THE PRINTER-PUBLISHERS OF THE MIDDLESEX GAZETTE
FROM 1785 TO 1820: AN EXAMINATION OF THEIR
POSITION IN THE MIDDLETOWN COMMUNITY

Sally P. Grucan
SOCS 637
Peter Hall
Dec. 15, 1986
In her book *The Newspaper and the Historian*, Lucy Maynard Salmon enumerates twenty-five or so points which lend to a newspaper its "personality." Half of these relate in some way to the publisher and the way in which he chooses to conduct his business. The purpose of this research paper is not to tell the history of Middletown, Connecticut, through its newspaper, although that would be a valid topic. Rather, it is an attempt to clarify the role of the city's first newspaper publishers and, through them, the character of the community at the time.

(Admittedly the *Gazette* served a larger population than just Middletown, but for purposes of this paper Middletown is the focus.) A local newspaper is usually central to the life of the community, and this was particularly true before the advent of telecommunications and film. The publisher of a newspaper wielded a unique kind of authority as the disseminator of all manner of news, literature, public notices, and, last but surely not least, guidance as to where to buy one's winter woolens. Success in this, however, depended upon his acceptance in the community, his adherence to community standards. The identity or personality of the one is reflected in the other.

The *Middlesex Gazette* was issued from November 8, 1785 till sometime in 1834 (the last issue located in town is dated March 20, 1834). In this report I have covered the years 1785-1820 for the reason that several student papers (copies of which are in the Wesleyan Archives) already deal with the years 1820 and
following. Due to time constraints, research was conducted in Middletown only. Findings are presented in two parts. The first is an account of the four printer-publishers in question, namely, Thomas Green (Jr.), Moses Hawkins Woodward, Tertius Dunning, and John Botsford Dunning. The second part fits these findings into a discussion of eight factors which contributed to a person’s social standing in the Middletown, Connecticut of 1785 to 1820.

* * * * * * *
PART I: BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON THE PRINTER-PUBLISHERS OF THE MIDDLESEX GAZETTE FROM 1785 TO 1820

The printing trade was a difficult one to learn, requiring a seven-year apprenticeship from about age 14 to age 21. The apprentice could not be just any lad—he must have "a decent English education" in order to handle the alphabet, punctuation, and sentence structure. At first the apprentice ran errands for the shop and the master's wife, swept floors, kindled fires, washed type, discarded pi, carded wool for ink balls, carried water for cleaning as well as wetting paper, and, as the most degrading task of all, trod the pelts used for ink balls. Gradually he learned to set and ink the type and run the press. At 21 he became a journeyman and could work where he wished, in most cases making a decent wage of $3 to $8 a week.

Any young printer of ambition dreamed of owning his own shop, the gateway to financial success and respect in the community. For awhile, four such men lived their dream as printer-publishers of the Middlesex Gazette, though sometimes the dream lost its lustre. The four, their dates of birth and death, and the dates of their association with the newspaper are:

THOMAS GREEN (JR.) (1765-Apr. 22, 1825)
MOSES HAWKINS WOODWARD (Mar. 31, 1761-1804)
These two partnered from the first issue on November 9, 1785 until June 13, 1789. Woodward ran the paper alone from June 20, 1789 until Sept. 29, 1797.

TERTIUS DUNNING (Mar. 27, 1770-Oct. 5, 1823)
JOHN BOTSFORD DUNNING (1768-Mar. 21, 1825)
Tertius ran the paper alone from Oct. 6, 1797 until Sept. 26, 1800. He and his brother John partnered from Oct. 3, 1800 until May 31, 1810. After that, Tertius
was on his own until his death at which time the paper went to his son Charles.

Appendix A serves to place some of their activities within a framework of important historical events.

THOMAS GREEN was probably working in his father's printing shop as soon as he could walk. He was a member of the Green family printing dynasty, which has been described in several books and articles. Thomas' father, also named Thomas, was born in New Haven but moved to Hartford to establish the Connecticu
t Courant (later the Hartford Courant). Thomas (Jr.) was born in Hartford and baptized in Middletown at the Church of the Holy Trinity, the Greens being a good Episcopalian family. Thomas was only 2 years old when his father returned to New Haven to assume a promising partnership with his brother Samuel. No doubt son Thomas learned the intricacies of printing in New Haven. Furthermore, this is most likely where he met Moses Woodward.

MOSES WOODWARD, son of Nathan and Sarah (Hickox) Woodward, was born in that section of Waterbury now called Watertown. These facts are noted by genealogist Frank Farnsworth Starr, along with his conviction that Woodward was in the employ of the elder Thomas Green. Woodward married Sena Page in New Haven in 1786 (one year after he was settled in his own business, it should be noted). Like Green, he was Episcopalian. There must have been a strong bond of affection between the two families as Woodward named his first child "Thomas Green Woodward".
It is possible that the Green name facilitated the establishment of a printing business by two non-natives, since there seem to have been no relatives in town before their arrival. But Green and Woodward also utilized the influence of Josiah Meigs, himself a newspaper publisher in New Haven, but more importantly a well-connected figure in Middletown. Meigs also regularly wrote articles to various Connecticut newspapers under the pseudonym "Lycurgus." In the debut issue of the Middlesex Gazette, Meigs states that he previously had issued proposals for printing a publishing a weekly paper in the city to little popular response. However, Green and Woodward went ahead anyhow, "with the consent of Mr. Meigs."

Although Woodward was four years younger than Green and no member of a printing dynasty, the masthead of the Gazette read "Woodward and Green" rather than the other way around. The inference is that the idea for the newspaper, the financial risk, and the responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the shop were in large part Woodward's. But the Green influence is in evidence. Ignoring for now the fact that newspapers of the time were quite similar, one can point for point match the features of the Connecticut Courant with those of the Middlesex Gazette. When Green departed in 1789 to become a partner in his father's New Haven shop the following year—and perhaps he felt the Gazette to be on financially shakey ground anyway—Woodward was ready to
continue operation on his own.

Woodward and Green had been renting space in a shop owned by Timothy Peck situated on land owned by George Phillips. Phillips died early in 1791,¹⁶ which may have facilitated Woodward's purchase of the shop in May at a cost of 70 pounds.¹⁷ His brother Antipas participated in the purchase as well, and used part of the store to run his own business.¹⁸

It should be noted that all of these printer-publishers had large numbers of children and usually a sibling or two to help with the business. Not until about 1813 do people largely begin to maintain residences apart from their businesses.¹⁹ No doubt children did simple chores and wives did proofreading and other jobs—Milton Hamilton flatly states that "a wife was a necessity if the printer wanted to succeed in business."²⁰ These family members were in addition to the aforementioned apprentices and journeymen. For lack of an account book or other sources it is impossible to say how many of these labored for Woodward; however, the Vital Records show that, while Woodward listed two free white males under 16 years of age in the 1790 Census, he had only one son, 3 years old, at the time. The other person was most likely an apprentice. In the *Gazettes* of Feb. 25, 1792 and following, Woodward also advertised the sale of a female slave who seemed to belong to him.
Moses Woodward is not listed in the 1800 Tax List. This may indicate that publishing the Gazette had not provided enough income to tide him over once he had sold the business to Tertius Dunning in 1797. No real estate transactions other than the shop appear in the official records. A hard life in the printing trade may have led to his selling the business to Dunning, and to his early death in 1804 at the age of 43. No probate record could be found in Middletown. On the other hand, he may have simply up and left town since genealogist Frank Starr had no idea where or exactly how he died, and he does not appear in the 1800 Middletown Census. But his wife subsequently married Thomas Hall of Middletown on Oct. 27, 1806.

