited records that remain of Augustin's cuisine suggest some assimilation towards American and, more specifically, Philadelphian tastes.[209] Limited records of menus and receipts provide some sense of specific meals that Augustin's served and overarching reputations offer insight into specific dishes for which the firm was best known.

Augustin's

Through the nineteenth century, American caterers, restaurants, and hoteliers experimented with different types of services, and of course the manner in which food was served relied heavily on what type of event was taking place, what meal or refreshment was being provided, and how many people were in attendance.[210] The specific dishes took on various qualities depending on the taste and expectations of the client, the specialties and inclinations of the caterer, the seasonally-influenced ingredients and preferences, the regions both of the origin of the chef and the location in which the meal was served, and of course the popular social trends of the time period.[211] This section focuses in on Augustin's and the general perceptions and categorizations of the dishes that the bills of fare indicate they made and the dishes they were

[207] See Introduction, note 9.
[208] "Pennsylvania, Philadelphia City Death Certificates, 1803–1915." Index. FamilySearch, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2008, 2010. From originals housed at the Philadelphia City Archives. "Death Records." Accessed on *Ancestry.com.*
[209] "Centennial Cookery," *New York World,* August 6, 1874, 4.
[210] Delmonico executive chef Charles Ranhofer's books *The Epicurean* and the other treatises on cuisine are exemplary of the thought and attention to detail that went into planning events with food.
[211] Again, demonstrated through popular culinary treatises of the day such as *The Epicurean* or, in the French case, the works of Auguste Escoffier and Marie Antonin-Carême.

Mr. Burke
To P Augustin

1 Tureens of Soupe Julienne & Vermicelli	$2.25	
1 Bouilli		3.00
1 oyster pie		2.00
1 Sweetbread pie		2.00
1 Dish of Sweetbreads	1.25	
1 – of Croquette	1.50	
1 – of cotelettes de Mouton		1.00
2 Dishes of stewed pidgeons		2.50
1 Macaroni		1.00
1 Dish of Spinage		.50
		$17.00

3d Feb. 1842 Rec payment in full
Peter Augustin
for James Augustin

Image 1. (Transcribed, Above) James Augustin for Peter Augustin, Printed and MS bill to Mr. Burd, January 22, 1842, Society Miscellaneous, Box 1-B, folder 18, bills. *The Library Company of Philadelphia*.

MENU:

Chicken Croquettes (Augustine).
Beef a la mode (Jellied).
Boned Turkey (Jellied).
Sweet-Breads and Peas.
Lobster Chops.
Chicken Salad.

Charlotte Russe.
French Meringues.
Ice Cream.
Cakes.
Fruit.

Champagne. Sherry.

Image 3. Augustin's 1882 Menu from *Lancaster Intelligencer*.
"Majority Party," *Lancaster Daily Intelligencer*, Saturday, September 16, 1882.

PRIVATE DINNER
TO
Hon. John W. Forney
AT AUGUSTIN'S
March 4, 1871, at 3 P.M.

Bill of Fare

Oysters on Shell.
Hock.
Green Turtle Soup.
Sherry.
Salmon, Lobster Sauce.
Madeira.
Filet de Boeuf, Champignons. Roast Capons.
Champagne.
Vegetables.
Sweetbreads. Croquettes.
Claret.
Roast Saddle of Mouton.
Burgundy.
Terrapins.
Champagne.
Dressed Salad.
Oysters on Shell, --Encore.
Coffee.
Fruits. Sugars.
Brandy.

SUBSCRIBERS.

Hon. Morton McMichael, Hon. John Tucker
George H. Boker, Esq., Henry C. Carey, Esq.,
Dr R.S. Mackenzie, Daniel Dougherty, Esq.,
Joseph Saller, Esq., Wm. V. McKean, Esq.,
Barton H. Jenks, Esq., Jos. Wm. Miller, Esq.,
Louis A. Godey, Esq., John D. Stockton, Esq.,
Phillip R. Freak, Esq., Col. Muckle,
Geo. W. Childs, Esq., Charles J. Peterson, Esq.,
Thomas Fitzgerald.

Image 2. (Transcribed) Augustin's 1871 Banquet to James Foley. HSP Menu Collection, "Private Dinner to Hon. John W. Forney, At Augustin's, March 4, 1871, at 3 ½ P.M. [Peter J.] Augustin, caterer. Embossed and engraved menu. [Philadelphia, 1871.]. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

regarded in the public eye through looking at a popular plates that the 1874 *World* article highlights, *croquettes*, and one that it leaves out, terrapin.[212]

