PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS AND BOOKSELLERS
IN MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT:
THE DEMISE OF THE INDEPENDENT CRAFTSMAN, 1800 - 1850

by

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Through the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the northeastern United States was composed of small, independent towns. The communities were interdependent networks of families with relatively similar social, religious and economic backgrounds. The marketplace was small: the population generally requiring production of only those goods that were essential to its livelihood. The craftsman ran his shop through small "task" commissions.

The household was the center of social relations and craft production. The master artisan was the head of the family and the workshop. Generally, the master would enlist one or two apprentices and a journeyman (skilled worker) to live and work with the family. They were often blood relatives. In return for his labor the apprentice was supported by the household and was trained in the craft. An individual became apprenticed in a craft with the expectation that he would eventually possess the skills, the community support and the proper financial and material resources to run his own shop. As the social, political and economic structure of the community changed through the years it would become difficult for the artisan to successfully maintain an independent household business in which he was in control of the production and distribution of his goods.

In the nineteenth century the experience of the printer in the commercial arena becomes a document of the change in the social and economic fabric of the community. The traditional printer and his shop lay at the center of the eighteenth century community. His shop was the place from which local information was
printed and circulated. Because he frequently used the postal system to receive items like paper, ink and circulars, and to make frequent correspondences, he was often the proprietor of the post office. The marketplace demanded that he printed materials of great utility. He printed newspapers, annual almanacs, legal manuals, sermons and primers. He also printed a limited number of literary works. He supplied the community with various stationary supplies.

Like other household craftsmen, the printer owned his own workshop and his own tools, and thus, he was in control of his means of production. To greater and to lesser degrees, the printer could exert some control in the marketplace. As one who was both the producer and market distributor of his own goods, he maintained the role of an independent craftsman. As such, his production decisions were not controlled by any outside market forces but were subject directly to the demand within the community. However, the printer's work was subject to a market that extended well beyond the community. As early as the mid-seventeenth century, a booktrade existed from the large city centers of Boston, New York and Philadelphia to smaller outlying towns. The businessman who possessed large financial assets with which to support these business ventures came to the forefront of this trade. The community printer faced with the prospect of an enlarged market for his books would be engaged by a bookseller or publisher's offer to print large quantities of books under their commission. The emergence of the printer who is not only producing and dis-
tributing his goods but being commissioned by an investor who carries out the promotion and distribution of this work begins to make itself evident by the second half of the seventeenth century.

The printer who worked as an independent agent, combining the roles of printer, publisher and bookseller and the printer who was commissioned by the bookseller or publisher to produce work for his benefit existed side by side. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, author of *The Book in America* recognizes this phenomenon in Boston during the seventeenth century. He sites the partnership of Bartholomew Green and Benjamin Harris as an example of a firm both printing and selling. At the same time men like John Usher and Edmund Ranger were engaged solely in bookselling and publishing. Ranger was also doing bookbinding. Although Lehmann-Haupt calls this "normal" to the booktrade during this period, he points out that in New York and Philadelphia no such distinctions were evident in the printing trade.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the artisan-printer became increasingly an alien to the economics of the marketplace. Rollo Silver writes that "The comparatively few country printers who achieved prosperity were ... entrepreneurs rather than craftsmen."¹ The household printers, who gradually took on separate locations for their business and residences, were effectively bought out of their direct commissions by the publisher who owned his own press or became a middleman between the market and the printer by having the financial resources to offer customers the best prices for their work. The publisher and the
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bookseller became part of a trade network of market information and patronage to which the printer had little access. The printer's place in a limited market and his limited financial resources required that he depend upon this new businessman for a share of his patronage. The subject of this study is the changing roles of the printer, the publisher and the bookseller from 1800 to 1850 as seen through the example of Middletown, Connecticut.

During the nineteenth century, Middletown was a small, relatively prosperous city. It lay on the Connecticut River trade route between Hartford and New Haven. Harvey Hull compiled a list of over four hundred fifty books printed and/or published in Middletown from 1785 to 1850. Although his is by no means a complete list of the items printed in Middletown during this period, it is a significant enough sampling to be useful in recognizing trends in the booktrade. He identifies forty-four printing and/or publishing establishments in Middletown, fifteen of which he deems "major." [See APPENDIX "A"]

The first major publishing and printing concern that originated in Middletown was that of Isaac Riley and Richard Alsop, Jr. From 1791 until 1822 Isaac Riley, Richard Alsop, Jr. and their associates were involved intermittently in trading and publishing relations between Europe and New York and to a lesser degree in Middletown. During the early years their enterprises were foreign to the general character of the Middletown book industry. However, their means of trade, other entrepreneurial interests and involvement in the European booktrade through relations with
a French booktrader named Hocquet Caritat provide an early refer-
ent for similar booktrade patterns that follow and serve to illustr-
trate changes in the direction of the booktrade.

Born in Middletown, Richard Alsop, Jr. (1761-1815), poet and
writer, was the oldest son of a West Indies merchant-trader, Rich-
ard Alsop (1722-1776) and Mary Alsop. The Alsop family was wealthy
and exerted considerable political and social power over affairs
in Middletown. Before he left Middletown for New York in 1800,
Richard, Jr. established entrepreneurial concerns in Middletown.

Like his father, Alsop was involved in the West Indies trade.
In a letter to John Trumbull, Esq., dated February 28, 1798 from
Middletown, Richard expressed concern about the number of Ameri-
can trading ships that were captured by the British during the
war. With the letter he enclosed a list of fifteen "vessels cap-
tured and condemned by the British, underwritten in the offices
of G. Phillips & Co. and G & I Phillips & Co."

He gave instruc-
tions to G. Pomeroy to investigate each British claim. In the
list all of the boats are from Connecticut towns surrounding Mid-
dletown on the Connecticut River. They were all condemned by the
British in West Indian ports. Alsop's request for an investiga-
tion of British claims on these boats illustrates the extent of
his involvement in this trading business. Significantly, one of
the two ships from Middletown was the Brig Hiram owned by Judge
William L. Storrs, a congressman, and Joseph W. Alsop, a relation
to Richard. It was condemned in Bermuda. It is important to note
that John Trumbull was a fellow Connecticut poet. The men were affiliated in business and literature. In September, 1801, Alsop wrote to Rufus King, a Federalist, American minister to England and vice presidential candidate who would marry Richard's daughter Mary, that he was living "in Connecticut, the West Indies and New York occasionally." Richard had already created a base of interests in different places.