TERTIUS DUNNING, another non-native, took over from Woodward in 1797. He was perhaps born in Saybrook since his parents, the Rev. Benjamin and Anna (Botsford) Dunning, came from Marlborough and Essex, Connecticut, to settle in Saybrook. As a minister's son, Dunning was probably more educated than most children; however, he had to eventually make his own living since his father could not easily pass on his pulpit. Dunning married Rebecca Broughton "whose parents were not married," in Middletown in 1806. Rebecca may have come from or had family in Stow County, Ohio, as she died there in 1836 and at least two of her children lived there in 1839; or some of the family may have just gone out west to try their luck after the head of the family passed away.
Dunning probably learned the printing trade before he came to Middletown—it does not seem likely that he apprenticed with Woodward. Woodward does not list an over-16-years-old male other than himself in the 1790 census, when Dunning would have been 20 years old; in addition, there is no hint in the Gazette of a long-term association between the two. By 1800, Dunning heads up a household of three young men, one older man, and two older females, who must be siblings (he had seven) or apprentices since he did not marry until 1806. Later, in 1820, an even larger household included more family members and apprentices and one male slave under 14 years of age.

Like Moses Woodward, Tertius Dunning seems to have made enough money to support his family, but it is doubtful that he was well-to-do. His financial lot did improve in later years. In the Tax Lists of 1790-1810 he paid nothing, $60, and $75, respectively (of which $60 of each was a poll tax). He invested in some real estate in 1806 (the year he married), purchasing five acres of land near Long Lane for $150, and in 1814 acquiring one share in the lands and tenements of the Washington Hotel for $100. It is impossible to say if these were merely investments or actual residences, but the five-acre plot lacked buildings and a tenement in the hotel was probably pretty small. It is possible that a Dunning residence was located on the corner of Parsonage (now College) and Broad Streets since in 1839 Tertius' youngest
son John, living in Ohio, sold his fifth part of the land and a "dwelling house" in order to raise money for his education.\textsuperscript{29}

Tertius Dunning died in 1823 at the age of 53. He is buried in the old part of the Mortimer Cemetery belonging to the First Ecclesiastical Society\textsuperscript{30} (App. B). This combined with the fact of his membership in said Society\textsuperscript{31} (if I am correct in interpreting it as an organization within the church) and the listing of his name in Alice Richter's book The faithful remnant show him to be unmistakably Episcopalian. Indicative of his improving financial situation over the years is an estate worth $1,746.91 at his death.\textsuperscript{32}

In contrast, Tertius' older (by two years) brother JOHN BOTSFORD DUNNING left an estate of only $359.15. That sum included $125 worth of books, $15 in clothes, and a watch worth $10.50.\textsuperscript{33} Books are the key to the life of John Botsford. In 1804, while still a partner with Tertius at the Gazette, John set up a circulating library in a store belonging to Thomas Hobby. The core of his stock was a one-third portion of Richard Alsop's 986-volume library.\textsuperscript{34} He purchased the store from Hobby in 1809 for $2,750.\textsuperscript{35} This astounding sum begs to be examined. Due to his nine-year (to date) tenure at the Gazette and the probability that he never married nor maintained a separate residence, John Dunning could have saved that amount of money;\textsuperscript{36} he also had his library as collateral. Another "in" was the marriage of his
sister Anna to Thomas Hobby in 1806. Even so, he paid a low tax on his assets, amounting to $60 in both 1800 and 1810. Like any "carefree" bachelor he owned some nice clothes an a fancy watch, but he was not wealthy by any means. He did sell paper supplies and managed in 1810 to add 200 volumes to his library, but at his death his estate was tied up in books (which sounds like the fate of some of us).

John Botsford Dunning is buried in the family plot in Mortimer Cemetery (App. B).
PART II: THE ROLE OF THE PRINTER-PUBLISHERS IN THE COMMUNITY

Having examined the lives and fortunes of the four publishers of the Middlesex Gazette, the need arises to further identify these men and their place in the community. Related to this is an inquiry into the role of a particular newspaper and a particular printing shop in the Middletown of the time. Since the discussion is necessarily a complex one, it has been broken down into eight factors which serve to place a person in his environment. A Middletonian of the period would probably cite these factors in this order:

1) financial status
2) occupation
3) the holding of political office
4) family connections
5) religious affiliation
6) membership in community organizations
7) schooling
8) final resting place

1) Financial status

It was already true in the late 18th and early 19th centuries that one's standing in the community derived in large part from one's financial worth. Middletown's port brought diversity and prosperity and the largest population in the state by 1790. The inevitable introduction of banks increased capital. Soon manufacturing would begin to overtake trade. Even agriculture received an economic boost though the impetus of agricultural societies.

Like the farmer before him, the artisan expanded his role to
encompass the activities of an "artisan-merchant" or entrepreneur if he wished to attain success. (This will be discussed in detail under "Occupation."). With the possible exception of Thomas Green who may always have had some sort of financial backing from his family, the artisan-merchants of the Middlesex Gazette were far from wealthy. Although both Woodward and John Dunning were able to purchase their own shops, only Tertius Dunning seems to have been able to afford speculation in real estate and the possible maintenance of a separate family residence. His estate, worth about $1700 in 1823, indicates a somewhat comfortable existence considering his large family. Real wealth resided with someone like Capt. Benjamin Williams, West Indies merchant and owner of the De Koven House, whose estate back in 1813 was worth $42,100.42 The 1800 Tax List provides another comparison, with Tertius Dunning paying close to the average for artisans ($75) as opposed to the $136 average for merchants and the $176 average for professionals (lawyers, doctors, clergy).43 While artisans often engaged in mercantile activities, these artisan-merchants usually made less money than merchants who dealt in higher-priced and highly desirable imported goods. It is only when men like Richard Alsop and Isaac Riley engage in publishing and related activities on a national and international scale do we see real wealth associated with the publishing business in Middletown.44

On the other hand, the publishers of the Middlesex Gazette had it
made in the shade compared with artisans and farmers who did not
or could not take advantage of the rising commercialism. A
poignant example is that of the sale of a printing office, house,
and store of Timothy Powers due to bankruptcy. There is no
lack of "going out of business" notices in the newspaper. If we
were to categorize the publishers of the Gazette using modern
terminology, we might say they were leading relatively
comfortable middle-class lives.

2) **Occupation**

The first half of this discussion of occupation concerns the
"business" end of newspaper publishing, while the second half
deals more with the product of said business (the newspaper).

In the late 1700's and early 1800's, anyone who wished to get
ahead had to be a jack of many related trades. Merchants dealt
in whatever goods were marketable and obtainable. Carpenters and
joiners fitted out ships as well as homes. Blacksmiths
alternated shoeing the next horse with forging the beginnings of
the industrial age.

Newspaper offices of the time invariably engaged in other types
of printing. It was a toss-up as to which activity comprised the
major concern of a particular printing establishment; a printer
interested primarily in newspaper publishing supported it with
various types of job printing, while the generalist printer
recognized that a newspaper would provide a steady income to tide him over the slack times. The fact that newspapers carried money-making advertisements and notices tipped the scale slightly in their favor.