The croquette was as much a symbol of Frenchness as it was a staple of Philadelphia. In the *New York World* article from 1874, the croquette served as another symbol of Augustin's Frenchness in contrast to Parkinson's American cuisine. Less than a decade later, in 1882, James Parkinson in his periodical *The Caterer and Household Magazine* wrote: "If there be any one gastronomic delicacy that the good city of Penn enjoys a wide renown, it is surely the chicken croquette, which is one of the most complex and yet delectable of all the dainties that grace the table."[213] He goes on to describe the cooking process, concluding with the tip that if one sets aside and strains the broth from cooking the chicken they might be left with "a fine, rich chicken consommé or clear chicken soup."[214] This idea that the croquette can be either French or Philadelphian and its accompanying *consommé* can represent either the quintessentially French soup or a logical use of leftovers is curious. The same tension, or otherwise viewed the same complementary nature, between French and American influences on the croquettes appears in the early twentieth century in Fannie Merritt Farmer's 1911 publication *The Boston Cooking School Cook Book* which includes recipes for and menus including croquettes in a range of flavors that can appear on the table in different seasons and for seemingly every occasion.[215] Unlike Parkinson, Farmer holds French cuisine in high esteem, citing Jean Brillat-Savarin in the Foreword to her cookbook and elsewhere calling France "the land to which we ever look for gastronomic delights."[216]

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[212] "Centennial Cookery," *New York World,* August 6, 1874, 4.
[213] James Parkinson, *The Caterer and Household Magazine*, Vol. 1 (October 1882 - September 1883), 14.
[214] Parkinson, *The Caterer and Household Magazine*, Vol. 1, 14.
[215] Fannie Merritt Farmer, *The Boston Cooking School Cook Book* (Philadelphia: South Washington Square, 1911).
[216] Fannie Merritt Farmer, *The Boston Cooking School Cook Book*; Fannie Merritt Farmer, *Chafing Dish Possibilities* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1916).

Whatever the ethnic origins of the croquettes may be, the importance of the dish to the family businesses carried through to Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton's manuscript. Shelton recalls in one draft her own efforts to learn how to make croquettes, the family delicacy, from a secret recipe. After clarifying that few recipes were ever written down, Shelton explains that "if one asked for instance about the measures of seasonings [and flavoring] in the ingredients, one might be told: a pinch of this, a dab of that, a smidgeon of something else…" After admitting that she found the ambiguity of the instructions a bit confusing, she opted for visual recall of the croquette-making process:

> "As far as we were once permitted to observe the actual mixing, stirring and gently simmering of the cream sauce (with rich cream, dairy fresh eggs [(yolks only)], and butter, with the proper quantity of flour therein, and possibly a dash (or sprinkle) of freshly ground nutmeg and what we suspect was either a 'smidgeon' of an exotic foreign spice (or possibly a soupcon), [and of course, finely ground, freshly boiled chicken then added]. When the proper consistency of the roux (with of course, a bit of salt and freshly ground pepper – to the proper taste, included), the roux was removed from the stove and permitted to cool [(]and stiffen just a bit[)].
>
> Later the roux would be divided (by hand, then) and rolled into [about 4"] conical shape; each clump thus shaped, would be rolled in lightly beaten fresh egg yolks (no whites), and we are not certain whether also in flour, but the [final] was freshly crumbled stale bread crumbs…"[217]

Shelton's description invites her reader into the everyday life of the kitchen at Dutrieuille's as she illustrates what would have been a common practice for a prolific business in way that is reverent and captivating. There are decades worth of testaments to the quality of the recipes, but as far as even the family knows, most of them are lost.[218] In many ways, the loss of the recipes speaks to both the protection and precision that went into them. On the one hand, the cooks were careful about to whom they revealed their recipes and, on the other, the exact amount of each

[217] Box 20.

[218] In the article in *The* Crisis Shelton and her co-authort lament "Even today, the Augustin recipes, in the original, would probably realize a tidy fortune for any of his descendants who might have been so fortunate as to have procured and saved them."; Fleming, G. James, and Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, "Fine Food for Philadelphia," *The Crisis Magazine*, April 1938, pp. 107, 113.

ingredient and the difference between a dash and sprinkle or a smidgen and a soupçon, although perhaps impossible to quantify, made a difference in the ultimate result. Indeed, in a competitive and performative industry, perhaps a secret and hard to replicate recipe was one key element to success. Moreover, the unique and valuable recipe suggests that over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, croquettes became aligned less with a certain ethnic origin and more with specific family names and reputations.

"As a rule, negroes excel in cooking the dish. Frenchmen are rarely adept at it…"

While croquettes could be associated with numerous cultures, terrapin seems to have maintained a reputation as "slave cuisine." White consumers, including even the most elite Philadelphians, enjoyed eating terrapin, but the dish was associated with African American culture. As a result, black chefs often received the highest regard for their preparations. In his 1879 poem "Prosser's Journey to Heaven: Or, the Triumph of Terrapin," white Philadelphian Joseph William Miller imagines the African American caterer James Prosser as using his culinary specialties to traverse different stages in the afterlife. Prosser's final conversation with Saint Peter in the poem's penultimate stanzas read:

> "From salt Del'war's reedy margints,
> From de sand ob Chesapeak,
> Comes our Terrapins, good Petah:
> Spose ob dem I needn't speak."
>
> "What! *Stewed Terrapins!* Jeemes Prosser!"
> Open wide the gates are borne:
> *"Here come Terrapins and Prosser!*
> Make him welcome as the morn!"[219]

[219] Joseph William Miller, "Prosser's Journey to Heaven: Or, the Triumph of the Terrapin," *Mars Hill: And Other Poems*, (Collins: Philadelphia, 1879):146-150.