Born to Roger Riley, a saddler in Cromwell, Connecticut, Isaac (1720-1824) was apprenticed to a saddler in Milford, Connecticut from whom he early escaped. Like Alsop, Riley was controlling profit seeking interests. In the September, 1791 "Middlesex Gazette," the newspaper published in Middletown by Moses H. Woodward at this time, Riley was advertising to give "The highest price in cash ... for Connecticut State notes by I. Riley & Co." Riley was securing his means of financial credit. At the same time, Riley was involved in booktrading and book auctioning partnerships in Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York.

In May, 1796 Riley partnered with Charles W. Goodrich in Middletown for the purpose of transacting business in Philadelphia. Goodrich came from a family of printers and publishers controlling considerable wealth and power. Although Charles is not listed in the 1810 Middletown City Tax Assessment, his relation, Hosea Goodrich, a leather dealer, is assessed with $200.41. The Hartford publishing firm of Sheldon and Goodrich printed and published numerous works in Middletown, especially during the mid-teens and twenties. The publisher Samuel Griswold Goodrich had the finan-
cial resources to absorb a book business failure by "quietly" losing one thousand dollars. Riley's relationships were forged with powerful publishing families and businessmen. There is evidence that the Goodrich's were also involved in the West Indies trade. Among the boats Alsop listed to John Trumbull was the Brig Nolby owned by Goodrich and a partner from Wethersfield, Connecticut. In 1793 Riley went to New York. At that time he was a merchant advertising ships trading between New York, the Carolinas and the West Indies.

Not surprisingly, Riley married Richard's young sister, Hannah, in 1794. The intermarriage of families with similar entrepreneurial and/or craft interests was common through the mid-nineteenth century. It was a practical means of consolidating business power through mutual patronage. We will see that this idea was played out in numerous Middletown printing and publishing families. From November, 1802 until March, 1804, Richard Alsop's younger brother, John, was apprenticed to Isaac Riley and Co. in Middletown. Because it is fairly certain that Riley did not have a printing press, fifteen year old John Alsop is an example of a new sort of apprentice: one who is trained to enter the booktrade as an investor, publisher, dealer in books and manager of production rather than a person trained to produce those books. John ran a bookstore in Hartford "A few rods North of the North meeting house." His business was a branch of the Broadway bookstore being run at this time by Riley and Alsop in New York. In 1804 he moved his business to 153 Pearl Street in New York. That same year he closed
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that establishment to join Riley and Alsop at #1 City Hotel. Thus, through the family, Riley and Alsop were able to extend the reach of their business power. While in Hartford, John Alsop was able to maintain a close watch on the booktrade and mercantile interests in Hartford and to be approximately fifteen miles north of Middletown where both Riley and Alsop maintained property and business interests.

When Richard Alsop, Jr. went to New York in 1800 he joined Riley at 63 Pine Street in a brokering office of Indian goods, cocoa, West Indian molasses, sugar and rum. They maintained this business for two years. Riley and Alsop were not only able to merge their mercantile interests, but also their literary enterprises. Alsop's wife, Maria Pommeroy, of the family of publishers, wrote a sketch of Richard for the introduction to a reprint of his poem, "The Charms of Fancy," published in New York by D. Appleton and Co. in 1861. Not surprisingly, the piece was edited by Theodore White, the president of Yale College and husband of Richard's sister, Abigail. In the sketch, Maria Alsop wrote: "The composition ... of his works and publication of others [are] ... attributed in part ... to Isaac Riley, Esq. of New York, an enterprising bookseller who afforded him facilities which he could not have found elsewhere, in the existing state of the country." 7

It was not just an opportunity for Alsop to have his work published. It was also the opportunity for an entrepreneur to establish his way in the booktrade by placing himself in a major city with a source of capital and a group of influential individuals. Busi-
ness and trade connections were the true resources of which Maria Alsop spoke.

The most important and atypical of these relationships was with a French merchant, publisher and bookseller, Hocquet Caritat. In his letter from New York to Rufus King in September, 1801, Alsop wrote: "I am at present ... [in New York] where I shall [stay]... as I have it in contemplation to become connected with the bookselling business with Mr. Caritat."8 Riley and Alsop did become involved with Caritat and remained with his interest until his foreign trade concern collapsed toward the mid-teens of the century.

Caritat attempted to carry on a booktrade within the northeastern United States and between the United States and France and other European countries. To facilitate this project Caritat put together trade publications and set up a mercantile agency in which trading information about import and exports was exchanged. His agency was a service to prospective investors and entrepreneurs. His agency was a means for Caritat, Riley and Alsop to attain useful information about prevailing prices, incoming and outgoing shipments in both the West Indies trade and the book trade. The group was also able to make contact with would-be business associates because the agency was a clearinghouse through which financiers travelled.

In February, 1806, Caritat announced his plan to publish trade journals to promote trade relations between France and the United States. The format of a trade journal, as we shall see, became a primary means for publishers and booksellers to circulate busi-
ness news. The first was a monthly review of the artistic and scientific advances of the two countries and the second was a publication called the New York Commercial Advisor. The prospectus was printed in the magazine Portfolio from Philadelphia, indicating the effort to introduce their name in other cities.

In typical publishing fashion, Caritat secured a number of subscribers for his publication before he commissioned its printing. This practice was a means the publisher employed to ensure that he would have buyers to make his investment financially successful. Caritat chose to distribute his publication only to certain "authorized" booksellers. In this way he gave favors to certain sellers in the trade network, thus, creating an elite group that would be intermutually patronizing.

Among his principal subscribers were firms in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Haven, Hartford and Middletown. In Middletown, Thomas Hobby was given a subscription. From Harvey Hull's tabulation of printers and publishers [a] it is evident that Hobby did no printing in Middletown. Further evidence to attest that Hobby did no printing is deduced from the fact that John Botsworth Dunning of the partnership of Tertius & J. B. Dunning, established printers and publishers in Middletown from 1797 to 1824 bought Hobby's store in 1809. J. B. Dunning did no printing at this establishment. Hobby was solely a bookseller. Hobby had a degree of financial credit and trade respect to make him the reasonable choice for their patronage. From the real estate records of 1814 we learn that Hobby sold his commercial lot in the City of Middle-
town to J. B. Dunning for $2,759. Hobby owned valuable real estate. His assets are fact to the posit that he could maintain a stable position in the Middletown marketplace. J. B. Dunning had earlier, in 1804, established his circulating library at the Hobby establishment. Hobby's ability to attract J. B. Dunning as a tenant is a measure of his political success in business. The Dunnings ran the town paper, the "Middlesex Gazette," from 1797 until 1824. The Dunnings were the dominant printers in Middletown during this period [A]. Dunning's support of Hobby is to a great degree indicative after the fact of why Caritat chose to grant Hobby a subscription to his trade publication. Not only did the Dunnings carry on printing for the Riley and Alsop concern in Middletown during the first decade, but when Richard Alsop's father died, he left a ninehundred eighty-six volume library, one third of which became the circulating library kept by J. B. Dunning. Although Dunning moved the Alsop library into Hobby's store three years after the distribution of the trade journal, the Caritat interest was most certainly aware of the Hobby and Dunning plans and/or relationship. The connection between the Caritat firm of Riley and Alsop and the Dunnings and Hobby is an example of a connection between a family and entrepreneurial network and how these controlled the publisher's business.