The output of the Green, Woodward, and Dunning establishments was extensive and is quite well documented. Harvey R. Hull has compiled a list of 450 monographs printed in Middletown between 1785 and 1850. Of these, 7 were printed by Woodward and Green, 26 by Woodward alone, 40 by Tertius Dunning, and 24 by Tertius and John B. Dunning. This is collectively the largest output from a single establishment at the time. Sermons, almanacs, primers, catechisms, hymnals, and children's books were the most common type of monograph printed. The production of books was time-consuming, expensive, and subject to risk if a subscription list or other contract were not firmly in hand. The printing of laws, commercial announcements, bills, legal forms, and licenses was a safer bet. The Gazette office ran numerous ads proclaiming the availability of these items as well as others procured from outside, including books, writing paper, bonnet paper, bonnet linings, and goose quills. The office offered "good pay," writing paper, or pamphlets in exchange for clean cotton or linen rags (for paper-making) and goose feathers.

The office also did bookbinding, and so was on the lookout for tanned sheepskins from time to time. Names were solicited for
book subscription lists, and lottery tickets were sold.\(^4\) Occasional ads to dispose of miscellaneous articles such as Windsor chairs, a military coat, a one-horse sleigh, and even a female slave are labelled "Enquire of the printer," but it may have been that the printer was simply a go-between (but a paid go-between).\(^5\)

In the early days of printing, the trade was likely held in higher esteem by a greater part of the population than is true today. The term "probably" is significant since even then people were inclined to put the man of leisure above the man who earned his living by the sweat of his brow.\(^6\) But early Middletonians knew that, although printing was unquestionably manual labor, it was not to be equated with shoemaking. On any day, Woodward and Green or the Dunnings carried on their business for all to see. (How many of us have ever seen how books or newspapers are printed?) The printing shop was always centrally located; in the period 1785-1820 it moved up and down Main Street several times but always stayed between William & Washington Streets (see App. C) except when temporary quarters were set up after a fire in 1792.

The proprietor of the shop directed a number of employees in complex tasks which included deciphering manuscripts, composing type, preparing ink and paper, the printing itself, proofreading, and the collating, stitching, and binding of sheets into finished products. The printing press was a monstrous wooden (later iron
or wood-and-iron) device, the operation of which required a strong back and a knowing touch. The average printer had one or two machines in operation at the same time, while the shop of someone like Isaiah Thomas in Worcester had twelve! But whether one or twelve, the responsibility of owning, operating, and repairing a press was considerable. Presses, once available only from England, were in the late 1700's made in America on a small scale; prices ranged from $75-$95 for a wooden press and $300-$500 for an iron press, but used ones were also to be had. A larger concern was the paucity of "printing press repair shops"—there were none. Printers exercised no small amount of ingenuity in rounding up carpenters, blacksmiths, stonemasons, tinsmiths, and others to restore their presses to working order. Added to the daily worries were shortages of ink, paper, and type, but these concerns lessened as factories and foundries were constructed in Connecticut and elsewhere, and transportation improved.

The printing business, particularly the newspaper printing business, placed its owner in a unique position at the center of town life. Residents called on him not only to place orders and purchase paper supplies, but also to find out what was going on in the world. The publisher of the newspaper was the first to know. For one thing, he received newspapers from all over in special exchange relationships that were postage-free. In Middletown, the newspaper office was always located near the post
office, but in many other places the publisher of the newspaper was the postmaster. Mail (though sometimes late) poured in via ship, stage, and postrider; surface mail had long been carried on the road from Hartford to New Haven through Middletown, and other routes were later established. Newspapers were published as soon after the scheduled mail delivery as possible. While other residents no doubt received out-of-town newspapers of their own, the vast majority did not, cost being a major factor. The Middlesex Gazette cost 8 shillings in 1785 and had increased its price to $1.50 ($1.00 for city delivery) by 1808. It was common to see newspapers passed from hand to hand and made available in inns, coffeehouses, and taverns. Samuel Goodrich, resident of Ridgefield in the late 1790's, noted that "Books and newspapers ... were read respectfully, and as if they were grave matters demanding thought and attention." David D. Hall in his fascinating chapter "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600-1850" in Printing and Society in Early America cites scarcity, religious context, and habit of repetition as the reasons for this serious approach to reading; our modern reading style is totally different. Hall talks about the practice of reading aloud, which certainly took place since most women were illiterate. They, especially, must have held the printer's skill in high regard.

In addition to the above, the printing trade was considered special by way of its general affiliation with literature and
learning. The printer was of course acquainted the contents of books he produced and sold, and on occasion he would deal with the authors themselves or their knowledgeable agents. The newspaper carried (mostly reprinted) essays, poems, and short stories, not all of which were well-written, but authors did their best to convey the spirit of "polite" society. The printer could take pride in being associated with printers such as Ben Franklin and Isaiah Thomas, well-known models of the learned and successful man.

That the *Middlesex Gazette* came to be indispensable to the people of Middletown is made evident by the events which followed the fire of 1792. It completely destroyed the printing offices of Moses Woodward and interrupted publication between January 28th and February 25th. The business of Antipas Woodward was also wiped out. Woodward's taking up of quarters in the Town House is revealing. First of all, at the time of the fire his financial situation apparently permitted the keeping of one building only (or at least only one that was large enough for a printing office); this proves again that Woodward was not a wealthy man. Secondly, the alacrity with which he resumed operation proves how important the paper was to the community and how well-respected was Woodward himself. He was forced to borrow funds to again set up shop, but received charitable contributions as well.

Of course, the best measure of the ability and position of a
newspaper publisher is the product of his labor and the manner in which it is utilized by the public. In its inaugural issue, the Middlesex Gazette was declared to be open for candid and liberal discussion of moral, political, commercial, and literary subjects; such Acts of the General Assembly of this state as shall be ordered to be published; the Resolves of Congress; and as judicious a selection of foreign and domestic intelligence as the subscriber shall be able to make. 

How many customers accepted this invitation is impossible to tell. Circulation figures are difficult to come by, and Field's description of the Gazette as "circulating more and sometimes less within Middlesex County and beyond it" is not very helpful. A comprehensive examination of the content of the Middlesex Gazette is in order, but would be a major research project in and of itself. However, in order to get a "feel" for the Gazette, a detailed survey of seven issues was made utilizing a special workform (App. D). Issue were randomly selected, one each from the years 1786 (Jan. 3), 1787 (Mar. 5), 1791 (Jan. 29), 1801 (Dec. 21), 1808 (Sept. 1), 1814 (Oct. 20), and 1819 (Mar. 27). Some examples below come from issues not in the sample. Certain patterns run through all seven issues, and these patterns are identical to those of most other newspapers of the period.

a) Size/type/illustration
The newspaper was invariably four pages long (necessary for efficient printing on a press of the time), and the quality of paper varied. Paper of poorer quality had a definite blueish cast, and was obviously an embarrassment to the printer and an
annoyance to the reader; in a particular blue Sept. 8, 1797, issue, Moses Woodward says he "has no more of this kind of paper, and he will never again print on so poor a kind."

In the course of the years indicated above, pages increased in size from 15 3/4 x 9 3/4" to 21 1/2 x 13 1/2", while print size shrunk. Obviously there was more material to print, but a larger page also meant that a newer printing press had been installed or an older one somehow fitted with a larger platen. The printers of the Gazette must always have had on hand fairly new type, since the print is consistently clear. In the interest of a more even "line," the long "s" begins to disappear in the 1808 issue (except for ads) and vanishes completely by the 1819 issue.