After declining oysters broiled and raw, Canvasback duck, turtle steaks, lobster salad as apt offerings to allow Prosser into Heaven, Peter accepts his terrapin. One the one hand, the poem is Miller's way of highlighting the exquisiteness of Prosser's famous dish. These stanzas highlight more of Prosser's qualities than his cooking abilities, though, as Miller uses vernacular spellings that an upper or upper-middle class reader would have ascribed to a black speaker. Intentionally or otherwise, Miller accepts and perpetuates the understanding that black cooks excelled at making terrapin. Suggesting that terrapin was Prosser's way "in" to a realm where he otherwise did not have the "money" or "ticket" that permitted entry, this poem also underlines the fluidity of the caterer of color, employing his trade to access spaces and social circles from which black Americans were often forbidden. At the same time, the hokey and vernacular depiction of Prosser's speech also perpetuates the stereotype of the black culinarian as debased and unintelligent outside of his cooking skills.

In the case of terrapin, chefs and caterers of color appeared to have an upper hand over their French counterparts—at least in reputation—even when the archetypal "French chef" was gaining more and more prestige among the most elite. Musing over the "radical change" that foreign cuisines had brought to the United States at the end of the century in terms of both "serving and preparation," an one *Philadelphia* Times "Gossip of the Week" column in 1889 begged the question: "Where is a first-class Eastern hotel which has not a French chef?"[220] The same article included a comment from George Alfred Townsend, a white Philadelphia journalist, in which Townsend stated candidly "that the old traditions of excellence of the culinary art, as embodied by the cooks of the South, are false entirely."[221] With a negative outlook but not and

[220] "The Gossip of the Week - A Decline of Colored Servants in American Cities," *The Times-Philadelphia*, March 31. 1889, 4.
[221] "The Gossip of the Week" *The Times-Philadelphia*, March 31, 1889, 4.

abject condemnation, the article's author concluded, "whatever may have been their past excellence, the black Southern cook, according to this eminent authority, has except in rare cases, sadly degenerated."[222] One of these rare cases that the article mentioned was "the cooking of terrapin."[223] Nearly a decade later, the singularity of the black chef in cooking terrapin, even in an environment where the French chef was an object of particular interest and where increased immigration created competition in the culinary field and many other trades, held true. An 1897 *Philadelphia Times* article said of terrapin that "As a rule, negroes excel in cooking the dish. Frenchmen are rarely adept at it, generally spoiling the delicate flavor with too many fixin's."[224] And yet, Augustin's, declared in 1871 "French out and out," was known widely for their terrapin. It is surprising, then, that their perceived blackness might be able to surpass their Frenchness in the preparation of this specific dish.

The Augustins may have been French, free, and from the West Indies, but they joined the ranks of Philadelphia's African American caterers and cooks when it came to terrapin production. In general, Philadelphians took great pride in their terrapin, and that of Augustin's was known well. Rather bluntly, a 1897 *Philadelphia Times* clarified "A man must live in Philadelphia or Atlantic City or Baltimore or in Washington to know how to cook and know how to enjoy this most delectable dish."[1] Acknowledging that Philadelphia was one of few places to find the dish properly made, among the establishments that the article specified as a place "where terrapin is cooked to the epicure's taste" was Augustin's.[225] Jerome Augustin's obituary remembered that his terrapin preparations were "considered by epicures to be unexcelled."[226] In

[222] "The Gossip of the Week" *The Times-Philadelphia*, March 31, 1889, 4.
[223] "The Gossip of the Week" *The Times-Philadelphia*, March 31, 1889, 4.
[224] Seen and Heard in Many Places," *The Times-Philadelphia*, March 2, 1897.
[225] Seen and Heard in Many Places," *The Times-Philadelphia*, March 2, 1897.
[226] "Last of the Augustins: Death of P. Jerome, the Widely-Known Caterer," *The Times-Philadelphia*, Monday Morning edition, June 27, 1892, 6.

1871, Peter James Augustin recollected that when his father Pierre, perhaps Paris-born, had been alive, Augustin's "sent boxes of croquettes, salads, and terrapin to New York, Baltimore, Washington, and and hundreds of miles beyond that."[227] As Pierre, Peter James, and Jerome alike were known for their terrapin preparation, it does not seem to be a generational question of assimilation. Indeed, it appears almost certain that while Pierre and Mary F. Augustin were "laying the foundation for the elevation of haute cuisine to the pinnacle of first-class, top-flight elite gourmet French cuisine," they were contemporarily mastering and selling the signature dish of the African American cook.[228]

The popularity of Augustin's terrapin through the nineteenth century has a number of implications. First, it is likely that the role that Mary F. had in the early years of the business is understated: her own mid-Atlantic roots in Washington, D.C. could have had a strong impact on Pierre's recipes as well as the way that the establishment's production of the dish was received. Perhaps more significantly, though, over the years Augustin's was able to continue to be a force in creating a dish that was in some ways limited to cooks of color even when certain observers attempted to illustrate their food as uniquely French. By leaning into both their association with Philadelphia's black community and their French names and declared French origins, they were able to appeal to two remarkably similar yet increasingly opposed markets – one for "American" and another for "French" cuisine – and develop a reputation in both.

