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SMALLPOX IN PROVIDENCE, 1776-1779

Linda L. Mathew

On 4 May 1776 the ship *Diamond*, commanded by Capt. Samuel Soule, returned to Providence from its journey to the West Indies carrying, in addition to its valuable cargo, the dreaded smallpox virus. The Providence Town Council immediately took steps to prevent the spread of the disease, ordering the ship to be docked as near as possible to the "pest house" where people with contagious diseases were housed. The owners of the vessel were allowed to unload the cargo, but they were required to leave it "in the open air for one whole day." Those on board the ship who were not ill were transported to the pest house to remain there until it was determined if they had been infected. The town council appointed Dr. John Chace, a Providence physician, to care for those infected on the ship, and required him "to shift all his apparel every time he visits the sick on board." Because Capt. Soule was among those stricken, Capt. John Warner was appointed to take charge of the ship and prevent anyone from boarding or leaving without a written order from the town council. When a sailor on board the ship named William Greene died of the disease, the council ordered that he be buried in the burial ground at the pest house, that his "coffin be made tight and tarred within," and that those appointed to bury him "change and air the clothes they shall wear at the burial."^[1]

Smallpox was no stranger to Providence. Seaports were always vulnerable to diseases brought into the towns on ships, and town officials were vigilant to prevent their spread to the general populace. The Providence Town Council records of the eighteenth century often report ships arriving in port with men who were infected or who had had the disease during the voyage. What was unique about the smallpox cases from the *Diamond* and the *Enterprise*, a sloop commanded by Capt. James Westcott which arrived from the West Indies on 4 June 1776,^[2] was that they were but the first cases of an outbreak in Providence and neighboring towns that lasted for several years, until it had run its course by about 1780.

Recognizing the danger of disease spread from ships, the General Assembly of the colony had passed a law detailing certain requirements:

No Master or Commander of any Ship or other Vessel, who shall come into any Port or Harbour of this Colony, and shall have any Person or Persons on board sick of the Small-Pox or any other contagious Distemper, or who

1. Providence Town Council Records, Providence City Archives, Providence Town Hall, 5:42-43.
2. Providence Town Council Records, 5:44-45.

has had any Person sick of such Distemper in the Passage, or who shall come from any Port or Place where the Small-Pox or any other contagious Distemper is prevalent, shall presume to bring such Vessel to Anchor in any of the Ports of this Government, within the Distance of One Mile of any public Ferry, Pier or Landing Place, nor permit or suffer any Person or Persons on board such Vessel to be landed, or any Person to come on board such Vessel, without a License first had and obtained from the Governor or Deputy Governor of this Colony... on the Penalty of forfeiting Sixty Pounds to and for the Use of the Colony.

Any person who came on shore from an infected ship without the required license would be apprehended and either returned to the ship or confined "in such convenient Place as... shall appear most effectual to prevent the spreading of any Infection." He would be liable for all charges arising from his illegal action and also be required to pay a fine of twelve pounds. If he did not have sufficient estate to pay the charges, he would be "sold for the same or a Term not exceeding One Year."^[3] These strict measures ensured that the infection remained confined to the ship and allowed the proper authorities to institute the quarantine and cleansing measures described for the *Diamond*. While the measures may seem primitive by today's standards, they were remarkably effective in preventing the spread of the disease, and in most cases the town was not infected.

This smallpox outbreak in Rhode Island was not an isolated situation, but part of an epidemic which spread from east to west across North America in the 1770s and 1780s. For hundreds of years, Europe had been experiencing periodic outbreaks of the disease, but the American colonies had been relatively free of it. While colonists feared smallpox far more than the consumption which killed many more people, actual deaths were typically low. There had been a minor outbreak in the 1750s and 1760s, probably begun by infected soldiers returning from the French and Indian War, but only a very small percentage of the population contracted the disease. The difference between England and the colonies was not lost on Rhode Islanders. Benjamin Wickham, writing from London in 1752, advised his kinsman John Rice, Jr., not to "come home" (i.e. to England) because he had never had smallpox.^[4] Most colonists in the 1770s had no immunity. The beginning of the American Revolution brought conditions favorable to the spread of smallpox. Once the disease struck, the unprecedented movement of people throughout the colonies, especially of the military, spread it rapidly. In this epidemic smallpox first made its appearance around Boston in 1774 and 1775, cases steadily increasing until the siege of the town in 1775 and

3. A Newport Town Meeting had ordered that this "Extract from the Laws of this Colony" be published (*Newport Mercury*, 13 Mar. 1775, p. 4).
4. Thomas Rice Papers, Mss 680, Rhode Island Historical Society Library [hereinafter RIHSL], 9.

early 1776 caused it to reach epidemic proportions. After the initial battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, hostilities reached a standstill. The British occupied Boston, and the Americans the surrounding area, with neither strong enough to attack the other. A large percentage of British troops within the town were already immune to the disease and the others were quickly inoculated, but citizens left within the besieged town suffered greatly from the infection. The disease was contained within the city during the siege, but when the British abandoned the town and the siege was lifted, people streamed into the surrounding countryside taking the smallpox with them. The first group of soldiers that Washington sent into Boston after the British left was made up of those who had immunity to the disease, but he was soon forced to send unprotected soldiers into the infected town to secure the military stores left behind by the enemy. Once the disease found its way into a military encampment, the close living quarters made it inevitable that the disease would spread throughout the company. Where the army marched, so did the smallpox. Because most American soldiers, especially the younger ones, had acquired no immunity to the disease, entire companies were debilitated by it.^[5]

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the colonists decided to launch an assault on Quebec. The initial attack, on 31 December 1775, was repulsed, but the colonists then laid siege to the city. By spring nearly half of the Americans were ill with the smallpox. When British reinforcements arrived, the debilitated American army could no longer sustain the siege and retreated. John Adams is quoted as saying: "The smallpox is ten times more terrible than the British, Canadians and Indians together. This was the cause of our precipitate retreat from Quebec."^[6]

After leaving Boston, Washington marched his army to New York and later through New Jersey, spreading smallpox along the way. From its initial outbreak in New England, the disease spread south and west along the army's march, trading routes, and immigration paths, finally reaching the Pacific coast.^[7] The townspeople of Providence were cognizant of the fact that the army was spreading smallpox. When the Continental troops marched through Providence on their way to New York in July of 1776, the town sent a committee to the commanding officer requesting that if there was any danger of the troops spreading the disease to the town, they should avoid the most densely populated

5. Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: the Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-82* [hereinafter Fenn, *Pox Americana*] (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 42-54.
6. Donald R. Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants: Smallpox in History* [hereinafter Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants*] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 260.
7. Fenn, *Pox Americana* [note 5], 6-9.

areas and “turn off at the North Part of this Town and...Travel the Route by Rutenborough’s Mills.”^[8]

After the *Enterprise* arrived in Providence on 4 June, the town council appointed Dr. John Chace to board the sloop and care for the sailors who were ill. Those on board who had not already had the smallpox were to be taken to the “Well House” to be quarantined until it was determined that they had not contracted the disease. The following day Dr. Chace reported to the Town Council that both the Pest House and the Well House were so crowded with smallpox patients that it was very dangerous for people who had not had the disease to go there. He also told the council that it was probable that Mr. Colvin, Elias Merithew, and two African Americans—all from the *Enterprise*, all without immunity from previous infection—had not contracted it. The council therefore ordered Capt. Ephraim Carpenter to cleanse the men “as much as possible from the infection” and then permit them to go to their respective homes.^[9]

Dr. Chace’s assessment was incorrect, for on 12 June, Joseph Caesar, one of the African Americans from the ship, showed symptoms of smallpox and was taken to the Pest House. Four days later Prince, the other African American, was also taken to the Pest House with the disease and died there a week later.^[10] Elias Merithew left the ship and returned to his home in Cranston, where he too came down with smallpox on 6 June and later died. About ten days later, the Cranston Town Council was informed that Elias’s wife and children had also been stricken with the disease.^[11] It is difficult to determine whether the smallpox cases from the two ships were the source of the subsequent outbreak in Providence. The incubation period for smallpox is twelve to fourteen days, but the next cases in Providence, those of Benjamin and Daniel Proud, two teen-aged sons of William Proud, were not reported to the Town Council until two months later, on 19 August.^[12] In the meantime, however, several cases in addition to those of Elias Merithew and his family had occurred at Cranston and that of Sarah Berry had been reported by the Scituate Town Council on 20 May.^[13] It is likely that there were multiple sources of the outbreak in Providence and neighboring towns: from cases on board ships arriving at the port and from cases brought overland by travelers arriving from other infected areas in the northeast. Once the siege of Boston was lifted on 17 March 1776,

8. Providence Town Meeting Records, Providence City Archives, Providence City Hall, 6:50.

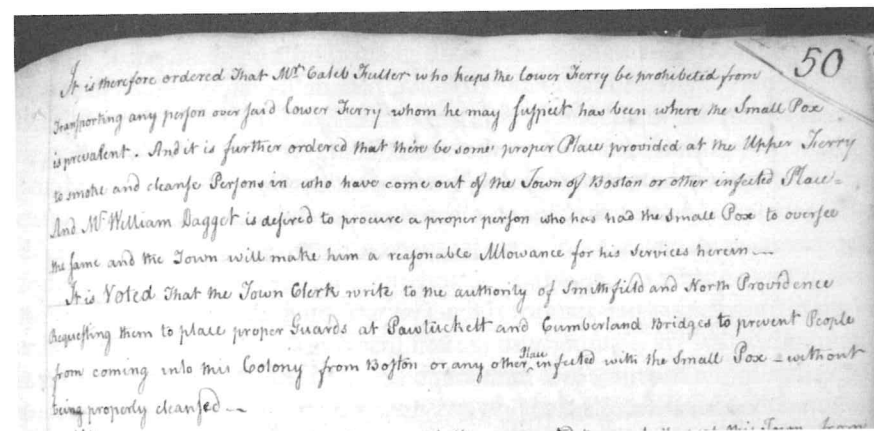
9. Providence Town Council Records, 5:44–46.

10. Providence Town Council Records, 5:46–48.

11. Cranston Town Council and Probate, Cranston City Hall, 2:71, 73, 75.

12. Providence Town Council Records, 5:52.

13. Cranston Town Council and Probate, 2:76; Scituate Town Council and Probate, Scituate Town Hall, 2:280.



Already fearful of attack by the British, Providence now had to defend itself against a more insidious enemy (Providence Town Meeting Records, 6:50).

and the disease had spread outside the city, it was only a matter of time until it reached Providence.

