

# Truman S. Wetmore of Winchester and His "Republican Harmony"

BY DAVID WARREN STEEL\*

Eighteenth-century Connecticut supported a lively musical life, even in the most isolated rural areas. If keyboard instruments and concerts were rare, sacred music was still a matter of community concern, and singing schools flourished. An earlier article<sup>1</sup> traced the progress of sacred music in Winchester, Connecticut up to the early nineteenth century, through church records and other documentary evidence. The following essay traces the life and musical career of Truman S. Wetmore, a Winchester native whose name and musical compositions are still known in the rural South, although forgotten in his home state.

Truman Wetmore was born in Winchester on 12 August 1774. His father Abel Wetmore (1753-1796) was the only child of Samuel Wetmore, Jr. (1723-1809), who had come to Winchester from Middlefield Society in Middletown in 1771 with his aged father Samuel Wetmore, Sr. (1692-1773). Samuel, Jr. was the second Deacon chosen by the Winchester church, and was one of the town's first selectmen. Truman's mother, born Jerusha Hills (1755-1780), was the daughter of Captain John Hills (1732-1808), a gunsmith, whose house and shop stood near the sawmill operated by Deacon Samuel Wetmore.

Truman spent his childhood in a settlement that had been incorporated only three years before his birth. His father Abel

was reputed in his time a good scholar, though he never had the advantages of a collegiate course, owing to his father having lost a large portion of his property in the depreciation of the old continental currency.<sup>2</sup>

As a boy Truman doubtless attended the common schools operated by the Winchester Society. When he was eighteen, during the

\* Mr. Steel is a Doctoral Candidate in Musicology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. His previous article, "Sacred Music in Early Winchester," appeared in the CHS Bulletin of April 1980.

winter of 1792–1793, a singing school was held in the Society. It is likely that he attended this school, since he was elected Chorister in the following year, showing an aptitude for musical leadership. He continued as a Chorister till 1798.

In 1798 Abel Wetmore died in an attack of epilepsy, and his eldest sons Truman and John went to live with their grandfather, Deacon Samuel Wetmore. In 1798 Truman purchased a workshop, a quantity of bricks and a work horse, possibly intending to pursue a mechanical trade.<sup>3</sup> In the same year two of his psalm tunes were published in Asahel Benham's *Social Harmony*. On 18



Photo courtesy, The Newberry Library

Fig. 1. Truman Wetmore's manuscript tunebook owned by The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

October 1799 Truman married Sylvia Spencer, and brought her home to his grandfather's farm. The 1800 census shows the family of Samuel Wetmore as consisting of one man over forty-five (Deacon Samuel, seventy-seven), two men between sixteen and twenty-six (probably Truman, twenty-six, and his brother John, twenty-two), one woman over forty-five (Samuel's wife Anna, seventy-seven), and one woman between sixteen and twenty-six (Sylvia, twenty-two).<sup>4</sup> By the winter's end, however, Truman's bride was dead; on 27 March 1800 she was buried in the Winchester cemetery.

The loss of his new wife seems to have been a crucial event in Wetmore's artistic life. His contemporary biographer implied a connection between personal tragedy and literary activity: "His life has been one full of incident and trial, and his sensitive mind has occasionally broke forth in song and poesy."<sup>5</sup> Upon the occasion of his wife's death, he wrote the words and music to the tune SYLVIA. The first two stanzas aptly describe music as a link between the living and the dead.<sup>6</sup>

Let music flow in mornful strains,  
While death his prisoner binds in chains;  
Each harper drest in grief's attire,  
While sorrow tunes her mournful lyre:

Awake, awake each silent string,  
With melting notes new sorrows bring,  
Till on the dirge my spirit flies,  
To the dark shade where Sylvia lies.

This image agrees with the characterization of music by Stephen Jenks and Elijah Griswold, as "a pleasing resource in the trying hour of affliction."<sup>7</sup> Another incident, reported from about the same time, further illustrates the cathartic properties of Wetmore's melancholy muse.<sup>8</sup>

While sick with small pox, and pronounced by his physicians past recovery, his young friends, who were confined with him in what was termed the *pest house*, informed him he could not live, and desired him to compose a piece of music to be sung at his funeral. He consented, if they would furnish him with the *staves*, and turn him on his face. They did so, and the result was the piece called *Florida*, which is sung to this day, in all the places of Methodist worship, and also his entire recovery.