[227] "Major Bogle's Reign-First Colored Caterers to Establish the Business in Philadelphia-Augustine's Establishment," *The Times-Philadelphia*, Sunday Morning edition, March 16, 1884.
[228] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, Box 9, Folder 18

Dutrieuille's

Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, mass dining culture in the United States underwent a number of important changes. Historian Andrew P. Haley argues between 1880 and 1920 a growing middle class began to patronize the increasingly diverse dining options developing in urban America.[229] French cuisine was closely associated with a sort of Old World aristocracy that deterred the burgeoning middle class. Steadily, the average consumer grew evermore attracted to new and more accessible foods from various cultures that immigrants brought with them to their country of arrival.[230] Dutrieuille's, the business which lasted longest into the twentieth century, demonstrates the immense dynamism that it took to meet these changing demands.

Dutrieuille's enacted tactful bridging of traditionally French and traditionally African American cuisine and marketed to a wide array of potential customers through the twentieth century, as evidenced by their advertisements and accounts. This section explores the multiple and often overlooked sides of catering as they relate to service and decoration in addition to cuisine. In a 1938 article for *Crisis* magazine, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton wrote:

> "The successful caterer has always had to be an expert in his field, and not only must he know his culinary art, but he must be a business executive, a personnel director, an interior decorator and a social psychologist as well."[231]

If in 1879 Augustin's was renowned for posting no advertisements, nearly half a century later Dutrieuille's took an alternative marketing strategy which also demonstrated the flexibility that

[229] Andrew P. Haley, *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880-1920*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
[230] Haley, *Turning the Tables*, 3-4.
[231] Fleming, G. James, and Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, "Fine Food for Philadelphia," *The Crisis Magazine*, April 1938, pp. 107, 113.

they developed in order to sustain their business. Throughout 1920, Dutrieuille's had intermittent advertising in the Philadelphia *Evening Public Ledger* which read:

Image 1. Advertisement for Dutrieuille's Café, June 5, 1920
(Courtesy of *Chronicling America)*[232]

This sort of advertisement suggests a clear invocation of an ability to proffer an American cuisine, and more specifically an African American cuisine. While the account books from just a few years later do indicate that Dutrieuille's often hired black chefs, Dutrieuille likely would have also carried the legacy of French cuisine that his own surname would have indicated. His training at Augustin-Baptiste's would have further legitimized his claim to French cuisine. Nonetheless, the "Plantation Chef" seems to give a sort of authenticity to the "Real Southern Style" dish here advertised.[233] It likely also would have fit the stereotype that a white customer might have of a black chef even though he was able to use his French sounding name and legacy of French heritage to proffer that cuisine to his elite customer base.

Although they came from a long tradition of serving Philadelphia's most elite clientele, to stay afloat in the twentieth century, it seems as though some alterations were in order. In December of the same year amid a number of different specials advertised by various restaurants, Dutrieuille's promoted that they were serving a "Full Course Turkey Dinner." Priced at $1.50, the marketing promised to the *Ledger's* readership "You'll Enjoy THIS Dinner, We

[232] "Where to Dine: A Directory," *Evening Public Ledger – Philadelphia*, Saturday, June 5, 1920, 2.
[233] "Where to Dine: A Directory," *Evening Public Ledger – Philadelphia*, Saturday, June 5, 1920, 2.

Serve You RIGHT."[234] The commitment to both quality and service echo the reputation that their families had upheld for over a century, but the form seemed to change.

Image 2. Advertisement from the *Evening Public Ledger*, December 30, 1920
(Courtesy of *Chronicling America)* [235]

At the same time that Dutrieuille's began to offer more affordable fare, they maintained their tradition of excellent catering. Just three days after one of the advertisements for chicken and waffles, they catered two dinners on the same day with a fairly traditional catering menu. Charging $4.00 a person for a group of 50 people, the firm catered two meals with comparable menus that included: fruit cup, mock turtle soup, filet of beef, mushrooms and potatoes, peas and asparagus, punch, salad and cheese and crackers, ice cream and strawberries, coffee and cakes, olives and nuts and mints, roasted rolls and hot butter.[236] While the food added up to about $120, the receipt also budgeted ten dollars for tables and $70 for labor.[237] In the same book of detailed receipts appear a number of dishes that were invoked on account of their Frenchness back in 1879, such as *consommé* and *ris de veau* – here always called sweetbreads. Without a doubt, chicken croquettes make part of very many of the meals that they catered through the 1920s.[238]

[234] "The Following Restaurants and Hotels Invite You to New Year's Dinner," *Evenign Public Ledger – Philadelphia*, Thursday, December 30, 1920.
[235] "Where to Dine: A Directory," *Evening Public Ledger – Philadelphia*, Saturday, June 5, 1920, 2.
[236] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Book 1, pp. 8-9.
[237] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Book 1, pp. 8-9.
[238] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Book 1, Book 2.