Small metal- or wood-cut illustrations appear around 1808 to embellish ads, prior illustration having been limited to the seal of the newly-incorporated city of Middletown in the masthead of earlier issues. The printer seems to have tried to liven up his pages with a variety of typefaces, decorative borders, and even ads that were upside-down or sideways! Mastheads were revamped from time to time (App. E), and no doubt readers were delighted with the truly beautiful masthead of Feb. 25, 1792 (App. F) which appeared after the fire. The subtitle "or, Foederal Advisor" which appeared between November 5, 1787 and January 21, 1792, probably did not have political content beyond the publishers' belief in the need of the public to be well-informed on political
matters. Use of the subtitle marks the period of Woodward and Green's (then just Woodward's) occupation of a bright and shiny new shop, and they may have wanted to simply add some pizzazz to the front page of the paper; the subtitle disappears in the second issue after the fire, most likely because it took up space that could be used for income-producing ads. It really did not matter how generally unlovely and hard-to-read the newspaper was, since it was the only timely and consistent source of news available.

b) News

Foreign and national news was almost always reprinted from other sources, especially newspapers, with little rearrangement of text. There were no headlines in the modern sense,\(^6\) but sometimes articles were set off by a sort of introduction printed in heavier and larger type. From 1786 to 1819, foreign news consistently took up a good chunk of the paper, while national news became more and more prominent as time went on; both were overwhelmingly political in nature. While the actual events are fascinating—wars, famines, political controversies—the "reporting" was rather tedious; either Americans were interested in the smallest details of how governments functioned, or the printer did not feel it necessary or practical to revise the news for popular consumption (just selecting what to print was sufficient). The printer was careful to indicate the source and date of news, most likely because of the time lag involved. In
one instance, the "Surrender of Alexandria" occurred on September 5th, 1801, was printed in a London paper on October 21st, and was reprinted in the *Gazette* on December 21st.

Of local (Middletown) news there was very little. People knew what was going on from attending church and conversing with neighbors. They were probably not as intensely conscious of their day-to-day lives as we are today—the commonplace events that took place in Middletown hardly warranted a mention in the newspaper. Curiosities such as a baby born in Middletown with 21" shoulders (Jan. 3, 1786) would be mentioned on occasion, and the issue for March 5th, 1787 stated that "information on any extraordinary deaths that happen would oblige the printers and the public."

c) Commentary

There are no editorials in the modern sense, but there is a good deal of passionate editorializing; the newspaper was the perfect medium for getting one's opinion across. Often that opinion was submitted under a *nom de plume* borrowed from the Greek or Roman republic. Rarely is there a "letter to the editor" of the *Gazette* itself.

d) Literary compositions

These were invariable reprints. Maybe one composition per issue was average, most often poetry and most often quite sentimental
or overtly political. In the issue for October 20, 1814, appeared an anonymous song entitled "Defence of Fort McHenry"—it begins "Oh, say can you see ..."

2) Notices

Only brief announcements of marriages and deaths appear—apparently births were too common to bother with! Sadly, of two issue chosen at random, one announced the marriage of Abigail Wilcox to William C. Redfield (Oct. 20, 1814) and one her death of a four-year illness at the age of 22 (May 27, 1818). Apparently marriage did not agree with her.

Other notices were official in nature (from the federal and state governments, the Tax Collector’s Office, the Probate Court, and the divorce court—two divorces on account of abandonment and adultery). The probate notices of January 3rd, 1786, included that of the Rev. Benjamin Dunning of Saybrook, father of the Dunnings. Meeting notices averaged one or two per issue, an example of which was the gathering of the Middlesex Medical Society to consider the union of the Connecticut Medical Society and Yale College (Sept. 1, 1808). Shipping notices appeared regularly but not in every issue; ports of call were noticeably more exotic in 1786 than they were by 1819. Postal notices appeared sporadically as reminders to named individuals to pick up letters that were waiting for them. Real estate notices were common, as were lost-and-found notices (tortoise-shell
"sunglasses" were found on Oct. 20, 1814).

f) Commercial ads (exclusive of those from the printing office)

The publishers of the Middlesex Gazette went a little crazy with ads as the years passed—the lure of easy money was apparently too strong. From a low of four ads on January 3rd, 1786, we go to a high of thirty-six ads on October 20th, 1814. It is no exaggeration to say that the newspaper grew in size due to an increase in advertising rather than in news. Merchants seem to have picked up the trick of listing a similar ad two or three times in the same issue, or selling seven of something for the price of six. The printer was apparently willing to accept an additional payment to put an ad on the front page.

The ads covered every conceivable product and service available at the time. Some of the most interesting one are given below:

--Samuel Bigelow's fresh raisins and a few boxes of excellent chocolate (Jan. 29, 1791)
--Hezekiah Brainard's smallpox inoculation at his "hospital" where he has "practiced inoculation for some years" (ditto)
--William Richard's European and India goods including "shalloons, antaloons, moreens, durants, [and] tammies (Jan. 31, 1786)
--Middletown Brewery table beer for $2 a barrel (1801)
--Charles Faulkner's "Health-House" in Guilford, offering clean air, a new sailboat, plenty of fresh seafood, and convenient accommodations including horse-keeping on hay or grass (Sept. 1, 1808)
--Mr. Fuller's Dancing School (ditto)
--J.B. Dunning's pink letter paper (Oct. 20, 1814)
Pratt and Robert's jeans and parasols (May 27, 1819)
--Samuel Southmayd's paint selection, including white, red, black, five kinds of yellow, Prussian blue, Drop Lake, carmine, and Chinese and English vermillion (ditto)

There is little doubt that many a reader turned to the ads first!
For all these items merchants preferred cash but accepted certain kinds of produce or other kinds of exchanges; in the issue for October 20, 1814, however, two ads announce that only cash will be accepted due to the war.

From the sample of issues above it is easy to see that the Middlesex Gazette was many things to many people. Once it became a part of their daily (weekly?) lives, they did not want to give it up. Nothing else remotely approached its capacity to articulate in print the needs, fears, joys, and hopes of a nation to a receptive, always-curious readership.

3) Political office

This category is deliberately placed between those relating to business life and those relating to personal life. The election or appointment to public office was a consequence of how a person functioned in both spheres. It was a sure indicator that someone had "arrived."?

None of the printer-publishers of the Middlesex Gazette seem to have held public office while in Middletown, which suggests a few things. Though respected in the community, they were not well-to-do men. Their family connections, discussed below, were not outstanding. The lack of higher education may have played a part. They were artisan-merchants but with an emphasis on the "artisan," on the long hours of work—perhaps they lacked the
time to devote to public service.

Since today many newspapers espouse a particular political viewpoint, and their publishers and editors actively engage in the politics of one party or another, one wonders if the publishers of the Middlesex Gazette had an axe to grind. If so, it could have affected their chances for public office. This is not evident from either the lives of the men or the content of issues reviewed. It should be remembered that political parties in Connecticut were just warming up around the turn of the century and, at any rate, Connecticut was traditionally less open to change than certain other parts of the country. The publisher of a newspaper generally held to community standards if he wished to stay in business, and in Middletown this meant being part of the establishment until something came along to force the community into a different path. But since community standards were actually in quite a state of flux at this time, it is no wonder that the publishers of the Gazette thought impartiality the most prudent course. Such impartiality was remarkable for the time and has been commented upon in the literature.71

4) Family connections

As was made clear in Part I, none of the publishers of the Middlesex Gazette from 1785 to 1820 were native to Middletown. It so happens that in these years family connections were still quite important, although not to the extent they had been.
Thomas Green probably benefited from his association with the Green family printing dynasty. However, there seem to have otherwise been no Greens in town, and four years in a community is not sufficient to make one's mark. No significant family connections were discovered for Moses Woodward either, as his family roots are in the Waterbury area.

The Dunning family did a little better. As mentioned previously, Anna Dunning, sister of Tertius and John, married Thomas Hobby in 1806. It will be remembered that John Dunning established a circulating library in Thomas Hobby's store back in 1804, purchasing it from him finally in 1809.