FLORIDA was printed in Jenks and Griswold's *American Compiler* in 1803, with the following text, from Isaac Watts's paraphrase of Psalm 90:

Our moments fly apace,  
Nor will our minutes stay;  
Just like a flood our hasty days  
Are sweeping us away.

Wetmore's bereavement helped him also to choose his profession. According to the family biographer:<sup>9</sup>

Losing his first wife the following year after their marriage, by way of more intimately associating her maiden surname with his own, he had, by lawful authority, *Spencer* added to his Christian name; and becoming, as he did during her short but painful illness, deeply interested in the subject of *materia medica*, caused him after her death, to turn to the study of the medical profession, and subsequently became a successful practitioner.

On 27 December 1800 Truman legally added the name *Spencer* after his Christian name.<sup>10</sup> Also about this time he began to study medicine which, like law and divinity, was generally learned in informal "schools" that clustered around an eminent man of the profession. Wetmore spent much of the period 1800–1802 with Dr. Samuel Woodward (1750–1835) in Torrington, and with Dr. William McClelland (1769–1812) in Albany, New York.<sup>11</sup> In 1801 and 1802 he sold land in Winchester out of his patrimony, perhaps to finance his professional training.<sup>12</sup> He also attempted to earn funds by conducting singing schools. In an advertisement<sup>13</sup> dated 8 December 1800, published in *The Albany Gazette* on 25 December, Wetmore wrote:

The subscriber respectfully informs the citizens of Albany, that he has lately opened a *Church Music School*, at the house of Mr. James Fondley, opposite Judge Lansing's Market Street; where the strictest attention will be paid on Tuesday and Friday of each week, from 6 to 9 o'clock, P.M.

Terms known at the School.

Those ladies and gentlemen who are so obliging as to favor him with their attendance, may rest assured that every exertion will be used for their advantage and every favor gratefully acknowledged by  
Truman Wetmore.

Wetmore received his medical diploma in 1802, and commenced practice in Charlotte, Vermont (near Burlington), where his maternal grandfather, Captain John Hills, then resided. On Christmas Day, 1804, Wetmore remarried in Burlington. His second wife was Elizabeth Jarvis, a daughter of John Jarvis, of Norwalk, Connecticut, a former Loyalist who had been a commissary in the British Army during the War of Independence.<sup>14</sup>

The first decade of the nineteenth century appears to have been the period of Wetmore's greatest musical activity. Asahel Benham died in 1803, and Stephen Jenks became Wetmore's link with music publication. Jenks, an itinerant Rhode Island-born musician whose *New-England Harmonist* had been issued in 1799, was a

prolific composer and compiler who issued no fewer than five separate tunebooks between 1803 and 1807, two of these in collaboration with other authors. Each of the five contains one or more tunes attributed to "Doctor Wetmore." The largest number of Wetmore pieces, five, is to be found in Jenks's *Delights of Harmony and Norfolk Compiler* (Dedham, Massachusetts, 1805), which is cited by Allen P. Britton as "an ideal example of American eighteenth-century composition unaffected by concepts of reform."<sup>15</sup> The book was published by subscription, and lists subscribers by place of residence. Most of Jenks's subscribers obli-



Fig. 2. GRANVILLE by Truman Wetmore, as it appears on page 37 of Asahel Benham's *Social Harmony . . .* [Wallingford, 1798]. Photo shows only partial rendering of the tune. CHS Collections.

gated themselves for only a single copy, but among the names from Winchester are Mr. John C. Riley, Merchant, for one hundred copies, and Dr. Truman S. Wetmore for fifty copies. Wetmore's order for so many copies suggests that he was actively teaching singing-schools, and selling tunebooks to his pupils, in addition to practicing medicine.