Providence tried its best to prevent infected people from entering the town. On 19 July 1776, the town meeting prohibited Caleb Fuller, the keeper of the Lower Ferry, from transporting anyone into the town whom he suspected of having been in an infected area. The town also established a place at the Upper Ferry where people who “had come out of the Town of Boston or other infected Place” would be smoked and cleansed and appointed someone who had had the smallpox to oversee the operation. Of course, if the traveler had already contracted the disease, such measures would not have been effective. At the same time, the town clerk was directed to write to the towns of Smithfield and North Providence requesting that they place guards at the Pawtucket and Cumberland Bridges “to prevent People from coming into the Colony from Boston or any other Place infected with the Small Pox without being properly cleansed.”^[14] These measures could hardly have proved very effective as the guards would have had to rely on the truthfulness of the travelers as to whether or not they had been in an infected area.

Throughout the Revolution, Americans suspected that the British were using the smallpox as a biological weapon. Rev. Ezra Stiles, for example, wrote in his diary 20 July 1776: “Our enemies have been so malicious as to spread the small pox in our Army, & by their Marches there is the prospect of it spreading generally through New England.”^[15] There was a precedent for it: during the

14. Providence Town Meeting Records, 2:49–50.

15. *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., L.L.D.*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, three vols. (N.Y.: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1901), 2: 25.

French and Indian War, British officers had given smallpox-infested blankets to Indians who threatened to rise up against them. During the siege of Boston, British deserters claimed that General Howe had deliberately infected several colonists, whom he then forced to leave the town to spread the disease throughout the military camp and the surrounding countryside. Whether the allegations were true or not, each additional person who left Boston infected with the smallpox fanned the rumors.^[16] Suspicion did not center only on the enemy: private citizens as well were suspected of purposefully spreading the disease. When a group of people in Westerly had themselves inoculated without permission from the proper authority, the Town Council on 14 May 1778 wrote into its minutes that "it is strongly suggested that it is a concerted plan to spread that infection in the town by evil minded persons."^[17] In Charlestown the threat to intentionally spread the disease prevented the Council from prosecuting those who had been inoculated illegally.^[18]

Apparently by mid-summer of 1776 the original Pest House in Providence had become inadequate or inconvenient to house smallpox victims, for in August the town appropriated "the cellar kitchen of Major Ebenezer Thompson's house at Tockwotton" to house the Proud brothers. The council also used the house of John Cole at Tockwotton as a hospital. The disease was already spreading, and by November more than a dozen people were ill and being cared for at Tockwotton by Dr. Barnard and three nurses. The council had appointed Capt. Ephraim Carpenter to provision the hospital.^[19] Nurses and others who came into close contact with the smallpox patients were chosen from among those who had had the disease earlier in their lives and had thus gained immunity. It appears that at this early date, nurses were in short supply. Mary Wainwood, one of the nurses at Tockwotton, had previously been a nurse at the hospital in Cranston, but had been dismissed on 24 June 1776 because she was "very much addicted to the vile practice of drunkenness."^[20] Despite this proven propensity toward alcoholism, she was made a nurse at the Providence hospital.

As more and more people contracted the disease, some began to look to inoculation as a means of lowering the mortality rate. Inoculation, or variolation, had long been practiced in Africa and Asia and was accomplished by inserting tissue matter taken from a smallpox victim into an incision in the skin, usually giving the recipient a mild case of smallpox and the subsequent immunity. During an outbreak in 1721, Cotton Mather, pastor of the North Church in Boston, suggested its use as a measure to curb the outbreak. Zabdiel Boylston, a Brookline physician, was the first to use the procedure in the American colonies

16. Fenn, *Pox Americana* [note 5], 89–91.

17. Westerly Town Council Records, Westerly Town Hall, 4:380.

18. Charlestown Probate & Town Council, Charlestown Town Hall, 2:344.

19. Providence Town Council Records, 5:54, 59–60.

20. Cranston Town Council and Probate, 2:76.

when on 26 June 1721, he inoculated his six-year old son Thomas and two Negro slaves with pus from a smallpox patient. All three recovered after mild cases of smallpox, which made them immune to the disease.^[21]

There was initially a great outcry against inoculation but its effectiveness was soon apparent as mortality rates in cases of inoculation proved to be far lower than in "natural" cases of smallpox and time proved that the procedure gave the patient a life-time immunity. Despite its effectiveness, inoculation continued to be a very controversial issue in the eighteenth century because it increased the possibility of the spread of the disease. Those who were inoculated were usually not acutely ill and frequently continued to go about their business while highly contagious, infecting the unprotected with the lethal, "natural" form of the disease. Governments were concerned that quarantine measures could not be effectively enforced if large numbers of people resorted to inoculation.

As "natural" smallpox cases increased, fearful citizens demanded inoculation. The colony soon realized that it was far better to have legalized, strictly controlled inoculation than to risk the dangers of illegal, unregulated inoculation. Consequently, the General Assembly passed an act in June 1776 permitting inoculation within the colony. The Assembly, citing "the dreadful ravages in the army lately before Quebec," blamed the smallpox as the principal reason for ending the siege of that city and feared that a large scale outbreak would render the colonists incapable of defending themselves against the British. Concerned about the spread of the disease, the General Assembly established strict regulations for inoculation. The town was to mark off the ground at a distance of two hundred yards from the hospital and station guards to prevent anyone from the hospital from going beyond the limits and anyone outside from passing within one hundred yards of them without permission from the directors of the hospital. Any person passing the limits would be subject to a £15 fine and three months imprisonment. If any person who had been inoculated ventured beyond the bounds without a certificate proving that he and the apparel he carried out with him had been thoroughly cleansed, he would be fined £30. If any person having such a certificate infected any other person outside the hospital with the smallpox, the doctor of the hospital would be held liable and fined £30. Any town having a hospital could enact further regulations to prevent the spread of the disease. The South Kingstown Town Council, for example, ordered that "papers be set up in the middle of the road where it shall be fenced up with ye words Smallpox on this Road wrote on said papers in order that all persons whatever may know and be informed that the smallpox is on that road that they may shun going forward in that road."^[22]

21. Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants* [note 6], 249–251.

22. South Kingstown Town Council and Probate, South Kingstown Town Hall, 6:66–67.

The initial act provided for one inoculation hospital in each county, the location of each to be chosen by the deputies representing that county.^[23] The deputies for Kent County met on 15 July and unanimously voted that the site for inoculation should be located in East Greenwich. The subsequent reaction of the townsmen of East Greenwich clearly demonstrates the ambivalence with which the people regarded inoculation. The freemen at a town meeting called on 25 July to discuss the issue voted not to appoint a committee "to set up and carry out said inoculation." At its meeting a month later, however, the citizens of East Greenwich rescinded the previous vote and appointed a committee of seven men to establish a hospital for inoculation.^[24]

Apparently one hospital per county was insufficient to meet the demand and the General Assembly passed a resolve the first Monday of Sept. 1776 permitting the erection of hospitals in Bristol, Westerly, Charlestown, North Providence, Coventry, Warwick, Cumberland, Johnston, West Greenwich, Barrington, and Smithfield in addition to the original five county hospitals. On 7 July 1777 the General Assembly allowed all towns to open hospitals for inoculation.^[25]

George Washington had also come to the conclusion that inoculation was necessary. After the experiences of Boston and Quebec and seeing the smallpox continue to infect the troops during the campaigns in New York and New Jersey, Washington expressed his views in a letter to Dr. William Shippen, Jr., the medical director of the army, in January 1777: "Finding the smallpox to be spreading much, and fearing no precaution can prevent it from running through the whole of our Army, I have determined that the troops shall be inoculated." On 12 February 1777, the Medical Committee of the Continental Congress passed a resolution authorizing the inoculation of the soldiers.^[26]

On 25 June 1776 the freemen of Providence at their town meeting appointed a committee comprised of Ambrose Page, Barnard Eddy, Benjamin Man, Jabez Bowen, and Nathaniel Wheaton to seek out a suitable place for a hospital for inoculation and to draw up rules and regulations for it. The committee reported back on 2 July, recommending "the place called High Bank lying to the Northwest of Great Point" as the most suitable site for the hospital. The committee claimed that the buildings could be built on land already owned by the town and that the house at "Forestack Meadow" belonging to the heirs of Ithamar Olney would be ideal for a well house if it could be purchased or leased

23. John R. Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England* [hereinafter Bartlett, *Recs. of R.I.*] (10 vols., Providence R.I.: A. Crawford Greene & Brothers, 1856-1865) (repr. New York: AMS Press, 1968), 7:559-560.

24. East Greenwich Town Meeting Records, 1752-1793, East Greenwich Town Hall, n. pag.

25. Bartlett, *Recs. of R.I.* [note 23], 7:608; 8:275.

26. Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants* [note 6], 261.

At a Town-Meeting held here on Monday last, it was voted to proceed immediately to inoculate for the Small-Pox in this Town. A Committee was appointed to hire a Number of Houses near the Lower Ferry, remote from the compact Part of the Town, where it is proposed to receive Patients on Monday next. There will be no passing over the Lower Ferry for some Time; Guards will likewise be placed, and every other Precaution taken to prevent any Infection in the natural Way.

One might expect the news to have been prominently featured in the Providence Gazette, but this notice was buried in local news on page 3 of the August 10th issue.

from the owners. This plan received a setback, however, when Jehu Smith claimed that the land belonged to him. Jabez Bowen, James Angel, and John Jenckes were appointed at the town meeting of 12 July to present Providence's claim to the land, and Richard Steere, Daniel Manton, and Jonathan Harris were to hear the arguments and settle the dispute. Because smallpox was more prevalent during the warmer months, the town was pressured to begin its inoculation program as soon as possible and requested that the committee proceed quickly to build the hospital. In the meantime, however, it directed the committee to agree to terms with such owners of houses and tenements at Tockwotton as were willing to lease their property to the town for the purpose of inoculation.^[27] Whether Jehu Smith's claims were valid or the time necessary to carry out the litigation proved to be too protracted, the town abandoned the plan to build a hospital at High Bank, and there is no further mention of it in either the town council or the town meeting records.