The Vital Records note that Thomas was brother to Wensley Hobby, a prominent local dry-goods merchant. Wensley Hobby was postmaster in Middletown from 1775-1807, and we have already seen how dependent a newspaper office was on the mails. Hobby was in addition a member of the Association Committee of Inspection and donated all the painting and glazing for the construction of Middletown's first Court House, completed in 1788. It is interesting to note that Woodward was allotted space in the Town House (Court House) to set up shop after the fire; other factors come into play here, of course, but this in another indication of that link between postmaster and printing shop. Hobby had previously showed support of the new paper in town by taking out an ad in the first issue.
5) Religious affiliation

With the possible exception of Thomas Hobby and wife Anna Dunning who were married in the Congregational Church, everyone in our little scenario is Episcopalian. In 1815 only 11% of churchgoing families in Middlesex County were Episcopalian, the vast majority still calling themselves Congregationalist. In his Centennial Address Field cites the following figures for numbers of individuals enrolled in the Episcopal Church in Middletown:

1786 -- 127 people
1799 -- 47
1810 -- 50
1812 -- 84
1814 -- 85*

Considering that in 1790 the total population of Middletown was 5,375, a figure which increased by 50% by 1820, those persons officially registered as Episcopalian were small in number. Yet they were well represented among the tradesmen of Middletown (and would fill up a good portion of Mortimer Cemetery). Having shaken off accusations of Toryism after the Revolutionary War, Episcopalians were later attacked for their Republican leanings. Since the late 1700's they had been loyal to the Federalist party, but had not in turn benefited from this support—who could blame them for seeking the Republican option? During the 1800's, united with other malcontents, they would wrest political control away from the Federalist party.*

But if Episcopalians generally leaned toward the Republican
party, why are the *Middlesex Gazette* and other Connecticut newspapers of the time labelled Federalist?²⁷ The transition was long and gradual, and we are not talking about an Episcopalian who was Federalist one day and Republican the next, especially a Connecticut Episcopalian. Too, it is difficult to judge an individual solely on the basis of religion this late in history. The publishers of the *Middlesex Gazette* were conservative folk, reflecting the sober rationalism of their religion and the desire for law and order felt by the majority of their readers. Naturally they wanted to be free from a state church, but unlike the publisher of the *New London Bee* who was arrested under the Sedition Law of 1798 for slander against the government,²⁸ they were cautious about using the power of their newspaper to espouse major changes in the order of things.

In any event, the Episcopalian minority in Middletown must have found their small group a source of support and comfort during a time of vast economic, social, and political change. Both Moses Woodward and Tertius Dunning were active in the church,²⁹ and their efforts must have paid off with strong support from other members.

6) **Membership in community organizations**

In the period with which we are concerned, there were several organizations a person might join, most notably the Masons.³⁰ This category is, for now, merely a placeholder in that there is
no evidence of Green's, Woodward's, or the Dunnings' participation in fraternal and similar organizations. Aside from Thomas Green who lived in Middletown for such a short while, it is hard to believe that the publishers of the local newspaper, the foremost printers in town, would not apply for or be granted admittance to at least one organization. After all, the publisher of a newspaper "served his own interests by participating in a variety of activities in the public behalf."\textsuperscript{3}

7)\textbf{ Schooling}

This category assumes that friendships and other alliances are formed while at school, particularly at college. The publishers of the \textit{Gazette} were obviously literate men who had received some sort of schooling as youngsters. But it is pretty certain that none of them attended college, which was the lot of most people at the time. Families of moderate means sent their sons to apprentice instead. Still, one feels from the pages of the \textit{Gazette} the intelligence and relative sophistication of its publishers.

8)\textbf{ Final resting place}

Where and in what manner one is laid to rest says something about how a person and his family saw themselves in relation to the rest of the community. Thomas Green may well be buried in New Haven (this was not followed up). From the records examined in Middletown, no one seems to know where Moses Woodward went. But
Tertius and John Botford Dunning are both buried in the Mortimer Cemetery (App. B), which unfortunately has been heavily vandalized in recent years.

Tertius Dunning's stone is of (badly corroded) white marble, a very common medium for gravestones in the 1820's. Marble rather than local sandstone marked the grave of a member of the new middle class, who had few ties to the old regional culture. In fact, many members of the new class of merchants and artisans are buried in Mortimer. The Dunning stone is unadorned except for the words "In memory of Tertius Dunning, who died October 5, 1823, aged 53 yrs." It is so plain that perhaps there was some financial constraint that preventing the carving of some neoclassical image. On the other hand, Tertius and his family were probably just unassuming folks who "knew who they were" and so did not require external reinforcements.

There are two gravestones of sandstone that seem to belong to the Dunning family lot, but one is broken in half and the lettering of the other has totally crumbled away. The only other legible stones are small marble one for Tertius' son Tertius who died at 10 months, and two barely legible stones for Tertius' sons Charles and Ralph.

This is a very undistinguished family plot, very similar to many other plots in Mortimer. The stones, what is left of them, seem
too plain to be called beautiful. They are not well-arranged nor are they surrounded by a railing as some other family plots are. Again, this indicates that the family had little use for exalted memorials to itself, especially when such memorials would be quite expensive.
CONCLUSION

When all is said and done, what picture emerges of the publishers of the Middlesex Gazette and their social standing? Do we have a clearer notion of their "personality" and that of the community at large?

We have an admittedly incomplete view of four men who were typical of a group of artisan-merchants of the time. This "class" of people was successful but lacked real wealth and significant direct personal influence in the community. To restate Wroth, they were important but not eminently. They were men of ambition, skill, and resourcefulness, for obviously without these qualities they could not have run a complex printing operation for so long. That they were men of integrity cannot be denied, for they were entrusted with the community's main source of communication and they seem never to have betrayed that trust. There was real affection for them among residents of the city. When Tertius Dunning died in 1823, the American Sentinel, rival to the Gazette but whose publishers had been trained by Dunning, printed the following eulogy:

By stroke of Divine Providence, the public are deprived of a useful citizen and the deceased's family of an affectionate relative. Few persons, in their progress through life, have exhibited more marked integrity, mild demeanor, and genuine philanthropy, than the subject of this article.

From a long residence in his family, we can bear testimony to the mildness and uniform peacefulness of his character. To us, he was a kind master—seldom or never exhibiting signs of anger, preferring
to exercise a mild to an authoritarian government over those under his care. Society has lost a respected member—his children a kind parent—and his wife a tender husband."

And briefer, but to the point, on the death of John Dunning in 1825:

Died in this City on Monday last, Mr. John B. Dunning aged 57 years—a worthy and upright man.

