

Joseph Robidoux III, the 1780 Battle of St. Louis, & the St. Louis Robidoux Legacy

by STEPHEN L. KLING, JR.



Panoramic View of St. Louis
during the 1780 attack,
painted by Anton Batov.
(Image: THGC Publishing)



While much has been written about the founder of St. Joseph, Missouri, Joseph Robidoux IV, his father has not received the attention he deserves.¹ On February 12, 1750, Joseph Marie Robidoux was born in the Montreal area to Joseph Robidoux II and Marie Ann Le Blanc.² His ancestors had come from France to Canada in 1664, first settling in Quebec. Joseph III was the first-born child and only son of the marriage, which also produced six daughters.

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Joseph II subsequently left Montreal with his son, leaving his six daughters in Montreal with relatives.

The girls' grandfather, Joseph I, his second wife, and most of the large family of children Joseph I fathered through two marriages, remained in Canada, so there was plenty of family to watch over them. Most eventually married into local Montreal society, though some resettled in Detroit during 1778–82.³ Modern authorities differ as to whether Joseph II's wife died before (and perhaps prompting) his departure or whether she and a daughter or two subsequently moved to St. Louis after Joseph II was established there.⁴ We do know that at least one of the younger daughters, Marie Josephte, later moved to St. Louis in the 1790s after losing two husbands in Montreal. In any event, father and son headed to St. Louis from Detroit, arriving in the latter part of 1770.⁵ They likely would have used the lake and river system for most of their journey, either crossing Lake Michigan to use the portage at Chicago down the Illinois River, or the Wabash River to the Ohio River, to eventually reach the Mississippi River.

St. Louis was founded in 1764 by Pierre Laclède and a number of other area Frenchmen eager to establish a new trading post near the Missouri River, which was not subject to periodic flooding. As St. Louis was built on high limestone bluffs, it was an ideal location. While we do not know the exact reasons for the departure of Joseph II and Joseph III from Montreal, they may have been evading the new British Protestant authority in Canada

and attendant restrictions on French traders, seeking new financial fortunes and opportunity in the west, or some combination of both.⁶

St. Louis grew quickly, and by the time the Robidoux arrived, the town already had around 115 houses, of which 15 were stone and the rest, save one, were built in the French vertical log style.⁷ Joseph II must have been a man of some means, because he bought a lot on April 4, 1771, and contracted to have a new home built on it, although it had not been completed by the time of his death on September 12, 1771.⁸ Joseph II died in the house of a friend, Kiery Denoyer, located at the corner of present day Main and Elm streets. An inventory of his effects was taken, as was the custom in those days, and his possessions, after paying his debts, were placed in the possession of Joseph III.⁹

The next surviving record of Joseph III is in the official Spanish militia lists in 1779 and thereafter. St. Louis had become Spanish by secret treaty between France and Spain toward the end of the Seven Years' War. The local French were none too happy about their change of fortunes, and some of the residents in New Orleans actually started a revolt, which was ruthlessly put down by Spanish soldiers. Eventually, the local French accepted their new Spanish rulers, and many former French soldiers elected to stay in the New World and take service with Spain.¹⁰ St. Louis was part of the Spanish Louisiana territory, which had a governor located in New Orleans. St. Louis and

Natchitoches were established as sub-areas, each with a lieutenant governor, and Spanish commandants were in charge of several smaller but important towns and villages in the territory.¹¹ After suffering a shocking defeat in the Seven Years' War, Spain completely reorganized colonial defense. Militia augmented by fixed (*fijo*) regiments of regulars, who were permanent residents, would be the backbone for future defense of the Spanish colonies. The Spanish required all men aged 15 to 50 in the Louisiana territory to be in the local militia, trained by Spanish regulars of the Fixed Infantry Regiment of Louisiana, and they kept detailed records of their militia musters once war with Great Britain loomed. Militia were trained in the basics of wheeling and firing, generally after mass on Sunday.¹² The initial organization of the Spanish Louisiana militia had infantry companies at St. Louis and Ste. Geneviève. Later, St. Louis added a cavalry militia company.

Early Years at St. Louis

The November 7, 1779, St. Louis militia list indicates both the name of each militiaman and his occupation. It includes Joseph III in the militia infantry company with his occupation as a hunter, while a later list in 1780 describes him as a shoemaker.¹³ Most later lists unfortunately do not include occupations. It is possible that he was shoemaking to maintain a regular wage while learning the arts of hunting and trading, as he later became a successful trader.

Nombre de Voluntario	Edad	Estado	Nombre de Voluntario	Edad	Estado
Antonio reseda	Francisco	Argentino	capitan	D. Juan Bapt. Montigny	
Juan Jarama	canada	canador	teniente	D. Vicente Basquez	
Nicolas Daniel	canada	canador	Suavito	D. Pedro Montadoy	Francisco
Jacob Langmitt	canada	canador	Juan I.	Nicolas Rey	Voto
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan I.	Joseph Huetis	
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan I.	Franco Basca	
Juan Witt	canada	canador	cano	Joseph Leb	
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Juan Bapt. Capina	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	José gamel	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Carlos Kant	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Antonio Noidel	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Roy Denoyer	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Joseph Borden	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Andrés Dupuis	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Luis B. Borden	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Gamalon	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Blas	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Basquel	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Joseph Sant	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Miguel pibe	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Carlos Tiban	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Dickinson	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Ray. de la Cruz	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Nicolas Braxat	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	S. Juan	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Guillemot Lente	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Agustin a. Leconte	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Yegor de Calas	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Franco Delour	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	can los mox	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Joseph Laro	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Joseph Hebat	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Juan Bapt. Bonat	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Goussay	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Joseph Calpe	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Joseph Calpe Aygo	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Franco con post	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Antonio Sant Louis	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Antonio de la Cruz	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Etchen Samandee	canada
Juan Witt	canada	canador	Juan	Joseph Samandee	canada

Total 168
 V. B.
 [Signature]

S. Luis de Nuevas a 9 de Noviembre de 1779
 por ordenancia del capitán Benito Basquez
 [Signature]

Joh. Robinson

St. Louis Militia List, November 9, 1779, marked. (Image: Archivo General de Indias)

**British issue George III
Indian Military Gorget.**
(Image: Stephen L. Kling, Jr.)



**British issue George III
Indian Peace Medal.**
(Image: Stephen L. Kling, Jr.)



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Fur trade was the mainstay of the hunters and traders, with furs being equivalent to, and often preferred over, currency. Hunting and trading were far more lucrative than farming, assuming one could handle the dangerous and often lonely lifestyle.

Joseph III next shows up in connection with a failed love interest. He became close to the daughter of Jean Baptiste Bequet (sometimes Becquet), a local blacksmith, and sought her hand in marriage. Ms. Bequet's father and uncle were none too happy with the young and rather poor Joseph Robidoux and quickly sought to end the romance. Jean Baptiste Bequet was an original founder of St. Louis. He had a reputation to keep and undoubtedly wanted something better for his daughter. Vicious rumors about Joseph Robidoux III's family began to circulate around St. Louis. In those days, a man's good name depended largely on the reputation of his family, and stories became more and more outlandish, including one describing Robidoux relatives desecrating a cross in Montreal, and another about Joseph killing a spouse and his employer in Canada, and then running off with another man's wife in Cahokia to Vincennes and assaulting an engagé of an inhabitant of a trading post. With no other way to defend himself from this onslaught of rumors, on January 28, 1780, Joseph III filed a defamation case seeking to clear his name. The new Spanish lieutenant governor of St. Louis, Fernando de Leyba, was also expected to act as judge and conducted a hearing on the matter. Joseph III presented several

character witnesses testifying to the virtue of his family, while other witnesses came forward to give testimony of stories they had heard about the Robidoux family's bad acts. The names of all these witnesses and other details of the trial have survived. Finding nothing but hearsay and other less than credible evidence, Leyba dismissed the case on February 2, 1780, and admonished all parties not to further spread unsubstantiated stories until such time as real evidence could be presented.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the damage was done, and Mr. Bequet continued to refuse Joseph III's request to marry his daughter.

The American Revolutionary War Comes to the West

The next few years brought a significant change to St. Louis and Spanish Louisiana, particularly as the American Revolution erupted in the east. In 1778, Americans under George Rogers Clark conquered the Illinois Country (roughly modern-day Southern Illinois and Indiana), complete with its major French towns of Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia. This was British territory, but no regular soldiers were in garrison at the time, as they had been recalled to the east, and the secretive attack allowed the Americans to take control under the very noses of the British. The Spanish quickly sought to aid the Americans by clandestinely shipping supplies up the Mississippi River from New Orleans to St. Louis and Fort Pitt, where they could be sold to the Americans.

The records of George Rogers Clark refer to a "Continental Store" stocked by these illicit shipments at St. Louis.¹⁵ In 1778, 150 bales of blue, white, and red cloth — mostly for uniforms for Clark's men, who were in desperate need of clothing — were in the boats bringing Leyba to St. Louis. Later requisitions show that hats, buttons, shirts, muskets, powder, musket balls, and even rum were sold to Clark's men. To further complicate matters for the British, Spain entered the war as an ally of France in 1779. Almost immediately after the Spanish entry into the American Revolutionary War, British Lord George Germain, the appointed North American Colonial Secretary and de facto commander-in-chief, issued a series of orders intended to sweep both the Americans and the Spanish from the Mississippi River Valley.¹⁶

In the south, British General Campbell at Pensacola was instructed to gather a force to attack New Orleans and then proceed to Natchez to await British forces attacking from the north. Campbell assembled five hundred British regulars in five ships and gathered enough "presents" to assemble two thousand local allied Native American warriors for the attack. However, the Spanish struck first, capturing the important British lower Mississippi River posts of Natchez and Baton Rouge, and the attack from the south was called off. In the north, Lord Germain instructed Frederick Haldimand, the governor of Canada, to organize an attack from that quarter. Haldimand in turn sent a circular letter to his

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lieutenant governors in Michilimackinac and Detroit to coordinate the effort. The main attack force was organized from Michilimackinac and assembled at Prairie du Chien for a descent down the Mississippi River against St. Louis and Cahokia. Eventually that force consisted of around one thousand men, mostly Native Americans from tribes allied with the British, but also including about fifty British Canadian traders and their servants, a few dozen volunteers, and several officers and interpreters of the British Indian Department at Michilimackinac. The Indian Department officers and interpreters wore non-regulation red coats not only to signify their authority but to keep them from being the target of friendly fire. This force was under the overall command of Captain Emanuel Hesse with Lieutenant Alexander Kay as second in command — both commissioned in the British Indian Department, Hesse very recently.¹⁷ Also receiving commissions and red British officer coats with gold lace were Sioux Chief Wapasha and Chippewa Chief Matchekewis. Wapasha, Matchekewis, and possibly other chiefs present were likely issued silver military British officer gorgets as well, as was customary to recognize the status of war captains. This force also included several British traders influential with certain tribes through marriage or by trading relationships, such as Joseph Calvé and Jean Marie Ducharme, both of whom had problems with the local Spanish authorities and frequently violated their trading regulations. The officers and interpreters from the British

Indian Department and these key traders helped organize peace amongst the tribes.¹⁸ The British attack force was aided when Lieutenant Kay, commanding thirty-six Menominee warriors, confiscated a trade boat full of supplies owned by Charles Gratiot of Cahokia. The British justified their action by alleging that Gratiot was a rebel sympathizer freely trading with the rebels from Cahokia.¹⁹ The provisions proved very useful in equipping such a large force and constituted the main source of supplies for the expedition.

