



Nicholas Devereux, 1791-1855.

From an ambrotype taken circa 1850-1855 belonging to John Devereux Ker-nan 3rd, Hamden.

DEVEREUX
of the LEAP

County Wexford, Ireland

and of

UTICA, New York

NICHOLAS DEVEREUX

1791—1855

CLIFFORD LEWIS 3RD

JOHN DEVEREUX KERNAN

1974

Boasting, as beggars will, that their grandfathers were rich and great—Jonathan Swift.

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Franciscan Institute

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1974

The editors of the Devereux Book speak for the
descendants of Nicholas Devereux in thanking
St. Bonaventure University
for its generous contribution towards publication costs.

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FOREWORD

While I began collecting information for a Devereux book in the 1940s, it was not until 1971, when Henrietta Warnick (Kernan) Pierce suggested a companion to *The Utica Kernans*, that I pursued the research.

The first part of this book is the monograph about Nicholas Devereux, 1791-1855, by Clifford Lewis 3rd, that grew out of a suggestion of Richard Dickinson Kernan. The second relates to Devereux born in Ireland, and is the article that appeared in *The Irish Genealogist*, the journal of the Irish Genealogical Research Society, of London. The third, based on family papers, gravestones, church records, and letters from members of the family, deals with the descendants of Thomas and Nicholas Devereux.

It is a pleasure to record the generosity of those who have made publication possible: Henrietta Warnick (Kernan) Pierce, Isabel (Lewis) Crowder, Eileen Rust (Pierce) Leonard, Anne Margaret (Devereux) Halberstadt, Natalie Kernan (Belden) Barringer, Francis Kernan Kernan, Clifford Lewis 3rd, Thomas Spratt Kernan, Richard Dickinson Kernan, Walter Avery Kernan, Philip Avery Kernan, Edmund Gibson Munson, and Anthony Quentin Devereux. St. Bonaventure's gift has been separately noted.

The research for the Nicholas Devereux monograph was made possible by the devotion of Clifford Lewis 3rd, and a grant from the American Philosophical Society, for both of which the Devereux are grateful. My runners in Utica to check Saint Agnes Cemetery and Saint John's Church for other Utica Devereux were Mr. and Mrs. James Constable Kernan, Jr. Long life and happiness to them! My thanks to all who have replied to my queries.

May the book be forgiven the inevitable, but I hope few, errors.

J.D.K.

EXPLANATION OF THE NUMBERING SYSTEM

The Devereux member of each family unit is given a double number, the first digit of which identifies his generation from the first 17th century Nicholas Devereux; the second identifies him within his own generation. The double number to the right is the number of his Devereux parent.

All spouses, their parents, unmarried children and married children with no children will be found grouped with their Devereux spouse or parent. Married children who have descendants will be found once with their parents and again with others of their generation in their own families, with their own spouses, in-laws and children. However, all members of the earlier generations born in Ireland, and recently married members of the later generations who may be expected to have families of their own appear twice.

For reasons of economy, the remoter descendants of Hannah Avery Devereux (6-2) and Senator Francis Kernan, who are recorded *in extenso* in *The Utica Kernans*, are not thus recorded here again; rather the Addenda to each Devereux generation records the genealogical events with respect to them that have taken place since the 1969 publication of that book. To avoid renumbering, each Devereux-Kernan appears with his number in that volume.

NICHOLAS DEVEREUX (1791-1855)¹

BY CLIFFORD LEWIS 3RD

We know Nicholas Devereux as merchant, banker, and church benefactor; also as developer of lands in western New York. It is hard to visualize any quiet moment in his life. He was seven years old when the terrible Troubles of 1798 swept Ireland, and fifteen when he came to New York in 1806—by family tradition, with only three gold sovereigns—en route to join his much older brother John in Utica. Eight years later—in 1814—he became a partner with this brother, a Utica merchant. This became a fabulously successful firm.

Nicholas was born June 7, 1791 in Wexford.² His parents were Thomas and Catherine (Corish) Devereux of The Leap.³ His widow, writing many years after his death, gives his place of birth as "Davidstown, four miles from Inniscorthy." He was the last of nine children, seventeen years younger than his future partner John, the second oldest.⁴

The Devereux were an old, well-to-do, respected Roman Catholic family in Wexford which lost lives and money in the short but bloody Irish Rebellion of 1798, that ill advised echo of the French Revolution. Nicholas's brother James was killed in the battle of Vinegar Hill; his father died in prison, or from the effects of it; his brother Walter had to flee Ireland with a price on his head, never to be heard of again.⁵ Two Devereux letters, giving vivid details of the time, follow in John D. Kernan's Irish Genealogist article.

Nicholas's education must have been sketchy. In his widow's brief biography, she noted:

"Catherine was very fond of her younger brothers, Luke and Nicholas, and took great pains to have them instructed as far as the difficulties of the time would permit. Nicholas spent a year with a kind friend Mr. Murphy for the purpose of attending school and there acquired the knowledge of Arithmetic and Bookeeping to which so much of his success in life was owing."

About his arrival in America we quote again from his widow's biographical notes:

"Nicholas came to this country in the 15th year of his age. He landed in New York one Saturday in 1806. The following morning he attended Mass in St. Peter's, then the only Catholic church in New York. He knelt in the aisle and when the plate was passed put in a guinea, one of the three he possessed on landing. The sexton thinking it a mistake pointed it out to him but he nodded and the man passed on. It was his thanksgiving for his safe arrival. It took them ten days to go from New York to Albany at that time. Nicholas found his way to Utica where his brother John was established as a merchant.

The city then contained 800 inhabitants. The principal business of the country then was to buy Pot and Pearl Ashes, from those who were cleaning up their land and pay them in goods and groceries."

"Groceries", judging from the Utica store advertisements of the Devereux and others of that time included whiskey, gin, wine, brandy, cigars, tobacco and snuff.⁶

John had fortunately left Ireland before the Troubles, and after a sojourn in France arrived in the United States in mid-1796. In September of that year, "John C. Devero, Dancing Master, lately from Europe" advertised that he was opening a Dancing School in Hartford.⁷ Two years later he advertised that he was teaching in Windham and Tolland.⁸ He taught also in the Connecticut towns of Middletown and Norwich, Pittsfield and elsewhere in Massachusetts, and in Troy, New York.⁹ The family tradition from John's mouth is that he "danced one thousand dollars out of the New Englanders", and this \$1000 started the immensely successful Devereux merchant business. One report states that John worked briefly in an Albany store.¹⁰ He wanted to settle farther west than Albany, but when Mr. Lynch of Lynchville (now Rome, N.Y.) would merely rent, rather than sell, him a store, he decided on Utica, and he opened his store there November 8, 1802.¹¹

Dancing School.
J. C. DEVERO,
(Dancing-Master, lately from Europe.)