Caritat's attempt to solidify a foreign booktrade would soon fail under prevailing expense and problems of the trade. For a time Caritat published and sold books published in France. In addition, he encouraged the French exportation of paper for the
lacking American market. The firm did numerous translations of foreign works, paying authors large sums of money for their services. In his 153 Pearl Street establishment, John Alsop specialized in foreign language books and English publications. However, by 1812 it had become very costly and impractical to get books from abroad. In February, 1808, Richard Alsop wrote to Stephen Hosmer in Middletown, "Indeed the new law publications come out from London ... highly marked as almost to discourage booksellers from farther importation." The failure of these foreign enterprises was due in part to the failure of the bank, Jefferson's 1807 trade embargo and Non-intercourse Act, Napoleon's move against a neutral trade and the War of 1812. With these events, Riley and Company began to center its interests upon popular American reprints and pamphlets. Thus, it is here that we return to Middletown and the Riley and Alsop interests.

Isaac Riley, Richard Alsop and the firm of Richard Alsop, Isaac Riley and John Alsop are listed in Hull's summary of printers and publishers in Middletown. Isaac Riley is listed as a publisher in 1791 and in 1808. Six imprints are attributed to his name. According to Hull, Alsop, Riley and Alsop printed one imprint in 1807 and Richard Alsop printed two items in 1808. We have already spoken of Isaac Riley's Middletown publishing. It is difficult to say what happens to the Riley enterprise in Middletown although Riley owned property in Middletown through at least 1820. George Gates Raddin says that Riley remained in the book business through 1822 and thus it is possible that his concerns lasted in Middle-
town until that time. Riley is listed in both the 1810 and the 1820 Tax Assessment as an absentee owner, paying $16.80 and $4.68, respectively. Richard Alsop payed $90 in the 1810 Tax Assessment.

Although Raddin says that Richard Alsop set up a printing press for Isaac Riley in Middletown in 1807 and moved the press out to Flatbush, Long Island in 1809, Karl P. Harrington says, "There is no reason to suppose that [Richard Alsop] had a press of his own." Harvey Hull has found evidence inside the Alsop Middletown imprints that Tertius and John Botsworth Dunning did "most if not all of Richard Alsop's printing." It is likely that Alsop was not directly involved in the production of his work. He has been referred to as one who does his printing like a contractor who builds a house. In 1808, the year that Alsop is listed as printing in Middletown, he is in New York, writing to Steven Hosmer in Middletown about the high prices in the trade of English books. It seems probable that Alsop payed the Dunnings to absorb his name in their firm for the printing of his work. Alsop had the financial resources to strike that sort of a business deal.

The Riley and Alsop concern kept contact with the trade in Middletown as a means of securing a center for financial credit outside of New York. The greatest evidence of their presence in Middletown during this period is in their advertising through the "Gazette" office to find apprentices to go to New York for the bookbinding business. In 1809, Richard Alsop was selling bulk amounts of turpentine soap: candles; beef; coffee and North Car-
olina hams. They had a name established in Middletown and Middletown was a resource for getting supplies and selling their goods.

Alsop and Riley were absentee entrepreneurs in Middletown during the first decade of the century. They lie on the periphery of our discussion of Middletown and its booktrade, providing the flavor of the entrepreneur's approach to the trade. The bearing out of the dominant position of the entrepreneur in the book industry in Middletown is made by examining the resident businessmen involved in printing and publishing in Middletown during the fifty years. To see the small-time printer in relation to these men is more difficult to document with data because records of the poorer sectors of the community often get destroyed. Nonetheless, by examining tax assessments of 1810, 1820, 1825, 1836 and 1848; Harvey Hull's tabulation of work attributable to particular printers and publishers [A]; newspaper advertisements; and collected pieces of information about members of the community, we can establish the preeminent place of the businessman or his patronage rather than the artisan-printer in the printing and publishing business. It should be noted that the City Tax Assessment is a most unreliable source to estimate the wealth of individuals. Often, people lied about the worth of their property. Nonetheless, in a survey of five assessments tracing the same individuals, a picture of their assets begins to emerge. In the assessments of 1810, 1820, and 1825, the printers and publishers have relatively low and equal assessments of property. Only property tax is listed in these early records. In the later assess-
ments of which I analyzed "1836" and "1848," the number of houses, acres, stores, manufactories, carriages, stock, bank stock, money or interest in a savings bank and number of timepieces that the person owns are listed with estimates of value. These breakdowns of real wealth help us to recognize the true extent of individual financial holdings. By the 1836 assessment the number of wealthy publishers and printers had, according to this record, increased significantly.

We begin with a review of the notable characters of each period. From 1797 until 1824 the combined and separate efforts of Tertius and John Botsworth Dunning produced sixty-four [A] imprints and published the city newspaper the "Middlesex Gazette." They owned that printing office. It was purchased from William Woodward and Thomas Green in 1797. The Dunnings advertised the property as being "opposite the bank." With J. B. Dunning's $2,750 purchase of Thomas Hobby's commercial city lot in 1814, the Dunnings owned two prime pieces of real estate in the City of Middle-town. In one of the offices the brothers carried on their printing while in the one "lately occupied by Thomas Hobby" they had a book and supply store and maintained a circulating library. The propriety of a circulating library was a measure of individual wealth and status within the community. With two locations the Dunnings could control greater visual space within the town. Splitting an establishment in half was typical of wealthy businesses wanting to afford separate buildings for their printing and their publishing. From their office, the Dunnings sold Wash-
tington Bridge and Bridgewater Society lottery tickets. The sale of lottery tickets was a purely profit-seeking venture. The Dunning involved themselves in various businesses in order to increase their ability to offer lower prices to attract more customers in the market. The Dunnings' tax assessment in 1810 was low. Tertius Dunning, who was the sole publisher of the "Gazette" at this time, was paying $75. In 1808, when J. B. Dunning was printing with Tertius, J. B.'s assessment was also $75. In 1810, his assessment was $60. Although it is evident from their real estate concerns and the number of imprints they printed that they controlled a sphere in the market which they buttressed by commercial concerns, their tax assessment was astonishingly low.