Captain Charles de Langlade, another British Indian Department officer, was dispatched down the Illinois River with another mainly Native American force to second the attack on St. Louis and Cahokia, with orders to stay in the area until Ste. Geneviève and Kaskaskia were captured.²⁰ The Native Americans were promised plunder, and the traders were to receive exclusive trading rights down the Missouri River, rights which had been denied to them under Spanish rule.²¹ Key to the expedition's success were the British Native American allies, whose chiefs had been awarded silver medals and commissions written in both English and French bearing their names and flags to be flown from their cabins, and whose tribal members received many tons of trade goods from the local British Indian Department posts. Wapasha had received his silver medal several years before at Montreal, signifying his status in British eyes. The Native Americans in the British-controlled areas heavily depended upon the British for trade goods, which had become vital

for their livelihood. Such goods not only included muskets, powder, and musket balls but also shirts, blankets, hats, shoes, needles and thread, cloth, scissors, knives, mirrors, tobacco, rum, hoes, animal traps, lace, and silver jewelry. The Americans were always short of supplies and had few to spare for the Native Americans, and the Spanish were unable to remotely match the volume of the goods provided by the British. British trade goods, together with judicious awards of medals, generally kept most of the tribal groups firmly allied to the British cause.²²

The attackers' early reconnaissance accurately reported that St. Louis and Cahokia had no defenses, so the British expected an easy victory. British Lt. Governor Patrick Sinclair at Michilimackinac boasted that St. Louis would be easier to conquer than hold later. However, the inhabitants of St. Louis were warned by several people, most notably by Madame Honoré, and those of Cahokia by Pierre Prevost, weeks ahead of the attacks. Both towns had time to prepare. St. Louis built a large stone tower on some high ground to the west of the town and constructed 2,000 yards of entrenchments on both sides of the tower around the town to the river. The tower was christened Fort San Carlos in honor of the Spanish king in a solemn ceremony on April 17, 1780.²³ Forty men, many of whom were prominent St. Louisans including members of the Chouteau, Bequet, Labadie, Lami, Tayon, Vasquez, and Martigny families worked full time on the defenses during April and May.²⁴ Joseph III is not on

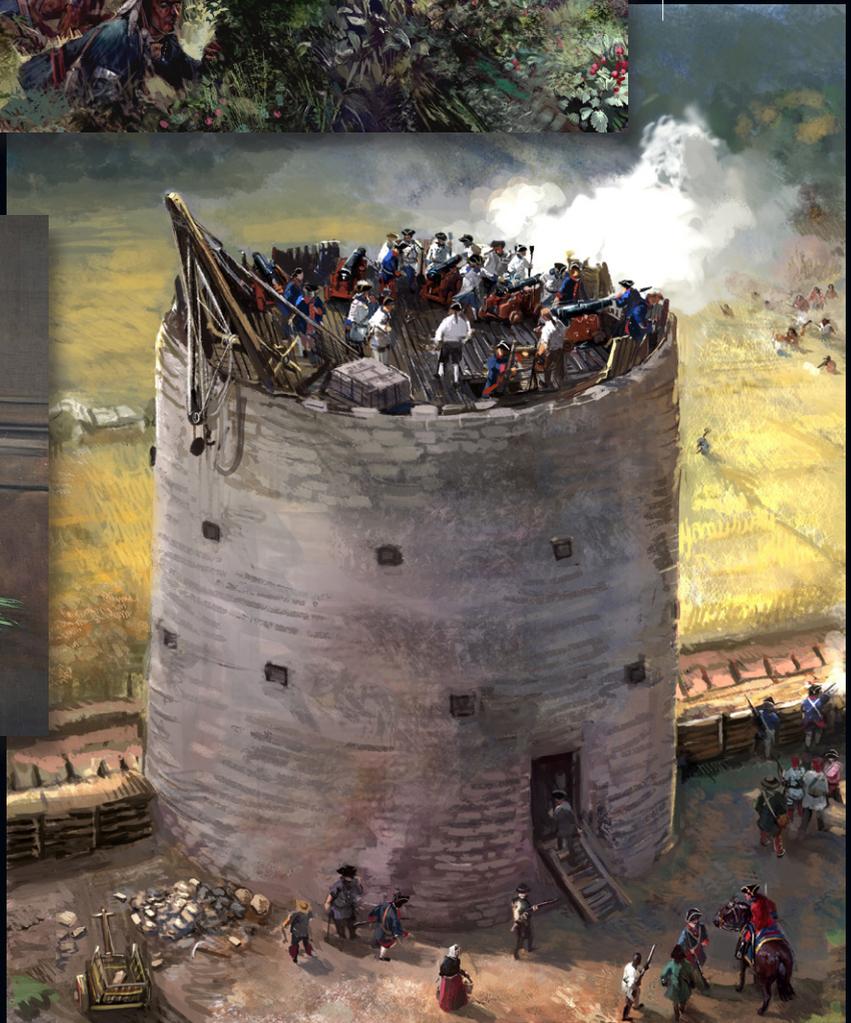
Picking Strawberries for the Feast of the Corpus Christi at St. Louis, May 25, 1780, by Mitchell Nolte.
(Image: THGC Publishing)



Fort San Carlos by Mitchell Nolte.
(Image: THGC Publishing)



Elizabeth Barada Ortes, the source of the story.
(Image: Historical Society, St. Louis)



this list, but most of these names were wealthy men who could have slaves and *engagés* tend to their lands and business; Joseph III had yet to attain that level of financial success. Five 4-pound and 6-pound cannons retrieved from an old fort were hoisted into the tower, and several 2-pound cannons and swivel guns were placed with the militia in the entrenchments.²⁵

The British-Led Attack on St. Louis in 1780

Native American scouts from the attack force arrived the day before the planned attack, but they could not get close enough to St. Louis to see the defenses because the residents were out

in the fields picking strawberries for the Festival of the Corpus Christi.²⁶ When the attack began at 1:00 p.m. on May 26, 1780, the attackers were surprised to be met by cannon fire from both the tower and entrenchments and an organized militia. All of the hunters had been called back to St. Louis, and 60 militiamen were ordered up from Ste. Geneviève so that the defenders totaled 281

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militia and 29 regulars. While the attackers consisted of about 750 men and greatly outnumbered the St. Louis defenders, they were shocked to find St. Louis heavily defended, particularly with cannon. Part of the attack force headed south of the town to cut off the expected retreat of St. Louisans along the road to Ste. Geneviève. Others engaged in probing attacks and feints against the entrenchment lines, attempting to find a way through the defenses or draw the attackers out of them. After two hours, the attack was called off, unable to penetrate the defenses. A popular account of the attack reflects that the British Native American allies later referred to the tower as a “high-fenced house of thunder,” evidencing the psychological effect of the tower and its cannons in beating off the attack.²⁷ No specifics about Joseph III’s part in the battle have survived. We do know from Lt. Governor Leyba’s report that at the first alarm of the attack, all of the men in the town rushed to their assigned positions along the entrenchments, half to the north of the tower and the other half to the south. Leyba noted “there was not a single man left in the houses,” so it can be presumed that Joseph III, a mere private in the militia, was one of the men who defended the entrenchment lines.²⁸ Across the river, where around 250 of the attackers sought to capture Cahokia, a similar story unfolded. Cahokia’s fortifications were based around an old missionary property, and a collection of Clark’s regular soldiers, Cahokia militia, and Kaskaskia Native Americans stoutly defended the

makeshift defenses. The Cahokia attackers soon left their attack and, in their frustration, fired across the river at the houses at St. Louis. In their retreat, the attackers on both sides of the river burned crops and slaughtered all the livestock they found.²⁹

By the end of the day, victory on the field had been secured, but the price in human lives was heavy. Twenty-one inhabitants were killed, seven wounded, and twenty-five captured at St. Louis.³⁰ At Cahokia, four were killed and five were captured, with no wounded mentioned, though this comes from a British report and is unlikely to be accurate. A doctor’s requisition at Cahokia the following day included a large medical bill, more reliably indicating that there were indeed wounded and, given the amount of the bill, quite a number.³¹ Over 40 more inhabitants from St. Louis and Cahokia were taken along the Mississippi River both before and after the attack. Despite advanced warning of the impending attack, many inhabitants were caught while out working in their fields at the beginning of the battle.³² The battle became quite famous in later history of St. Louis, particularly after the Louisiana Purchase, and it was commonly referred to as *L’Année du Coup* (the Year of the Great Blow). A number of popular stories were associated with the battle, and recent research by the author has confirmed that most of the individuals associated with the personal stories were actual residents of St. Louis at the time.³³