RESPECTFULLY informs the inhabitants of Hartford and its vicinity, that he purpases opening a Dancing School, on the 19th inst. at Mr. GOODWIN's Ball Room, on the moderate terms of Six Dollars per quarter--Days of attendance Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays, from 4 till 8 o'clock in the afternoon--he teaches plain and fancy Minuets, Cotillons and Pottycotees, Irish Jiggs and Reets in their various figures, the much admired Scotch Reels, first, second and threble Hornpipe, Country Dances &c. in the most modern and elegant stile--the greatest attention paid the carriage and address of his pupils.---He humbly sollicits the patronage and protection of the public which shall always be his study to merit.

DANCING-SCHOOL.
JOHN C. DEVERO,

Respectfully informs his numerous friends and the public, that he has opened Dancing-Schools in the following places-- At Mr. John Staneford's, Windham, and at Mr. Benoni Sheppard's, Tolland.--- Mr. Devero returns his sincere thanks to the inhabitants of the many towns he has taught in throughout this State, for the very liberal encouragement he has experienced from them; and as he now offers to teach at a price that will give general satisfaction, and pays the greatest attention to the morals, carriage and address of his pupils, he doubts not but the people of this state will cheerfully bestow on their children this polite and necessary part of their education.

Tolland, Jan. 25.

John Corish "Devero's" advertisements for dancing lessons.

From Connecticut Courant Sep 26, 1796, and Jan 28, 1799. Beinecke Library, Yale University.

John had competition in Utica from the start, for Jeremiah Van Rensselaer had opened his store in 1800,¹² as part of the rich Kane-Van Rensselaer chain and Bryan Johnson had begun his operation in 1801.¹³ Nonetheless John did

well enough so that by 1805 he had bought property in Utica, and then by 1806 on the waterfront of Sackets Harbour,¹⁴ where he and Nicholas later had a store. This was the scene when Nicholas arrived.

According to Mrs. Devereux's notes, Nicholas worked for John until he was eighteen, which must have been in about 1809.

"He then went to Albany in the store of William James & Co., very extensive merchants. A brother of Mr. James took his place in Utica."

Mrs. Devereux does not say how long Nicholas was with William James & Co., but the War of 1812 all but stopped the export business. It is not clear if Nicholas had a Utica interlude after his stay in Albany, but in 1813 he was obliged to go to Ireland to settle family affairs, his mother having died. By late 1813 he had returned to Utica,¹⁵ and in 1814, the firm became John C. and Nicholas Devereux.¹⁶

At this first recorded partnership of John and Nicholas we should look back and ahead. John was forty, having arrived in America at the age of twenty-two, eighteen years before. Nicholas was twenty-three, with widely varied and helpful experience. These two brothers, with their initiative, ability, and seventeen year age-gap, were destined to leave a notable record in Utica, a community that grew at mushroom speed during their lifetimes. When John opened his store in 1802, Utica was a hamlet of a few hundred persons. In 1814 it was growing rapidly, becoming in 1820 a village of three thousand. In 1830, when Nicholas's name last appeared as a merchant, the firm was widely known and the population of the village had jumped to 8300 persons.¹⁷ In 1855, when Nicholas died, the Devereux had been prominent in the community life for over fifty years, as merchants, bankers and churchmen, not to mention their involvement in railroad, industrial and civic affairs.

In broad terms John had been the merchant-banker; Nicholas, with his interests in New York City, Albany, and southwestern New York, had been the merchant-entrepreneur.

The war had ended in 1815 and American ships were again on the seas. The revival of business presented problems that echoed in Utica although they left the Devereux untouched. The New York City store of Kane and Van Rensselaer failed; but Jeremiah Van Rensselaer personally continued the Utica operation. Ultimately, he too had to withdraw.¹⁸

On July 4, 1817, work was started on the Erie Canal. Prophetically for the Devereux, the first excavation was at Rome, near Utica,¹⁹ for the canal became the base for their operations.

The year 1817 had great personal importance to Nicholas. Not only did he become an American citizen on September 4,²⁰ but he courted and married Mary Dolbeare Butler, the daughter of Dr. Benjamin Butler of New York City. Dr. Butler, once a medical doctor and later a shipping merchant in New London, was an Episcopalian with a New England Tory background,²¹ one of the twenty-eight members of the New York Stock Exchange,²² and listed among New York's richest men.²³

The family records contain a letter written July 30, 1817, by Dr. Butler to his



Mrs. Nicholas Devereux, 1797-1881.
(Mary Dolbeare Butler)

From original painted in 1818 in New York by Samuel Lovett Waldo, belonging to Francis Kernan Kernan, New York. Frick Art Reference Library.

son-in-law, James Clapp, a well known lawyer in Oxford, New York, and reads in part:

"N. Devereux is here and much at our house. He appears to pay Mary more particular attention than a common visitor. Let me know who and what he is that I may regulate myself in case of his repeating his visits. Watching over those we love with a Father's solicitude for the happiness of his children is a sufficient excuse for wishing to know the truth of every single gentleman that visits his house."²⁴

Almost four months later, November 25, Dr. Butler wrote again to his son-in-law James:

"We have finally decided that Mary takes N. Devereux for better or worse on Friday next. She will start for Utica by Saturday steamboat."²⁵

Mary Dolbeare (Butler) Devereux described the ceremony thus:

"We were married November 28 in my father's house in Hester Street by Rt. Rev. Bishop Connelly assisted by a Jesuit Father. The ceremony was long and interesting. The Bishop read me a homily for my future conduct. Gold and silver were put in my hand according to the old fashion and the ceremony much longer and more imposing than at present."

"We went to Albany by steamboat in a day and a half and came to Utica in three days although we had a light carriage and four horses."

They spent that winter at the house of John and Mary (Colt) Devereux where, soon after their arrival Mary wrote, "everyone in the house studies my pleasure and comfort."²⁶ Here Nicholas and Mary immediately held receptions which Mary described in a letter to her parents:

"Nicholas gave *punch* and *Oysters* to all the gentlemen of the village on Monday, there were nearly two hundred here, and it was quite an Irish celebration I assure you. We had a very elegant table laid quite stylishly; they drank deep and everything was conducted in handsome style. Last evening I sat up for company in true city etiquette. Julia Colt officiated as bridesmaid and Nicholas had three gentlemen to officiate for him. There were about forty ladies and twenty gentlemen collected about seven o'clock, all genteels of the place, and a good many others. I sat on the sofa and they were all handed up to me in New York style. Mrs. Miller^{26a} kindly took her seat the other side of me and said she would officiate as second bridesmaid as she wished to be considered as one of my oldest acquaintances. I wore my white crape with a white satin spencer over it and looked, they said, better than the night I was married. The ladies were all dressed very much, white satins, white silk lace, figured dresses with elegant trimmings."²⁷

Two years later the canal became a reality; on October 23, 1819, a canal boat of officials opened the first section—Utica to Rome.²⁸ The fourth of July the next summer celebrated the canal's extension to the Seneca River, about ninety miles west of Utica.²⁹

Excavating the canal bed, four feet deep, forty feet wide, was done by local labor under Canal Commission contracts for specific sections—some only a quarter mile long.³⁰ Mrs. Devereux noted:

“It was about this time (1819) that the Irish Peasants began to come over and help build our Canal. They interested Mr. Devereux and his brother very much.”