These are truly fine and well-deserved sentiments, but these men are totally forgotten today. This report is an effort to remember them, because George Bernard Shaw’s comment that "The man who writes about himself and his own time is the only man who writes about all people and about all time" applies in some measure to those who print and publish a newspaper in their own time. The publishers of the Gazette sought to comprehend their changing world by capturing pieces of it in the pages of the newspaper; there it might stay for all to consider and, eventually, understand. For this great service they were not considered great men, only indispensable.
FOOTNOTES

Full citations are in the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Salmon, p. 40-66
2. These student papers are those of Ken Edelstein, Charlotte Sonnenblick, and Mary White
3. Middlesex Gazette, May 7, 1818 (hereafter abbreviated "MG")
4. Silver, p. 4
5. Silver, p. 13
6. Bates, Oswald, Smith, and Wroth. Due to time constraints I was unable to locate a copy of D.C. McMurtrie's The Green Family of Printers (Somerville, NJ: priv. print., 1932) cited in Mary White's student paper.
7. Richter, Supplement F
8. Starr, letter to Clarence S. Brigham, Sept. 21, 1933 (hereafter referred to as "Starr letter")
9. He is Collector for Christ Church in a notice in the MG Mar. 17, 1792.
10. Vital Records
12. Beers 1884, p. 81
13. Katz, p. 34. In his own paper, "Lycurgus" penned a series of ten articles on the state of the nation; these were reprinted in the MG, Mar. 6, 1786-May 8, 1786.
15. Hull, Harvey R. Hull, states that the paper was "financially shaky" during Woodward and Green's tenure.
16. Probate notice in MG, Jan. 29, 1791
17. Real Estate Records, v. 29, p. 524
18. Notice in MG, Mar. 3, 1792
20. Milton W. Hamilton, Country Printer, p. 71, cited in Silver, p. 65. Due to time constraints I was unable to locate a copy of this book which everyone cites (Wesleyan copy out)
21. Starr letter
22. Starr letter
23. Probate notice in MG, Jan. 13, 1786
24. Starr letter
25. Starr letter and Probate Records, v. 16, p. 197 (petition of John Dunning through his guardian-brother Charles, both of Stow County, Ohio
26. 1800 Census
27. 1820 Census
29. Probate Records, v. 16, p. 197
30. Starr letter and Beers 1884, p. 150
31. Real Estate Records, v. 49, p. 139
32. At least I think this is what the Probate Records say:
   v. 13, p. 42 "estate insolvent and insufficient to pay debts"
   v. 14, p. 179 report of debts due $2292.12
   v. 14, p. 183 list of credits to the estate $1,098.37
   (or possibly $1,598.37)
   plus the statement "the administrators exhibit
   this account of administration on said estate
   amounting to $1,746.91"

33. Probate Records, v. 13, p. 252-254
34. Sonnenblick, p. [10]
35. Real Estate Records, v. 42, p. 403
36. John B. Dunning is never listed as a head of household in
    the censuses of 1790-1820, nor do I find any mention of a
    wife or family in the Vital Records or elsewhere. The
    1800 Tax List places him in the Middle School List with
    his brother Tertius.
37. Vital Records mention the marriage. Confirm that "Anna"
    is John's and Tertius's sister in Starr letter.
38. Ad, MB, May 31, 1810 (ad dated Feb. 1810)
39. Starr letter
40. Peter Hall, p. 10 and 20
41. Purcell, p. 66, 78, 103-104
42. Copy of probate inventory distributed in class
43. Class exercise with 1800 Tax List, Oct. 20, 1986
44. Sonnenblick
45. Ads in MB 1806-1809 and Real Estate Records
47. Lehmann-Haupt, p. 68
48. MB, Jan. 29, 1791
49. MB, Dec. 21, 1801 and Apr. 4, 1806, respectively
50. MB, Sept. 1, 1808; Dec. 21, 1801; Feb. 25, 1792
51. Horwitz, p. 73
52. Silver, p. 30
53. Silver, p. 29, 38, 48-49; Thomas, p. 18-19
54. Silver, p. 38
55. Silver, p. 36; Wroth, Chapters 5-7; Lehman-Haupt,
    p. 21-23, 153-160, 166-169
56. Stewart, p. 24
57. Wroth, p. 187; Stewart, p. 19; Moore, p. 22 and 142
58. Field, cited in Warmsley, p. 13
59. Smith, p. 6-9
60. MB, Nov. 7, 1785 and Jan. 7, 1808
61. Purcell, p. 192 and Stewart, p. 17
63. David Hall, p. 23
64. Purcell, p. 192
65. MB, Feb. 25, 1792 and Mar. 3, 1792
66. Woodward and Green's policy statement in Nov. 8, 1785 issue
67. Field, p. 226
68. Silver, p. 48-49
69. Mahin, p. 1-11
70. Class notes, Dec. 12, 1986
71. Katz, p. 35 and 42; one example I found in the MG of Mar. 5, 1787, presented on the one hand the full text of a Massachusetts Act to deal with Shays' Rebellion insurgents, and on the other hand a "circulating letter" from Eli Parsons of Berkshire County encouraging continued resistance (and there were strong family ties between Berkshire Co. and CT).

72. Richter, p. 68
73. Beers 1884, p. 87
74. Purcell, p. 44
75. Field, p. 178
76. 1790 Census
77. Peter Hall, p. 20
78. Purcell, p. 33-44
79. Smith, p. 59 and Katz, p. 37
80. Stewart, p. 477-479
81. Woodward as Collector for the Church, MG, Mar. 17, 1792; Dunning as member of the First Ecclesiastical Society
82. Beers 1884, p. 110-113
83. Wroth, p. 188
84. Sweeney, p. 490
85. Wroth, p. 188
86. American Sentinel. I was unable to locate a corresponding issue of the MG in Middletown (i.e. Oct. 8, 1823)
87. American Sentinel, Mar. 23, 1825. The MG said even less about him.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Sentinel. Various issues.
Barnum, H.L. A Map of the City of Middletown ... 1825.
Barratt, Joseph. Plan of Main Street, Middletown, Showing the
Buildings and Occupants, from About 1770 to 1775.
Middletown: Barratt, 1836. Printed in John W. Barber.
Connecticut Historical Collections. New Haven: Durrie
and Peck, 1838, p. 508.
Bates, Albert C. "Thomas Green." Papers of the New Haven Colony
Bickford, Christopher P. and Jeffrey Kaimowitz. "Books and
Prints." The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut
Valley, 1635-1820. Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985,
p. 445-453.
Brigham, Clarence S. Journals and Journeymen: a Contribution to
the History of Early American Newspapers. Philadelphia:

Commemorative and Biographical Record of Middlesex County,
County Atlas of Middlesex, Connecticut. New York: F.W. Beers,
1874.
Edelstein, Ken. A Survey of Middletown Newspapers in the 1820's.
Student paper in the Wesleyan Archives.
Field, David D. Centennial Address. Middletown: William B.
Casey, 1853.
Hall, David D. "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600-1850."
Printing and Society in Early America. Worcester: American
Hall, Peter D. Middletown: Streets, Commerce, and People, 1650-
Hamilton, Milton W. The Country Printer, New York State, 1785-
History of Middlesex County, Connecticut. New York: J.B. Beers,
1884.
Horwitz, Richard. Anthropology Toward History: Culture and Work
in a 19th Century Maine Town. Middletown: Wesleyan
Wesleyan University, 1978.
Hull, Harvey R. "Harvey R. Hull: Early Printing in Middletown."
----------. Middletown Imprints, 1795-1850. Middletown:
Hull, 1968.
Katz, Judith Maxen. "Connecticut Newspapers and the Constitution,
1786-1788." Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin, v. 30,
no. 2 (Apr. 1965), p. 33-44.
Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut. The Book in America: a History of the
Making and Selling of Books in the United States. 2nd ed.
Mahon, Helen Ogden. The Development and Significance of the
Middletown City Directory. Various years.
[Middletown, Conn. map, 1784.] Photocopy in Wesleyan Archives.
Middletown Probate Records. Various volumes.
Middletown Real Estate Records. Various volumes.
Middletown Tax Lists. Various lists.
Middletown Press, Apr. 29, 1935. Clipping in Russell Library
Middletown Room Ephemera Collection, "Biography--Meigs."
Middletown Tercentenary, 1650-1950. Middletown
Tercentenary Commission, 1950.
Middlesex Gazette. Various issues.
Moore, John W. Moore's Historical, Biographical, and
Miscellaneous Gatherings ... Detroit : Gale, 1969.
150th Anniversary, 1801-1951: The Middletown National Bank,
In Russell Library Middletown Room Ephemera Collection,
"Banks--Middletown--Middletown National Bank."
Oswald, John Clyde. Printing in the Americas. New York : Gregg,
1937.
Penny Press, Apr. 4, 1900. Clipping in Russell Library Middletown
Room Ephemera Collection, "Post Office."
Richter, Alice Bridge. The faithful remnant: Church of the Holy
Trinity, Middletown, Connecticut, from Archives and Records
1724-1874 and other Middlesex County Data. Middletown :
Salmon, Lucy Maynard. The Newspaper and the Historian. New York :
Oxford University Press, 1923.
Silver, Rollo G. The American Printer, 1787-1825.
Smith, J. Eugene. One Hundred Years of Hartford's Courant: from
Colonial Times through the Civil War. (S.1.) : Archon Books,
1970.
Sonnenblick, Charlotte. Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers in
Middletown, Connecticut: The Demise of the Independent
Craftsmen, 1800-1850. Student paper in Wesleyan Archives.
Starr, Frank Sarnsworth. [Letter to Clarence S. Brigham,
Sept. 21, 1933.] Brigham, author of History and Bibliography
of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, had written to Starr in
search of information on Moses Woodward and the Dunningns.
Stewart, Donald H. The Opposition Press of the Federalist
Sweeney, Kevin M. "Gravestones." The Great River: Art and Society
of the Connecticut River Valley, 1635-1820. Hartford :
Portland, Conn. : Warmley [(printed by Connecticut Printers,
Hartford)], 1977.
White, Mary Frances. Introduction to "the Producers" of
Middletown, and a Major Product--the Newspapers, 1820-1833.
Student paper in Wesleyan Archives.
Wroth, Lawrence C. The Colonial Printer. Portland, Me. :
OUTLINE OF HISTORICAL EVENTS TO CLARIFY MIDDLESEX GAZETTE ITEMS

The following are derived from Van Dusen, Beers, Hall, Purcell.

1780 Unique CT Valley culture begins to become less distinct
1781 First rum distillery in Middletown
1784 Earliest CT cities incorporated including Middletown
1784 Act providing for emancipation of all Blacks at age of 25
---- Middletown incorporated as a city
1785 Middlesex Gazette established
---- Middlesex County set off from Hartford County
---- Beginning of period (to 1818) of transition (Purcell)
1786 First jail in Middletown
1786- Shays' Rebellion
1788
1787 Subtitle "or, Foederal Advisor" added
---- CT’s representatives at Philadelphia Constitutional Convention are Ellsworth, Jonson, and Sherman
1788 Convention at Hartford approves Federal Constitution by a vote of 128 to 40
---- First courthouse in Middletown
1789 Green leaves Middlesex Gazette, Woodward alone
---- First CT U.S. senators are Ellsworth and Johnson
1790 Generally, beginning of political parties
---- Middletown most populous city in 1790 Census
---- People going more and more for "polite living"
---- Second Great Awakening occurring
1791 Woodward buys own print shop
1792 Disastrous fire at Middlesex Gazette offices
---- Subtitle "or, Foederal Advisor" dropped
---- First turnpike company road, New London to Norwich
---- First banks established in Hartford, New London, New Haven
1793 Paper mill in Middletown
1795 CT Western Reserve lands sold for School Fund
---- Middletown Bank chartered
---- First insurance company, Norwich
---- Custom House, Middletown, one of only four in state
---- Baptist Church in Middletown
1796 Election of Federalists (John Adams) vs. Republicans
1797 Tertius Dunning takes over Middlesex Gazette
---- Public Library started at Middletown
---- Arrest of Thomas Starr for murder of cousin in Middletown
1799 Eli Whitney procures first Federal musket contract
Middletown First Congregational Church built
1800 John Botsford Dunning partners with brother at Gazette
---- "Party" newspapers begin
---- Jefferson elected
---- Salmon and shad disappearing from CT River
1801 Middletown Bank organized
---- Jefferson replaced Whittlesey at Customs
---- Joshua Stow controversies
---- Epidemics
1802 Brass industry begun at Waterbury by Porter
1803 Middletown's first fire company
1804 First insurance company in Middletown
1807 Woodward dies
1807 Middletown Circulating Library commenced by J.B. Dunning
1807 Embargo Act (Jefferson)
1807 First important English dictionary published by Webster
1808 Cotton factory in Middletown
1809 Non-Intercourse Act (Madison)
---- Street names adopted in Middletown
1810 J.B. Dunning leaves Gazette, Tertius Dunning alone
---- Middletown Mfg. Co. woollen factory on Washington St.
1812 War of 1812 unpopular in CT but leads to new manufactures,
1813 especially textiles
1812 First hotel in Middletown
1813 Starr's Sword Factory
---- North's Pistol Factory
---- Peter Lung murders wife in Middletown
1814 Hartford Convention in State House
---- Connecticut Spectator published in Middletown
1815 First steamboat voyage up CT River to Hartford
---- Johnson Rifle Factory
1816 Congregational Church revival (Purcell p. 44)
1817 Federalists defeated by reformers in political revolution
---- Branch of Bank of United States founded in Middletown
---- Ivory comb factory in Middletown
---- Gallaudet founds school for deaf in Hartford
---- "Hartford Times" founded
---- "Connecticut Spectator" ends publication
1818 New constitution adopted by convention in Hartford and
1818 approved by voters; ended system of established church
---- Gazette "abhors personal abuse in newspaper wars"
---- Constitutional Convention
---- McGill (Middletown Mfg. Co.) and N. Starr beset by problems
1820 Unique CT Valley culture essentially gone
1823 Tertius Dunning dies, leaves paper to son Charles
1825 John B. Dunning dies
---- Charles Dunning sells paper to Epaphras and Horace Clark
DUNNING FAMILY PLOT, MORTIMER CEMETERY

The plot is located due west of the Mortimer monument almost all the way to the western wall of the cemetery.
LOCATION OF MIDDLESEX GAZETTE OFFICES
(when such were indicated in masthead or elsewhere)

The 1825 Barnum map (App. C-3) is the "master" map which best shows the various locations of the Gazette office, though of course many of the buildings on this map have replaced or are in addition to earlier buildings.
Numbers below correspond with those on the maps.
Note:  a rod = 16 1/2 feet or 5 1/2 yards.

1. "A few rods north of the Post-Office" Nov. 8, 1785-Oct. 29, 1787.
When established in 1775, the Middletown Post Office was located in Wensley Hobby's store, he being the first postmaster. The Barratt map of 1770-1775 (App. C-6) says that the John Ward house became the Hobby house, which gives a clue as to where to place it on the 1825 Barnum map. The Post Office stood on the "west side of Main Street, on the extreme north plot of the lot now occupied by E.B. Chaffee" (Beers 1884, p. 75). Ephraim Bound Chaffee's house was built by his father Reuben in 1850 and continually occupied by the family (Beers 1903, p. 109 & 111); therefore, the lot pictured in the 1874 Beers Atlas (App. C-4) is the same lot referred to by Beers in 1903, and this is generally borne out by the 1885-86 Middletown City Directory. This lot is immediately south of the Gen. Mansfield House built in 1810. The Middlesex Gazette office must have been located just slightly south of where the Mansfield House is located on the 1825 Barnum map (App. C-3) and, it seems, it could have been located as is indicated on the (admittedly questionable) 1784 map of Middletown (App. C-5), the Hobby building having apparently disappeared.