By the 1930s, there were also advertisements in circulation for Dutrieuille's standard catering services. Promoting the same establishment that had ten years prior boasted chicken and waffles by a "plantation chef" and that was known well for its monopoly over Catholic functions, in 1930, Peter Albert advertised the family business in the *Jewish Exponent*:

Image 3. Advertisement in Jewish Exponent from 1930[239]
(Courtesy of *Chronicling America)*

Continuing to operate under the name of his father, who was well known when the catering business was still thriving around the turn of the century, the approach appears to speak to a more traditional audience. In many ways, the juxtaposition of the two advertisements holds far greater value than either one might on its own. Advertising in a Jewish paper would have meant more than an open-mindedness to customers from various faith backgrounds. An appeal to the Jewish consumers also suggests a familiarity with and commitment to uniquely Jewish dietary practices through the preparation of kosher foods. The breadth of their potential customers reinforces the idea that these families developed from French chefs to cosmopolitan culinary authorities.

Broadening the consumer base meant the Dutrieuille's also had to expand their culinary repertoire. In order to have something to offer to this new and cosmopolitan middle class of people interested in dining out, affordable and interesting meals like chicken and waffles cooked by an expert "southern" chef would have been perfect. To expand beyond the Catholic Church

[239] *The Jewish Exponent*, May 23, 1930, 20.

into the *Jewish Exponent*, chefs and managers committed to learning the nuances of the dietary and preparation requirements that correlate with the Jewish faith. At the same time, they had to preserve their specialty dishes for their long term aristocratic clientele who looked to them continuously for French and American delicacies. Name was one way to maintain continuity within an environment overflowing with changing tastes. On all three of these advertisements described above, Dutrieuille's name holds a prominent place – both in the first two which promote the café and the third which focuses on catering services.

Management

While the perception and promotion of certain cuisines to certain customers played an important part in business success, they took root in everyday activities of cooking, shopping, serving, and upkeep. Dutrieuille's made payments just as much as they received them, and the regular dispensations to the individuals and other companies that facilitated their success offer one window into the many moving parts that go into food service. From the account books, it is clear that they hired a number of different chefs and waiters for periods that ranged from single events to weeks at a time. In addition to keeping the family flavor through two separate payments each to Jerome J. Baptiste and John Cooper as cooks, there are also regular invoices for cooking to one C.P. Harewood and numerous week long contracts to Wallace Lasane.[240] Dutrieuille's consistently hired out two people by the names of Elizabeth Lee and Willian Lovett whose positions the account books loosely describe as "Help."[241] In addition to hiring labor, Dutrieuille's also paid monthly bills to many of the same companies. The Gas Consumers Association, Philadelphia Electrical Company, Bell Telephone, Holland Laundry, and William

[240] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Book 3.
[241] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Book 3.

L. Collins Hauling appear frequently by name, while there are also standard entries for "Water Rent" and fire insurance.[242] On occasion, there are charges for regular updates and repairs from companies like Lit Bros Paint, the "Ash man" who presumably cleaned and removed built up soot, and S & S Marketing Company.[243] Outside of procuring the various ingredients essential to their cuisine, there was extensive economic exchange with regard to day to day operations.

To the same degree that the account books offer insights into who patronized Dutrieuille's and the day to day operations of the establishment, receipts also offer extensive information about the other companies with whom Dutrieuille's did business. Meriano Bro's Fruit and Produce seems to have been the go-to supplier for those sorts of ingredients, which is unsurprising seeing as that at its situation at the corner of 19th and Market streets, it would have only been a few blocks from Dutrieuille's 19th Street home base. For meat and produce, there are repeated entries and many receipts from Reading and Dickinson as well as D.L. Hanley, although there are separate payouts for sweetbreads to John Meyers and Company.[244] Shelton indicates that there was a shared commitment to quality ingredients across the board. The caterers "patronized only the quality merchants, with their choice [farm] fresh vegetables, fruits, meats, imported spices, olive oil, dairy products, [meats, filet mignon, foul-grouse, capon, squabs], Russian caviar, truffles, [foi gras], Maine lobsters, Maryland snappers – their Sautter and E. Milton Dexter pastries and ice cream."[245] Dutrieuille's appears to have had a commitment to high quality ingredients, and often patronized repeatedly the same vendors where he found them. There is no specific to the race or ethnicity of the vendors with whom they worked closely

[242] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Book 3.
[243] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Book 3.
[244] Albert E. Dutrieuille Collection, Folder 5.
[245] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 19, 4/29/77, 6.

and it seems that quality and proximity were important variables in determining from where to source their produce.