While St. Louis and Cahokia had been saved for the moment,

their peril was not over. The British planned to come back, and the area residents knew it. Lt. Governor Leyba had recently died, but his successor, Francisco Cruzat, immediately had a wooden palisade wall built around the town and secured new war supplies.³⁴ Early warning posts were established at tall bluffs at Piasa (near present day Alton) on the Mississippi River and at Le Pe (present day Peoria) on the Illinois River. Militia lists show that Joseph Robidoux was posted for a time at Piasa.³⁵ The militiamen posted at these early warning posts were regularly rotated and kept in existence through 1782. It is entirely possible that Joseph III was posted there on several occasions. After peace was made with the Sac and Fox, the early warning post at Piasa was moved farther north near the Salt River and a small Sac and Fox village. In 1781, the rumors of another attack became serious. The Americans and their allies learned that the British were stockpiling supplies at Fort St. Joseph near Lake Michigan for another attack. Lt. Governor Cruzat assembled some 65 St. Louis militia, twenty Cahokia militia, and 60 friendly western Potawatomi warriors, and marched up the Illinois River during the dead of winter and caught the British by surprise at Fort St. Joseph, capturing all of the supplies and burning the fort to the ground. No complete list of the militia taking part in the attack has been located, but it is possible that the young Joseph III participated, as only experienced hunters would have been included in this force, given the number of St. Louis militia. The invaders

By 1799, Joseph III was engaged as a lieutenant in the St. Louis militia, generally a position held by men of social and financial prominence.

also took a moment to plant the Spanish flag and claim the land for Spain, which caused some political issues later at the peace table.³⁶

Establishment of a Trading Empire and Marriage

From late 1781 to 1782, Joseph III's name is absent from the militia lists.³⁷ Presumably, he was out learning the fur trade and establishing his trade contacts, especially as the threats to St. Louis subsided. Several years later he is referred to in the records as "merchant." As peace brought new friction between Spain and the fledgling United States over navigation of the Mississippi River, Joseph III's trading activities would have been restricted to the western Spanish side of the Mississippi River.

Joseph III had married Catherine Marie Rollet dit Laderoute on September 21, 1782.³⁸ Joseph was 32 while Catherine was 15. It was an economically successful marriage, as Catherine brought a \$200 dowry to the marriage.³⁹ In 1786, his financial resources allowed him to make his first real estate purchase in the southern half of Lot 6 near the center of town, close to the Mississippi River. At first, he lived and operated his trading business out of a wooden vertical-log style home, but during 1800–1802, a stone house, a stone store, and a stone bakehouse were built on the property at what was then the northwest corner of Main and Elm streets. The bakehouse was especially important to the

rise of the Robidoux's fortunes, as Joseph III had purchased a large horse-powered grist mill in 1799 at Second and Market streets.⁴⁰ In 1960, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial archaeologists excavated part of the bakehouse's stone remains.⁴¹ The lot also featured fruit trees and a garden in the rear of the buildings. He acquired several parcels of real estate in both St. Louis and newly established Florissant, Missouri, as his trading business flourished.⁴²

While Joseph III was busy with his successful merchant business, he still managed to create some controversy. In 1795, the Spanish Governor in New Orleans became concerned about possible local French sympathies to the French Revolution and a potential revolt. He dispatched Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to St. Louis, ostensibly on an "official administrative" visit to gauge the sentiments of the St. Louis residents and report on any revolutionary activity. Lavish parties were held, including one at the Chouteau mansion, where Joseph III and Catherine Marie Robidoux were among the guests. Gayoso noted no red, white, and blue ribbons or similar adornments at the events, with one exception: Madame Robidoux wore a dress of red, white, and blue — the colors of the French Revolution. However, on later reflection, he concluded that no slight was intended and that the matter was simply one of bad taste, as the dress itself was older than the French Revolution and the Robidoux were known to be of good character.⁴³

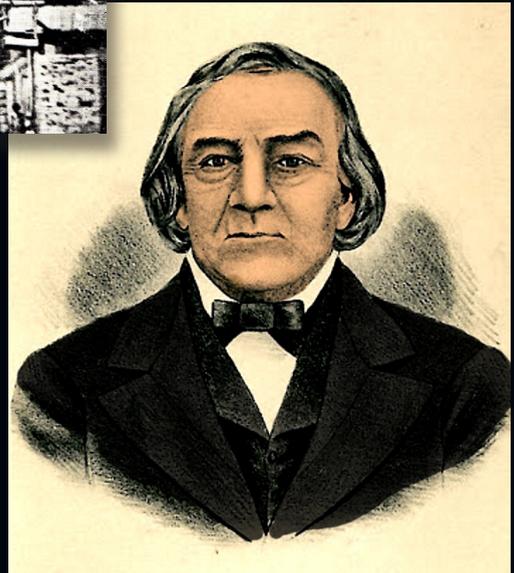
By 1799, Joseph III was engaged as a lieutenant in the

St. Louis militia, generally a position held by men of social and financial prominence. Official correspondence also refers to Joseph III as *Don*, a title which afforded special privileges under Spanish rule. Spanish Governor Carlos Dehault Delassus appointed Don Joseph Robidoux and Don Auguste Chouteau as special agents to oversee assessments by local carpenters as to the condition of, and recent storm damage to, the fort guarding St. Louis on the hill to the west of town.⁴⁴ The same year, Joseph III was part of a group of "well-to-do people" of St. Louis in the royal service of Spain who made contributions to the Spanish Crown to demonstrate their patriotism.⁴⁵ He clearly was literate, as he can be found in the records as a frequent witness, appraiser, executor, note holder, and signer of real estate and government documents. Through his thriving trade business and land holdings, Joseph III became one of the wealthiest men in St. Louis. A real estate tax list of 1805 indicates his holdings were valued second highest of all St. Louisans, only behind those of Auguste Chouteau.⁴⁶

The marriage of Joseph III and Catherine produced ten children, three of whom died while very young.⁴⁷ All of them were baptized at the Catholic Church in St. Louis, and all were educated, likely at Trudeau's French School.⁴⁸ The first son, Joseph IV, followed in the family business for a while, but he later sold out his local trading interests and moved further west to establish new trading connections in the Blacksnake Hills area, part of present-day St. Joseph, Missouri.



Robidoux House, front (top) and back (bottom), bakehouse in the rear (with pointed roof), photographs by Thomas Easterly. (Images: Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis)



Joseph Robidoux IV, tinted.
(Image: St. Joseph Museums, Inc., also appearing in the July 26, 1893 St. Joseph Daily Herald)

François, the second son, also ran the family business in St. Louis for a time, but he later engaged in expeditions up the Mississippi River and across the plains of Nebraska.⁴⁹ Antoine, another son, sought his fortune in New Mexico, while his younger brother Louis initially joined Antoine but later explored California and founded the town of Riverside.

For a time, Joseph III and his older sons were active participants in the American Fur Company. In 1800, Joseph III established a trading post along the Missouri River named Fort Robidoux, a couple of miles from Brunswick, Missouri.⁵⁰ Ongoing trade was also maintained by Joseph IV with the Missouri and Sac and Fox Native American groups. By 1803,

Joseph III's health began to fail, and his business was increasingly run by his sons. He also suffered from blindness, a condition later experienced by his sons Joseph IV, François, and Antoine. In connection with the transfer ceremonies at St. Louis for the Louisiana Purchase, American Captain Amos Stoddard asked

The Robidoux legacy in Missouri shifted to the Blacksnake Hills after Joseph Robidoux IV established a trading post there around 1825. . . .

Spanish Lt. Governor Delassus for a list of St. Louisans in his employ. Joseph III had an entry which read, "Joseph Robidou, an infirm old man, almost blind."⁵¹ However, this did not stop Joseph III and his sons from taking advantage of the new and larger opportunities provided by the change in government.⁵² For their expedition to explore the Louisiana Territory, Lewis and Clark obtained a large portion of their supplies and equipment from Joseph III's store in St. Louis.⁵³

Death, Joseph Robidoux IV, and the Founding of St. Joseph, Missouri

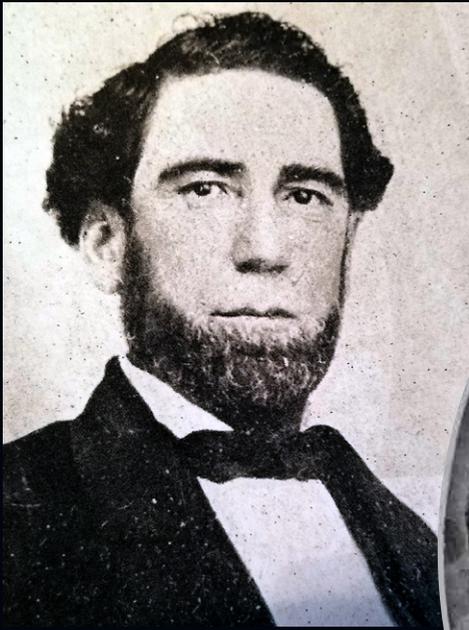
Joseph III died on March 17, 1809, after a successful and eventful life of sixty years. His personal property was sold at auction and included a large inventory of thousands of pelts; barrels of lard and of sugar; pigs of lead; axes, hatchets, muskets and gunpowder; dozens of shawls, caps, and handkerchiefs; bolts of chintz, calico and cashmere; bracelets, beads and other trinkets for Native American trade; and three barges, two canoes and a pirogue.⁵⁴ Auguste Chouteau was executor of his estate and inventoried his property in the presence of Catherine and his sons Joseph IV and François.⁵⁵ By 1820, some of Joseph III's sons were still in business in St. Louis.⁵⁶ Eventually, most of Joseph III's sons permanently moved away from St. Louis, and they went on to establish their own legacies of trade and exploration.⁵⁷ Catherine remarried in 1811 or 1812 and

moved away from St. Louis.⁵⁸ No known painting or drawings of Joseph III survive, but several exist for his son, Joseph IV, which may give us some idea of his appearance.