The committee, which had also been directed to formulate rules for the governing of the hospital, presented a list of seventeen regulations. The rules included the establishment of a "well house" in addition to the hospital, where the patients would be inoculated and remain until they showed signs of the infection, at which time they would be transferred to the hospital. After recovering from the infection and being cleansed at the hospital, patients would return to the well house to be cleansed again, along with their linen and clothing, and to take "at least one dose of Physic" before receiving the doctor's certificate enabling them to be discharged. The committee also required that "vaults and necessary houses" be provided for burying clothing, rags, filth, and rubbish from the hospital and the well house. Fines were established for infractions of the

27. Providence Town Meeting Records, 6:44, 48.

rules, which had to be paid before a patient could be released from the hospital. The money thus collected was to be used to defray the expense of inoculating the poor. The regulations required that four guards be appointed to prevent people from passing into and out of the limits of hospital and well house and also to kill all dogs, cats, "and other domestic animals" that came within the boundaries of the well house and the hospital and to prevent horses, sheep, and cattle from entering.^[28]

Providence set up classes for inoculation beginning in August 1776. The first class consisted of 108 people, most of whom were inoculated on August 12 with the remainder on the following days. Most remained in the hospital for three to three and a half weeks, being discharged during the first two weeks of September. The shortest stay was seventeen days and the longest forty-two. The length of stay was probably determined by how soon after inoculation the symptoms appeared and by the severity of the case. Once the first patients from the first class were released from the hospital, Dr. Barnard began inoculating the second class, and in late September, as the hospital once again started to empty, he began inoculation of the third class, the largest yet, consisting of 169 people. Finally, on November 6, the last patient was discharged from the hospital.



Theodore Foster, later senator from Rhode Island. Detail of original at the U.S. Senate Historical Office.

<http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=F000313>.

Family groups were often inoculated together. Amy Russell, wife of the merchant and ship owner Joseph Russell, was a member of the first class, along with her son and four stepchildren. Freelove Jenckes, wife of John Jenckes, and her seven sons all entered the hospital on 8 September as part of the second class. Many prominent members of Providence society were inoculated at this time. Col. Daniel Tillinghast, a prominent Providence merchant and distiller, and two of his sons were among the first class. The incumbent governor Nicholas Cooke, his wife and three children, future governor Arthur Fenner, Providence town clerk Theodore Foster, and Henry Ward, brother of former governor Samuel Ward, who died of smallpox in Philadelphia on 26 March 1776 while serving as one of Rhode Island's delegates to the Continental Congress, were all members of the second class.^[29]

28. Providence Town Meeting Records, 6:45-47.

29. "Directors of the Hospital to Zephaniah Andrews, Esek Eddy, Daniel Jackson to Bording the Following Persons in the First [Second, Third] Class" (R.I. Historical Society Library [hereinafter RIHSL], mss. 261, Folder 2a).

On 12 August 1776 the first day of inoculation for the first class, Theodore Foster wrote in his diary that he had taken his wife Lydia to Tockwotton to be inoculated by Dr. Barnard. The first person to be inoculated was Colonel Daniel Tillinghast and Mrs. Foster was the second. Foster had visited with Dr. Barnard in the morning and found him preparing bandages for his patients. Theodore Foster wrote that he "was in the House when Col. Tillinghast and Mrs. Foster were inoculated but thinking them to be much farther off than they really were, I apprehended myself to be in no danger till I perceived a very disagreeable unusual Smell which giving me the Alarm Immediately Quitted the house." The following day he wrote: "Being under some apprehension that I was exposed to take the smallpox = I this Evening undertake to prepare myself for having the Disease – at going to bed I take a Purgative Pill."^[30] Foster's concern about having been in the vicinity of the smallpox tissue used for inoculation illustrates the fear that the disease incited and perhaps contributed to his decision to have himself inoculated in the second class.

At its meeting 2 October 1776 the Providence Town Council decided to inoculate the poor of the town as a means of controlling the outbreak. The town sergeant was to "proclaim through the town" that those poor persons who desired to be inoculated should give their names to the town clerk so that they could be included in "the next class." They would not be charged for the doctor's services but would be responsible for the expense of their board and nursing.^[31] If these records still exist, they have not been found.

Everyone who was to be inoculated was required by law first to obtain permission from the town council. On 11 May 1777 when the Providence Town Council learned that Dr. John Chace had inoculated Oliver Carpenter and his three children without permission, it immediately ordered Oliver and his children to leave the town or be taken to the hospital and lodged a complaint against Dr. Chace with a justice of the Superior Court that he might be "apprehended and proceeded with according to law." The town council was also concerned that the soldiers garrisoned in the town were not properly quarantined after inoculation and were "going about within this town in a public manner while the infection was upon them," presenting a danger to the safety of the public and giving "great uneasiness to those who have not had the disease." Benjamin Moss was appointed on 28 Apr. 1777 to present the matter to the Council of War and request the members to take proper measures to prevent "such pernicious conduct" in the future.^[32]

The attitudes of the various town councils, town meetings, and the General Assembly towards inoculation were always ambivalent. Demand for inoculation among the public was great during the height of the outbreak, and the state and

30. Diary of Theodore Foster, 1776 (Theodore Foster Papers, Mss. 424, Box 5, RIHSL).

31. Providence Town Council Records, 5:57.

32. Providence Town Council Records, 5:76, 81.

the towns were forced to make provisions for its citizens. When the number of “natural” cases of the disease decreased, the governing bodies were quick to discontinue inoculation. When cases of small pox and the subsequent demand for inoculation again increased, the General Assembly and the towns resumed legal inoculation. Consequently, during the time of the epidemic, there were several instances when the laws allowing inoculation were repealed only to be reinstated within a short time to meet the demands of the citizens.

By January of 1777 it was obvious that the location of the hospital at Tockwotton in Providence was a problem from both a military and a practical standpoint. On 24 January Major General Joseph Spencer complained that the proximity of the hospital to the troop garrison endangered the soldiers and requested that the town council find a more suitable place for a hospital.^[33] The town was also concerned that the hospital obstructed an important escape route should the British attack and was far too near the “compact” part of the town, making containment of the infection difficult. The council appointed John Smith “to look out for some place in a retired situation suitable for a hospital.” On 30 January Smith reported that he could find no appropriate place within the town because any location west of the river would obstruct the works erected for the defense of the town and any location east of the town would obstruct a strategically important ferry. He recommended a house owned by Jesse Lealand, “remote from any public road,” at North Providence. Because the house was outside the bounds of Providence, the town council obtained permission from the Council of War to take it over. On 5 February the town council appointed Benjamin Fenner and Arthur Fenner, Jr., to inform Jesse Lealand and the tenant, John Jenckes Durfee, of the decision to take over the house and to arrange for the town to pay a reasonable rent to the owner and damages to the tenant.^[34] The next day Capt. Lewis Thomas moved the first patient, a daughter of the Widow Vial, into the hospital at North Providence. A few days later Robert Sterry and Sarah Whitehorn also entered the hospital with smallpox. On 25 February the Council appointed Samuel Black to whitewash the house of John Coles, which had been used as a hospital at Tockwotton, and to return the house to him as soon as it was disinfected. John Coles, however, still had some time to wait for the return of his house, as Colonel Tillinghast took it “for an Hospital for the ships” as soon as it was released by the town. The Council also returned a house

33. A native of East Haddam, Connecticut, Major General Joseph Spencer commanded the troops in Rhode Island during the early part of the war until he resigned in Jan. 1778 (Mary Theresa Leiter, *Biographical Sketches of the Generals of the Continental Army of the Revolution* [Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Son, 1889], 37).

34. The tenant’s effort to profit by his forced removal (Durfee asked £45 in damages) met with a marked lack of enthusiasm on the part of the town (see Providence Town Meeting Records, 6:63).

belonging to Capt. Nicholas Power, which had been “improved as an hospital for the smallpox.”^[35]

It is surprising that the hospital remained at Tockwotton for as long as it did. The General Assembly, in the act of 1776 which allowed and regulated inoculation in the state, stipulated that the hospitals should be “in some retired and suitable place in the town.” Tockwotton, at the lower end of the East Side, near the busy India Point wharf area, was hardly a “retired and suitable place” for smallpox inoculation.^[36] Other towns were careful to locate hospitals away from centers of population. When Thankful Gavit of Westerly broke out with the smallpox at the home of George Gavit, “very near the Post Road,” the Westerly Town Council took over an empty house belonging to Major John Cottrell, in “a very remote” part of town, to be used as a pest house and had Thankful moved there immediately.^[37] On 14 June 1777 East Greenwich passed special rules concerning its densely populated area, prohibiting anyone from remaining in “the compact part” of the town for more than five days after inoculation. It also prohibited anyone living outside the town from coming into the compact part within seven days of being discharged from the hospital and required that anyone living in the compact part be confined to his house for seven days after discharge. Those breaking the rules were subject to a £6 fine.^[38] At its May session of 1778 the General Assembly amended its act permitting inoculation to prohibit the erection of any hospital for inoculation “within one Mile of the compact Part of either of the Towns of Providence and East-Greenwich, and within two Miles of Bristol, Warren, or Pawtuxet Falls.”^[39]

The smallpox outbreak cost Providence dearly. The town had to pay doctors and nurses for their services, pay men for transporting the victims to the hospital and for burying the dead, and pay for food, firewood, and bedding for the patients and attendants. Where possible, the town attempted to pass on the costs to the patients. On 5 July 1776 the Providence Town Council settled the accounts incurred by the cases on the ships *Diamond* and *Enterprise*. It found that Joseph Caesar owed £3 5 ½d., which he was to pay to Capt. Nathan Arnold, who was in turn to distribute the money to the persons who had provided the services. The town council had previously determined that Joseph Caesar was an inhabitant of Johnston and had informed the Johnston Town Council of the situation and requested it to provide for him. After closing the Tockwotton

35. Providence Town Council Records, 5:64-70; Providence Town Papers (RIHS, mss 214, Ser. 1), Book 3, p. 1148.

36. The list of problems (blocking an important way in and out of town, anxiety caused by patients being carried through the streets to the hospital, danger to the troops stationed nearby, etc.) appears in General Assembly records of Feb. 1777 (Bartlett, *Recs. of R.I.* [note 23], 8:118-119).