The next major printing and bookselling establishment in Middletown was the joint enterprises of Horace Clark and Lucas C. Lyman. Carrying on business together from 1814 to 1822, Clark and Lyman were printers, publishers and booksellers. They accepted small book and job commissions from Middletown individuals and publishers and outside projects from Hartford, New Haven and Boston. When publishing, the Dunnings did some printing for them. An obituary of Horace Clark in the February 14, 1876 "Hartford Courant" recorded that Clark came to Middletown in 1817 at which time he entered into business with Lucas Lyman. Thus, the existence of imprints printed by Clark and Lyman from 1814 to 1816 attest to the probability that either Horace maintained an absentee partnership with Lyman during those years or Horace's brother, Ephrahum, who was also involved in the business, who involved with Lyman.
It is not clear where the Clark and Lyman establishment was located before 1818. However, the history as seen through the Lyman and Clark real estate transactions from 1818 until 1822 is telling of the nature of their business and its importance. Conflicting facts exist as to whether Horace or Epaphus held financial shares in the Clark and Lyman business. Although Horace's obituary lists his possession of half of the Clark and Lyman enterprise, the real estate records list Epaphus as a partner with Lyman. Epaphus printed in his own shop from 1821 to 1822 and was partnered with Horace from then until 1828 in the "Middlesex Gazette" concern. Nonetheless, the records list Clark and Lyman as buying a lot of commercial property with Charles Brewer on October 26, 1818 for the sum of $3,125. [See APPENDIX "B"] Charles Brewer was an affluent resident of Middletown of whose occupational status was not ascertained. In 1836, Brewer listed in the tax assessment his ownership of two houses worth $2,500 and four stores worth $4,000. Listing his place of business as Court Street, the same property that he originally bought with Clark and Lyman, Brewer paid a tax of $245. Being one of the largest property holders in town, Brewer's interest in conducting business with Clark and Lyman shows the wealthy businessman's perception of Clark and Lyman as a financially solvent enterprise worthy of other's investments. The property that these three bought must have held considerable commercial value to have been deemed suitable to be taken up by them. In 1819, Lyman, Clark and Brewer acquired an adjacent lot [See B, Lot #1] and split the whole property up, allotting Brewer lots numbered one and two [B, Lot #1, #2] and Clark
and Lyman lots numbered three and four [B, Lot #3, #4]. Bounded on Court Street and Main Street, the Clark and Lyman property was the model of the large and proper printing and bookselling establishment. The area of Lot three being smaller and facing the main commercial street was the bookstore. A narrow passageway led to a huge, 44 X 37\(\frac{1}{2}\) X 56 X 30 printing shop. From there Hull lists that the majority of printing in Middletown was executed during this period. The size of the printing shop indicates the expectation of the printer that his public and private patronage will be considerable. The Clark and Lyman enterprise was wealthy, well received and a dominant force in the market. In the 1820 assessment, the firm of Clark and Lyman were worth $123.90, more than any other printing establishment.

In 1822, the partnership of Clark and Lyman dissolved. Clark sold Lyman the lots at Court and Main Street and "the appertenances there of"\(^{14}\) for $2,000. This store value was recorded again by Lyman in the 1836 tax assessment in which he listed the ownership of one store worth $2,000.

Ephraim and Horace Clark merged in 1822 and bought the "Middlesex Gazette" office from the estate of Tertius Dunning. The Clarks enlarged and published the paper. Although the Clarks had a large subscription and printed a vast number of items, they did not maintain a successful business. In 1822, the Clarks' individual tax assessments reflect their monetary situation. In 1820 it is impossible to know Horace's worth because his assessments were merged in the company with Lyman. However, Ephraim had an
assessment of $30. In 1836, neither Horace nor Ephraim declared any property or holdings. They were assessed at $21.08 and $20.24 respectively. Horace Clark was taxed $10 in 1848.

Evidence of Horace Clark's dabbling in entrepreneurial enterprises is in the Hartford Courant's mention that he "[Secured] an interest"\(^\text{15}\) with Buckland, Stearns and Co., an ivory comb manufactory in Middletown. He remained in that business for thirty years. Clark was also, significantly, one of [the] original petitioners in 1825 for a savings bank in town. Although it appears that Clark controlled only a little amount of capital, he was nonetheless, aware of the need for a savings bank to secure business credit in the market. The Clark's considerable share in business interests and with Lucas Lyman shows that they were printers taken up by wealthy agents as useful to their book interests.

From the tax assessments it appears that Lyman was the wealth possessing partner in the Clark and Lyman enterprise. Lyman was not a printer, but an enterprising businessman. After he bought the shares in city real estate from Clark, he turned from printing and ran a general store and bookstore. From that establishment Lyman published, according to Hull once in 1824 and again in 1831. His tax assessment was $179.10 in 1836. Lyman was an example of the sort of wealthy businessman who was in the book establishment during this period. Although Lyman must have recognized the precarious financial situation of E. and H. Clark, he chose to risk a business deal with them in the rightful belief that association with the craftsman printer who was also in control of the town
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dpaper, and thus in open public display, would promote his business
interest.

Edwin Hunt is one of the most important figures in the Middle-
town book industry. Working from 1824 to 1843, Hunt published
thirty hull imprints alone and eleven with Ebenezer Noyes in 1829
and from 1836 to 1840. His work comprised fifty-two percent (52\%) of
the published pieces in Middletown from 1785 to 1850. He em-
ployed the services of several job and book printers, including
Charles H. Pelton and George Conklin. Hunt ran the "Middlesex
Gazette" for a short period, commencing in 1832. Hunt is found
in the 1836 tax assessment. Therein he is listed twice. Once
as a resident and once as the business, E. Hunt and Company. He
lists ownership of two timepieces. A timepiece was a measure of
wealth during this period. Hunt's tax assessments were low:
$22.90 and $44.96. Hunt opened a bookstore in 1827, assuming own-
ership of two pieces of real estate. In his establishment, "Cen-
tral Book Store," he announced his bookbinding services. That
same year he advertised for an apprentice in bookbinding.

Part of Hunt's success lay in his relationships with people
out of town, notably Hartford publishers. Edwin Hunt was publish-
ing in Hartford under "Edwin Hunt and Son" in 1848 and later.
He published a list of his offerings which he sent to Middletown
in 1854. His financial and business resources allowed him to ex-
pand his business.

Hunt's editor when he was in charge of the "Gazette" was Sam-
uel W. Griswold. Griswold was an attorney and a man of letters,
related to a large literary family. He was secretary of the Franklin Society (1829-1831), a fraternal organization of artisans, manufacturers and merchants in town that fostered market and social relations between the groups. Griswold's relation, Samuel Griswold Goodrich, was a major publisher in Hartford. Samuel W. Griswold provided Hunt with valuable business and social contacts.