The Robidoux legacy in Missouri shifted to the Blacksnake Hills after Joseph Robidoux IV established a trading post there around 1825 and eventually founded the town which bears his name. Joseph IV was born in St. Louis on August 10, 1783, and was the oldest son of Joseph III.⁵⁹ After his father's death, he quickly became the patriarch of the family and a skilled trader, and the most successful of Joseph III's sons. In fact, other than Louis, most of the other sons benefited greatly from Joseph IV's generosity. Joseph IV was legally married a few times and had several children, including a few from unions with Native American women.⁶⁰ From his first marriage, he had a son, Eugene Joseph Robidoux (sometimes referred to as Joseph E., Edmond, or Indian Joe, as he spent most of his time living with Native Americans), and several children from his second marriage — Julius (Jules) Cesar born in 1814, Farron Antoine in 1816, Francois Belevere in 1818, Felix in 1820, Edmond in 1825, Sylvanie in 1827, Marie Agnes in 1827, and Charles in 1831.⁶¹ Charles was tragically killed during a late-night frolic in St. Joseph.⁶² All of the children from these marriages were born in St. Louis except Charles, which showed the continued strong ties Joseph IV had with St. Louis. However, eventually Joseph IV made St. Joseph his home and moved his family there as it grew to be more than a trading post at

the Blacksnake Hills. The town was officially platted in 1843, and lots were quickly sold. Despite his change of residence, he continued a brisk business with his St. Louis contacts, including prominent St. Louis businessman Robert Campbell. The Campbell House Museum has recently transcribed and indexed dozens of letters to Joseph IV from Robert Campbell or his trading company, R & W Campbell, between 1844 and 1860.⁶³ Many of these letters reflect ongoing business transactions between Joseph Robidoux IV and his sons to procure trade goods from Campbell. However, real estate transactions also show Robert Campbell buying lots in St. Joseph from Joseph IV. In 1850, Joseph IV and his wife were in St. Louis, where they sold one of their last real estate holdings in the city to Robert Campbell for \$3,000.⁶⁴

Joseph IV gradually gave away the large fortune he accumulated through fur trading and the sale of city lots to his numerous children, his brothers, their children, and Native Americans with whom he had relations. The gift of a fifteen-room, eight-fireplace house in St. Joseph to his daughter Sylvanie is just one example.⁶⁵ Later in life, he moved into a multi-family building he constructed to meet the needs of growing St. Joseph, which is now the Robidoux Row Museum. At the time of his death, he had given away so much of his property that in terms of investment real estate, he owned but one city lot. Joseph IV died in St. Joseph on May 27, 1868. His funeral was attended by a great throng of people, and the city closed all business by proclamation



Felix Robidoux.
(Image: St. Joseph
Museums, Inc.)



**Francis P. Corby and
Josephine Angelique
Robidoux around the time
of their marriage in
1861.** (Image: St. Joseph
Museums, Inc.)

for the funeral procession.⁶⁶ His sons continued the family trading and real estate businesses and became major movers in St. Joseph society.⁶⁷ The Robidoux influence was strong in St. Joseph, and streets in downtown St. Joseph still bear family names from when Joseph IV platted them. All of Joseph IV's sons remained in and near St. Joseph.⁶⁸ His only surviving daughter, Sylvanie, married Frances A. Beauvais, a jeweler from St. Louis, and though they lived several years in St. Joseph, they eventually moved back to St. Louis.⁶⁹

The Marriage of Francis Corby and Josephine Robidoux and the Return of the Robidoux to St. Louis

By a curious coincidence, part of the family's legacy shifted back to St. Louis when the daughter of Joseph Robidoux's son Felix, Josephine Angelique, married Frank (Francis) P. Corby, a widower nineteen years her elder.⁷⁰ Francis was of Irish descent, with his

father an immigrant from Limerick, Ireland. Josephine grew up in St. Joseph and attended the Academy of Sacred Heart, where she developed some proficiency as an artist; one particularly fanciful piece became a family heirloom.⁷¹ Francis met Josephine on one of his many trips to visit Corby relatives in St. Joseph. Felix, noted as studious and a scholar, in addition to running part of the family business, served St. Joseph in several capacities—Postmaster from 1852–1855, Assessor, 1854, and City Recorder in 1857.⁷² Given his public profile in the



Josephine Robidoux Corby later in life.
(Image: original source unknown)

Corby Family Heirloom, painting by Josephine Robidoux Corby while at the Academy of the Sacred Heart in St. Joseph.
(Image: St. Joseph Museums, Inc.)



Charles E. Robidoux (left-Josephine's brother and St. Louis resident), his daughter May Tilden Lewis and grandchild (center), and mother and wife of Felix, Jane Catherine Robidoux (right), who came to live with Charles in St. Louis after Felix's death. (Image: St. Joseph Museums, Inc.)

town, there was probably lots of idle talk about the marriage, and he initially had some misgivings about his daughter marrying a much older man. However, Francis won him over, and he ultimately gave his consent to the union.⁷³ Francis and Josephine were married in St. Joseph on June 16, 1861. After spending some time in Ohio, Tennessee, and St. Joseph, the couple settled in St. Louis. By 1874, Francis operated Francis P. Corby & Co., located in St. Louis, which provided equipment and supplies for the railway industry and was noted to have been a major contractor for materials for the construction of the Eads Bridge.⁷⁴ Francis and Josephine quickly produced a large family, and Francis was involved in many businesses with Robidoux family members. A family Bible from the time reflects a record of the birth of each of their children — Frank Felix, John Leslie, Marie Louise, Edith Lucille, Jane Smith, William Edwin, and Jerome Bauduy.⁷⁵

Francis died at a relatively young age in 1876.⁷⁶ After his death, his will provided for the continuation of his business interests under the management of Josephine's brother, Charles Edward Robidoux.⁷⁷ He was soon joined by two of Francis' sons. However, by 1880 Hugh Lewis Fox was added as a co-owner, and the company became Fox, Corby and Co. Hugh Lewis Fox married Sarah Isabel Corby, who was the daughter of Francis' son from his first marriage, Joseph A. Corby of St. Joseph. They must have been close to the Francis P. Corby family as their sons were named Hugh Corby Fox and Francis Farmer Fox. That business was dissolved a few years later, perhaps due to some financial difficulties and domestic problems of Hugh Fox, though these must have been resolved, as no divorce resulted.⁷⁸ Hugh Fox's wife was a claimant of the Corby estate in St. Joseph, the probate of which was contentious; Hugh and his wife eventually bought real estate

at 5th and Edmond Streets in St. Joseph to resolve some of the litigation.⁷⁹ Hugh Fox eventually moved to New York and had great business success there with his sons in a family business. Charles Edward Robidoux and Francis Felix Corby, Francis P.'s eldest son by his marriage to Josephine, formed Robidoux & Corby, manufacturing agents. This new venture, which continued in business for several years, was located in the Commercial Building in downtown St. Louis in 1892, later moving to larger space in the Security Building in 1894.⁸⁰ Josephine moved to New York on May 7, 1892, with two of her daughters, likely looking for a new beginning.⁸¹ She lived to the age of 87, dying in 1930 more than fifty-four years after her husband's death, and her remains were returned to St. Louis for local burial.⁸²

Charles Edward Robidoux married Annie George on December 21, 1869, and moved to



Edith Corby.

The New Olympic Theatre at 101 S. Broadway in 1896 and a caricature of Edith Lucille Corby in 1890. (Images: Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, theater building, caricature, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 31, 1890)

St. Louis from St. Joseph on April 1, 1874.⁸³ Charles and Annie had nine children — Marie (May) Tilden Robidoux, Ella Warren Robidoux, Edna Marguerite Robidoux, Francis Corby Robidoux, Edwin Robidoux, Annie Caroline Robidoux, George Seward Robidoux, Guy Ambrose Joseph Robidoux and Victor Leslie Robidoux — the last seven being born in St. Louis.⁸⁴ The papers noted Charles as a “great” card player.⁸⁵ He later became president of the Real Estate Building and Loan Association.⁸⁶ His mother, Jane Catherine Robidoux — Felix’s wife and former Jane Catherine Smith — moved to St. Louis to live with Charles Edward after Felix’s death until she passed away on December 29, 1895.⁸⁷ Charles Edward died in St. Louis on April 19, 1915.⁸⁸ Another one of Josephine’s siblings, Ella Amanda Robidoux, also had a St. Louis connection, as she married James P. Sweney on November 14, 1872, and took up residence in St. Louis after a St. Joseph marriage

ceremony. The couple had eleven children, all born in St. Louis — Ella Robidoux Sweney, Adele Sweney, Felix Sweney, Henry Sweney, Clara Louise Sweney, Isabel Sweney, Clarence Puschall Sweney, Florence Jean Sweney, James Paul Sweney, Justin Sweney, and George Sweney.⁸⁹ James P. Sweney may have worked with his father, who operated James Sweney & Son, which later changed its name to James Sweney Copper and Brass Company.⁹⁰ The company was located in St. Louis and sold copper and brass products to the railway industry. The father died on July 2, 1902, and the son of the same name on February 4, 1914.⁹¹ Apparently, there was some extended family financial acrimony, as Hugh Lewis Fox sued James P. Sweney in 1901 for dishonored notes, checks, and bills. Ella died on June 13, 1940.⁹²

Most of Josephine’s children eventually moved away from St. Louis. Frank Felix was working in Chicago by 1901 and died in

Pittsburg on June 15, 1938.⁹³ John Leslie attended Saint Louis University and served in Battery A of the U.S. Army during the Spanish American War. He was a rising physician but contracted paresis and died a few years after the war.⁹⁴ Marie Louise (Lulu) was a renowned pianist whose first husband, the famous doctor Seward Finney, died early in the marriage on January 13, 1894, from a prolonged illness. The expenses of his care left her penniless, and she lived with Josephine for a time, but she later married Arthur Walrond and died in Florida on May 28, 1954.⁹⁵ The St. Louis press recognized Edith Lucille as a budding artist in 1890; she studied Fine Arts at Washington University.⁹⁶ She became an actress, appearing in major theatrical productions throughout the east.⁹⁷ She appeared at the Olympic Theatre in St. Louis in 1896 to an audience that included a balcony box filled with her mother and sisters.⁹⁸ Jane Smith is the most difficult to

Jerome Bauduy became a prominent St. Louis businessman and founded Corby Supply Company in 1907, which sold railway specialty cars and railway supplies.

trace. She may have been the wife of playwright James Anderson Russell, who lived in New York City before moving back to St. Louis late in life. William Edwin (who went by Edwin) started out studying to be a Jesuit priest, but he later went into business with his youngest brother.⁹⁹ He married Birdell Doyle of St. Louis and died on November 18, 1956. Edwin received some local notoriety for a downtown St. Louis walking race in 1908 which was repeated twenty years later.¹⁰⁰ All of the Robidoux (and Corby) women wore special colored gowns at the noted wedding of Charles Edward Robidoux's daughter, May Tilden Robidoux, to William E. Lewis (a relative of Meriwether Lewis of Lewis and Clark fame).¹⁰¹