But apparently not as many came as tradition suggests. Shaw states:

“Tradition has it that Irish immigrants built the Erie Canal and many sons of Erin may have been added to the labor force. But the Commissioners reported in 1819 that three fourths of the workers were ‘born among us’ . . . It seems probable that the labor force on the Erie Canal reflected the backgrounds, Irish and others, of the inhabitants who resided along the canal line.”³¹

Although Mrs. Devereux's recollections of Utica, written fifty years later, have proven amazingly accurate, in this instance the Devereux had evidently noticed the one quarter who were not “born among us.”

In 1821 the canal was opened to the east as far as Little Falls.³² This, with the already opened western stretch, created a “Throughway” across the village. Business then gravitated to the canal banks, about half a mile south of the old center which was near the Mohawk, and based on Baggs's Square.³³

John C. and Nicholas Devereux bought at this time property on the south side of the canal and west of Genesee Street.³⁴ Part of this later became the site of the “Devereux Block”, still a landmark; but their first buildings here were a store and a warehouse. John became active again as a partner, for the firm name showed John C. and N. Devereux in their advertisement dated December 25, 1821.³⁵ Evidently they kept for a time their old store on Baggs Square, because the ad offered goods for sale “at their old stand” and “at their Canal warehouse.” This advertisement also showed that the Devereux dealt extensively in imported goods, and the quantities make it clear they were wholesalers.

We have seen no other Utica mercantile advertisements showing such a large stock or variety. Dry Goods included:

“2 bales Cassimere, assorted; 1 bale Tartan Plaids; 1 case Carlisle Gingham; 300 doz. Ladies' Hair Combs; Russia and Irish Drapes; 2 cases Canton Handkerchiefs; 3 cases Canton and Nankin Crape; 1 case Madras Handkerchiefs; French and English Silk Gloves; English and Italian Sewing Silk.”

Under Groceries we find:

"20 hogsheads St. Croix rum; 10 pipes Cognac and Spanish Brandy; 5000 gal. whiskey; 100 kegs plug Tobacco; 10 kegs Ladies Twist; 80,000 Spanish cigars; 50,000 New Orleans cigars; 50 kegs pure ginger; 100 lbs. of nutmeg; 40 boxes shaving soap; 10 hogsheads of Molasses; 50 barrels of Carolina Tar"

Hardware included 12 tons Russian and Swedes Iron, and there was also crockery. All these were noted as additional supplies and offered for cash only.

This shipment sheds light on Mrs. Devereux's note that they had a large business with local Tavern keepers. She also stated:

"All this time Mr. Devereux was very much occupied in business allowing himself no leisure. I could only talk with him on Sundays. Two of the clerks took their meals with us. The business was very extensive with Tavern-keepers and store keepers of the smaller towns and Mr. Devereux was often absent collecting and looking after bad debts, he also did the purchasing which took him to New York four or five times a year, two weeks at a time. It is well for my children to know how hard their Father toiled and how simply we lived, he always breakfasted at 6 A.M., went to the store and worked hard, dined at 12, could scarcely take time to eat, tea at 6, then to the store writing up the business until 9 P.M. and to bed at 10 . . . It was hard work all the time."

She continued:

"The persons with whom Mr. Devereux transacted the business in New York were James and Flack and Heyer Rankin & Co. They were of great service to Nicholas. I had unbounded confidence in him. Through them he made many valuable business friends."

These were two fine firms and evidently the beginning of Devereux's New York associations. The Devereux trade connections with New York is made clear by their advertisement stating "they will pay cash for Wheat, Ashes, Etc., make advances on all kinds of Produce intended for the New York market."³⁶

In 1823 John, then forty nine, retired as an active partner and the firm became Devereux & Co.³⁷

Devereux bought the Jeremiah Van Rensselaer house at the edge of the village, late in 1823. The land had a frontage of 416 feet on the east side of Genesee Street, running south from a point just south of Elizabeth Street. It totalled seven acres³⁸ and is now in the center of the Utica business district. Mrs. Devereux noted:

"It was on a hill . . . a beautiful place. The lawn was 300 feet in front and the house white with two wings stood back 100 feet from the street. We now kept a carriage with one horse, a splendid animal. I had everything that heart could desire except my poor health. It was the only drawback to our happiness."



Nicholas Devereux' House in Chancellor Square, Utica, torn down in the early 1920s.

From a watercolor by Egbert N. Clark belonging to the Savings Bank of Utica.

That same year the Erie Canal was opened to Rochester.³⁹ Devereux and Co. ran passenger packet boats—"Utica" and "Rochester"—between the two cities, either on a charter or possibly as agents for the Western Inland Navigation Co. We know the "Utica" had a steady schedule for six weeks; we have only a little knowledge of the "Rochester."⁴⁰ In March 1825 the Erie Canal Transportation Company advertised that Messrs Devereux & Co. were their sole agents in Utica, from which place eight first rate boats would start at the opening of the Canal.⁴¹

In 1829 and 1830 Devereux had a running account with George McBride of Dublin, brother of James McBride, a very successful New York City importer. George McBride's letters to Devereux showed he made payments in Dublin for him to his brother and sisters. They also gave prices there of wheat, potatoes, upland cotton and potash.^{41a} This suggests that potash bought by the firm in Utica for the New York market reached Ireland where it was used for fertilizer and Waterford glass. We note here that James McBride was on the original board of the New York Life Insurance Company, his service there overlapping Devereux's. He was also a Devereux Land Company partner.

Devereux left the firm on March 20, 1830, when it was dissolved by mutual consent.⁴² Although a new firm was immediately formed by Butler, McDonough and Van Vechten Livingston,⁴³ Devereux was never active in it again. In 1830 he bought land on Chancellor Square^{43a} where he built a handsome residence.

Devereux was elected, just before he left the firm, to be president of the newly formed Utica Hibernian Temperance Society,⁴⁴ which society was part of a very strong national movement.