Theodore Parmelee and Edwin T. Hunt were wealthy printers and owners of the "Middlesex Gazette" who worked together from 1828 to 1829. Greenfield ran the paper from 1829 to 1830. Both men controlled a great deal of real estate. In 1838 Greenfield's two houses were assessed at $4,000. His assessment was $150.00 on Union Street. Parmelee was partnered with William H. Niles, the co-editor of the "American Sentinel," another Middletown newspaper from 1823 to 1827 and an independent Middletown publisher from 1827 to 1838. In 1850, Parmelee owned a bell factory and mill with William Niles employing ten people in Chatham, Connecticut. An entrepreneurial interest such as this would secure these men outside sources of income and credit.

Other printing and publishing individuals with large business concerns or other sources of wealth, were particularly visible by the 1830's.

William J. Trench and William D. Starr and William B. Casey and Duane Barnes are four remaining personalities in this marketplace. From 1840 to 1841 and 1847, Hull lists seven imprints by William Trench. Hull says that Trench begins publishing in 1838. In 1836, Trench has one house worth $900; he owns $470 of land;
two timepieces; $500 in the savings bank and he controls $2,187.50 of bank stock. His assessment is $224.15. By 1848, his assets have increased considerably. He owns two houses worth $2,300; owns $725 worth of land; has one store worth $800; one manufactury worth $1500; 344 controls $500 worth of stock and $2,400 worth of bank stock. His assessment is $343.87. He is at this time one of the richest men in Middletown. The publishing concern is another direction for his entrepreneurial interests. William D. Starr has similar assets. Publisher and copublisher of the "American Sentinel" and the papers, "Witness" and "Sentinel and Witness", that followed it, Starr did a tremendous amount of printing for interests inside and outside of Middletown from 1827 until later than 1850. Notable in Starr's 1836 tax assessment was his ownership of three houses worth $2,000. By 1848, Starr had sold one of his houses and now owned $225 of bank stock. His assessment was $154.80. Dr. William Casey came to Middletown from New York in 1839. He bought the newspaper "Daily News" from J.N. Phelps and Company in 1851. However, he sold it that same year because of his other professional interests. Casey owned three houses worth $8500 and two carriages. His tax assessment was $322. Duane Barnes owned a huge bookstore where he carried out a limited amount of publishing. Evidence from advertisements in the newspapers suggests that Barnes owned a major piece of commercial realestate that bore his name. Rosnell Doolittle, a bookbinder and blankbook manufacturer, advertised in the "Middletown News" in 1851 that his establishment was located at Number One Barne's Building, opposite the post office. Although Barnes' holdings as recorded in the 1848 tax assessment were modest, the 1850 census records Barnes owning $20,000 in real property. Barnes maintained a high status in the Middletown Club business at least through 18
book business at least through 1871 as evidenced by his listing in Dingman's Directory, a trade directory of printers, publishers and booksellers in the United States and Canada.

The major publishers, printers and booksellers were almost all involved at one time or another in town or state politics or in the legal profession. John Alsop was elected court deputy five times from May 1818 to May 1823. Horace Clark served as post master and town clerk (1856). William Casey served as Mayor of Middletown from April 25, 1850 to November, 1850. William Trench served two terms on the town council. Their visibility in the public forum gave credibility to their business establishments. They were also able to maintain control of business decisions in government. There was a Barnes, a Clark and a Goodrich in the legal profession.

The town gave these businesses in return a large share of its patronage. From 1824 to 1828 town records show that E. & H. Clark supplied the town with record books, order books, and blank and ruled paper. Lyman also supplied some materials. Hosea Goodrich, a wealthy leather (bookbinding material) supplier related to Charles Goodrich, sold the town materials. Town and business mutually supported each other's interests.

The market was controlled by a few wealthy men who patronized a select group of artisans or themselves ran their own presses. The minor printers and booksellers fell into a pool of virtual anonymity. Now working for the large establishments like T. & J.B. Dunning, Clark & Lyman and William D. Starr, many printers owned virtually no property. Others who owned their own presses had no way to compete with the printing investments of the entrepreneurs. The census of 1850, which lists people with their occupations and estimates the
value of their real property, is the best source to examine the general lot of the printer during this period in Middletown. Twenty two printers, publishers, booksellers and book agents are listed in the 1850 census. Of these, only the most well known men: William Trench and the bookseller and printer, Abner Newton jr., listed any real property ownership. 23% of the nineteen craftsmen lived in boarding houses or multiple family dwellings. Many of these people are impossible to identify in the records because they owned no property; held no public offices and did no advertising in the newspapers. The artisans that are identified characteristically had tax assessments of approximately ten or twenty dollars. Rosnell Doolittle, who was the tenant in the Barnes Building, declared nothing in the 1850 tax assessment, paying only an automatic ten dollar poll tax. Oliver F. Grover, who ran a printer's tools manufactory, payed a ten dollar tax in 1858 and 1859. His name did not appear again in other lists.
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Many small businesses failed and disappeared. There is one example of the now practically extinct household business and residence sale in the "Middlesex Gazette." From 1806 to 1809 Timothy Powers ran an advertisement to sell or let two attached buildings "For a family, printing-office, and store ... about the centre of the city of Middletown, on the Main Street opposite the collectors-office and two doors north of the Post-Office." He urged an offer and said that he would extend credit for buyers. The real estate records document that Powers' offer was a bankruptcy sale. The independent printer had a difficult time remaining in business. Of the forty-four firms Hull lists as active to some degree in printing or publishing imprints in Middletown, thirteen were unidentifiable enterprises in this research. The members of this same group could be found in the tax assessments with commonly low assessments and are listed by Hull as publishing or printing one imprint each.

Increasingly, there was division made between those in the group who were trained to manage and those who were trained to produce. We saw the phenomenon of the apprentice entrepreneur in the early atypical relations of the Alsops and Riley. John Alsop was apprenticed in a Riley Middletown publishing house that had no press. After that apprenticeship he managed the Riley-Alsop bookshop in Hartford and New York. A later example of someone who received this entrepreneurial training was Augustus Putnam. Putnam was an apprentice to Ebenezer Noyes. In the 1847, Middletown Illustrated, Putnam was called someone who "ranked with his
age, clerking in a bookstore and bindery." Upon Noyes death, Putnam bought the bindery and two years later took on a stationery and book business along side it. In 1867, Putnam sold the book concern. Later, he published a literary journal called "Rainbow." Putnam was able to sell the business because he had not been trained in a craft that would have tied him to the enterprise for his livelihood. He was a trained businessman.