Jerome Baudy Corby and his Progeny

Francis P.'s youngest son, Jerome Bauduy (known as JB) was born on May 21, 1875, a year before Francis died. He was possibly named after Jerome Keating Bauduy, a famous doctor of psychological medicine and diseases who was also the physician in chief for St. Vincent's Asylum for the Insane in St. Louis, president of the St. Louis Medical Society, and a professor at Washington University in St. Louis.¹⁰² In his younger years, JB was an accomplished swimmer and avid baseball player.¹⁰³ He became a prominent St. Louis businessman and founded Corby Supply Company in 1907, which

sold railway specialty cars and railway supplies.¹⁰⁴ The company later expanded to supply all sorts of specialty equipment, both electrical and air-operated, with a byline, *If it is air operated, we have it, as well as all kinds of accessories.*¹⁰⁵ JB must have been very driven to succeed; he worked part time in the railway business at 12 years old while attending school, and he took a full-time position at age 14. He married Ann M. Woods on June 9, 1899, in a private ceremony conducted by Father Fenlon at Visitation Church.¹⁰⁶ Corby Supply Company became very successful and brought JB to local prominence. JB held positions on boards for many trade associations, banks, and civic organizations. In 1913, he was part of a small group of St. Louisans organized as the Business Men's League, which chartered the Steamship *Atenas* for a vacation trip to Panama. Several periodicals covered the trip, and they published full page photo spread on it.¹⁰⁷ During World War I, he accepted a position in the U.S. Ordnance Department with the rank of major. A contemporary biographical dictionary of prominent St. Louisans noted his Robidoux heritage in his description.¹⁰⁸ JB and his daughter Betty continued the memory of the Robidoux legacy in St. Louis for many years.¹⁰⁹ JB's older brother, Edwin, worked at Corby Supply Company, as did JB's son Frank, who was a machinery salesman. Edwin was also a minority shareholder. Betty was a secretary at the company and for JB's various railway associations until her marriage on June 4,

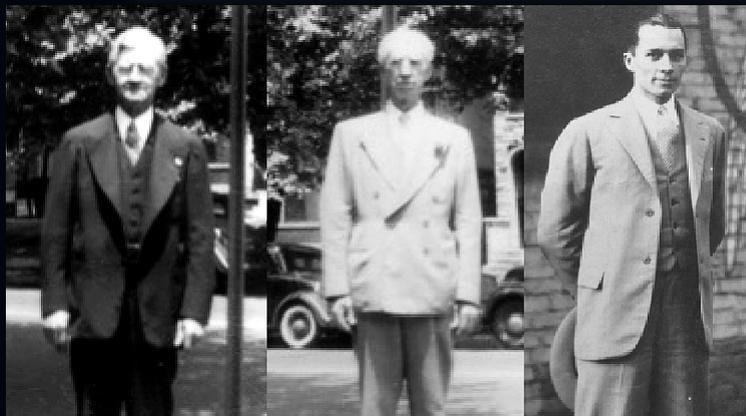
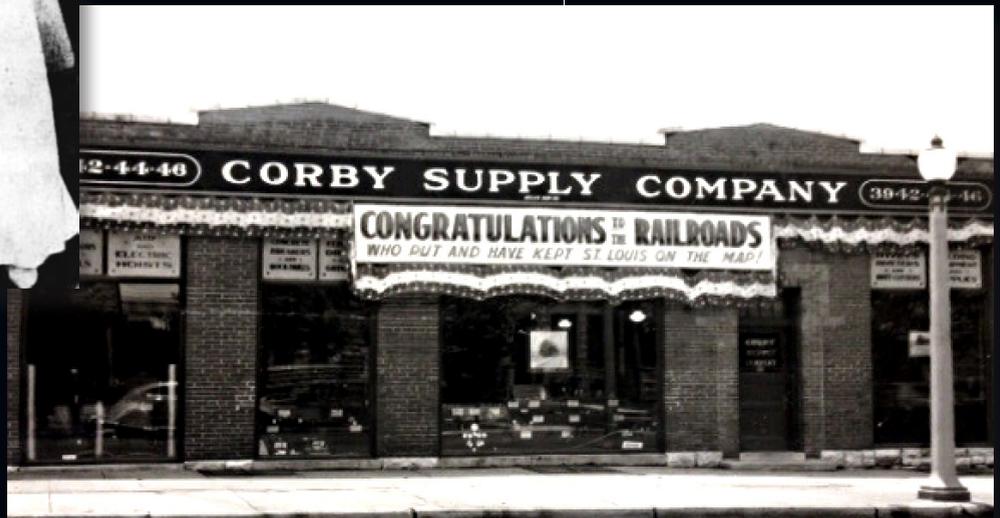
1927. JB and his wife had partially retired and moved to Delray Beach, Florida, by 1953. JB died on August 1, 1959, at the age of 84, and most of his descendants remember him being nicknamed "Skipper," though the reason why remains unknown.¹¹⁰ Edwin ran the company for a few years after JB's partial retirement, but he passed away in 1956.¹¹¹ With JB and Edwin having passed away, Corby Supply Company was eventually sold to Rudolph Freedman in 1960, who changed the company name to Semmelmeyer-Corby dba Semcor. Semcor evolved into a major player in the sale and distribution of industrial products and remains headquartered in St. Louis.¹¹²

JB's son Frank, a lieutenant in the army reserve, entered the army's new military aeronautics school and later became a prominent member of the St. Louis Flying Club. As a Boy Scout, he participated in the Pageant and Masque of St. Louis, celebrating the 150th anniversary of the founding of St. Louis.¹¹³ In 1918, he graduated from Soldan High School. Frank attended Washington University in St. Louis for a few years, then entered the service and later transferred to the University of Michigan, where he obtained an undergraduate degree in 1922 and an advanced degree in engineering in 1924. He was on the swimming team while at the University of Michigan, and at Washington University he was selected to be a member of *Quo Vadis*, a club for young men recognized by its



JB and Ann Woods Corby on the Steamer *Atenas* on a chartered cruise to Panama in 1913 sponsored by the Business Men's League of St. Louis.
(Image: St. Louis Post Dispatch, March 16, 1913)

Corby Supply Company Headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri.
(Image: Stephen L. Kling, Jr.)



Corby Family officers from left to right: JB Corby, Edwin Corby, and Frank Corby.
(Image: Stephen L. Kling, Jr.)



Corby Supply Specialty Car.
(Image: Stephen L. Kling, Jr.)



Betty Corby, St. Louis socialite, JB Corby's daughter in the early 1920s.
(Image: St. Louis Post Dispatch)

JB's daughter Betty was a prominent socialite of the day, frequently appearing in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* society column.

members as a major contributors in college activities.¹¹⁵ On August 14, 1924, he married Florence Robinson of St. Louis.¹¹⁵ Tragically, Frank took his own life on February 5, 1935, leaving behind his wife and a young son named Frank. The death certificate indicated a self-inflicted gunshot wound to his temple while suffering from a temporary mental aberration.¹¹⁶

JB's daughter Betty was a prominent socialite of the day, frequently appearing in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* society column.¹¹⁷ She was quite progressive for the times, being the secretary of the St. Louis junior branch of the Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women at age 12.¹¹⁸ Betty attended Mary Institute for a few years, after which she went to Bennett School for Girls, an elite finishing school in Millbrook, New York, from 1923 to 1924. Also attending Bennett School with Betty was her best friend

Katherine Hall (later Mrs. D. D. Walker), who served as maid of honor at Betty's wedding in 1927. Betty married William Donaldson Hemenway, Jr. in 1927. JB gave the couple a brand-new house at 30 Picardy Lane in St. Louis as a wedding gift.¹¹⁹ The Hemenways had a forty-five foot yacht, the *Marbo III*, registered in Betty's name. The Hemenways would sail up the Illinois River to Pentwater, Michigan, to visit JB, who had a cottage there, following the same path of Langlade in 1780 and the St. Louis militia attack on St. Joseph in 1781.¹²⁰ The yacht, one of the largest on the Mississippi River at the time, famously sank in 1940 from a fumes explosion during a cocktail party given by the Hemenways. Many of the guests had to be rescued from the river fully clothed in their life preservers as others clung to a dinghy.¹²¹ The Hemenways traveled extensively, often to Europe, for months at a time. Betty died in Europe from a

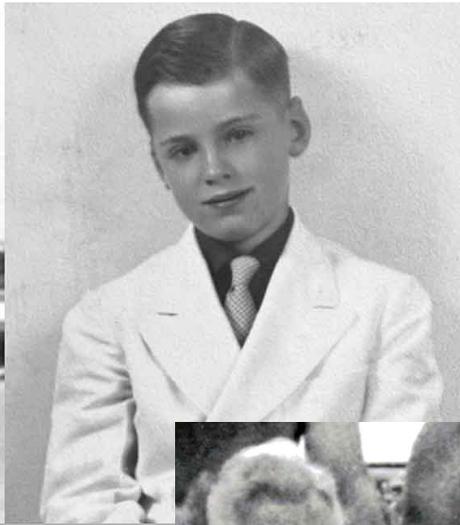
cerebral hemorrhage on May 14, 1956, at only 50 years old.¹²² She was interred at Calvary Cemetery in St. Louis, and contributions were directed to the hospital fund in Bitburg, Germany. Her personal estate, which she kept apart from her husband, was significant, totaling more than \$1,000,000 in today's money, though half of it was invested in her husband's company, which subsequently failed.

JB had three grandchildren. Frank had a son by his marriage to Florence Robinson, and Betty had a son and daughter by her marriage to William Donaldson Hemenway. As JB had lost both his children and his brother Edwin, he spent considerable time with his grandchildren and great-grandchildren in his last years. Most of their descendants unknowingly share the Robidoux heritage. There are undoubtedly other Joseph III Robidoux legacies in St. Louis that need further study.

Some argue his and other French roles in the development of this country have been consistently downplayed. . . .