37. Westerly Town Council Records, Westerly Town Hall, 4:377.

38. East Greenwich Town Council Records, 1752-1784, East Greenwich Town Hall, 349.

39. *Providence Gazette & Country Journal*, 16 May 1778, p. 1.

hospital, the council settled the accounts incurred by the cases of smallpox there. The final accounting was written into the town council minutes of 1 May 1777. By far the largest bill was due to Capt. Ephraim Carpenter for his attendance at the hospital from 5 November 1776 to 8 February 1777 and for supplying the hospital. The total outstanding expense to the town was £147 6d. 1, which was apportioned among the patients according to the number of days spent in the hospital. The ferryman Caleb Fuller presented his bill for £8 17s. 3d. to the Council for damages suffered because his ferry at Tockwotton was obstructed from 6 November 1776 through 15 February 1777. He also presented an account amounting to £3-6 on behalf of his mother Mehitabel Fuller.^[40]

On 18 February 1778, the town of Providence settled the accounts of expenses for the hospital at North Providence. The town also tried to recoup its losses by billing towns whose inhabitants were cared for by the hospitals maintained by Providence. On 20 July 1778 the Providence Town Council billed the town of Rehoboth for the expenses of Freelove Greenwood, the wife of Nathan Greenwood, and her daughter. The Council also requested payment from the Council of War for several poor persons from Newport who had been ill at Providence with the smallpox.^[41]

While many of those who survived the smallpox probably did attempt to avoid payment for the expenses of their illness, some were conscientious in paying their debts. One such person was Vaspasian Miller,^[42] whose family had been ill at the hospital in North Providence. On 5 June 1778 he notified the Providence Town Council that he was unable to pay his bill at that time but hoped to be able to pay after selling his grain in Vermont later in the year. He finally paid off his debt to the town on 29 September 1779, by which time he and his family were living in Dummerston, Vt. Given the distance and poor communications, it probably would not have been difficult to default on his obligation to Providence had he been so inclined.^[43]

At the North Providence town meeting of 20 June 1778, there were complaints that the hospital there run by Providence was “under so bad Regulation and so little care taken there being no proper Steward appointed to

40. Providence Town Council Records, 5:46-47, 51-52, 77-78.

41. Providence Town Council Records, 5:105, 119, 122.

42. Vespasian Miller, son of Isaac and Sarah (Crosby) Miller, b. Worcester, Mass., 2 June 1740, d. Dummerston, Vt., 6 July 1812, m. Abigail Church. He was a soldier in the French and Indian War and then “followed the sea,” which may explain his family’s presence in Providence. He went to Dummerston, in 1775 where his father had deeded him land and moved his family there in 1778 (Franklin P. Rice, comp., *Worcester Births, Marriages and Deaths* [Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Society of Antiquity, 1894], p. 183; Jacob G. Ullery, comp., *Men of Vermont: an Illustrated Biographical History of Vermonters and Sons of Vermont* [Brattleboro, Vt., Transcript Publishing Co., 1894], p. 276).

43. Providence Town Council Records, 5:118, 154.

attend said hospital.” Because many of the people living in the surrounding area had not had the smallpox, they were in great danger of contracting the disease from those at the hospital. The complainants requested that the hospital be put under better management or dismantled all together. The town meeting judged that the request was reasonable and directed the clerk to petition the General Assembly to order regulations to be enforced at the hospital for the safety of the inhabitants of North Providence. It also instructed the North Providence representatives to the General Assembly “to use their utmost influence” to see that regulations were enforced or to have the hospital shut down.^[44]

There is no mention of the complaint by North Providence in the Providence Town Council records, but by the spring of 1779, as the outbreak was winding down, the hospital had apparently been closed. On 3 May 1779 the Providence Town Council appointed Col. Zephaniah Andrews to meet with James Black, the overseer of the pest house at Cranston, to determine if he could receive smallpox patients from Providence. The next day Meriam Birch, the wife of John Birch, a sergeant in Col. Livingston’s regiment, showed symptoms of the disease and was taken to the Cranston pest house along with her daughter, who was to be inoculated there.^[45] Meriam Birch was the last new case of smallpox mentioned in the Providence Town Council records in the 1770s.

Smallpox had been around for sufficiently long that people had established standard methods for dealing with it. They knew that it was spread by close contact; thus, the obvious way of preventing its spread was to isolate the infected person and thoroughly cleanse the areas where he had been. This was fairly easily done when there were occasional isolated instances of the disease, as was usually the case before 1776, and the methods had proved quite effective. The epidemic proportions of the disease in the late 1770s, however, taxed the resources of the towns. The local pest house was no longer adequate to house all the infected people and many more nurses had to be hired. To further complicate matters, this was a time of unprecedented political, social, and economic upheaval caused by the war with England. The job of a public official had suddenly become much more challenging. Before 1776 most of the town councils busied themselves with highway and bridge repair, providing for the poor of the town, arranging apprenticeships for indigent children, and the like. While these local issues still demanded their attention, after the beginning of the war with England, the town council members had new problems to deal with such as filling the town’s military quotas, outfitting its troops, providing for the defense of the town, acquiring supplies when British harassment of American shipping caused shortages, and, on top of it all, managing a smallpox outbreak.

44. North Providence Town Meeting Records, 1765-1808, North Providence Town Hall, n. pag.

45. Providence Town Council Records, 5:142-143.

As one would expect, population centers such as Providence, Warwick, and East Greenwich suffered most from the epidemic. The disease spread much more rapidly where people were living in close proximity to each other. The town council records of some of the rural towns in the state, such as Richmond and Cumberland, however, make no mention at all of smallpox. Whether the standard procedures for dealing with the disease were sufficient and no action from the town council was necessary or whether there were actually no cases of smallpox in those towns is difficult to determine. Certainly, however, there could not have been major outbreaks or there would have been some involvement of the town council. The demand for inoculation was also greater where natural cases of smallpox were more prevalent. While there was no shortage of people requesting admission to the inoculation "classes" in Providence, the hospital in Smithfield was forced to advertise in the *Providence Gazette* to fill its first class because it was "large enough to contain more Patients than [had] already engaged."^[46]

Providence proved to be particularly vulnerable to the disease. As a thriving port, the town had always had to deal with cases of smallpox brought on trading ships from foreign ports; thus, it was more capable than most towns of preventing the spread of the disease. With smallpox raging throughout New England, however, came multiple sources of infection. The town could no longer protect itself by simply quarantining arriving ships, for the disease now could also enter the town by land with any traveler. The war also exacerbated the problem. While the civilian population of the town numbered about four thousand, by April of 1776 more than three thousand troops were stationed in Providence.^[47] The population of Providence was also increased by refugees from Newport after the British occupation of Aquidneck Island began in December 1776. Shortages of basic provisions occurred, and prices soared so that many often had to do without. Since the poor, with crowded living conditions and inadequate nutrition, were particularly vulnerable to disease, the Providence Town Council showed foresight in setting up a program to inoculate them at town expense.^[48]

By about 1779 the outbreak in Rhode Island had run its course, but smallpox did not disappear completely. As happened before 1776, there continued to be isolated cases, mostly brought into the ports by merchant ships, but no large outbreaks occurred. The state had dealt with the problem by combining the traditional methods of quarantine and cleansing and by instituting the relatively new procedure of inoculation, weathering the storm without great loss of life. Because so many people had either contracted the disease "the natural way" or

46. *Providence Gazette and County Journal*, 28 Sept. 1776, p. 3.

47. Charles Rappleye, *Sons of Providence: The Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade, and the American Revolution* (N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 179, quoting Theodore Foster.

48. Providence Town Council Records, 5:57.

been inoculated, the general populace was far less vulnerable than it had been before 1776, practically ensuring that there would be no major outbreak for another generation. By that time Edward Jenner had introduced his cowpox vaccine, and smallpox was no longer a major threat.

Providence Residents Who Contracted Smallpox During the Epidemic

The following list of smallpox victims, based principally on Providence Town Council records, also contains information from gravestones and vital records. Providence Town Council records show that most of the following Providence residents contracted smallpox "the natural way." Those in the list came to the attention of the council and/or were billed by the town for their care. There were undoubtedly other victims of the disease who escaped the notice of the council. The military was a very large presence in Providence during the war, but the army had its own hospitals and its soldiers are not included here.^[49] The names of the 406 people inoculated in the first three classes (the only ones for which lists have been found) will appear in the next issue of this journal. The date at the left is the date of the town council meeting in which the case was discussed or the date on which the person was billed. An asterisk after a name indicates billing on that date connected with their illness. The person may have had smallpox or even died, as in the cases of David Bacon and James Hoyle, months before. Many lived for decades after recovering.

4 May 1776	Capt. Samuel Soule of the ship <i>Diamond</i> .
20 May 1776	William Greene , crewman on the ship <i>Diamond</i> , died of smallpox.
5 June 1776	Gideon Tanner , crewman on the ship <i>Diamond</i> .
12 June 1776	Joseph Caesar , of the sloop <i>Enterprise</i> , from Johnston. ^[50]
16 June 1776	Prince Paine , sailor on the sloop <i>Enterprise</i> , died of smallpox. ^[51]
June 1776	Pompey*
June 1776	Joseph Cooper*
19 Aug. 1776	Benjamin Proud ^[52]

49. Military Papers, Revolutionary War, Rhode Island State Archives, Vol. 15, contains a wealth of receipts for goods and services at the military hospital.

50. He married Mary Sampson in Johnston 1 Jan. 1790 (James N. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island* [hereinafter Arnold, RIVR] [21 vols., Providence RI: Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1891-1912], 2:3:7).

51. On 9 May 1777 the Providence Town Council granted letters of administration on the estate of Prince Paine, "an Indian man, late of Providence," to Col. John Mathewson (Providence Town Council Records, 5:79).

- 19 Aug. 1776 **Daniel Proud**^[53]
 22 Aug. 1776 **Joseph Proud**, twin brother of Benjamin Proud above
 26 Sept. 1776 **Daniel Jenckes Tillinghast**^[54]
 13 Oct. 1776 **Mercy Pearce**, "sick at the house of John Burroughs"
 22 Oct. 1776 **Phebe Chace**, "Negro girl" of Samuel Chace
 30 Oct. 1776 **Nancy Gillmor**, wife of Nathaniel Gillmor
 30 Oct. 1776 **William Gillmor**, son of Nathaniel Gillmor
 30 Oct. 1776 **Betsy Gillmor**, dau. of Nathaniel Gillmor
 30 Oct. 1776 **Benjamin Hodges**
 4 Nov. 1776 **Jacob Whitman**
 4 Nov. 1776 **George Young**
 4 Nov. 1776 **Joshua Tripp**, slave of Samuel Chace
 4 Nov. 1776 _____, slave of Capt. Samuel Chace, Jr.
 4 Nov. 1776 **Daniel Marsh**^[55]
 4 Nov. 1776 **James Marsh**^[56].