Another new phenomenon was the emergence of a class of crafts "foreman." The master involved in publishing and business concerns would not also be able to oversee craft production. It is also possible that he would have had the training to make his oversight professional. Thus, he might hire a foreman or a good apprentice might become a foreman. The foreman ran the shop, assigned jobs, bought supplies and carried out other managerial tasks. He was the professional artisan.

There is no evidence in Middletown of labor or intrashop organization against wealthy businessmen in the marketplace. This phenomenon is recognized in early journeymen printers labor organizations in Philadelphia and subsequent establishment of typographical societies for wage and marketplace protection. Like files on early individual craftsmen, the evidence of their organization, if there was any, is not preserved. What does remain are the records of two early fraternal organizations of artisans, manufacturers and merchants: The Franklin Society (1829-1831) and The Mechanics Society (1832-1836). The societies created a means to facilitate exchange of market information and set up the circum-
stances for a mutually supportive business and social network. In both, Gary Kornblath says, "Membership ... restricted to master craftsmen and independent manufacturers, men who had worked ... from apprenticeship to proprietorship of their own shops or business..."18 The societies were not organized to promote rights of the laboring class. A professional class of artisans was the new emergent group that was here being fostered. In her unpublished paper, Working Men's Societies in Middletown, Connecticut, Patricia Newman describes the composition of the two societies. [See APPENDIX "C"] The Franklin Society was made up of ninety men between the ages of fifteen and thirty years old. Of the people that the Franklin Society records identify, eight were artisans and small merchants and five were large scale manufacturers, artisans or merchants. Of twenty-two men identified from the Mechanics Society, seven were artisans and four were merchants. The society was not comprised of tradesmen from any single economic bracket or single trade. Some of the wealthiest entrepreneurs and merchants were in these societies with groups of low income master craftsmen like carriage maker, Allen May [Mechanics Society, Cb]. Even though the people in the societies were not directly related through occupation, the two societies performed activities decisively in the interest of promoting and maintaining power in the booktrade in which many were at least peripherally involved.

The number of entrepreneurs and merchant members of the two societies who were related to the printing and publishing industry in Middletown is significant. Samuel Gray Southmayd [Frank-
lin Society, Ca] was the owner of a significant circulating library and also advertised the sale of books and ink with Giles Boardman [Mechanics Society, Cb] in the "Middlesex Gazette" in 1827. The Southmayd family had vast interests in industry and banking in Middletown. Southmayd controlled $1,400 worth of general stock and $2,200 worth of bank stock. Sumner's [Mechanic Society Cb] brother, J. A. Sumner was a dealer in books and owned a paper warehouse in Middletown. The interests of William Trench [Franklin Society Ca] in Middletown printing and publishing have already been discussed. H. F. Camp [Franklin Society, Ca] conducted regular book auctions. William S. Camp was a wealthy merchant who settled E. and H. Clark's subscription accounts at their bankruptcy in 1828. Samuel W. Griswold [Ca + Cb] belonged to both the Franklin and the Mechanics Societies. His relationship to Edwin Hunt and his familial publishing relations in Hartford were discussed earlier. Savage [Franklin Society, Ca] published who with Pomeroy in 1808 and Edwin T. Greenfield [Franklin Society Ca] were both members of the Franklin Society. Horace Clark belonged to the Mechanics Society [Ca].

The business network that we saw glimpses of earlier in making descriptions of various important printers and publishers begins to become evident in relationships within these societies. The artisan relationship is more difficult to ascertain. Many people, presumably artisans, are listed without occupation. However, any presence of an artisan within a society such as this suggests a new relationship between classes and the elevated place
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of the artisan in the trade network. It is significant that these societies were run during the most active and successful period of the printing and publishing business in Middletown.

Newmann wrongfully asserts that, unlike other societies of the early nineteenth century, the Franklin and Mechanic societies were not "mutual benefit" societies. Gary Kornblath says that the role of early working men's societies was to be "Centers of educational activity by sponsoring libraries, lecture series and schools for apprentices."¹⁹ The Franklin and Mechanic societies were models after this idea. In denying the societies' character of "mutual aid" Newmann fails to realize the existence of significant printing and publishing concerns that were using the circulating library, lecture series and educational forum in the society to initiate publishing and printing projects, foster a growing public interest in the books and ideas that were the goods of their market and educate members of the society in the literary topics of the elite circuit of booktraders.

The interaction between master craftsman and entrepreneur served many purposes. The entrepreneurs most likely offered financial support to many of those small businessmen in return expecting to have secured for themselves low commission costs in printing requests. In interacting with the craftsman, the entrepreneur was also able to maintain an understanding of the intricacies of the market in which the printer was operating so as to ascertain what real prices should be expected. Speaking of his disgust of American manufacturers in the early 1800's Hocquet Caritat spoke
words about the entrepreneurs' interest in a trade society and relations with the craftsman:

[They] endeavor to know everything relating to Arts and to direct their tendency so as to serve their particular views, by investing in themselves all the discoveries, inventions and secrets of men of talents and genius. To facilitate and secure their views in order to manage and rule as they please this valuable portion of our species, within their reach, friendly advice, money lent. 20

Both societies had conferences on new inventions and tools of the trade. Thus, it was expedient that the entrepreneur maintain a steady social relationship with the craft section. The master craftsmen were able to maintain social contact and exchange business information with each other.

Being seen in the public eye in association with the wealthy town financiers afforded the craftsman a measure of good credit that would increase the strength of his business. The society members were careful not to discuss politics or religion in their forums. They were self-conscious of their public image and wanted to portray themselves as "A group of socially responsible men of a good moral character." 21 The societies supported the Temperance Movement. Fifty-two and 6/10 percent (52.6%) of the Mechanics and forty-seven and 6/10 percent (47.6%) of the Franklins held public offices.