JB Corby's grandchildren in the 1930s.
(Images: Stephen L. Kling, Jr.)



JB Corby and Stephen L. Kling, Jr. around 1957.
(Image: Stephen L. Kling, Jr.)



Conclusion

The remembrance of Joseph III languished for many years after the deaths of JB and Betty until the author, a grandson of Betty, rediscovered the records and undertook further research. Joseph IV is a pillar of St. Joseph, Missouri, history. Interestingly, another branch of the Corby family figures prominently in St. Joseph history: John Corby, a brother of Francis P. Corby. John Corby settled in St. Joseph a few months after Joseph IV organized the town, and later became mayor and one its most

influential citizens. Joseph IV and John Corby were the principal shareholders in the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Company, which helped put the City of St. Joseph on the map in 1859. Later that year, St. Louis was connected to this line at Macon, Missouri. However, the life of Joseph III is likewise an important part of the history of early St. Louis, and he left a number of descendants who participated prominently in the later history of the city. He has largely been forgotten among the more well known names of Laclede, Chouteau, Gratiot, Cerré, and others, but he made

his mark in what were certainly interesting times. Some argue his and other French roles in the development of this country have been consistently downplayed as an unfortunate legacy of the French and Indian War, and due to the role the French played, as pariah capitalists, in the mediations between the Native Americans and the United States government after the Louisiana Purchase. Their stories and the legacies they have left, like the Robidoux story and legacy, are much more complex and important in the scheme of our regional and national history.

ENDNOTES

¹ As to the use of “x” at the end of the Robidoux name, see John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri: 1812–1813*, edited by Stella M. Drumm. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1912), 147–48. All references from the Missouri Historical Society and its archives are hereafter cited as MHS. The x did not appear until later, and French documentation of the earlier period mostly spell the last name as Robidou without the x. See, for example, Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Familles Canadiennes Depuis La Fondation de la Colonie Jusqu’à Nos Jours*, 7 vols. (Montreal, Canada: E. Senecal, 1890), 6:605–8. The use of the Roman numerals with respect to the various Josephs in this article is for identification purposes only, as otherwise it is difficult in identifying them, as there was a succession of descendants named Joseph. Given all of the Robidoux named Joseph in the 18th and 19th centuries, some confusion is unavoidable, but adding greatly to the confusion is the complete omission of Joseph Robidou I by some early modern authors. These authors start their Roman numerals with his son Joseph, named Joseph II in this article, and the founder of St. Joseph is named Joseph III. For example, see Merrill J. Mattes, “Joseph Robidou,” in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, 10 vols. (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1971), 8:287–314, and Orral M. Robidou, *Memorial to the Robidou Brothers: A History of the Robidou in America* (Kansas City, Mo.: Smith-Grievies Company, 1924), both often cited sources of this confusion. The confusion in identification resulting from these sources continues to this day. The Mattes article draws from the Orral Robidou book, which is based almost exclusively on oral history, and care should be taken in using them as sources.

² Frederic L. Billon, comp., *Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days under the French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis Mo. G. I. Jones & Company, 1886), 445.

³ Hugh M. Lewis, *Robidou Chronicles: French-Indian Ethnoculture of the Trans-Mississippi West* (Victoria, B.C., Canada: Trafford Publishing, 2004), 17–20; “Survey of the Settlement of Detroit, 31st March, 1779,” *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 40 vols. (Lawson, Mich.: The Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, 1876–1929), 10:311, 320, 324; “Survey of the Settlement of Detroit, 16th July, 1782,” *ibid.*, 10:601–3.

⁴ Clyde M. Rabideau, *Joseph Robidou: The Family Patriarch* (Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Heartnut Publishing Company, 2005), 1–2; Lewis, *Robidou Chronicles*, 12. Lewis claims to have found St. Louis death records of Marie Ann (Leblanc) Robidou and some of the daughters. Lewis also refers to another family member, Paul, a cousin as possibly coming to St. Louis around this time as the writer of an April 13, 1797 letter to Commandant Charles Vallé at Ste. Geneviève, *ibid.*, fn. 45, 207.

⁵ Rabideau, *Joseph Robidou: The Family Patriarch*, 1–2, 8.

⁶ Lewis, *Robidou Chronicles*, 17–25.

⁷ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 95.

⁸ Charles E. Peterson, *Colonial St. Louis: Building a Creole Capital* (St. Louis: MHS, 1949), 45.

⁹ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 444; John A. Bryan, “A Study of the Robidou Sites in Blocks No. 5 and 6 St. Louis,” Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, National Parks Service, April 1938, 3; Inventory of the Deceased Joseph Robidou, September 12, 1771, St. Louis Recorded Archives Index, vol. 3, book 2:2305, MHS. Some modern sources inaccurately list Joseph II’s death in 1778.

¹⁰ Grimaldi to Ulloa, July 3, 1765, in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765–1794*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Print Office, 1949), 1:2.

¹¹ “List of Officials Appointed by O’Reilly,” *ibid.*, February 12, 1770, 1:158–59.

¹² Stephen L. Kling, Jr., Kristine L. Sjostrom, and Marysia T. Lopez, *The Battle of St. Louis, the Attack on Cahokia, and the American Revolution in the West* (St. Louis Mo. THGC Publishing, 2017), 30.

¹³ November 9, 1779, St. Louis Militia List, Archivo General de Indias, Casa Lonja de Mercaderes, Seville, Spain, leg. 213, fol. 950; December 5, 1780, St. Louis Militia List, *ibid.*, leg. 9, fol. 41. All references from Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain, are hereafter cited as AGI, Cuba. He may be listed as a shoemaker in learning that trade from his father as was the custom in those days, who was also listed as a shoemaker in the records. St. Louis Recorded Archives, vol. 4, book 2:313–14, MHS

¹⁴ “Papers regarding the Court Case of Joseph Robidou against Louis Robert and Luc Marly,” Litigation Collection, folder 15, 1779 December—1780 February, MHS Archives, St. Louis, MO.

¹⁵ “Inventory of Continental Stores taken from St. Louis to Kaskaskia,” September 17, 1778, “Receipt for Continental Stores Delivered to St. Louis,” April 20, 1779, and “Inventory of Goods taken from the Continental Stores in St. Louis,” May 24, 1779, in John Francis McDermott, ed., *Old Cahokia* (St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1949), 235–38, 253.

¹⁶ Kling, Sjostrom, and Lopez, *Battle of St. Louis*, 15–26, 31–2, 48, 154; Lord George Germain Papers, June 17 and June 25, 1779, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan; Stephen L. Kling, Jr. and Kristine L. Sjostrom, “The British Attacks against St. Louis and Cahokia during the American Revolutionary War,” in Stephen L. Kling, Jr., ed., *The American Revolutionary War in the West* (St. Louis Mo. THGC Publishing, 2020), 69–71. This last article by Kling and Sjostrom provides a far more detailed and heavily documented analysis of the British campaign than previously covered in the *Battle of St. Louis* and includes copies of Germain’s correspondence in the appendix.

¹⁷ Cruzat to Miro, October 21, 1781, AGI, Cuba, leg. 114, fol. 939.

¹⁸ Kling and Sjostrom, “The British Attacks against St. Louis and Cahokia during the American Revolutionary War,” 71–74. The participation and importance of the British Indian Department to the organization and leadership of this expedition has been largely missed and underappreciated by earlier researchers. The cited article has in-depth analysis and references in this regard.