52. The fifth of eight children of William Proud and his second wife Anne Bennett, Benjamin Proud was born in Providence 31 Mar. 1760 (Arnold, RIVR, 2:1:240).
 53. Daniel Proud, Benjamin's younger brother, was the seventh of eight children of William Proud and his second wife Anne Bennett, born in Providence 28 Jan. 1762; he married Abigail Field in Dec. 1787 (ibid., 2:1:240; 15:289 [see note 45]). Daniel and his older brother Samuel were prominent furniture makers in Providence. Having survived smallpox by many decades, he died 31 Mar. 1833 and was buried in West Burial Ground, Providence. When that cemetery closed, his grave, like hundreds of others, was moved to Oakland Cemetery, Cranston Historical Cemetery 3 (reading of John E. Sterling, 1993 for the R.I. Historic Cemetery Database). For background on West Cemetery, see John E. Sterling, *North Burial Ground Providence, Rhode Island, Old Section 1700-1848* [hereinafter Sterling, *North Burial Ground*] (Greenville, R.I.: Rhode Island Genealogical Society, 2000), xli-xlii.
 54. Daniel Jenckes Tillinghast was born 26 May 1755, son of Nicholas and Joanna (Jenckes) Tillinghast (Arnold, R.I.VR [note 45], 2:1:251; Wayne G. Tillinghast, *The Tillinghasts in America: the First Four Generations* [Greenville, R.I.: R.I. Genealogical Society, 2006], 164). He died of smallpox 5 Oct. 1776 after being sick nine days, according to his gravestone in Providence Historic Cemetery 1, North Burial Ground (Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 183). Daniel does not appear in the Providence Town Council records.
 55. At the Providence Town Council meeting on 4 Nov. 1776 nurses were said to be attending "four of the family of Daniel Marsh, deceased" at Tockwotton. The given names appear in the billing of 1 May 1777. They have been identified from Providence vital records as the children of Daniel and Susannah (_____) Marsh (Arnold, RIVR, 2:1:232). Daniel, Sr. d. 31 Oct. 1776, just a few days before this meeting, but his name is not mentioned in the council records (Arnold, RIVR, 2:1: 270). Probate of his estate was delayed by the detention of co-administrator Jonathan Marsh in occupied Newport (Providence Town Council Records, 5:65). Young Daniel was b. Providence 20 July 1769 (Arnold, RIVR, 232).
 56. James Marsh was b. Providence 17 Jan. 1771 (Arnold, RIVR, 2:1:232).



Gravestones in North Burial Ground for some of the smallpox victims. Left to right in foreground: Sarah Whitehorn and Daniel Jenckes Tillinghast. Behind these, is the gravestone of David Bacon, marked with a flag, and next to it, that of James Hoyle. Author's photograph, January 2012.

- 4 Nov. 1776 **Wilkinson Marsh**, son of Daniel and Susannah Marsh.^[57]
 4 Nov. 1776 **Ruth Marsh**, daughter of Daniel and Susannah Marsh^[58]
 19 Nov. 1776 _____, "negro servant" of Steven Hopkins
 22 Nov. 1776 _____ **Thurber**, widow of Samuel Thurber
 23 Nov. 1776 _____ **Smith**, "sucking child" of wid. Ruth Smith
 26 Nov. 1776 **Darius Thurber**, son of Samuel Thurber, dec.
 5 Feb. 1777 _____ **Vial**, daughter of Widow Vial
 14 Feb. 1777 **Robert Sterry**
 19 Feb. 1777 **Sarah Whitehorn**, wife of George of Newport^[59]
 21 Mar. 1777 **Dinah Tillinghast**, "Free Negro Woman"
 1777 **Experience Williams**, widow of Alexander Williams of Newport^[60]

57. Wilkinson Marsh was b. Providence 22 Dec. 1765 (Arnold, RIVR, 2:1:232).
 58. Ruth Marsh was b. 1 Feb. 1764, d. 11 Sept. 1838, unm., and is bur. North Burial Ground (Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 140).
 59. Sarah d. 17 Apr. 1777, in her 43rd year, bur. North Burial Ground near other smallpox victims Daniel Jenckes Tillinghast, David Bacon, and James Hoyle (Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 183).
 60. She was probably Experience (Miller) Williams, b. Oct. 1718, d. 15 May 1796, bur. Newport Common Burial Ground. Alexander Williams of Newport, d. 7 Jan. 1775 in his 59th year, bur. with his wife (Arnold, RIVR, 4, 2:123; John Eylers Sterling, Barbara J. Austin, Letty R. Champion, *Newport, Rhode Island, Colonial Burial Grounds* (Hope, R.I., R.I. Genealogical Society, 2009), 87.

14 Apr. 1777 _____ **Tanner**, wife of _____ Tanner of Newport
 Billed by **Joseph Morris***
 Town Council **Mrs. Thomas** and child*
 1 May 1777 **Nehemiah Trip***
Ruth Smith*
Rufus Thurber*
 _____ **Sullivan***
Hannah Hoyle*
Daniel Fenner*
David Bacon^[61]
Sarah Morse*
James Hoyle^[62]
Rebeckkah Clark*
Ruth Eddy*
[Persis] Bacon, * wife of Deacon Henry Bacon.^[63]
 _____ **Hoyle***
 _____ **Hoyle***
 _____ **Hoyle***
Nathan Mason*
Mrs. Everet, * the schoolmistress
Rose, negro girl of Samuel Chase
 1777 **John Williams***
 17 May 1777 _____ **White**, 3-year-old child of _____ White, soldier
 9 July 1777 **Abigail Williams***
 9 July 1777 **Mrs. Williams**, * mother of John Williams
 9 July 1777 **Mrs. Tanner***
 23 July 1777 **Robert Coggeshall**, son of Matthew Coggeshall of Newport
 11 Aug. 1777 **Jonathan Brownell**, of Portsmouth
 15 Sept. 1777 _____ **Olney**, child of Richard Olney, Jr.^[64]

61. David Bacon, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, d. 18 Jan. 1777 in his 32nd year and was bur. North Burial Ground near James Hoyle who died a few days later. He m1 Elizabeth Ensworth and m2 Freelove Carpenter (Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 183).

62. James Hoyle d. 21 Jan. 1777 in his 55th year, bur. North Burial Ground (ibid.).

63. Persis (or Parsiss, as she is called on her gravestone) Bacon, wife of Dea. Henry Bacon, was b. ca. 1724, d. 12 Jan. 1795, and was bur. in Providence Historical Cemetery 19, West Burial Ground. Henry Bacon, b. 1721, d. 14 Mar. 1797, was bur. with his wife (R.I. Historical Cemetery Database). They were moved from West Burial Ground to Cranston Historical Cemetery 3, Oakland Cemetery. In 1774 Henry Bacon was named deacon of the Congregational Church on the west side of the river in Providence, a forerunner of the Beneficent Church (Arthur E. Wilson, *Weybosset Bridge in Providence Plantations, 1700-1790* [Boston, Mass.: Pilgrim Press, 1947], 166).

2 Nov. 1777 **Mrs. Coggeshall**
 1 Dec. 1777 **William Billings**
 1 Dec. 1777 **Mrs. Balch**^[65]
 8 Dec. 1777 **John Balch**, son of Sarah Balch, widow.^[66]
 18 Feb. 1778 **Polly Balch**^[67]
 18 Feb. 1778 **Mary Smith**
 2 Mar. 1778 **Amey Shurden**, of Newport, died of smallpox.
 Apr. 1778 **William Comstock**^[68]
 23 Apr. 1778 **Alexander Thompson**, son Alexander Thompson of Newport
 30 Apr. 1778 **Mrs. Eddy**
 Apr. 1778 **Sally Waters**, * wife of John Waters
 Apr. 1778 **Mrs. Miller** and 4 children^[69]
 Apr. 1778 **Stephen Clark***
 May 1778 **Esther King**, * widow of Joseph King of Newport, dec.
 May 1778 _____ **King**, * dau. of Joseph King of Newport, dec.
 9 May 1778 **Mr. Grinnell**
 May 1778 **Sukey Carey**, dau. of John Carey of Newport, dec.
 2 June 1778 _____ **Hayes**, from Newport
 5 June 1778 _____ **Miller**, family of Vespasian Miller [see note 41].
 13 June 1778 **Freelove Greenwood**, wife Nathaniel of Rehoboth.^[70]

64. Richard Olney, Jr., a Revolutionary War veteran, had d. 24 Oct. 1776, age 27 years 1 months 27 days, and is bur. North Burial Ground (Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 85). For children of Richard and Jenne (File) Olney, see James H. Olney, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Olney* [Providence, R.I.: Press of E.L. Freeman and Son, 1889], 30.

65. Sarah Rogers had married Timothy Balch, at Newport 29 Nov. 1757 (Arnold, RIVR, 2:2:6). The couple left Newport during the British occupation, and he d. at Providence 11 Apr. 1776. Sarah d. there 24 July 1811 in her 76th year, and they are both bur. North Burial Ground (Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 73). Sarah Balch and her daughter Mary founded the Balch School in Providence, famous for the quality of needlework the young schoolgirls produced.

66. John Rogers Balch was b. 18 May 1772, bapt. First Congregational Church, Newport 14 June 1772, d. 2 Apr. 1848, bur. North Burial Ground with his wife Sophia (Packard) Balch (Judith C. Harbold, "First Congregational Church of Newport: Baptisms 1744-1820," *Rhode Island Roots*, 37:1 (Mar. 2011) [hereinafter Harbold, "First Congregational Church,"], 38; Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 153).

67. Mary Balch was baptized at the First Congregational Church, Newport 14 Feb. 1761 and d. 5 Jan. 1834 in her 69th year, bur. North Burial Ground next to Timothy and Sarah Balch (Harbold, "First Congregational Church," [note 64], 36); Sterling, *North Burial Ground* [note 53], 73). See note 63.

68. He d. 19 Apr. 1778 in his 24th year (*The Providence Gazette*, 25 Apr. 1778, p. 3). William Comstock's name does not appear in the council records.

69. They were probably the wife and children of Vespasian Miller

70. The council was anxious to pass on the cost of care for Freelove Greenwood and her daughter to Rehoboth. She was b. Rehoboth 15 Feb. 1735 as Freelove Crawford and m.