After a few years in Charlotte, Wetmore returned with his wife Elizabeth to Winchester, where their daughter Sylvia Elizabeth Wetmore was born on 20 October 1805. In the spring of 1807 an epidemic outbreak of "spotted fever" (probably a form of typhus)

began to attack many children in Litchfield County. According to the Reverend Frederick Marsh,<sup>16</sup>

Nearly at its first appearance, three children in one family were all taken alarmingly ill in the night, all in a space of two or three hours. Some died within a few hours after the first attack. Where it proved fatal, the patient rarely survived 24 hours.

Marsh's manuscript history of the Winchester Society preserves a short excerpt from Wetmore's own "History of the Disease," one of the few surviving examples of Wetmore's prose:<sup>17</sup>

To give an accurate history of the disease;—to paint the fear and anxiety of the inhabitants, and the perplexity and despondency of the physicians, during the first two or three weeks of the disease, would beggar description. Pale terror sat prominent on every face. Mirth and levity forsook the habitations of the gay, and fear and anxiety pervaded our little village.

Winchester tradition holds Wetmore largely responsible for the eventual control of the epidemic.<sup>18</sup> The family biographer writes<sup>19</sup> that he

applied the strength of his intellect to investigate the scourge, its cause and treatment, and was the first physician that treated it successfully, and triumphed over its fearful ravages.

Another tradition ascribes control of the epidemic to Wetmore's teacher Doctor Samuel Woodward of Torrington, who<sup>20</sup>

quickly perceived the strange, low and virulent type of the disease, and immediately . . . resorted to stimulants, and vigorous supporting remedies with . . . signal success.

In religious matters Truman Wetmore seems to have tacitly supported the Standing Order through Society membership and payment of taxes, but was never persuaded, in spite of numerous revivals,<sup>21</sup> to become a member of the church his grandfather had labored to establish. He is named as the holder of a prominent pew in a seating plan of the Winchester Meeting House for the year 1818,<sup>22</sup> and was assessed for Society taxes in 1821.<sup>23</sup> Almost all of Wetmore's musical compositions employed texts suitable for the meeting house. His choice of texts shows a sensitivity to suffering and divine compassion, as well as an awareness of the imminence of death and judgement.

It appears that Wetmore found in the practice of Freemasonry the elements of doctrine, ceremony, and social fraternity that

many of his contemporaries found in organized religion. In 1806 he published (in Stephen Jenks's *Delights of Harmony and Union Compiler No. II* (Dedham, Mass.) a WESTERN STAR ANTHEM, with a Masonic text suitable for a lodge dedication. This anthem may have been composed for the Western Star Lodge in Norfolk, Connecticut. In 1817 Seneca Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons was chartered in Torrington, with Truman S. Wetmore as its first Worshipful Master.<sup>24</sup> That Masonic affiliation was still viewed with distrust in Church circles is shown by a controversy, related by Samuel Orcutt in his *History of Torrington* (Albany: J. Mun-



Fig. 3. Portrait of Dr. Samuel Woodward (1750-1835) of Torrington. Oil on canvas, artist unknown. CHS Collections.

sell, 1878), concerning Wetmore's lodge brother Deacon Elisha Hinsdale of Torrington, whose lodge membership was held by some to be incompatible with his ecclesiastical office.<sup>25</sup>

In politics, Wetmore probably identified with the Democratic Republicans, a small minority in a staunchly Federalist county and state. Wetmore's second cousin, Seth Wetmore, had been one of the county's first Jeffersonians, and had been fined under the Alien and Sedition Laws, repealed in 1801.<sup>26</sup> Wetmore's mentor Samuel Woodward was also a leading Republican, "one of the exceptional few of Litchfield County."<sup>27</sup> The title of Truman Wetmore's man-

uscript tunebook, "Republican Harmony," would have had unmistakable political overtones in the first decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> In later life, Wetmore served twenty terms as Justice of the Peace, an office he first held in 1818, the year in which a coalition of Republicans and Episcopalians, running on a platform of religious toleration and disestablishment, effected a political revolution in Connecticut.<sup>29</sup>

Wetmore carried on a successful medical practice until his retirement around 1850, and trained at least four physicians, including his sons William Jarvis and George Whitfield Wetmore.<sup>30</sup> The former, after practicing for a short time, decided instead to devote "his time and attention to the more congenial, but less reliable, pursuits of music and her sister art [of poetry]."<sup>31</sup> Residing in Brooklyn, New York, he became known as a poet and composer of many popular and sentimental songs in the 1860's and 1870's. He was also responsible for the preservation of his father's manuscript music, which he gave in 1874 to the compiler and publisher H. P. Main, who in turn gave it to the Newberry Library, Chicago, in 1891.