ENDNOTES continued

- ¹⁹ Kay and McCrae to Haldimand, November 13, 1780, in Ruben Gold Thwaites, *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (in 31 volumes, published from 1854 to 1931 by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, hereafter cited as WHSC), 12:54–55; Sinclair to Haldimand, May 29, 1780, *ibid.*, 11:151–53. Apparently, Gratiot was indeed aiding the Americans; see note to the foregoing at the bottom of page 151 and the referenced court proceedings, which apparently became a *un cause célèbre* in St. Louis. Lt. Kay's brother John, a British trader was a former business partner with Gratiot. Gratiot had experienced significant problems with payments on British bills sent to him, the acceptors of which he said were nearly all insolvent, and he was likely amenable to trading to Americans who had taken possession of Cahokia. Gratiot to Bernard, *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1886*, B97-2:331. Gratiot later moved to St. Louis and became a prominent resident.
- ²⁰ Sinclair to Langlade, undated and unsigned, Newberry Library, Vault Box Ayer MS 809. See page 124 of *The American Revolutionary War in the West* for a copy and translation of this order; see also Sinclair to Haldimand, May 29, 1780, WHSC, 11:152 for further details on the disposition and garrison plans for St. Louis, Cahokia, Ste. Geneviève, and Kaskaskia.
- ²¹ Kling, Sjostrom, and Lopez, *Battle of St. Louis*, 50, 52.
- ²² The Spanish believed they could not even give 1/100th of the presents given to the Native Americans by the British. Cruzat to Gálvez, December 2, 1780, in Louis Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2 vols., (Chicago, Ill.: R. R. Donnelly & Sons, 1909), 1:177; Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781, *ibid.*, 1:202.
- ²³ *Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1766–1781*, Old Cathedral Parish Register of the Basilica of St. Louis, St. Louis County Library, fol. 2.
- ²⁴ "Petition for Pay," AGI, Cuba, leg. 113, fol. 653.
- ²⁵ "Inventory of the Effects Belonging to the King," September 29, 1780, *ibid.*, leg. 2, fol. 653.
- ²⁶ Walter B. Stevens, *St. Louis, The Fourth City, 1764–1911*, 3 vols. (St. Louis Mo. The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1909), 1:66; James H. Perkins, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburg: W. S. Haven Book and Job Printer, 1856), 1:315. The story originates from Elizabeth Barada Ortes, who was 16 at the time of the attack and lived to be 106.
- ²⁷ Stevens, *St. Louis the Fourth City*, 1:73.
- ²⁸ Leyba to Gálvez, June 8, 1780, A. P. Nasatir, "St. Louis During the British Attack," in George P. Hammond, *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: Private Printing, 1932), 1:247.
- ²⁹ Pascal Leon Cerré, interviewed by Lyman C. Draper, St. Louis, MO, 1846, *Missouri Historical Collections*, vol. 2, no. 6 (1906): 51.
- ³⁰ "Manifest of the Dead, Wounded and Prisoners," Fernando de Leyba, May 28, 1780, AGI, Cuba, leg. 113, fol. 600.
- ³¹ Sinclair to Haldimand, July 8, 1780, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 9:959; Donald E. Gradeless, ed., *Abstract of the George Rogers Clark Papers* (Chicago: Private Printing, 1998) and microfilm listing at <http://srlil.gradeless.com/clairk.htm>, microfilm roll #4, May 28, 1780, 5705–4–120. The surgeon was Dr. Andrew Ray.
- ³² Leyba to Gálvez, June 8, 1780, in Nasatir, "St. Louis During the British Attack of 1780," 1:244–45; Kling, Sjostrom, and Lopez, *Battle of St. Louis*, 98.
- ³³ Kling, Sjostrom, and Lopez, *Battle of St. Louis*, 104–5, and in more detail, Kling and Sjostrom, "The British Attacks against St. Louis and Cahokia during the American Revolutionary War," 88–91.
- ³⁴ Depictions of the battle at the St. Louis Old Courthouse and the Missouri State Capitol, while evocative in some respects, inaccurately show the wooden wall, which was not built until after the battle.
- ³⁵ September 5, 1780, St. Louis Militia List, AGI, Cuba, leg. 2, fol. 575–76.
- ³⁶ Kling and Sjostrom, "The British Attacks against St. Louis and Cahokia during the American Revolutionary War," 96–97; Kling, Sjostrom, and Lopez, *Battle of St. Louis*, 180–81.
- ³⁷ The militia lists in the AGI archives cover the war years, the end of 1779 to February of 1783, and comprise more than thirty monthly lists. Several monthly lists from first half of 1780 appear to be missing. These lists are more accurately censuses, as they do not necessarily reflect men on active duty.
- ³⁸ Marriage Contract, St. Louis Recorded Archives Index, vol. 1, book 1:186, MHS.
- ³⁹ Bryan, "A Study of the Robidoux Sites in Blocks No. 5 and 6 St. Louis," 5; Peterson, *Colonial St. Louis*, 4.
- ⁴⁰ Bryan, "A Study of the Robidoux Sites in Blocks No. 5 and 6 St. Louis," 5; Peterson, *Colonial St. Louis*, 26.
- ⁴¹ "Riverfront Excavators Unearth the Foundations of 2 Early Buildings," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 17, 1960, 3A. Copies of the older editions of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* can be found at the St. Louis County Library and Washington University in St. Louis Libraries.
- ⁴² Papers of the original claimants are recorded in Land Titles, Box 12, Folder 20, 2:707, *Missouri Secretary of State Archives*.
- ⁴³ Don Manuel Luis Gayoso de Lemos to Francisco Luis Héctor de Carondelet, November 24, 1795, in Abraham P. Nasatir, *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi, 1792–1796* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 334.
- ⁴⁴ Eugenio Alvarez to Delassus, October 11, 1779, in Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2:267–69.
- ⁴⁵ "Patriotic Donations and Loans made by the Residents of Upper Louisiana to Aid Spain in the War—1799," *ibid.*, 2:292–97.
- ⁴⁶ "St. Louis Land Owners in 1805," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1908): 183–92.
- ⁴⁷ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 445–46.
- ⁴⁸ "Earliest Registers of First Catholic Church in St. Louis," St. Louis Genealogical Society and St. Louis County Library; *Robidoux Memorial to the Robidoux Brothers*, 45.

- ⁴⁹ Luttig, *Journal of a Fur Trading Expedition*, 34, 147-48; Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, 69-70. There is some dispute on which Robidoux was in Nebraska at the time; see Merrill J. Mattes, "Robidoux's Trading Post at 'Scott's Bluffs,' and the California Gold Rush," *Nebraska History* 30 (1949): 133.
- ⁵⁰ Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri from the earliest explorations and settlements until the admission of the state into the union*, 3 vols., (Chicago, Ill.: R. R. Donnelly & Sons, 1908), 3:143.
- ⁵¹ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 365.
- ⁵² Houck, *A History of Missouri*, 3:162.
- ⁵³ Bryan, "A Study of the Robidoux Sites in Blocks No. 5 and 6 St. Louis," 6, 8.
- ⁵⁴ Estate of Joseph Robidoux, March 16, 1809, Pierre-Chouteau Collection, MHS, reel 40, file 0782; Peterson, *Colonial St. Louis*, 6; Bryan, "A Study of the Robidoux Sites in Blocks No. 5 and 6 St. Louis," 8.
- ⁵⁵ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 444; Bryan, "A Study of the Robidoux Sites in Blocks 5 and 6 St. Louis," 8.
- ⁵⁶ Houck, *A History of Missouri*, 3:194.
- ⁵⁷ Rabideau, *Joseph Robidoux: The Family Patriarch*, 156. For an account of the exploits of the other sons of Joseph Robidoux III, see: Robert J. Willoughby, *The Brothers Robidoux and the Opening of the American West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2012); Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*; Bartlett Boder, "More About Robidoux," *Museum Graphics*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Fall, 1950): 8.
- ⁵⁸ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 444; Willoughby, *The Brothers Robidoux and the Opening of the American West*, 34.
- ⁵⁹ Julia Chipps, "Joseph Robidoux," *Museum Graphic*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1950): 3.
- ⁶⁰ Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, 137-41.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., 223, fn. 118. There was at least one if not two children named Messanie who died at or shortly after birth. Willoughby, *The Brothers Robidoux and the Opening of the American West*, 29, 34; Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, 223, 319. Note, some sources give the baptism dates as birth dates, which is not always accurate.
- ⁶² "Serious Affair," *Adventure* [St. Joseph, Missouri newspaper], September 13, 1850, 2.
- ⁶³ Campbell House Museum Index and Transcription of Robidoux Letters, June 1, 2020, compiled by Thomas Gronski and Andrew Hahn. This index and transcription covers fifty-six letters between Robert Campbell or R & W Campbell and members of the Robidoux family, most of which are to Joseph Robidoux. The original documents are in the St. Louis Mercantile Library.
- ⁶⁴ Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, 60.
- ⁶⁵ *Missouri: The WPA Guide to the "Show Me" State* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941), 288; Mother Flavia Augustine, "Cultural and Religious Effects of the Convent of the Sacred Heart of St. Joseph, Missouri" (Master's thesis, Creighton University, 1952), 26-27.
- ⁶⁶ "Proclamation," *St. Joseph Morning Herald*, May 28, 1868, 1; "Funeral of Joseph Robidoux," *ibid.*, May, 29, 1868, 1.
- ⁶⁷ Boder, "The James Treacy Collection of Photographs of St. Joseph Pioneers in Civil War Days," *Museum Graphic*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Spring, 1955): 7-16; Boder, "Felix Robidoux," *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Summer, 1952): 4; Boder, "More About Robidoux," *ibid.*, 8; Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, 61; Robidoux, *Memorial to the Robidoux Brothers*, 150-51.
- ⁶⁸ Rabideau, *Joseph Robidoux: The Family Patriarch*, 217-19.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.; "Death comes to Mrs. F. A. Beauvais," *St. Louis Republic*, October 20, 1900, 7
- ⁷⁰ Boder, "Josephine Robidoux and May Tilden Robidoux," *Museum Graphic*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Fall, 1956): 2; Boder, "Love Letter of Frank P. Corby," *ibid.*, 7-9; Boder, "Love Letter of Josephine Angelique Robidoux," *ibid.*, 10-11.
- ⁷¹ Boder, "Josephine Robidoux and May Tilden Robidoux," *ibid.*, 2.
- ⁷² *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri: containing a history of the county, its cities, towns, etc., biographical sketches of its citizens, Buchanan County in the late war, general and local statistics, portraits of early settlers and prominent men, history of Missouri, map of Buchanan County, etc.* (St. Joseph, Mo.: Union Historical Company, 1881), 443, 445; Personal (Deaths), *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 23, 1873, 7.
- ⁷³ Boder, "Love Letter of Josephine Angelique Robidoux," *ibid.*, 8; "Felix Robidoux," *ibid.*, 4.
- ⁷⁴ *Gould's St. Louis Directory, for 1874*, 198; "Mrs. Charles Keebaugh funeral tomorrow," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 19, 1953, 16.
- ⁷⁵ *The Robidoux Family Bible Leaves*, St. Joseph Museums, Inc. The Bible leaves consist of four pages, two of births, one of marriages, and one of deaths, maintained until the early 1900s.
- ⁷⁶ *Gustavus V. Brecht v. Josephine A. Corby, Executrix*, 7 Mo. App. 300 (1879).
- ⁷⁷ Last Will and Testament of Francis P. Corby, March 15, 1876, Buchanan County, Missouri, Recorder of Deeds, Book 161, Page 531; copy also in records of State Historical Society of Missouri.
- ⁷⁸ "Hugh Fox's Home Seized for Debt," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 28, 1895, 1.
- ⁷⁹ "A St. Joseph Purchase," *ibid.*, October 11, 1891, 23.
- ⁸⁰ *The Iron Age*, vol. 49 (January 28, 1892): 167; *ibid.*, vol. 53 (April 26, 1894): 811; *The Robidoux Family Bible Leaves*, St. Joseph Museums, Inc.
- ⁸¹ *The Robidoux Family Bible Leaves*, St. Joseph Museums, Inc.
- ⁸² "Obituaries," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 28, 1930, 65.
- ⁸³ *The Robidoux Family Bible Leaves*, St. Joseph Museums, Inc.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ "About St. Louis People," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 28, 1889, 20.
- ⁸⁶ "Sales of Real Estate Reported by Agents," *ibid.*, August 2, 1908, 12B.
- ⁸⁷ "Death of Mrs. Jane Robidoux," *ibid.*, December 30, 1895, 3. Note this article erroneously states that Jane is the wife of Joseph Robidoux, the founder of St. Louis.
- ⁸⁸ "Death of C. E. Robidoux in St. Louis," April 24, 1915, *The Catholic Tribune* (St. Joseph, Mo.), 5
- ⁸⁹ *The Robidoux Family Bible Leaves*, St. Joseph Museums, Inc.