Like the Franklin and Mechanics Societies, The Friendly Association sponsored lectures, ran discussions and maintained a permanent library of five hundred volumes. The Association was first established in 1808 as the Friendly Society. It held debates.
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In 1810, the Association had three hundred members. M. J. Rockwell wrote an article entitled "History of Middletown" in the February 18, 1879 "Middletown Constitution". Therein she emphasized the society's mission to "create a taste ... to elicit and strengthen talent and elevate Society." Speaking in cloaked meanings of the new professional artisan-entrepreneur, she said it would help "youth of small means ... [to] rise to honorable distinction and eminent usefulness." The societies provided a forum for authors to air their new written materials. Going to a society or a convention was a common way for a writer to find a publisher willing to collect a subscription and commission printing of his work. Arriving in New York in December of 1798, the novelist Charles Brockden Brown was entertained by the Friendly Club. In his case, the club encouraged his entrepreneurial publishing plan. He wrote: "My friends here ... in the highest degree respectable for literature and influence, have urged me so vehemently to undertake the project of a magazine and promised me their contributions and assistance to its success that I have written and published proposals." Brown's financial and trade support for his venture were secured through this meeting. On July 2, 1846, John Sergeant wrote from Philadelphia to Samuel Farmer Jarvis, an author, professor and minister in Middletown, in regard to Jarvis' request to lecture before his society, the Mercantil Library Company. He told him that Jarvis could deliver his speech and the society would publish it. From Hartford Jarvis wrote to a friend in New York on Septem-
ber 30, 1836 about his book and his hope to go to the New York convention to "put a part of [the] manuscript in the printer's hands." The author's direct solicitation of a printer becomes more and more rare towards the middle of the century. The printer was not always able to assure the author that the business deal would be financially successful. The printer had little money to extend toward printing projects. Cost of materials within the economics of the shop were too high. The publisher came to control the market by harnessing a means of credit that could assure the author that at least he would not lose money in the business venture. Likewise, the printer received a full commission for his work. The publisher was financially solvent and thus a reliable investor.

Rollo Silver writes: "The transformation of the printer-book-seller into the publisher who deliberately sought out qualified authors and enthusiastically marketed their books was gradual and continuous throughout the first three decades of the nineteenth century." However, for some time many examples of the author publishing his own work exist. In an 1834 "Middlesex Gazette" Lucas Lyman advertised that he was selling an author-published book. The recommendation he included from the "Boston Courier" read: "This work has been prepared for the press by the author himself." In an 1823 "American Sentinel" advertisement, an author solicited "a liberal patronage." He described how the work was printed and asked for a twelve percent (12%) commission on sales. As the publisher took over in the area of book production,
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the author was no longer involved in technical aspects of the transaction.

There are numerous stories of authors' entanglements in bad business deals with printers. In contracting for the printing of her book in 1801, Hannah Adams wrote that "The printers were in low circumstances, and required payment before I could dispose of my books. I was therefore obliged to borrow ... money ... I derived ... little profit."\textsuperscript{30} Thus, she contracted a publisher who had the funds to carry out the burden of the enterprise. He "bargained with the printers,"\textsuperscript{31} arranging for her reception of large early payments. Silver writes: "As popularity of American authors increased in the nineteenth century, it was the publisher, not the printer, who learned how to work with an author, help him and at times finance him, edit his work for him, publicize him."\textsuperscript{32} Silver points out that the printer was relieved to be able to be commissioned by someone who could assure payment.

It was at this most basic level of market transactions that the printer lost the independence in his business. Tabulation of the number of author-published projects printed in Middletown and listed by Hull bears out the transformation of relations between author, printer and publisher. Although the percentages are not significant, they are further evidence of this change. From 1810 to 1820 two and 2/10 percent (2.2\%) of Hull book transactions are made by the author. This figure drops to less than one percent (1\%) in the years 1825 to 1835 and evidence of this author-printer relationship does not appear again in Hull after
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this time. In inverse, the number of items published increases significantly.

The final discussion is of Middletown publishers' involvements is outside markets, of outside publishers commissioning of Middletown printers, and of the different means the groups employ to circulate their materials. The publisher was able to maintain relations within an elite trading network where the artisan had no power to compete. Although they belonged to mutual societies the artisans gathered no real power. Hull writes: "In the nineteenth century it became ... common for Middletown printers to print for Hartford or New Haven publishers ... in the eighteenth century it was still an unusual event since the processes of printing and publishing were for the most part still combined." 33 Middletown publishers were most active in relations with the Hartford publishers Oliver D. Cooke; Cooke and Hale; Hudson and Co; and Sheldon and Goodrich during the first fifty years. These Hartford firms and other firms from Hartford, New Haven, Boston, New York and Philadelphia advertised in all of the Middletown newspapers for Middletown subscriptions and Middletown agents to sell subscriptions. Publishers in Middletown collaborated in enterprises with publishers in other towns, attesting to the business credit that they maintained. In an April 12, 1826 advertisement for out of town books, E & H Clark wrote: "The above work is sold by ... the publishers in New Haven; E & H. Clark, Middletown; O. D. Cooke & Co., Hartford; and D. Sterling, Bridgeport." 34 This is only one example of many such business deals made out of town.
by Middletown publishers. As has already been mentioned, Edwin Hunt was working in Hartford in the late 1840's, and for a time in the 50's. The firms of Simeon Loomis + Seth Richards Publishers and Hart + Lincoln printers, active in Middletown in 1814 and 1815, were printing and publishing in Hartford from 1816 to 1818. The various firms involved in outside areas became powerful in these enterprises.

Middletown printers and booksellers were in competition for shares in the printers commissions and selling subscriptions of outside publishers. Certain individuals consistently received a greater share in that patronage. William D. Starr, Edwin T. Hunt and Tertius and John Botsworth Dunning received the majority of out of town publishing requests. Each owned the "Middlesex Gazette" at least for part of this period of publishing. E. + H. Clark did much of the Hartford and New Haven printing during the 1820's. From Hull we note the most marked increase in outside publishers requesting printing in Middletown from 1825 to 1835. E. and H. Clark and William D. Starr maintained a monopoly over these commissions. The small time printer had very little access to this market. The Hartford and New Haven markets were the greatest source for business growth afforded the "notable" Middletown printing, bookselling and publishing enterprises. The large demand for these books coupled with the restricted number of subscriptions granted to select subscribers made the publisher and bookseller large profits.

The bookseller and publisher in the nineteenth century made extensive use of trade journals as a means of expanding the mar-
ket in which they could buy and sell their goods and learn about conditions in the marketplace. George Raddin says that through the trade journal publishers we're able to show "The agreeable and useful advantages" of their service "to the wholesale merchant, the scholar, the man of letters, the farmer and the artist." The publisher's entrepreneurial position gave him access to coveted information about the market that could be of use to these people. Middletown booksellers and publishers circulated their own trade journals and received journals constantly.

Early Riley & Co. had set up a booksellers exchange system for wholesale trade. They offered services to schools and libraries. They sent their agents from Portland Maine down through Hartford and New Haven, stopping in at Middletown. To extend business circulation in the early 1800's Caritat sent sloops that sailed regularly past "...Norwalk, Fairfield, Stratford, New Haven, etc." One can assume these ships continued up the coast to Middletown.

Conventions also helped to circulate books and information. In the September 8, 1854 Middletown News, E. B. Cook, President of the Connecticut Editorial Association announced the postponement of their annual meeting because of the conflicting time of the Annual Fair. The Annual Fair was an agricultural trade convention. Two trade conventions could not be held at the same time. Meetings like that of the Editorial Association were held to give the publishers knowledge of outside business and social connections for the ongoing sake of their enterprises.