Devereux's last year at the store overlapped his new and wider ranging endeavors. He was thirty-eight years old and his twenty-three years as a merchant had been extraordinarily successful. At this point he started a new and many faceted career that ran another twenty six years. It took him to many parts of the state, but Utica continued to be his base.

Devereux's banking interests had started in 1819, for with so much "canal money" around, the Devereux brothers began a savings bank. By tradition this was the result of the trust the Irish laborers placed in the Devereux⁴⁵ and also was an outgrowth of the Devereux store. This bank paid regular dividends to its depositors.⁴⁶ To our knowledge, only the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society can claim an earlier similar record. The bank was incorporated two years later, March 21, 1821.⁴⁷ The organizers let the charter lapse, possibly because canal construction had moved away from Utica. John was an incorporator, but curiously enough Nicholas was not. John was also president of the Utica Bank for Savings, about which we know nothing except that it is listed in the Utica Directories of 1832-1834. The present Utica Savings Bank came later.

Devereux's banking achievement in 1829 was his successful advocacy of setting up branches of the Second Bank of the United States in western New York. Although this bank board could establish branches wherever it chose, its operations were bitterly opposed by President Andrew Jackson and his Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren. Van Buren, through the "Albany Regency", ran the New York state government. This was the first of three occasions where Devereux successfully countered the "Albany Regency."

Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank, made a tour in the summer of 1829 by canal from Buffalo to Albany. He then wrote to Colonel John E. Hinman of Utica, saying that while there was room for two branches in western New York, only one would be opened in 1829, and that one at Buffalo. The Utica Branch came the next year and the Biddle correspondence shows that Devereux had a prominent part in setting it up.⁴⁸ Devereux was appointed to the board, which in turn elected John C. Devereux as president.⁴⁹ John remained president until 1835 when the Federal charter for the Second Bank ran out, Jackson having refused to renew it.

The year of 1837 was marked by a wide spread and disastrous banking panic. This was the aftermath of Jackson's action some years before of withdrawing Federal funds from the Second Bank and the distribution of the Federal surplus to state banks. Here the money was often unwisely invested and banks failed.⁵⁰ In this financially troubled year it appears Devereux was intrusted to carry an important political peace message to Nicholas Biddle. There is this remarkable passage in a letter of May 8 (dated by the Library of Congress as 1837) from Roswell Colt, an uncle of Mary (Colt) Devereux, to his close friend Biddle:

"N. Devereux has just come down from Utica, he says he had many confidential conversations with the leaders of the Regency party in Albany, that they are desirous to bury the hatchet and now receive favors from you . . . I advised N.D. to pay you a visit."⁵¹

The Devereux brothers were founders, in 1839, and original board members of the Utica Savings Bank.⁵² The Utica banks had survived the troubled financial years but an institution for savings was needed. John was elected president and remained so until his death in 1848.⁵³ This bank is still a thriving institution.

John died in Utica on December 11, 1848. By the time his widow died in 1868, the one thousand dollars that John had danced out of the New Englanders had become a fortune of \$450,000.^{53a}

Devereux was elected in July 1830 to the board of the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, founded just four months before.⁵⁴ Its charter stated that all their mortgages had to be inside New York state while half had to be outside New York City and County.⁵⁵ In actual practice most of their mortgages were on the western lands being opened up by the Erie Canal. Obviously a central New York board member was needed, and Devereux was elected—the only board member not in the New York-Albany axis. The board may have wanted a Utican on account of the astonishing population growth of the village from 2972 in 1820, to 8323 in 1830; but certainly Devereux's activities had made him well known to the New York City businessmen.

From the start Devereux was a useful member. He immediately helped select agents across the state and set up mortgage security guidelines.⁵⁶ The company appointed C. P. Kirkland as the Utica agent and wrote him:

"You ought to advertise your agency and having Mr. Devereux with you, almost any (mortgage) loan . . . will be confirmed."⁵⁷

At the end of July, 1831, Devereux made a tour of western New York for the Insurance Company, visiting agents in Geneva, Geneseo, and Ithaca and inspecting their mortgages. His report to the company showing generally satisfactory operations was relayed to the agents.⁵⁸ In June 1832 he again toured western New York, this time going as far as Buffalo. He reported their affairs were generally in good shape. However, the Jackson-Biddle banking war was more intense, money tighter, and Devereux felt certain mortgages should be reduced.⁵⁹ He also prepared the Insurance Company's report to the State Chancellor on the security of their western New York holdings.⁶⁰

No sooner was he back in Utica than cholera broke out in New York. People fled the city,⁶¹ Utica also suffered, people fleeing to New Hartford, and Devereux was on the Cholera Relief Committee.⁶² He also had a light case⁶³ which caused a change in one of his plans. On his trip west he had told David E. Evans, the Holland Land Company agent at Batavia, that he might want to buy a tract for English and Irish emigrants who came out with letters to him. On September 28, Evans wrote that Devereux's purchase was off—"Cholera has so deranged his affairs as to put all land speculations out of his head."⁶⁴

Devereux was also promoting railroads. In 1831 he was one of twelve chosen at a meeting in Utica to petition the Legislature for the incorporation of a railway between Utica and Schenectady.⁶⁵ On November 15 he attended a similar meeting at Rome to start a line between Utica and Oswego.⁶⁶ Two years later the Utica and Schenectady Railroad was incorporated with Devereux as a board member, but because it competed directly with the State owned Erie Canal, the Albany Regency opposed it and forced restrictive provisions into the charter.⁶⁷

In 1834 time was running out on the Second Bank and the Jackson-Biddle financial war was causing great hardship. Utica business was affected and Devereux was among those sponsoring a general employment registry.⁶⁸

Quite possibly it was the Utica unemployment which sparked the Devereux brothers to bring Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg, Maryland, to start St. John's Orphan Asylum and a Catholic Girls School. Each brother put up \$5,000.⁶⁹ They had a gift for having money when needed.

The money pinch had a drastic effect on land operations in western New York and on the New York Life Insurance Company. The Holland Land Company held most of the mortgages on the lands west of Rochester and owned nearly everything else from the Pennsylvania border to Lake Ontario and west to Lake Erie. Organized in the 1790s by Dutch speculators, the Company had bought 3,000,000 acres from Robert Morris, then heavily in debt. It had been a good landlord but was now in trouble.

Money was particularly short in this region. People paying off mortgages to the Holland Land Company realized that the money went to Holland and so became even scarcer here.⁷⁰ A parallel situation existed at the Pultney Estate, a big English holding centering on Bath, New York. The New York legislature took action. By an act in 1833 it taxed as property of foreign landlords all debts owed them in New York.⁷¹ Shortly thereafter the Holland Land Company made plans to sell its holdings. This action set the stage for Devereux's land company.