ENDNOTES continued

- ⁹⁰ *Gould's St. Louis Directory, for 1890*, 1287. It may be that the son struck out on his own as he appears as the president of Ewald Iron Company in St. Louis in 1900 and 1902 and associated with that company as secretary under L. P. Ewald as president in 1898, *Gould's St. Louis Directory, for 1898*, 1633, *Gould's St. Louis Directory, for 1900*, 561, *Gould's St. Louis Directory, for 1902*, 590, and *Directory of Iron and Steel Works of the United States and Canada*, vol. 15 (Philadelphia, Penn.: American Iron and Steel Association, 1902), 242. James Sweney Copper and Brass Co. is shown as the successor to James P. Sweney & Son in *Gould's St. Louis Directory, for 1898*, *ibid.*, 242. Thanks to Michael E. Sweney, a local St. Louis attorney, for confirming there are Ella descendants still in St. Louis.
- ⁹¹ *The Age of Steel, St. Louis*, Vol. 92, No. 20 (November 15, 1902): 19; "Obituaries," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 4, 1914, 14.
- ⁹² "Brought Suit for \$ 11,000.00," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 6, 1901, 2.
- ⁹³ Card Parties, *St. Louis Republic*, February 17, 1901, 2; "Society," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 22, 1901, 8A; "F. Corby Dies in Pittsburg," *ibid.*, June 15, 1938, 3C. Note: this article erroneously names Frank as Frank C. instead of Frank F.
- ⁹⁴ "Dr. Corby Very Ill.: Held At The City Hospital For Observation," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 19, 1899, 12.
- ⁹⁵ "Weddings To-Day: A Number Of Interesting Nuptial Ceremonies In St. Louis Society," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 5, 1890, 18; "Deserted and Destitute," *ibid.*, June 17, 1894, 5.
- ⁹⁶ "Amateur Artists: St. Louis Ladies Who Are Skilled With the Pencil," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 31, 1890, 14.
- ⁹⁷ "The Rising Generation," *The Critic and Amusement Gazette*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Cleveland, September 5, 1896): 2; "Benefit of the Doubt," *Boston Daily Globe*, October 27, 1896, 2; Dr. Corby Very Ill," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 19, 1899 (mentions appearing in New York).
- ⁹⁸ "The Theaters," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 17, 1896, 9. This is the new Olympic Theatre replacing the old one torn down in 1882; "The Olympic Theater to be Pulled Down Soon," *ibid.*, March 3, 1882, 5. The new Olympic Theatre Building was composed five floors fronting on Broadway. The theater auditorium was in the rear or western portion of the building and could seat 2,500 patrons in three levels of seating. Stores were located on the first floor, rooms on the second floor were reserved for theater related business, and the rest of the space was operated by the St. James Hotel. *The American Gas Light Journal*, vol. 56 (January 11, 1892): 48; *Chouteau v. The St. Louis Gaslight Company*, 47 Mo. App. 328 (1892). The new Olympic Theatre opened in late 1882 and soon became the most celebrated theater in St. Louis. A haunt of the city's rich and famous, it achieved an international reputation for its accommodations, management, and history of performance. The famed English actor Sir Henry Irving called this theater the finest playhouse in America. American actress Ethel Barrymore praised its facilities as among the best anywhere, "The New Olympic Theater," *The Society of Architectural Historians Newsletter*, vol. 20, no. 4A (Winter, 2014): 2.
- ⁹⁹ "Coming Back: St. Louisans Returning from Mountains, Lakes and Coasts," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 28, 1892, 26.
- ¹⁰⁰ "Fat Men Walking Race to Forest Park," *ibid.*, April 4, 1908, 2; "Repeat of Walking Race of 20 Years," *ibid.*, April 8, 1928.
- ¹⁰¹ "Society Gossip," *ibid.*, Dec 20, 1889, 4
- ¹⁰² "Semi-Centennial Anniversary Volume of the American Neurological Society 1875-1924" (Albany, N.Y.: Boyd Printing Company, 1924), 140; Jerome Keating Bauduy, "Lectures on Diseases of the Nervous System," *The American Journal of Medical Sciences*, vol. 71 (1876): 234-36; "A President Elected: Dr. J. K. Bauduy Honored by the St. Louis Medical Society Last Night," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 29, 1889, 5; "Dr. James K. Bauduy Funeral Held Today," *ibid.*, October 13, 1914, 20.
- ¹⁰³ "Amateur Baseball Notes," *St. Louis Republic*, June 28, 1901, 7; "Boyce and Orthwein Divide Swimming Honors," *ibid.*, October 26, 1903, 4; "A. C. Aquatics (St. Louis City Championships)," *ibid.*, November 8, 1903, 47.
- ¹⁰⁴ Articles of Association, filed March 21, 1907, *Missouri Secretary of State Archives*.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Proceedings of the Illinois Mining Institute* (Springfield, Ill.; Jefferson Printing Company, 1935), advertising section, 85; *ibid.*, (1936), advertising section, 95; *ibid.*, (1937), advertising section, 55.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Dye's Newsletter-Society Gossip*, The Insurance Exchange, St. Louis, Missouri, vol. 5, no. 16 (1899), 8.
- ¹⁰⁷ "Reservations are being made for 1913 B. M. L. Panama Trip," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 24, 1912, 8B; "B. M. L. Panama Party to go Feb. 3 on Special Train," *ibid.*, January, 19, 1913, 2B; "B. M. L. Panama Party is at Colon: All Well," *ibid.*, February 12, 1913, 2; "St. Louisans on Winter Trip to Panama," *ibid.*, March 16, 1913, 70.
- ¹⁰⁸ Albert Nelson Marquis, ed., *The Book of St. Louisans: A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men of the City of St. Louis and Vicinity* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Company, 1912), 132; Walter B. Stevens, *Centennial History of Missouri*, 6 vols. (St. Louis: S.J. Clarke Publishing company, 1921), 5:126-27.
- ¹⁰⁹ Additional Sketches of Noted Missourians, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 11, 1937, 8H. However, they had the benefit of Josephine living until Betty was 24 and JB 57.
- ¹¹⁰ "J B Corby Funeral to be Tuesday," *ibid.*, August 2, 1959, 19A.
- ¹¹¹ Boder, "Josephine Robidoux and May Tilden Robidoux," *Museum Graphic*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Fall, 1956): 12-13.
- ¹¹² A special thanks to Richard Freedman of Semcor. Richard provided some background history of his father's purchase of Corby Supply Company and information on some company pictures.
- ¹¹³ Thomas Woods Stevens and Percy MacKaye, *The Book of Words of the Pageant and Masque of Saint Louis* (St. Louis: St. Louis Drama Association, 1914), 43.

- ¹¹⁴ *The Hatchet*, Washington University in St. Louis, 1919, 67, 226–27; *ibid.*, 1920, 11; *ibid.*, 1921, 282, 290–91, 314–15; *Michiganensian*, University of Michigan, 1922, 84, 372; *ibid.*, 1924, 560; Society News, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 31, 1922, 17. For the background of the Quo Vadis clubs, “The Quo Vadis Club,” Banta’s Greek Exchange, vol. 9, no. 3 (July, 1921): 150.
- ¹¹⁵ Society News, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 24, 1924, 1; *Michigan Alumnus*, University of Michigan, (1924–25): 31:560.
- ¹¹⁶ Certificate of Death, March 5, 1935, Missouri State Board of Health, File no. 6869.
- ¹¹⁷ Social News (débutante), November 12, 1924, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 19; “Visiting Chicago,” *ibid.*, March 18, 1925, 17; “St. Louisans Abroad and Others Making Vacation Journeys,” *ibid.*, May 30, 1926, 2; Social Activities, *ibid.*, August 16, 1926, 17; “Bride-to-be in the East,” *ibid.*, August 27, 1926, 23; “Betty Corby to Wed,” *ibid.*, April 20, 1927, 25; “Betty Corby becomes bride of William D. Hemenway, Jr.,” *ibid.*, June 5, 1927; Society News Section, 1; Society News Section, *ibid.*, June 12, 1927, 1; Social Activities, *ibid.*, August 4, 1932, 3C; “What Smartly Dressed Women of St. Louis are Wearing Now,” *ibid.*, December 10, 1939, 1G.
- ¹¹⁸ *The Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women Manual*, 1918–1919 (Concord, N.H.: The Rumford Press, 1918), 148.
- ¹¹⁹ *Society News, St. Louis Star and Times*, June 4, 1927, 5; “New Home for Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Hemenway, Jr.,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 5, 1927, 1D.
- ¹²⁰ “Many St. Louisans at Pentwater, Michigan,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 12, 1936, 1G; “Pentwater Beach Attracts Visitors,” *ibid.*, August 8, 1937, 20. Apparently, JB Corby had the same or possibly a different cottage in Michigan for some time, having his own kids there in the summer of 1912. “Society,” *ibid.*, July 12, 1912, 7.
- ¹²¹ “Foundering in the River,” *ibid.*, September 17, 1940, 1.
- ¹²² “Mrs. W. D. Hemenway, Jr., Dies on a European Trip,” *ibid.*, May 16, 1956, 3D.
- ¹²³ “Mrs. W. D. Hemenway’s Estate Valued at \$114,573,” *ibid.*, July 15, 1956, 2B.
- ¹²⁴ Many thanks to the Hemenways, Suzy and Sallie in particular, and the late Scott Bauduy Corby and his wife, Anne Corby, for their support and assistance with certain family history details.
- ¹²⁵ For a discussion of some of the other possible Robidoux St. Louis connections, see Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, 165–97. One can pick up a St. Louis phone book and readily see there are many Robidoux entries.
- ¹²⁶ “Corby Family,” St. Joseph Museums, Inc., https://stjosephmuseums.fandom.com/wiki/Corby_Family, accessed May 5, 2020; *The History of Buchanan county, Missouri*, 471.
- ¹²⁷ Willoughby, *The Brothers Robidoux and the Opening of the American West*, 183; Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, 60; Boder, “The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad,” *Museum Graphic*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Spring, 1954): 6.
- ¹²⁸ Lewis, *Robidoux Chronicles*, xv; Anna K. Roberts, “Finding Their Place in an American City: Perspectives on African Americans and French Creoles in Antebellum St. Louis” (Master’s thesis, College of William and Mary, 2016): 9–11, 20, 22. <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1069&context=etd>, accessed May 5, 2020.