Regular business operations did not run themselves, and it is worth noting that for a substantial part of the period at hand here, women led all three of the businesses. In a 1977 draft of the manuscript, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton wrote:

> "As a matter of fact, I've often been inclined to believe that there was something of a matriarchy about those old families. The men put up the distinguished font, but the women really ruled the roost!"[246]

Born in to Eugene Baptiste and Mathilda Gray Baptiste in November 1847, Clara Baptiste was one of the six children of these already esteemed caterers. At the time of her wedding to Theodore Augustin in 1870, her father Eugene handed over the business to his daughter and her betrothed who subsequently rebranded Baptiste's as Augustin-Baptiste.[247] Theodore died shortly after their marriage, at which point Clara took over the business with the help of her nephew Eugene Baptiste Jr. and brother-in-law John Cooper.[248] Despite becoming a widow at an early age, Clara went on to build a successful business and to have a rich engagement with her family and community. Especially as a woman of color, her accomplishments are remarkable and to some degree reflective of her predecessors in the family as Mary F. Augustin and Mathilda Gray Baptiste had likewise held integral roles in the first generation foundation of their establishments.

Coming from a tradition of women who "ruled the roost!," Clara was not the only prominent female head of business even within her own family. Mary Frances Augustin ran M.F. Augustin & Son with the help of her sons James and Jerome following Pierre's death in 1844.

[246] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Manuscript, Box 19, 4/29/77, 8.
[247] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Manuscript.
[248] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Manuscript.

After Mary Frances and Jerome Augustin died in 1892, Jerome's wife Elizabeth B. Augustin inherited and ran the entire M.F. Augustin & Sons establishment at 1105 Walnut street. City business directories record Elizabeth as the owner of M.F. Augustin & Sons through 1904.[249] Elizabeth co-ran the family business with her son James K. Augustin through his death in 1898, after which she appears to have carried on alone for a number of years.[250] While the exact closing date of the company is unclear, the establishment does not appear in a 1907 directory specifically for black businesses which includes what appears to be an exhaustive list of eighty other names.[251] That M.F. Augustin & Sons received far less attention in Shelton's manuscript than Augustin-Baptiste's and Dutrieuille's likewise hints to the idea that she may never have observed it in full swing, should it have closed in her infancy. At any rate, the fact that not one but two black women headed catering businesses at the turn of the century is indeed remarkable.

Clara's best documented achievements in the field of business appear in the early twentieth century. Shelton records that her great-aunt attended the "Paris Exhibition (France's World Fair" at a point in time "not long after her widowhood." This experience inspired her to expand her business. It is unclear exactly which *Exposition Universelle* Clara attended with the companionship of her sister Mathilda Baptiste Jr. – likely either that of 1889 which would have been closer in time to her widowhood at some point in the 1870s or that of 1900 just before she purchased the neighboring property to the Augustin-Baptiste building at 255 S. Fifteenth Street.

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[249] C.E. Howe, *Boyd's co-partnership and residence business directory of Philadelphia city* (Philadelphia: C.E. Howe Company, 1895), 129. From Hathi Digital Trust; C.E. Howe, *Boyd's co-partnership and residence business directory of Philadelphia city* (Philadelphia: C.E. Howe Company, 1904), 76. From Hathi Digital Trust.
[250] Through 1897, Boyd's directory co-lists Elizabeth and James K. see C.E. Howe, *Boyd's co-partnership and residence business directory of Philadelphia city* (Philadelphia: C.E. Howe Company, 1897), 181. James died on September 6, 1898 at the age of 26, see "Died," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Monday morning edition, September 8, 1898, 10.
[251] Richard R. Wright and Ernest Smith, *The Philadelphia colored directory; a handbook of the religious, social, political, professional, business and other activities of the Negroes of Philadelphia.* "Caterers," (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Colored Directory Co., 1907) 57-59. From Hathi Digital Trust.

At any rate, by July 1905 the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported under an article entitled "The Latest in New Real Estate" that the "necessary permit for the new $17,000 four-story café, and residence, at 255 and 257 South Fifteenth street, for Mrs. Clara Augustin, was granted to Milton W. Young on Saturday. The drawings, prepared by the famous architect Walter F. Price, provide for a café…a parlor…and a linen room."[252]

As Clara lived until 1931, Shelton knew her well and remembered her aunt's narrative about the expansion and construction in detail in a 1977 draft of her manuscript:

> "When the two sisters returned from their overseas' junket, Mrs. Augustin decided the business was expanding so phenomenally, that she needed greater space. Seeking to purchase the adjoining house at 253, she spoke directly to the owner, and was given what was tantamount to a flat No! Asked why he wouldn't sell the property, his terse reply was: You couldn't afford it; you don't have money enough." (He knew nothing of her wealth at that time.)
>
> Highly incensed, but wasting no further words, offering no explanation, she promptly forthwith bought the other adjacent house, 257. Obtaining the services of the prominent local architect, William L. Price, who had designed and constructed the opulent, palatial, now historic Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel in Atlantic City; had ad interim designed the ornate Broad Street Station (no longer in existence now); the Hotel Traymore, also at the seashore; and only estates for the very rich (Edward Bok, was one). She had him raze the tow house, (hers and the one next door), and erect an impressive, Georgian-Colonial brick, single edifice: 'The finest building in this section of the city, reported a young man for a daily newspaper."[253]