The New York Life also suffered from this regional money pinch. Aside from the Holland Land Company, it was the largest holder of mortgages in western New York—and it was getting richer. The legislature solved this in 1834 by an act that prevented all future growth of the Insurance Company's outstanding loans, except from trust funds awarded them by the courts.⁷²

In the meantime, the Erie Railroad, incorporated in 1832,⁷³ was struggling to get money for construction. Its route from the lower Hudson River to Lake Erie competed with the Erie Canal and so the railroad was opposed by the Albany Regency.⁷⁴ Only in the spring of 1835 did the railroad get a State pledge, but it was contingent on the company raising private funds.⁷⁵ Devereux had been much interested in seeing that the Erie Railroad got state aid. Six Erie Directors sat with him on the board of the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company.^{75a}

At this time Devereux, with fifteen New York City partners, formed his land company⁷⁶ to buy from the Holland Land Company its undeveloped property in southwest New York. The Erie Railroad expected to traverse this territory; three of Devereux's partners, whose interests totalled 32½%,⁷⁷ were on the Erie board.^{77a} Devereux also had two partners from the New York Life Board.⁷⁸

Negotiations for this purchase ran from November 5, 1834 to July 9, 1835, when an agreement of sale was signed for settlement in December 1835. Devereux was the sole negotiator for his company. The Holland Land Company records in Amsterdam show that the land company idea was Devereux's. They also show that Devereux strove to benefit the Erie Railroad as well as the partners.^{78a} Thus there was a specific provision in the partnership agreement that if the railroad completed its route in seven years it could acquire by gift or purchase 50,000 acres from the Devereux Land Company.^{78b} This equalled a strip two miles wide across Cattaraugus County.

On December 16, 1835, Devereux's company bought from the Holland Land Company 417,970 acres for \$380,587.19, and later acquired another 4145 acres.⁷⁹ Devereux's own interest was 15%.⁸⁰ Some of the land was in Allegany and Genesee counties, but the great bulk was in Cattaraugus County⁸¹ which had to be crossed by the Erie Railroad. The partners put Devereux in complete charge of the company and also appointed Asher Tyler as their agent in Ellicottville, Cattaraugus County.⁸²

We note here that a small but important area called "Allegany City" was covered by a separate agreement.⁸³ Fifteen hundred acres was owned by Devereux, and part of this he gave to set up what has become St. Bonaventure University.⁸⁴

December 16, 1835, was the worst possible time to start a land company. Not only was money desperately tight but that night a fire started that destroyed nineteen blocks in the New York business district and did \$18,000,000 damage.⁸⁵ Most of this loss was uninsured and seriously impaired the New York venture capital market. This hurt the Erie, still raising funds.⁸⁶ The railroad finally crawled west but never benefited from the Land Company "gift." Not until the 1840s did it cross Cattaraugus County, and only in 1851 did it reach Dunkirk on Lake Erie.⁸⁷ It was a remarkable tribute to Devereux that without the Erie trackage his company came so near complete success in four years, as noted below.

In 1837 the Devereux Land Company published a broadside advertising its

lands.⁸⁸ This same year, and for several following, the Utica Directories list both brothers as Land Agents.

The Devereux Land Company suffered of course from the general banking collapse and the severe depression that lasted until 1840.⁸⁹ It also suffered from the dismal failure of the Erie to reach Cattaraugus County. The partnership had a seven year limit, with an option to dissolve earlier.⁹⁰ They chose to stop in March 1840, after four years of actual operation.⁹¹

Of their 422,115 acres, with a total cost of \$389,087.19, they had set out to sell 100,000 acres. Devereux's account for June 1839 showed 93,508 acres sold for \$282,026. He asserted then that within twelve months another 22,000 acres would be sold for \$82,500.⁹² Even if the latter figure was only partly realized, the overall performance was remarkable for the time and the place.

Real estate records in Cattaraugus County show that the Devereux Company partners then disposed of the land in large blocks. A copy of a family letter shows that Devereux took over as a personal holding 45,000 acres.⁹³ When Devereux died in 1855 he still owned, in southwestern New York, 26,994 acres, then valued at \$106,571, and mortgages in the same region totalling \$109,773.⁹⁴ (Not until the 1870s was the last sale made of the Devereux lands.) This was the bulk of his estate totalling \$300,000^{94a} which had started out as three gold sovereigns.

Devereux never forgot his church. As early as 1819 he and John helped found St. John's Church in Utica. Money from the canal work had poured into the village and into the hands of local labor, and it was, accordingly, an ideal time to raise money to build a church in Utica. Thus was started the first Roman Catholic church west of Albany, with the Devereux as leaders—and givers—in this endeavor.⁹⁵

The spark for its founding came from a week's visit by Father O'Gorman of Albany with the family of John Devereux. The highlight of his visit was saying Mass in the Utica Academy (also used as the Court House); and since this was the first public Mass in Utica it aroused great interest.⁹⁶ Soon trustees were chosen, including the two Devereux men, and by May 24, 1819, Father John Farnan was "established" as "rector of the first Catholic church in the western district of New York."⁹⁷ Within the next two years they built a wooden Gothic church, 45 feet by 60 feet, with a spire, at Bleeker and John Streets.⁹⁸

Prior to this building, local Roman Catholics had often assembled for prayers at John Devereux's house and the first Mass in Utica had been said in his house in 1813.^{98a}

In the winter of 1836 John was in charge of a new church for St. John's, the congregation having outgrown the old building.⁹⁹ The Christmas Mass of 1836 opened the new church.

Devereux had been concerned that there was no low cost Douay New Testament. He and Lewis Willcocks of New York undertook such a printing. Willcocks had to withdraw and Devereux bought his interest. Now referred to as the Devereux Testament, it was first published by William Williams of Utica in 1829, and ran through many editions. Later the plates were sold to Sadlier of New York who printed another 40,000 copies.¹⁰⁰

That same year Devereux was in Hartford, Connecticut, on business when

he found that the Roman Catholics needed a church. There was an Episcopal church building available whose congregation had just moved. One of the problems was money and Devereux's credit made its purchase possible.¹⁰¹

In the late 1840s his attention focused on western New York. Irish and German labor was then completing that part of the Erie Railroad. Devereux saw a great need there for Roman Catholic churches and priests.¹⁰² He became a close friend of Bishop Timon, appointed in 1847 to the newly created Diocese of Buffalo. We know that Devereux helped start four churches in this Diocese, and published accounts suggest even more.¹⁰³

Devereux went to Rome in the winter of 1854 to persuade the Franciscans to start a mission in western New York. He promised them \$5,000 and land—and soon they came. Thus was founded St. Bonaventure University, the original campus being 200 acres from Devereux's farm at Allegany City.¹⁰⁴ This University is probably the sole survivor and, certainly, the principal beneficiary of the Devereux Land Company.