- 22 June 1778 **Major Simeon Thayer**^[71]
 22 June 1778 **Lewis Thomas**
 20 July 1778 **Betsy Greenwood***^[72]
Andrew Hacker,* "servant" of Capt. Joshua Hacker, died of smallpox
Joanna Hacker,* wife of Andrew Hacker
Lisia Hacker,* child of Joanna Hacker
Mrs. White, wife of ____ White, soldier
 26 Oct. 1778 **Sarah Brown***
 4 May 1779 **Meriam Birch**, wife of Sergeant John Birch^[73]
Freelove Olney

(to be continued)

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- there 8 May 1755 Nathaniel Greenwood (James N. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rehoboth, 1642-1896* [hereinafter Arnold, *Vital Record of Rehoboth*] [Providence, R.I.: Narragansett Historical Publishers, 1897], 3:21, 329).
71. Simeon Thayer was b. 21 Apr. 1748, d. 21 Oct. 1800 in his 63rd year, and is bur. North Burial Ground; a veteran of the Revolutionary War, he is styled General on his gravestone (Sterling, North Burial Ground [note 53], 129-130). He marched to Quebec with Benedict Arnold, participated in the Battles of Red Bank and Stoney Point, and was wounded in the Battle of Monmouth. He was appointed brigadier general of the R.I. militia after the war. He m1 Judith Jackson, who d. 28 Apr. 1771; m2 Mary Tourtellotte; m3 Nancy ____, who d. 10 Mar. 1803, and is bur. with Simeon (Bezaleel Thayer, *Men of the Thayer Name from the Massachusetts Colony of Weymouth and Braintree, Embracing General and Biographical Sketches of Richard and Thomas Thayer and their Descendants from 1636 to 1874* [Oswego, N.Y.: R. J. Oliphant, 1874], p. 514; Arnold, RIVR, 2:1:249).
72. A daughter of Nathaniel and Freelove (Crawford) Greenwood, she was b. Rehoboth 8 July 1760 (Arnold, *Vital Records of Rehoboth* [note 68], 3:113).
73. Merriam survived her bout with smallpox and was examined by the town council 28 July 1781. She testified that she was born in Rehoboth in 1756, the daughter of Shubal Chaffee, and married John Birch, a sergeant in the U.S. Army 8 Jan. 1779, having previously had two illegitimate children by two different men (Providence Town Council Records, 5:191). The council ordered her removed to Rehoboth, but their efforts had still not succeeded by the spring of 1784 (ibid., 5:204, 239, 270).

JEREMY CLARKE, NEWPORT FOUNDER: Researching His Life in England

Thomas P. Dungan

Anyone familiar with the early history of Newport, Rhode Island, should recognize the name of Jeremy Clarke who actively participated in the formation of the town and whose descendants were connected with many of the important early figures in the colony. His ancestry, his brief role in the earliest days of Rhode Island, and his descendants have been studied extensively,^[1] but almost nothing about Jeremy Clarke as an adult in England has ever been uncovered. A recent discovery has now changed that by answering the question of *where* he was living, and the question of *what* he was doing before he met and married Frances (Latham) Dungan in 1637.

Because of the high status of his family we know when and where he was born. Jeremy was the sixth son of William Clarke and Mary (Weston) Clarke.^[2]

William Clarke, of East Farleigh, county Kent and St. Botolph, Aldgate, London, Gent., son of James Clarke was buried at East Farleigh 12 June 1610. He married at St. Andrew's, Holborn, London, by license dated Feb. 1598/9 MARY WESTON, spinster, baptized at Roxwell, co. Essex, 26 Apr. 1579, probably died before 13 July 1614, daughter of Sir Jerome Weston, Knight and Mary Cave.

We know that Jeremy or "Jeram" was baptized on 1 December 1605 in the parish of East Farleigh in the county of Kent, a county close to London and Westminster.^[3] The family was not merely ancient but politically powerful: his maternal uncle Sir Richard Weston (bapt. 1576/7, d. 1634/5), Earl of Portland, became the Lord Treasurer of England and a confidant of King Charles I.^[4]

The years between his baptism in 1605 and marriage to Frances (Latham) Dungan have been a blank. We can imagine that life was becoming

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1. Gary Boyd Roberts, *The Royal Descents of 500 Immigrants* [hereinafter Roberts, *Royal Descents*] (2nd printing, Baltimore, Md., 2001), 248; Alfred Rudolph Justice, *The Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke of Rhode Island* [hereinafter Justice, *Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke*] (Philadelphia, Pa.: Franklins Printing Co. [1922]; George Austin Morrison, Jr., *Clarke Genealogies, The "Clarke Families of Rhode Island"* (N.Y.: The Author, [1902]), esp. 210-215.
 2. The National Archives, Hereinafter as TNA, PCC will of James Clarke of East Farleigh, (PROB 11/124). Alfred Rudolph Justice, "Genealogical Research in England - Clarke," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 74 (1920), p. 131.
 3. Justice, *Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke* [note 1], citing Parish Registers of East Farleigh, County Kent.
 4. Justice, *Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke* [note 1], 27-28, portrait of Weston on 26.

gales, the prize-master, James Boatland, lost on the Jeddore Ledges on October 9th.

This entry helps fill in the picture. The newspaper report of the ship ashore “at Jedor” is confirmed. As the Jeddore Ledges east of Halifax are a notorious hazard to shipping in Nova Scotia, the capture must have occurred within approximately ten days sailing distance from Halifax.

Neither account explains what happened to the American crew of the *San Domingo*. Some, though probably not the captain, might have remained on the *San Domingo* under the control of mariners from the *George*. Since the cargo was itemized in records at Halifax [note 49], it is hoped that an account of the crew can be found eventually in Nova Scotian records, but these have been removed from the Nova Scotia Archives. If the prisoners had been put on an English ship as asserted in the Bogman genealogy, then the loss of their original ship would not necessarily mean that they died in that wreck. That English ship might have been the *George* that seized them or a hypothetical third ship that was collecting prisoners for return to Halifax. The *George* herself appears to have been wrecked a few months later, also in Nova Scotia. A very serious storm at Halifax, reported in December 1813, caused great devastation to ships, including the schooner *George*, said to be “on shore.”^[53] This wreck occurred months after the loss of the *San Domingo*, and unless the two-month cruise of the *George* had been extended as she fruitlessly chased American ships, it is unlikely that the Rhode Islanders could still have been aboard. No prisoners from the *San Domingo* were incarcerated at Halifax’s Melville Island prison or in Newfoundland, Bermuda, Jamaica, or, as can be determined from the online database, at Dartmoor Prison in England.^[54] That the missing mariners, men with young wives and children and parents in Providence, died somewhere in the turmoil of the War of 1812 seems certain, but the details are just as mysterious today as they were to the relatives waiting and hoping in 1813.

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53. “Particulars of the Late Gale at Halifax,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, issue of 4 Dec. 1813, p. 3. It should be noted that the *George* was not identified as a privateer.

54. Harrison Scott Baker’s comprehensive book *American Prisoners of War Held at Halifax During the War of 1812, June 1812–April 1815*, two vols. (Westminster, Md.: Society of the War of 1812 in Ohio, 2005) can be searched both by prisoner and by ship, but it has no relevant entries.

SMALLPOX IN PROVIDENCE, 1776–1779 (Part Two): Inoculation Lists, August–November 1776

Linda L. Mathew

(Continued from *Rhode Island Roots*, Vol. 38, No. I, March 2012, 1-22)

The previous issue of *Rhode Island Roots* included an article about the effects on Providence of the smallpox epidemic that ravaged the American colonies during the early part of the Revolutionary War. What follows is a transcription of an extraordinary document from that period preserved among the John Andrews Papers in the Manuscript Collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society Library. It is a list of the people who were inoculated against smallpox in three “classes” or groups in Providence in the late summer and fall of 1776. The effort, which required tremendous expense and coordination, was the greatest public health initiative that Providence residents of the day had ever seen. That is could be undertaken against the background of the Revolutionary War is truly remarkable.

Jenner’s smallpox vaccine had yet to be developed, and inoculation, or variolation as it was also called, was an arduous and controversial process at this time. It was accomplished by inserting tissue matter taken from a smallpox victim into an incision in the skin, giving the recipient a mild case of smallpox and the subsequent life-long immunity. Its effectiveness was proven, but it remained controversial because inoculation increased the possibility of the spread of the disease. Those who were inoculated were usually not acutely ill and frequently continued to go about their business while highly contagious and thus infected the unprotected with the lethal, “natural” form of the disease. Providence and other towns set up inoculation classes in order to control the inoculation process by effectively quarantining those being inoculated and preventing them from spreading the disease. The patients were kept in the hospital until they had completely recovered from the disease and had been thoroughly cleansed. There were strict rules governing who could go in and out of the hospital. The list of these three classes includes hundreds of men, women, and children from all levels of society who took advantage of inoculation, among them many prominent men of Providence who were inoculated along with their wives, children, and slaves. The writer or writers were not, it must be admitted, the most careful spellers (*sun* for *son*, *Andrewas* for *Andrews*, *Spaulden* for *Spaulding*, *Semuon* for *Simeon*, to mention a few gems), but the spelling on the lists, however quirky, has been preserved in the transcription.

The following transcription from RIHS Mss. 261, Folder 2A, is printed with permission of Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

Director of the Hospital to Zephaniah Andrewas, Esek Eddy, and Daniel Jackson to boarding the following parsons in the First Class

Entry Date Aug. 1776	Name	Discharge Sept. 1776	# of Days
12	James Arnold	3	23
12	Mary Arnold	3	22
12	Joseph Arnold	4	24
12	William Arnold	3	22
12	Sarah Atwell	4	24
12	Amos Atwell, Jr.	6	25
12	Joseph Arnold, Sun of Joseph	7	27
12	Benjamin Andrewas	9	28
12	Mary Andrewas	4	24
12	Samu ^l Butler	8	27
12	Joseph Butler	3	23
12	Cyrus Butler	16	35
12	Elizabeth Butler	3	23
12	Lidia Battar	8	27
12	Daniel Bucklin	3	23
12	Joseph Bowen	3	22
12	Zerviah Bucklin	5	25
12	Sarah Bucklin	2	21
12	Mary Bishop	5	25
12	Mary Bradford	5	24
12	Obediah Brown	4	24
12	James Brown	3	22
12	Obediah Bowen	4	23
12	Olover Bowen	4	24
19	William Bucklin	11	23
19	Martha Bucklin	16	28
12	Polley Cuzzens	5	25
12	Curtes Coe	3	22
12	Benjamin Comstock	2	22
19	Polley Carpenter	16	28
20	Thos Carlile	14	26
12	Joseph Donnison	7	26
12	Sarah Drown	3	23
12	William Daggett	Aug. 29	18
26	William Daggett, Jun ^r	12	17
12	Richard Eddy	3	23
12	Mary Elry	2	21

[August 1776, cont.]