Building on her discussion of the real estate in the next month's draft, Shelton continued:

> *"It was [for] this Augustin-Baptiste home and business establishment building that Mrs. Clara Baptiste Augustin was offered the then princely sum of $275,000, by official representatives of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit (PRT) Company. Strategically located as it was in a most desirable section of central Philadelphia, they had figured the building would fit admirably into their company's business plans. Consulting her lawyer, Mrs. Augustin was told by him to 'hold out for $300,000.' She followed her counsel's advice…"*[254]

[252] "The Latest New in Real Estate," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Monday morning edition, July 24, 1905, 6.
[253] Parentheses transcribed as they appear in Shelton's draft. Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 19, July.
[254] Bernice Dutriueille Shelton manuscript, July 2, '77, pg 17 Box 19

Throughout the manuscript and in a published article in *The Crisis* magazine in 1938, Shelton reinforces the strict but deeply caring personality of her great-aunt. The article describes Clara as a woman who "was a shrewd, hard-fisted bargainer, and at the same time paradoxically enough, had one of the most generous of hearts."[255] Clara left an impression on her family as a compassionate yet business-minded woman. Similarly to the way that being mixed-race or having a French name or practicing Catholicism might have been attached to certain expectations, gender would have impacted Clara's reputation and quotidian operations. She left a legacy as a strong female figure, and she carried on the name of the family into which she married for many years.

Conclusion

From the internally and externally imposed categorizations of the cuisine that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families proffered to the everyday operations of the Dutrieuille family business in the 1930s, the range of experiences that they were able to pull from is clear. Surveying the perceptions of the different foods that they served demonstrates the legitimacy of their claims to both French and African American cuisine. Looking closely at the different groups of people to whom Dutrieuille's advertised, and the forms that those advertisements took, in the twentieth century reveals their ability to appeal to a diverse range of potential consumers whose tastes were always being altered by changes in preferences and access to new cuisines. An overview of the different people who they worked with to procure goods, services, and labor reinforces the range of connections that they had in the economic life of their communities. While many of the people who they hired were people of color, they had no trouble at all making

[255] Fleming, G. James, and Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, "Fine Food for Philadelphia," *The Crisis Magazine*, April 1938, pp. 107, 113.

economic exchanges without people from all sorts of racial and ethnic backgrounds. Quality of good or service, proximity to the establishment, and general convenience would have all come into play alongside the raise the business owner in making choices about what to purchase and from whom. As their names were tied to their cuisine and their broader reputations, maintaining quality food and services as well as consistent and reliable business relationships would have been of tantamount importance.

Conclusion

It is remarkable that at least one of the family businesses remained open from 1815 or 1816 until 1973. Across tense and changing environments, strategic union facilitated by prioritizing certain facets of complex identities which took the form of marriage, professional organization, and church involvement was one key factor in their business success compared to their African American counterparts. Status as free rather than emancipated coupled with at times ambiguous racial categorization, especially in the nineteenth century, likewise allowed these caterers to take less forceful political stances in a way that broadened the range of customers that they might attract. Finally, the ability to navigate constantly difference discourses on French, American, and African American cuisine and legitimize their ability to cook any of them helped the businesses to stay afloat as America's palette and consumption patterns changed around the turn of the century.[256] As caterers and members of different social circles, the decades around the turn of the century were a time of back and forth between the interests and priorities of different groups in order to support their business prestige and uphold the family names.

When Clara Augustin passed away, she was remembered for her business abilities in a way that echoed the interpretation of the double entendre of "colorless colored man" in Biddle's *Ode to Bogle* that suggests an apologetic sort of racial erasure. In a piece about family inheritance of Augustin-Baptiste's following the death of Mathilda Baptiste, to whom Clara had willed the catering firm, the *Baltimore Afro-American* reported that "when [Clara] died in 1931 she was the oldest business woman of any race in the city."[257] Here again, it is preferable to state that Clara's race was unimportant than to credit her achievements to a black woman in a society

[256] See Andrew P. Haley, *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).
[257] "$100,000 Court action averted by estate heirs," *The Afro-American, Baltimore*, Week of May 15, 1934, no. 24, 13-14.

where racist and sexist attitudes were still overt. In a letter about the family history project to a friend and fellow journalist who she endearingly addresses as "Harry," Shelton cited a quote about her relative that she had come across elsewhere. The passage Shelton invoked reads: "When Clara died she had long since become a widow and was internationally pre-eminent, and was rated 'the oldest business woman in the State of Pennsylvania – white or colored, - and one of the wealthiest – white, or colored."[258] Again here, casting aside Clara's race seems to serve as a way to highlight her achievements, and indeed seems to underline the fluidity that she was able to maintain.[259] Such fluidity, though, indicates that perhaps in order to go back and forth between different identities to negotiate with different groups, certain traits had to be disguised or downplayed.