By the late part of the century, publishers in Middletown are commissioning printers outside of Middletown for their sub-
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Substantial projects. The large printing and publishing centers of New York and Boston dominates the market. Towns like Middletown become small printing centers; the printers executing small job work for local concerns and printing the town newspaper. This change in the role of the small town printer and publisher in Middletown was due in part to the demise of the trading ports on the Connecticut River. The Industrial Revolution moved vast numbers of people into the new commercial centers. The market for books was much finer in these large cities and publishers saw greater prospects for large enterprises in those centers. This paper has been an examination of the breakdown of the printers independent role in the book market and the increasing role of the new businessman publisher in changing the nature of that market.
APPENDIX
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woodward &amp; Green</td>
<td>1785-1789 (7, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses A. Woodward</td>
<td>1739-1797 (26, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Alley (pub.)</td>
<td>1791, 1808 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel Allen</td>
<td>1792 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos Allen, Jr. (pub.)</td>
<td>1792 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertius Munnion</td>
<td>1797-1800, 1809-1824 (40, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. &amp; J. Dunnig</td>
<td>1800-1808 (24, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neadiah Bailey (pub.)</td>
<td>1804 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alsop, Alley &amp; Alsop</td>
<td>1807 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Alsop</td>
<td>1808 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savage &amp; Pomeroy (pub.)</td>
<td>1808 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Spencer (pub.)</td>
<td>1808-1817 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locamis &amp; Richards</td>
<td>1814-1815 (9, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark &amp; Lyman</td>
<td>1814-1822 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart &amp; Lincoln</td>
<td>1814-1815 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth Richards</td>
<td>1815-1816 (13, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Spencer, Jr. (pub.)</td>
<td>1818-1820 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Clark</td>
<td>1821-1822 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. &amp; H. Clark</td>
<td>1822-1828 (46, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.T. Porter (pub.)</td>
<td>1823 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.A. Boswell (pub.)</td>
<td>1824 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hunt (pub.)</td>
<td>1324-1843 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.C. Lyman (pub.)</td>
<td>1824, 1831 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William D. Starr</td>
<td>1827-1850+ (49, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Miles (pub.)</td>
<td>1827-1836 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmalee &amp; Greenfield</td>
<td>1828-1829 (6, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin T. Greenfield</td>
<td>1829-1830 (2, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt &amp; Hoyes (pub.)</td>
<td>1829, 1836-1840 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.D. Parmalee (pub.)</td>
<td>1830 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemuel Austin (pub.)</td>
<td>1831 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.W. Greene</td>
<td>1833 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Longking</td>
<td>1833-1834 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. &amp; S. Baldwin (pub.)</td>
<td>1833 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.F. Olmsted</td>
<td>1834-1836 (4, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles H. Pelton</td>
<td>1837-1850+ (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imner Newton, Jr.</td>
<td>1838-1850+ (5, n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnes &amp; Saxe (pub.)</td>
<td>1840 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oglian Trench</td>
<td>1840-1841, 1847-1849 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George T. Concklin</td>
<td>1841-1842 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Hoyes (pub.)</td>
<td>1846 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin S. Feller</td>
<td>1849 (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Barnes (pub.)</td>
<td>1850 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phelps &amp; Yale</td>
<td>1850+ (n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total number of items printed in parenthesis, n indicates newspaper.
Rectangular survey of property.

Lot No. 1: bounded by:
- North line of Lot No. 1
- East line of Lot No. 2
- South line of Lot No. 3
- West line of Lot No. 4

Lot No. 2: bounded by:
- North line of Lot No. 1
- East line of Lot No. 3
- South line of Lot No. 4
- West line of Lot No. 1

Lot No. 3: bounded by:
- North line of Lot No. 2
- East line of Lot No. 4
- South line of Lot No. 1
- West line of Lot No. 2

Lot No. 4: bounded by:
- North line of Lot No. 3
- East line of Lot No. 1
- South line of Lot No. 2
- West line of Lot No. 3

Note: The survey was marked out for a division on Court Street in the City of Middletown.

Signatures:
- Capt. CH. Brewer
- Clark Dyeman

Date: Oct 16th, 1820.
SELECTED FRANKLIN SOCIETY (1829-1831),
MECHANICS SOCIETY (1832-1836) MEMBERSHIP*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Franklin Society</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Tax Assessment</th>
<th># Town Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. G. Southmayd</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>$30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sumner</td>
<td>Tin manufacturer</td>
<td>$246.95</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Trench</td>
<td>Leather worker</td>
<td>$156.15</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. F. Camp</td>
<td>Auctioneer and Boarding House owner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. W. Griswold</td>
<td>Attorney and Editor</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenfield</td>
<td>Hatter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>Merchant/shipping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Merchants Society

| Giles Boardman       | Saddlery owner                                 | $69            |                |
| Horace Clark         | Newspaper, Book business                       | $21.98         |                |
| S. W. Griswold       | Attorney                                       | $40.10         |                |
| Samuel Hubbard       | Att/Manuf/polit                                | $1,008.50      |                |
| Allen May            | Carriage-maker                                 | $20.38         |                |
| John Sumner          | Tin manufacturer                               | $246.95        | ++             |
| Joseph Warner        | Blacksmith                                     | $36            | +              |
| Asa Richardson       | Manufacturer                                   | $100.60        | *              |

Goodrich
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FOOTNOTES


3 Ibid., Alsop to Rufus King, September 9, 1801.

4 Isaac Riley, advertisement, "Middlesex Gazette", September 17, 1791.


6 "Middlesex Gazette", November, 1802- March, 1804.


8 Harrington, Opct., September 9, 1801.


10 Harrington, Ibid., pg. 43.

11 Harvey Hull, List of Middletown Imprints, 1785-1850, pg. 6.


13 "Ibid.", June 20, 1809.


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17 R. Brainard, Editor and Publisher, Middletown Illustrated, Westchester, Connecticut, 1877.

18 Gary Kornbluth, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master

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22Ibid., 1978.
23M.i. Rockwell, "History of Middletown", "The Constitution".
24Ibid., pg. n.g.
26Samuel Jarvis to DePeyedt, letter from Jarvis Correspondence, Volume V, Letters, etc., 1838-1840, September 30, 1836.
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28"Middlesex Gazette"
29Ibid., April 23, 1823.
30OpCit., Silver, pg. 103.
31Ibid., pg. 103.
32Ibid., pg. 113.
33OpCit., Hull, pg. 5.
34"Middlesex Gazette", April 12, 1826.
35Raddin, Ibid., pg. 15.
36Ibid., pg. 15.