12	Benjamin Earl	3	23
15	Esek Eddy	9	26
15	Peleg Eddy	9	25
12	Lydea Foster	4	24
12	Nathanel Green	4	23
12	Thos Green	8	28
12	Mary Glading	2	21
12	Abigale Hammond	7	27
12	Nancy Hammond	7	26
12	Paul Hathaway	8	28
12	Rufus Hopkins	4	23
12	Job Hawkins	5	25
12	Samuel Hopkins	3	22
12	Rebekah Hews	6	26
13	Samuel Jackson	4	22
12	Rose King	22	42
12	Joseph Martin	3	22
12	Mary Martin	16	36
12	John Martin	6	25
12	Mary Martin	4	24
12	Joseph Martin Junior	16	35
12	Mary Matheson	5	25
12	Jeremiah Manton	3	22
12	Enock Pond	3	23
12	Polley Peck	7	26
12	Samuel Parce	4	24
12	Samuel Proud	18	37
12	Martha Peile	13	33
12	Job Page	2	21
19	Abigale Perry	13	26
12	Tilley Mareck Rice	9	28
12	Margrett Rowse	7	27
12	Ame Russell	12	31
12	Nancy Russel	9	29
12	Sukey Russell	12	31
12	Hopkins Russell	17	37
12	Benjamin Russell	12	31
12	Healey Russell	12	32
12	Susannah Soule	3	22
12	Polley Soule	3	23
12	Polley Smith	4	23

[August 1776, cont.]

12	Alsy[?] Spaulden	2	22
12	Samuel Snow	3	22
12	John Sellers	3	23
12	Amey Spaulden	3	22
12	Mary Stuart	6	26
12	Sarah Stuart	8	27
12	James Stuart	12	32
12	Joseph Stuart	12	35
12	Corn. Daniel Tillinghast	5	25
12	R. Gibbs Tillinghast	3	22
12	John Tillinghast	4	24
12	Dr. Thos Trewmann	2	21
12	Joseph Tillinghast	8	28
12	Susanah Tillinghast	5	24
12	Betty Tew	3	23
12	Peter Taylor	2	21
12	Expeerence Thurber	3	23
12	Elesibeth Tigar	5	24
12	Sarah Vial	18	38
12	James Vial	9	28
12	Amey Vial	18	38
12	Nathanel Wheeton	4	23
12	John Wheeton	8	28
12	Saml Wheeton	3	22
12	Abigale Wheeton	3	23
12	Mary Wheeton	3	22
12	Joseph Wheeton	7	27
12	Thos Young	4	23

387 weeks bord at 10/ per week £193.10 2709 days

Per Esek Eddy in behalf of the rest of the Stewards

Deated in the Hospitel the 26th of Sept. 1776

106 in number

SECOND CLASS

Entry Date	Name	Discharge Date	# of Days
Sept. 1776			
5	Charl ^s Andrewas	Sept. 30	21
8	Sarah Arnold	Sept. 30	22
8	George Atwell	Oct. 1	23

[September 1776, cont.]

8	Elisabeth Andrewas	Oct. 1	23
8	Susannah Andrewas	Sept. 29	24
8	Mary Butler	Sept. 29	21
8	Freelove Bacon	Oct. 2	22
8	Isaac Bowen	Oct. 4	24
9	Thos Bennett	Oct. 4	26
9	Samuel Barry	Oct. 4	25
8	Sarah Bowen	Sept. 27	20
8	Polley Bowen	Sept. 27	20
9	Jabez Bowen, Junr	Sept. 27	19
9	Abigale Brown	Sept. 28	20
9	Polley Bowen	Oct. 1	22
10	William Bowers	Sept. 30	21
9	Polley Brown	Oct. 1	22
11	Phebe Brown	Oct. 5	25
9	Nancy Burden	Oct. 5	26
16	Peggy Brown, Negro	Oct. 6	21
5	Kezia Carrew	Sept. 26	21
7	Elisabeth Carpenter	Sept. 30	24
7	Hope Cambel	Sept. 28	21
9	Nichl Cooke, Gov.	Sept. 28	20
9	Hannah Cooke	Oct. 1	22
9	Mary Cross	Oct. 1	23
9	John Cooke	Oct. 1	22
9	Hezekiah Cook	Oct. 1	23
9	Nich ^o Cooke, Jun ^r	Sept. 28	20
9	Hannah Carpenter	Oct. 1	22
9	Binah Cook, Negro	Oct. 1	23
10	Mary Cole	Oct. 3	23
10	Elisabeth Cole	Sept. 30	21
10	Edward Cole	Sept. 30	22
10	Anstris Cole	Oct. 3	23
10	William Carpenter	Oct. 2	23
7	John Dunken	Sept. 29	22
8	Lucella Downer	Sept. 29	22
12	Semuon Daggett	Oct. 4	23
12	Jesse Dagget	Oct. 3	22
6	Mary Eddy	Oct. 1	25
6	Cyrus Eddy	Oct. 1	24
8	George Earl	Sept. 29	22
9	Mary Eddy, Jun ^r	Oct. 1	23

[August 1776, cont.]

12	Alsy[?] Spaulden	2	22
12	Samuel Snow	3	22
12	John Sellers	3	23
12	Amey Spaulden	3	22
12	Mary Stuart	6	26
12	Sarah Stuart	8	27
12	James Stuart	12	32
12	Joseph Stuart	12	35
12	Corn. Daniel Tillinghast	5	25
12	R. Gibbs Tillinghast	3	22
12	John Tillinghast	4	24
12	Dr. Thos Trewmann	2	21
12	Joseph Tillinghast	8	28
12	Susanah Tillinghast	5	24
12	Betty Tew	3	23
12	Peter Taylor	2	21
12	Expeerence Thurber	3	23
12	Elesibeth Tigar	5	24
12	Sarah Vial	18	38
12	James Vial	9	28
12	Amey Vial	18	38
12	Nathanel Wheeton	4	23
12	John Wheeton	8	28
12	Saml Wheeton	3	22
12	Abigale Wheeton	3	23
12	Mary Wheeton	3	22
12	Joseph Wheeton	7	27
12	Thos Young	4	23

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SECOND CLASS

Entry Date	Name	Discharge Date	# of Days
Sept. 1776			
5	Charl ^s Andrewas	Sept. 30	21
8	Sarah Arnold	Sept. 30	22
8	George Atwell	Oct. 1	23

[September 1776, cont.]

8	Elisabeth Andrewas	Oct. 1	23
8	Susannah Andrewas	Sept. 29	24
8	Mary Butler	Sept. 29	21
8	Freelove Bacon	Oct. 2	22
8	Isaac Bowen	Oct. 4	24
9	Thos Bennett	Oct. 4	26
9	Samuel Barry	Oct. 4	25
8	Sarah Bowen	Sept. 27	20
8	Polley Bowen	Sept. 27	20
9	Jabez Bowen, Junr	Sept. 27	19
9	Abigale Brown	Sept. 28	20
9	Polley Bowen	Oct. 1	22
10	William Bowers	Sept. 30	21
9	Polley Brown	Oct. 1	22
11	Phebe Brown	Oct. 5	25
9	Nancy Burden	Oct. 5	26
16	Peggy Brown, Negro	Oct. 6	21
5	Kezia Carrew	Sept. 26	21
7	Elisabeth Carpenter	Sept. 30	24
7	Hope Cambel	Sept. 28	21
9	Nichl Cooke, Gov.	Sept. 28	20
9	Hannah Cooke	Oct. 1	22
9	Mary Cross	Oct. 1	23
9	John Cooke	Oct. 1	22
9	Hezekiah Cook	Oct. 1	23
9	Nich ^o Cooke, Jun ^r	Sept. 28	20
9	Hannah Carpenter	Oct. 1	22
9	Binah Cook, Negro	Oct. 1	23
10	Mary Cole	Oct. 3	23
10	Elisabeth Cole	Sept. 30	21
10	Edward Cole	Sept. 30	22
10	Anstris Cole	Oct. 3	23
10	William Carpenter	Oct. 2	23
7	John Dunken	Sept. 29	22
8	Lucella Downer	Sept. 29	22
12	Semuon Daggett	Oct. 4	23
12	Jesse Dagget	Oct. 3	22
6	Mary Eddy	Oct. 1	25
6	Cyrus Eddy	Oct. 1	24
8	George Earl	Sept. 29	22
9	Mary Eddy, Jun ^r	Oct. 1	23

[September 1776, cont.]

8	Christopher Elry, Jun ^r	Oct. 2	25
8	Arther Fenner	Sept. 29	21
8	Theoder Foster	Sept. 27	20
8	Sarah Fenner	Sept. 29	21
20	Sarah Franklin	Oct. 15	26
7	Hannah Green	Sept. 28	22
7	Sarah Green	Sept. 28	21
8	Betsey Green	Sept. 28	21
8	William Green	Sept. 28	20
8	Caleb Green, Esq.	Oct. 9	31
9	Keziah Green	Sept. 28	20
8	Phebe Ham	Sept. 29	21
8	Phebe Ham, Jun ^r	Sept. 29	22
8	Recompence Healy	Oct. 6	28
8	Sarah Hopkins	Sept. 28	21
10	Samuel Hill	Oct. 3	23
9	Amey Hopkins	Sept. 30	29
8	Amey Jackson	Sept. 26	19
8	Freelove Jenks	Oct. 3	25
8	Daniel Jenkes	Sept. 30	23
8	Joseph Jenkes	Oct. 3	25
8	Croford Jenkes	Sept. 30	22
8	Scott Jenkes	Sept. 30	23
8	John Jenkes, Jun ^r	Oct. 3	26
8	William Jenkes	Sept. 30	22
8	Ebenezer Jenkes	Sept. 30	23
8	Jerimiah Jenkes	Sept. 28	20
9	Elisabeth Larrence	Oct. 1	22
9	Gideon Larrence	Oct. 1	23
9	Amey Larrence	Oct. 1	22
9	Polley Larrence	Oct. 1	23
9	Thomas Larrence	Oct. 1	22
5	Lydea Man	Sept. 26	22
7	John Munrow	Sept. 28	21
7	James Munrow	Sept. 28	22
8	Abigale Matherson	Sept. 28	21
8	Nathan Matherson	Sept. 28	20
8	Sarah Matherson	Sept. 29	22
8	Vilah Matherson, wench	Oct. 1	23
8	Sukey Marsh	Sept. 28	21
8	Jonathan Marsh	Sept. 30	22

[September 1776, cont.]