In Rome Devereux had with him his wife, who had joined the Roman Catholic Church in 1847;¹⁰⁵ his daughter Mary, and Father Clarke, former assistant at St. John's. They had a letter from Bishop Timon to the Franciscan head, and they had an audience with the Pope.¹⁰⁶

Devereux had a second mission. He told Cardinal Wiseman that he felt there should be in Rome a college for training priests from America. The current record shows Devereux was the first layman to present this idea to the Vatican.¹⁰⁷ At almost the same time Archbishop Bedini returned to Rome from America where, as Papal Nuncio, he had toured the country. He presented to the Pope a detailed plan for such a college, and within a year the American College was set up, largely on the Nuncio's plan.¹⁰⁸

Upon hearing that the American College was approved, late in 1855, Devereux proposed that one hundred American Roman Catholics each give \$1,000 to start operations and he made the first pledge. He died shortly after, but his family fulfilled his pledge.¹⁰⁹

Devereux died after a short illness, December 29, 1855,¹¹⁰ pursued by business until the end: a telegram having arrived on December 28, saying he was much needed at a business meeting in New York.¹¹¹

Bishop McCloskey of Albany preached the sermon at his funeral.¹¹² Bishop Timon of Buffalo was away when his telegram arrived; too late for the funeral, he travelled all night to see Mrs. Devereux.¹¹³ Devereux's death drew notices as far west as St. Louis.¹¹⁴

Of the funeral Mrs. Devereux wrote:

"Never has such a funeral been witnessed in Utica. Nearly 5,000 persons assisted . . . Over 600 of his countrymen bore his remains to his last resting place, relieving each other. They would not permit a hearse to be used."¹¹⁵

Devereux left his mark on western New York in land development and church works. Also in Utica where, besides the banks, he was an incorporator of three local companies, the Utica Steam Woolen Mills, the Water Company, and the

Gas Works. He remained on the board of the Utica and Schenectady Railroad until it merged in 1853 with the New York Central. Appointed to the original board of the State Lunatic Asylum in 1843, he remained a member until his death. Three living institutions felt his hand in their foundings: the Savings Bank of Utica, St. Bonaventure University, and the American College in Rome.

Devereux' obituary in the *Utica Observer*, December 29, 1855, quoted in full in the *New York Evening Post*, December 31, concludes with this eulogy:

In his decease the poor have lost a charitable friend, the church an efficient member, Utica one of its most enterprising citizens, society one of its most cheerful ornaments, and his immediate family a most kind, indulgent, and faithful head. The sympathies of the whole community are with them in this hour of their sore affliction.

NOTES

1. My initial acknowledgement goes to my mother who, many years ago, aroused my interest in her great-grandfather Nicholas Devereux. Furthermore she had assorted Devereux notes and these I inherited. I am grateful also to Leslie W. Devereux and the late Thomas P. Kernan for their Devereux researches and publications. For assistance on this biography I wish to thank particularly my cousins, John D. Kernan, Ruth and James C. Kernan, Jr., Sophia (Kernan) Saunders, Natalie (Belden) Barringer, James S. Kernan, Jr., Charles and Silvine (Slingluff) Savage, and Kathleen Slingluff; also Charles L. Todd and David M. Ellis of the Hamilton College faculty, for critically reading my manuscript; Miss Helen C. Hyden and her staff at the Utica Public Library for dedicated research assistance; Dr. W. Chr. Pieterse, Curator of the Holland Land Company Archives in Amsterdam, for her many kindnesses; the Rev. Irenaeus Herscher, Librarian Emeritus at St. Bonaventure University, and the Rev. Edmund Halsey, recently Archivist of the American Catholic Historical Society in Philadelphia, for outstanding interest and help from both. My particular thanks go to the American Philosophical Society for research grants that went a long way in making this project feasible. I am especially grateful to my wife for her patience, enthusiasm, typing, and editing. There are many more who helped. I hope those not mentioned here will realize the vital part each one played and accept my heartfelt thanks.

2. So noted in biographical sketch by his widow, written in the 1870s. The original is missing but the author inherited from his mother a typed copy of considerable age. Checked against family letters and outside documentations, Mrs. Devereux's memory was excellent. This biography ends in 1824. All quotations from Mrs. Devereux are from this copy unless otherwise noted.
3. As researched by John D. Kernan. Publication in *The Irish Genealogist* below.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Utica newspapers of the period, Utica Public Library and New York Historical Society.
7. *Connecticut Courant*, Sept. 26, 1796.
8. *Connecticut Courant*, Jan. 29, 1799.
9. M. M. Bagg, *Pioneers of Utica* (Utica, 1877), p 138.
10. Thomas P. Kernan, *Life of John C. Devereux*, *Utica Observer*, Jan. 1902.
11. Bagg, p 138. I am indebted to Ruth Kernan for finding at the Oneida Historical Society in *The Patriot*, Dec. 19, 1803, a John C. Devereux ad, dated Oct. 14, 1803. Running the store also included barter. Devereux stated he would sell for "cash or country produce." She also found a series of ads to Jan. 2, 1821.
12. Bagg, p 111.
13. *Autobiography of Alexander B. Johnson*, unpublished mss, p 77, Hamilton College Library. Courtesy of Charles L. Todd.
14. Utica deeds dated Dec. 10, 1802; Apr. 27, 1805; Aug. 29, 1805; all recorded in Utica; Sackets Harbour deed, May 6, 1806, recorded in Watertown. Mrs. Devereux makes no mention in 1806 of brother Luke Devereux who bought land in Utica in 1808. For further notes on Luke and Thomas Devereux, later in Utica, see *The Irish Genealogist* below.
15. Witness on a real estate deed, Nov. 11, 1813, recorded in Watertown, May 30, 1815.
16. Bagg, p 139; also J. C. & N. Devereux ad in *The Patrol*, Utica Oct. 16, 1815, and Feb. 27, 1816.
17. All population figures are from U.S. census records in the Utica Public Library.
18. Bagg, p 115.
19. Ronald E. Shaw, *Erie Water West* (1966) p 84.
20. Kernan Collection (No. 772), Dept. of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University. This collection, given by Kernan and Kernan, Counsellors at Law, contains many hundred letters from 1795 into the 20th century, concerning the families of Stubbs, Kernan, Avery, Butler, Devereux, Clapp and Newberry. In 1921 the late John D. Kernan had about 150 of these letters typed by the Misses Florence and Edith Kernan. Individual carbons from this typing are filed with the original letter in this collection. The original typescript is in the Devereux Collection, Cornell; carbons are owned by St. Bonaventure University, Mrs. Harriet (Kernan) Brautigam and the author.