2. Nov. 5, 1787-Jan. 21, 1792.
There is a notice in the Middlesex Gazette of Nov. 12, 1787 that the office had moved to the "new shop of Timothy Peck, next door to Maj. George Philips'". The Barratt map (App. C-6) gives a location for the George Phillip's house in 1770-75. The Probate Records (v. 29, p. 524) show that "about one acre and rod of land in the main street with the dwelling house ... with the store and other buildings" was extant in 1780 when George, Sr. died and his eldest son George, Jr. got the house. Since Barratt places the Phillips' house back from the street, I'm guessing that the house indicated on the 1784 map is the Phillips' house (App. C-5), although it could be a house farther to the north. The shop referred to above was purchased outright by Woodward in May 1791. The shop was destroyed by fire in 1792 so it does not appear on the 1825 Barnum map (App. C-3); however, it is possible that the Phillips house was still standing, and we see on the map a similar-looking house which is set back from the street. The numeral "2" points generally to the Phillips property.
3. "In the Town-House Chamber" Feb. 25, 1792-Oct. 5, 1793. The Middlesex Gazette offices were given temporary shelter in the "Town-House," i.e. Court House (clarified by Lisa Broberg at the Middlesex County Historical Society), which in 1788 was built on the north side of Court Street, corner of Pearl (Beers 1884, p. 86). This building was not replaced until 1832 (Beers 1884, p. 87), so the Barnum 1825 map is an accurate indicator (App. C-3). [Oct. 12, 1793-Apr. 19, 1802 location unknown]

4. "Opposite the bank" Apr. 26, 1802-Jan 19, 1809. The only bank in town in 1802-1809 was the Middletown Bank established in 1801 (Beers 1884, p. 92), and called the "Middletown National Bank" in the 1874 Beers Atlas (App. C-4). Despite several rebuildings, the bank has essentially stayed in the same spot for its whole existence (150th Anniversary 1801-1951 pamphlet). It is the Citizens Bank and Trust Company today. Its location on the 1825 Barnum map (App. C-3) can be established since the Congregational Church had been built in 1799 and was immediately adjacent to the bank (photo, Middletown Tercentenary pamphlet, p. 38). Opposite said bank is the northeast portion of the Main Street-Centre Street intersection. (Centre Street has been replaced by the Riverview Center.)

5. "A few rods north of the Meeting-House" Jan. 26, 1809-Jan. 30, 1812. The Meeting House was the Congregational Church built in 1799 (Beers 1884, p. 133-135). The Church had not yet been moved (to the north end of Main Street) by the 1825 Barnum map (App. C-3). A few rods north of it would place the Middlesex Gazette office very close to the southwest corner of Main and Court Streets (they were not at the corner as it seems they would have said as much in their masthead).

6. "A few rods north of the Post-Office" Feb. 6, 1812-May 7, 1818. We come full circle with a location which is again north of the Post Office. In 1820 the Post Office was located in a small building on Main Street opposite to what in 1900 was the Forest City Hotel (Penny Press, Apr. 26, 1900) and earlier the Mansion House built in 1827 (Beers 1884, p. 88). The 1874 Beers Atlas shows the Mansion House to be located across from and slightly north of the General Mansfield House (App. C-4), so the Post Office was most likely located on the north side of the Mansfield House (App. C-3), and the Gazette office slightly north of that.

[May 12, 1818-1820 location unknown]

App. C-7 proves that Main Street between Church and Washington Streets was indeed the most built-up area of town by 1825.
The township of Middletown is bounded north by Wethersfield, west by Berlin and Meriden, east by Connecticut river, separating it from Chatham, and south by Hadham and Durham. Its length from north to south is about nine miles, and is varies in breadth from four to five miles. The surface of the town is strikingly diversified, having the Wallingford range of the greenstone mountains on the west, and the Bratt hills in the southeastern section of the town. The best

1. Post horse of the city, 1794.
2. Built by W. Brewer, a kilnery of wood.
3. Built by W. Brewer, a kilnery of wood.
4. Post horse of the city, 1794.
5. Post horse of the city, 1794.
6. Post horse of the city, 1794.
7. Post horse of the city, 1794.
MIDDLESEX GAZETTE WORKSHEET FOR DESCRIPTION OF ISSUES

Issue no. and date: Location (if any):
Printer: No. pages:
Size in inches: Remarks on typography:

Any illustrations:

CONTENT

Foreign news (source/date/any remarks):

National news (source/date/any remarks):

Connecticut news (source/date/any remarks):

General-interest narratives as opposed to "news":

Literary compositions, reprinted (format/subject/source):

Literary compositions, original (format/subject/source):

Humorous pieces:

"Editorials":

"Interviews":

Birth, marriage, death announcements:

Official government notices incl. probate (source/subject):
Meeting notices (subject/source):

Shipping notices (these often include the weather):

Postal notices:
Real estate notices:

Lost and found notices:

Commercial ads and notices--Middlesex Gazette office:

Commercial ads and notices--other:

Other items in the issue not specified above:
The late proceedings of the most popular branch of the Legislature respecting the poll-tax are an implied admission of its inequality and injustice. Those who do not feel, may, from an attentive consideration of the subject, be induced to think, that not only a part, but the whole, ought to be remedied.

As our ancestors, it is probable, brought their ideas of taxation with them from England, a rapid view of the origin, and progress of the poll-tax in that country, may not be useless or un instructive. The unvaried sentiment of any people for a number of successive ages, though it may not justify will at least elucidate our own opinion.

The poll-tax was first granted to Edward III, about the year 1373, and though it occasioned loud murmurs, it produced, at that time, no open resistance.

But in the reign of his grandfish and successor, Richard II, it caused such a ferment among the people, as threatened the entire subversion of the monarchy, and the establishment of a free government. The number of Richard's reign, a fish

at present, though every expedition for raising money, which ministerial ingenuity could devise, has been adopted, the poll-tax is not enumerated among the sources of public revenue.

From this general view of the subject, we may observe, that when the revenue arising from public property, and royal prerogatives, had been found inadequate to defray the public expenses, exci

ons under the name of taxes or contributions were generally made by the governing power, without consulting the wishes of individuals. Had the various forms of these excises, dictated only by the public exigencies, been founded in principles of equal and universal justice, it is probable that each man would contribute only in proportion to his situation and abilities; no nation or people would ever have had cause to murmur or complain. But History will inform us, that in every age, and government, power and opinion have been arrogantly usurped by the rich, who have converted taxation into a fertile source of oppression over those, whom they had not yet reduced to personal slavery. The abuse of this power perhaps has been productive of more revolutions than any other cause.

hands, having feasted on the articles of food, and raiment, he that would eat, drink, or be clothed, must satisfy its voracious demands. It will not be denied, that a great part of the excise is paid by the poorer classes of people; almost its whole force is directed to an article chiefly consumed by the poor. Philosophers, and Physicians may declaim against the use of ardent spirits. The weary unreflecting laborer is not often induced to sacrifice his habits of enjoyment, by rigid lectures of abstinence from malt liquors, who at their ease may indulge in whatever delights the fertile, or exhilarates the soul.

From the drops that fall from the bow of laborious industry we derive the brilliant gems, which form the splendid decorations of the great and opulent; "Every thing in the world is purchased by labor," from it proceeds the wealth of nations. Property, through all its various shapes is purified by taxation: Every new imposition increas

e its price, and the whole is paid by the last consumer. The labor of the poor then, brings value to property—gives riches to a nation, and at last they would taste the fruits of their toil, more labor is imposed on mankind than.