10	Nancy Mumford	Sept. 29	20
10	Preston Man	Sept. 28	19
16	John Matherson, Jun ^r	Oct. 1	16
7	Polley Nightingale	Sept. 27	21
7	Lydea Nightingale	Sept. 28	21
7	Abigal Nightingale	Sept. 28	22
7	Sukey Nightingale	Sept. 28	21
11	Cuff Nightingale	Oct. 2	21
11	Jo Nightingale	Oct. 2	22
10	Sarah Olney	Sept. 29	20
9	Thomas Perry	Sept. 28	19
9	Thomas Pearce	Oct. 1	23
9	Nancy Proud	Sept. 28	20
9	Mary Powers	Oct. 6	27
9	Nicho Powers, Jr.	Oct. 1	23
10	Mary Peck	Oct. 1	21
10	William Page	Oct. 3	24
10	Betey Peck	Sept. 29	20
7	Betey Richmond	Sept. 28	21
8	Betey Ross	Sept. 26	19
8	Elihew Roberson	Sept. 28	21
9	Abigale Russell	Sept. 27	18
9	Henry Rice	Sept. 28	19
10	Zebdial Rogers	Oct. 2	23
11	Sarah Rogers	Sept. 30	20
8	Honrittea Smith	Sept. 30	22
8	Charl ^s Sheldon	Sept. 28	21
8	Edward Spaulden	Sept. 28	20
9	Elisabeth Saben	Sept. 30	22
7	Mary Tillinghast	Sept. 30	23
8	Henry Tillinghast	Sept. 29	22
9	Elisabeth Tillinghast	Sept. 28	19
9	Elisha Tillinghast	Sept. 28	20
9	Charl ^s W. Tillinghast	Sept. 28	20
9	Amey Tillinghast	Oct. 1	22
9	Stephen Tillinghast	Oct. 1	23
12	Patience Thurbor	Oct. 1	19
10	Udike Sarah	Sept. 30	21
5	Seth Wheeton	Sept. 25	21
7	Hannah Whitman	Sept. 28	21
?	Henry Wood	?	?

[September 1776, cont.]

7	Jacob Whitman	Sept. 28	22
7	Sarah West	Sept. 30	19
8	Phebe Young	Sept. 29	21

End of 2nd Class

To 2823 Days brought over
 To 403 weeks and 2 days bord at 10/ pr week £201-12-10

First Class 387 weeks at 10/per week 193-10
 Third Class 536 weeks at 10/ per dito 268-0
 To our Bill for clensing and white washing 8-1-6

£671-4-4

Error Exsepted by over Charge 10 Weeks 10/ £ 5-0-0

£666-4-4

Providence Nov 11th 1776

To 3 weeks Bording 3 of Mr. Prouds Sons in 9 weeks at 10/
 £ 4-10

£670-14-4

By Cash of Mr. Foster at Twice £120
 By ditto of Mr. Sam^l Nightingail Jun 100
 By order on Elisabeth Tigert 3-6
 D^o on W^m Daggett 1-5-8
 D^o on d^o for his Enocholation 3-6
 D^o on Mrs. Pile 1-13
 D^o on Rebecer Hews 1-13
 D^o on Polley Dishup 3-6
 By Theodore Foster in full 436-4-8

Providence Nov 14th 1776 This Day We the Subscribers Do hereby acknowledge
 to have Received of Theodore Foster Clerk of the Hospital the Sum of Four
 Hundred and thirty Six Pounds Four Shillings and Eight pence Lawful Money in
 full Descharge to all Demands We have Against the Directors of the Hospital

Zeph^{ah} Andrews

Esek Eddy

Daniel Jackson

Witness Richard Winstanley

THIRD CLASS

The Directors of the Hospital to Zephaniah Andrewas Esek Eddy and Daniel
 Jackson for bording the following Parsons in the third Class

Entry Date	Name	Discharge Date	# of Days
Sept. 27	Betey Atwell	Oct. 15	19
27	Polley Atwell	14	18
Oct. 2	Joseph Arnold	22	21
3	James Angel Juner	24	21
3	Lindon Arnold	27	25
3	Molley Arnold mrs	28	25
9	Jonathan Arnold	29	20
9	William Arnold	28	19
3	Polly Angel	27	25
1	Mehitabel Black	22	21
1	Betey Black	22	22
2	Nich ^o Brown	24	22
2	Joannah Brown	24	23
2	Nich ^o Brown Jun ^r	24	22
2	Chad Brown	24	23
2	Hope Brown	24	22
2	Joseph Brown	26	25
2	Betey Brown	25	23
2	Nancy Bowen	23	22
3	Sanford Barker	22	20
3	Hannah Borrer	Nov 3	31
3	William Borrer	Oct 27	25
3	Joseph Burrel	24	21
3	Primas Brown Negro	26	24
5	Benjamin Bowen Ju ^r	29	24
6	Sarah Bowen	28	23
7	Amey Burror	Nov 3	28
7	Betey Bowen	Oct 30	23
7	Sidney Burror	Nov 3	28
10	Elixander Black	Oct 30	28
13	George Burror	Nov 3	21
5	Moses Brown	Oct 28	23
2	Patience Brown wench	28	26
22	Charl ^s Bears	Nov 6	17
2	Elisabeth Calender	Oct 23	21
2	Huldah Carpenter	27	26

[October 1776, cont.]

2	Lydea Crofford	23	21
2	Nancy Crofford	23	22
2	Nath ^l Cushing	23	21
Oct 2	Mary Carpenter	Oct 22	21
2	Mary Corlile	24	22
3	Rufus Childs	23	21
3	Elisabeth Cushing	26	23
3	Vilate Cook wench	27	25
3	Nabey Cushing	23	20
5	Nancy Collens	26	22
5	Patience Chace	27	22
5	Betey Chace	27	23
3	Nancy Clarke	25	23
2	Lydea Carr	24	22
3	Lydea Dexter	25	23
5	Charlot Downer	26	21
10	William Donnerson	31	22
2	Mary Earl	23	21
2	Olover Earl	21	20
2	Sarah Earl	23	21
6	Benjamin Eddy	27	22
6	Benjamin Eddy Jun ^r	30	24
6	Esek Eddy Jun ^r	30	24
10	Cudg Earl Negro	29	20
2	Sarah Franklin	23	21
2	Benjamin Franklin	22	20
2	James Franklen	22	20
2	Lucy Franklin wench	22	21
3	Theodosha Foster	23	20
5	Sophia Foster	26	22
5	Patience Foster Black Garl	26	21
Sept 30	Esther Harding	22	23
Oct 2	Martha Harris	23	21
2	Amey Harras	23	22
2	Martha Harras Jun ^r	25	23
2	Georg Harras	23	22
2	Joannah Hopkens	23	21
2	Sarah Hopkens	24	23
2	Stephen Hopkens	24	22
2	Silvenus Hopkens	24	23
2	Joseph Hopkens	24	22

[October 1776, cont.]

3	Ruth Hopkens	25	23
3	Christophor Hopkens	24	21
5	Hannah Hazard	27	23
9	Benjamin Hunt	29	21
9	William Ham	Nov 3	26
Oct 29	Ruth Jackson	20	21
Nov 2	Jackson Negro Garl	23	22
3	Jenkes Freelove	23	20
3	Sarah Jenkes	23	21
3	John Jenkes Esq ^r	21	19
7	Polley Jones	29	22
7	Edword Jones	29	23
10	John Jones	29	20
8	Poley Troop Jenkes	29	21
2	Benjamin Keen	23	22
2	Thomas Larrence	23	21
2	Nancy Larrence	22	21
2	John Lyon	25	23
5	Susanah Lyon	26	22
5	Mary Lyon	26	21
Sept 27	Elisabeth Maderson	20	24
Oct 2	Polley Marsh	Nov 4	33
10	Joseph Morres	6	28
11	Benjamin Man Esq	Oct 31	20
21	Ruth Marsh	Nov 5	15
21	Daniel Marsh Jun ^r	5	15
21	Wilkerson Marsh	5	15
21 J	ames Marsh	5	16
Sept 28	Betty Matherson	Oct 16	19
Oct 10	Nimbel Nightingale Negro	29	20
11	Nancy Nickson	29	18
2	Lamuel Olney	24	23
2	Betey Olney	25	23
3	Sion Hunt Olney	24	22
3	James Olney	23	21
2	Sarah Page	23	21
2	Sarah Pearce	24	23
2	Nathan Pearce	24	22
3	Phebe Pike	26	24
2	Page Ambros Esq ^r	25	23
3	Sarah Page Mr ^s	25	22

[October 1776, cont.]

3	George Page	25	23
2	Elisabeth Russell	27	26
2	Nathanel Richman	24	23
2	Thomas Russell	24	22
2	Sarah Read	23	22
3	Rouland Roberson	24	21
3	Nathanel	24	22
Oct 3	Jeremiah Russell	Oct 27	25
3	Elisabeth Russell Jun ^r	Nov 2	30
3	William Ross	Oct 22	20
9	Sarah Ross	Nov 3	25
9	George Ross	Oct 29	21
10	John Rogers	31	22
2	Lydea Stevens	24	22
2	Contented Steary	23	22
3	Polley Smith	24	21
3	William Smith	21	19
3	Betey Sinkens	21	19
5	Frances Simones	28	23
5	Abigale Simons	28	24
8	Betey Simons	29	21
9	Hannah Simons	28	20
10	James Saben	Nov 1	22
10	Jonathan Saben	1	23
10	Charl ^s Smith	3	24
10	Arch[?] Salsberry	5	27
11	Henry Smith	2	22
12	Polley Stuart	5	25
2	Polley Treibe	Oct 24	22
2	Edward Thurbar	23	22
2	Amey Tisdell	23	21
3	William Tillinghast	24	22
5	Sarah Tillinghast	26	21
5	Silvenus Tillinghast	26	22
9	Esquier Thurber	30	21
9	Sarah Tripp	31	23
11	Jonathan Tillinghast	Nov 2	22
16	Lydea Thomas	6	22
19	Joseph Thomas	6	18
Sept 25	Charl ^s Wheeton	Oct 16	23
28	Samu ^l Wilbor	16	19

[October 1776, cont.]

Oct 2	Levi Wheeton	23	22
2	Nancy Wheeton	23	21
3	Mary Whippel	26	24
3	Amey Whippel	27	24
3	William Wescutt	22	20
3	Benjamin Wescutt	22	19
10	Ray Simuon Ward	Nov 1	22
2	Mary Vanderlite	28	26
5	James Veary	27	21
6	William Veary	27	22
5	Richard E. Opdike	27	22

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