Without the guidance of the chief matriarch and in the midst of the Great Depression, Augustin-Baptiste's began to crumble and eventually was forced to close. Clara's obituary underlined her role, stating that after her brother Eugene Jr. died, "Mrs. Augustine became the head of the firm and true to the tradition of the family gave the physical and mental strength of her declining years to the task of maintaining the high standard of eminency established by the founder 113 years ago."[260] At its close, Augustin-Baptiste was the "oldest continuous business in the state."[261] Under the supervision of Jerome Baptiste, six of Clara's nephews including

[258] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, Box 19, Letter to Harry, February 23, '77.
[259] Shelton, for one, had no trouble upholding that her relative, an esteemed figure in the catering world and the African American community, was also French. In a short quip intended to exemplify Clara's "imperious manner," the family historian recalled: "She was a diminutive size, silken-white-haired, iron-willed, busy little dynamo, who appeared to her great nieces (at least some of them said so), more like Queen Victoria of English, rather than the little lady of French extraction, which she was."[259] This is not to say that balancing French heritage and integration into the community of the country of emigration was unimportant. According to the family narrative, Clara's father Eugene had spoken French, but never passed his mother language alone to his children. Shelton recalls in Clara's own words: ""When my father would start to speak to us in French, my mother would say: 'No-no Eujen: Speak in English. Our children are being reared in this country where they were born: they must speak correct English.'"
[260] Philadelphia Tribune, Elijah Hodges, "Men and Things," January 29, 1931, 16.
[261] "Oldest Continuous Business Was Augustine, Baptiste." *Philadelphia Tribune,* November 1, 1934, 39.

Theodore, George, and John Cooper alongside Julius, Augustin, and Eugene Baptiste attempted to keep the family business afloat. Ultimately unsuccessful, the business and residence together went on the market in 1934 for $100,000 – nearly almost $200,000 less what the PRT had offered to Clara decades earlier.[262] Alas, by the early 1930s the last house standing of what had once been a mighty "triumvirate of French background origin" was Dutrieuille's.[263]

The Dutrieuille family catering establishment persisted beyond the period that is covered here, although serious changes ensued again during the Great Depression. Shelton mentions frequently that her father gave out warm meals to homeless people through the duration of hard times, and that he worked incessantly through to his final years. When he passed away in 1974 at the age of 97, he had seen his family's business through its 101st anniversary, two world wars, a massive financial crisis, and the close of the other two establishments that his relatives, and likely the closure of many more of his close friends' businesses. He had also observed and studied the changes that occurred in his environment and consumer base in order to make decisions that would allow his business to appeal to different customers and adapt to different tastes.

Stretching later into the twentieth century, many of the references to the establishments closely mirror DuBois' commentaries in the *Philadelphia Negro*. Articles on black entrepreneurship in the *Philadelphia Tribune* from 1963 and 1997 place Augustin's within the legacy of Robert Bogle. One entitled "Achievement of Negroes Since Gaining Freedom

[262] Augustin-Baptiste went through a few more start and stop openings, officially leaving the families hand in 1953, when the firm went under the management of a certain John Cleaver. According to an article from after Matilda died it shut down and then reopened under the management of John J. Baptiste who died in 1942. At that point Carolinian Neely, the husband of Eugenie Baptiste, took over and moved the firm to 953 N 48th St before the ultimate sale. See "Auction Brings End to Family Catering Firm 135 Yrs. Old," *Philadelphia Tribune,* August 15, 1953, 9; see also "$100,000 Court action averted by estate heirs," *The Afro-American, Baltimore*, Week of May 15, 1934, no. 24, 13-14; Bernice Dutriueille Shelton manuscript, July 2, '77 pg 17 Box 19.

[263] Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton, B19, BLACK PIONEER CATERING DYNASTY, 3; 3/16/77

Outstanding" identifies how catering was the first field where black people were able to gain affluence and Bogle was at the helm and then notes that "Bogle's position of eminence in catering was eventually taken over by Peter Augustine."[264] Another cites how "Catering was a big business for a few Black entrepreneurs from the 1820's until the 1840'" before echoing DuBois' description of Bogle and Augustin passing the torch to Jones, Dorsey, and Minton in the 1840s.[265] While their legacies have been perpetuated most productively in the field of African American studies, this broader understanding of the many communities of which they made part allow us to see more complex networks of identity, sociability, and commerce. Because of their outstanding success and multifaceted operations at many levels, families like the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles ought to be studied through a multiplicity of historical lenses and in the context of operating within and between diverse communities.

This thesis is about caterers far more than it is about catering. A deeper understanding of the actions and strategies that the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families implemented challenges the passive service and nondescript identity that Biddle assigned to "colorless" Bogle in 1829. It was not despite their race, ethnicity, religion, or class that these three family businesses were able to succeed. It was through calculated decisions rooted in careful understanding of their communities and circumstances that these families were able to build, promote, and persist businesses run under their own names. Their intersectional identities were not compromised or qualified but tactfully embellished and gradually adapted to their new spaces and changing times.

[264] Philadelphia Tribune, "Achievements of Negroes Since Gaining Freedom Outstanding," January 1, 1963, 21.
[265] Philadelphia Tribune, Sherry Stone, "African American entrepreneurship continues to thrive in Philadelphia." February 11, 1997, 3.