21. R. W. Walworth, *Hyde Genealogy* (1864) p 522; copies of family letters.
22. New York City Directory 1817.
23. H. W. Lanier, *Century of Banking in New York* (1922) p 98.
24. Kernan Collection, *supra*.
25. *Ibid*.
26. *Ibid*. Mary D. Devereux to her parents, Dec. 10, 1817. This was John's second marriage; see *The Irish Genealogist* below.
- 26a. Mrs. Morris S. Miller, nee Maria Bleecker of Albany.
27. See note 26; *supra*.
28. Shaw, p 98.
29. *Ibid*.
30. *Ibid*. p 90.
31. *Ibid*.
32. *Ibid*. map opp. p 130.
33. Bagg p 140.
34. Four deeds dated June 21-July 1, 1821, recorded in Utica. Two properties were subject to the right of way which the "People of the State" have taken for the Erie Canal.
35. *Utica Columbian Gazette* Mar. 5, 1822. John had been a silent partner 1816-1821, when the firm was N. Devereux & Co. (Nicholas Devereux and George Tisdale, formerly a clerk).
36. *Ibid*. Dec. 31, 1822.
37. Bagg p 140.
38. So described in Devereux's mortgage deed, Nov. 24, 1823; Devereux Collection (No. 606) Dept. of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University.
39. Shaw p 129.
40. Waybills in the office of the Rochester City Historian, Mr. Blake McKelvey, who brought them to my attention.
41. *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, June 21, 1825. This and later Utica newspapers are at the Utica Public Library. For searching them, I am indebted to Ruth and James C. Kernan, Jr.
- 41a. Devereux Collection, Cornell University, *supra*. Letters dated Dublin, Jan. 17, 1829 and Aug. 5, 1830.
42. *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, Mar. 30, 1830. Dissolution agreement in Devereux Collection, Cornell University, *supra*. Horace Butler and James McDonough had been Devereux partners.
43. *Utica Sentinel and Gazette* May 4, 1830.
- 43a. Deed dated Apr. 19, 1830, recorded in Utica. He lived here until he died. The house was occupied by his descendants until 1922 when it was sold and torn down.
44. *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, Mar. 9, 1830.
45. T. Wood Clarke, *Utica for a Century and a Half* (1952) p 41. Leslie W. Devereux in his *History of the Savings Bank* (1939) says this bank began in 1814, the year the Devereux built a new store with a safe. The bank evolved from letting Uticans keep their money in the safe.

46. Clarke p 41.
47. *Laws of New York, 44th Session*, p 151 et seq.
48. *Nicholas Biddle Papers*, Book 116, Library of Congress. Letters by Biddle, July 29, 1829; Sept. 16, 1829; Aug. 20, 1830; Aug. 30, 1830. A Devereux eulogy states that during Biddle's 1829 visit he and the delegations from Buffalo, Rochester and Utica were entertained by Devereux at his home. This eulogy, signed FRIEND, was in the *New York Express* and was one of five assembled and printed together later. Original of this assembly is in the Devereux Collection, St. Bonaventure University. The Utica newspapers for this particular period—August 1829—are missing.
49. Biddle to Devereux, Sept. 5, 1831, Biddle Papers, supra. Bagg p 140.
50. Robert V. Rimini, *Andrew Jackson and the Bank War* (1967) p 168 et seq.; *Letter Books of the New York Life Insurance and Trust Co.*, Baker Library, Harvard University, 1837 et seq. Allan Nevins, *History of Bank of New York and Trust Co.* (1934) p 54 et seq.
51. Biddle Papers, Book III. Roswell L. Colt to Biddle May 8, 1837.
52. Chartered July 26, 1839, Clarke p. 41. Original board listed in Devereux's *History of the Savings Bank*, p. 28.
53. Devereux, *History of the Savings Bank* p. 45.
- 53a. Kernan Collection supra. Mrs. Devereux to her sister, Elizabeth, Sept. 12, no year, but she specifically refers to the death of her sister-in-law, Mrs. John Devereux.
54. Chartered Mar. 9, 1830, *Laws of New York 53rd Session* p. 76 et seq.
55. Section 7 of Charter supra.
56. This company's early Letter Books and Account Books, in the Baker Library, Harvard University. Devereux's part as noted is very clear, so also the emphasis on western New York mortgages. All references courtesy of the owner, Bank of New York.
57. N.Y. Life president, Wm. Bard to C. P. Kirkland, Aug. 20, 1830, Letter Books supra.
58. New York Life Letter Book, June 27-Aug. 6, 1831.
59. Ibid. May 7-Aug. 15, 1832.
60. *Documents of the Assembly, 53rd Session 1833*, Vol. 3, p. 209 at seq.
61. New York Life Letter Book, July 19-24, 1832.
62. *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, Aug. 21 and 28, 1832.
63. Holland Land Co. Collection, Box 730, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst van Amsterdam, Devereux to Evans Sept. 2, 1832.
64. Ibid. Box 411, Bundle 1, Item 13, Evans to Vanderkemp, July 6, 1832.
65. *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1831.
66. Ibid. Nov. 22, 1831.
67. Incorporated Apr. 29, 1833, *Laws of New York 56th Session 1833* p. 462 et seq.
68. *Oneida Whig*, Utica, Dec. 16, 1834.
69. The Rev. F. P. McFarland, *Early Catholic Affairs in Utica, N.Y.* written in 1856, pub. *U.S. Catholic Historical Magazine Vol. IV*, 1891-93, p. 66. The author notes that a few years before this St. John's was very short of

funds. This was probably the time, reported by Bagg, when John Devereux gave \$7,000 to clear the church of debt (p. 140).

70. Paul D. Evans, *The Holland Land Company*. (Buffalo 1924) p. 389.
71. Passed Apr. 27, 1833. *Laws of N.Y. 56th Session 1833* p. 355 et seq.
72. Passed May 2, 1834. *Laws of N.Y. 57th Session 1834* p. 445 et seq.
73. Incorporated Apr. 24, 1832. *Laws of N.Y. 55th Session* p. 402 et seq.
74. Edward Hungerford, *Men of Erie* (New York 1946) p. 5.
75. Ibid. To arouse further interest in the railroad, the Erie promoted a regional meeting July 29-30, 1835 in Owego, a town west of Binghamton. The chairman of this meeting was General William Kernan of Steuben County. *Oneida Whig*, Utica, Aug. 11, 1835.
- 75a. Nevins p. v; Edward H. Mott *The Story of the Erie* (1908) p. 474.
76. Original agreement in Devereux Collection, Cornell University, supra.
77. Goold Hoyt, Eleazor Lord and Elihu Townsend, as shown on agreement supra.
- 77a. Mott, p. 474. Wm. G. Buckner, also a partner, resigned as Erie president Jan. 5, 1835.
78. James McBride and Thomas Suffern; see agreement supra.
- 78a. The record of Devereux's negotiations is completely intact and is made up of 66 separate documents of the Holland Land Company. We inspected them in Amsterdam in February 1973.
- 78b. Shown in agreement supra.
79. Holland Land Co. Collection, Folio 411A, Item 4, Evans to Devereux, Dec. 5, 1835. See also Devereux Collection, Cornell University for Devereux's Statement of Account, June 6, 1839, showing a later cost of \$8,500 for an additional 4145 acres, an office and a mortgage on a farm.
80. Shown in agreement supra.
81. Shown in the original maps, now in the County Clerk's Office at Little Valley, New York, presented in the 1920s by the late Francis K. Kernan.
82. Devereux Collection 606, Cornell University, has agreement of Mar. 11, 1840, revoking partner's power of attorney given Devereux Oct. 8, 1835. Tyler appointed agent May 1836 (Franklin P. Ellis, *History of Cattaraugus County N.Y. 1879* p. 46). See also Devereux Land Co. broadside Note 88 following.
83. Maps and agreement in Devereux Collection 606, Cornell University.
84. Walter Hammon, O.F.M., *The First Bonaventure Men* (St. Bonaventure 1958) p. 47.
85. This fire and its aftermath are well documented. Details quoted here are from Nevins p. 53. See also *Oneida Whig*, Utica Dec. 22, 1835.
86. Hungerford, p. 45.
87. Ellis p. 442; Hammon p. 16.
88. A copy of this broadside was reproduced in the catalog of The Old Print Shop, New York for Aug.-Sept. 1946. The author made a typescript then sent the catalog to the late F. Ramsay Devereux who gave it to St. Bonaventure where the author saw it in May 1972. The present location of broadside not known.

89. See Note 50.
90. See p. 2 of agreement mentioned in Note 76.
91. Devereux Collection 606, Cornell University.
92. Ibid.
93. Copy of letter from Nicholas's son John in Utica to his uncle William Constable Pierrepont, May 27, 1843. Original copied by author's sister, Isabel Lewis Crowder, Sept. 22, 1933, while visiting the late Walter N. Kernan at the Red House, Whitesboro, N.Y.
94. Inventory of Devereux's western lands, Devereux Collection, Cornell.
- 94a. Estimating inflation at a rate of 3% compounded annually, Devereux's estate would be worth today about \$11,500,000. Data furnished by the First National Bank of New Haven and Dr. Marshall Blume, Finance Department, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.
95. McFarland pp. 64-65; Mrs. Devereux's notes; Bagg p. 474.
96. Kernan Collection, Cornell; Mrs. Devereux to her mother, Jan. 13, 1819; Bagg p. 474.
97. McFarland pp. 64-65.
98. Bagg p. 475. McFarland p. 65, noted it cost \$4,000, and that the Protestants gave almost as much as the Catholics. Mrs. Devereux recorded that John gave \$1,000, Nicholas \$500.
- 98a. McFarland p. 64. For 1813 Mass in Devereux's house, see documentary in letter from the Rev. Robert F. McNamara, St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N.Y. to John D. Kernan, Jan. 20, 1973.
99. McFarland p. 67; *Oneida Whig*, Utica Jan. 5, 1836.
100. The Rev. John Gilmary Shea, *Bibliographical Account of Catholic Bibles, Testaments, etc.* (1859) p. 31; *Historical Magazine*, Sept. 1858, p. 276. Devereux's own Bible is at St. Bonaventure University. His widow, in a letter to grandson John Devereux Kernan, states Devereux had read it through 17 times (Kernan Collection, Cornell). In spite of the thousands of Devereux Testaments printed, it is today a rare book. Only three are currently known: one each in the collections of St. Bonaventure, and the American Bible Society, and a third jointly owned by Thomas Spratt and Richard Dickinson Kernan.
101. Sexton, Harrington and Lord, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (1944) pp. 94-100, 169. Once the Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity on Temple and Main Streets, the first in Connecticut, the parish is now Saint Patrick's on Church and Ann Streets.
102. Hammon p 12 et seq.
103. Java 1841; Ellicottville, 1851; Dunkirk, 1851; an early church near Allegheny, N.Y.; see also *Historic Annals of Southwestern New York* (1940), Vol. 2, Cattaraugus County, edited by Charles E. Congdon, pp. 222-223. We are indebted to Sophia (Kernan) Saunders for the Annals.
104. See Note 83, also Hammon p. 47. The Franciscans told Devereux they had no English speaking missionaries and so wished to wait two years. Bishop Timon, when in Rome for the Convocation defining the Immaculate Conception, Nov.-Dec. 1854, made a successful plea for urgency. Charles

- G. Deuther, *Life and Times of the Rt. Rev. John Timon* (1870) pp. 228-230, with particular reference to his footnote from DeCoursey, *Catholic Church in the United States*. We have no evidence that Devereux and Bishop Timon were in Rome together.
105. The Rev. Robert F. McNamara in letter to John D. Kernan, quotes from the baptismal record book of St. Mary's Church, Albany, the conditional baptism of Mrs. Devereux Oct. 7, 1847. In a letter in the Kernan Collection supra, written to her sister, Elizabeth, Mrs. Devereux describes this ceremony and receiving Communion the next day. The date Oct. 20th is in the same hand as the letter, but the date 1846 on the back of the letter is in another—and heavier—hand.
 106. U.S. Documents in the *Propaganda Fide Archives, 1st Series, Vol. 2*, ed by Finbar Keneally O.F.M. (1968), Doc. 750, Jan. 9, 1854. He probably sailed early in 1854; a copy of his citizenship papers was reissued to him Jan. 1, 1854, in Utica (Devereux Collection, Cornell). Documentation of the party from copy of the Rev. Michael Clarke's letter to Mrs. Devereux, Jan. 1860, (Kernan Collection) and *A Hidden Life*, being the obit of Mother Mary Joseph Devereux, *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 6, 1887. They travelled home via County Wexford.
 107. The Rev. Robert F. McNamara, *American College in Rome, 1855-1955*, (Rochester 1956) pp. 13-15.
 108. Ibid. p. 14.
 109. Ibid. pp. 14-15.
 110. *Utica Morning Herald* Dec. 31, 1855.
 111. Devereux Collection, Cornell University.
 112. Kernan Collection supra; Benjamin C. Butler to Elizabeth Butler, Albany, Jan. 1, 1856.
 113. Bishop Timon's *Diary*, Dec. 31, 1855 and Jan. 1, 1856.
 114. See Note 48. One of the five obituaries was from the *St. Louis Leader*.
 115. Kernan Collection supra; Letter from Mrs. Devereux to her sister Elizabeth Butler, Jan. 16, 1856.