As a physician and magistrate, Truman Wetmore knew personally many residents of his native town. This knowledge helped him to become a sort of local historian, furnishing information on Winchester Centre residents to his friend John Boyd of Winsted for his *Annals and Family Records of Winchester, Connecticut*.<sup>32</sup> In his travels through the parish, Wetmore once noted the remains of over sixty chimneys where the houses had never been rebuilt, after the inhabitants had removed to New York State in the "Great Exodus."<sup>33</sup>

A contemporary described Wetmore as

kind and generous in all his relations in life. Mirth, song and sociality occupied his leisure hours, and the strict and urgent duties of a business life, were often put aside for the pleasure of friends and early friendships.<sup>34</sup>

Evidence of his self-effacing sense of humor may be seen in a poem he submitted in 1840 as a property list for tax assessment.<sup>35</sup>

One shattered old Poll, some worse for hard fare,  
Though its scull and irs brains are yet covered with hair;  
One horse, twelve years old and unruly as lam[e],  
And keeps all my neighbors a cursing his name.  
Two cows I have got, one is barren and sick,  
And the others with calf by an unlucky trick;  
A small wooden clock to keep up with the time,



And land, twenty acres, some of it is prime;  
 Two acres I plowed for corn and potatoes,  
 To feed pigs and hens and some human creatures;  
 Two more sowed to rye to make bread for my frow,  
 And four I keep mucked that I yearly do mow.  
 Three acres is wood land, though 'tis not very good,  
 And I clear off the bushes where once the wood stood.  
 The rest is all pasture for grazing and shade,  
 Where brakes, weeds and thistles incumber the glade  
 One tattered old house, though once of good fame  
 For the inmates it covered from snow and from rain;  
 Two priests and one lawyer the old mansion graced,<sup>36</sup>  
 And for fostering good morals this dwelling was chaste.  
 But time has much altered the place and the owner,  
 For now 'tis improved by a pile peeling sinner.

During the last year of Wetmore's life, his family biographer commented that<sup>37</sup>

in his 86th year, his epistolary correspondence is unexceptional, and shows a remarkable preservation of all his mental faculties, and his beautiful penmanship gives evidence also of his physical abilities.

Wetmore died in Winchester on 21 July 1861 at the age of eighty-seven. He was buried in the town cemetery, once part of his grandfather's farm, and in which his great grandfather Samuel Wetmore was the first person to be interred. His gravestone with its Masonic device is shown, Figure 4. Ten years later he was remembered by John Boyd<sup>38</sup> as

a well-read and successful physician of the old school, a poet of local celebrity, a musical composer (some of his tunes still being retained in the worship of the churches), a man of genial humor and tender feelings, and a chronicler of olden times.

Manuscripts have proven increasingly important in the study of New England's earliest composers and musicians. Truman Wetmore is one of several American psalmidists who left a substantial amount of music in their own hand. As Wetmore never published his own collection, and only nine of his tunes were printed in other men's books, his manuscript tunebook "Republican Harmony," now in the Newberry Library, Chicago, is the most important source of his music.

Wetmore's collection, evidently intended as a fair copy for publication, includes an elaborate title page (Figure 1), now pasted inside the front cover. Bound in the characteristic oblong tunebook format, "Republican Harmony" contains 132 pages of

music, including fifty-five compositions, and four incomplete tunes. Tunes are attributed to Wetmore himself (25), Hills (4), Knapp (3), Morgan (3), Benham (2), Reverend C. Lee (2), C. Write (2), Dr. Write (2), Brownson, Doolittle, [Thomas] Lee, Reed [*recte* Read], Swan, Castle, Starr, Captain Blakely and J. S. Wetmore (one each). The collection contains none of the standard European psalm tunes like OLD HUNDRED, which had formed the basis for musical instruction through most of the eighteenth century. Its only link with the eighteenth-century published tradition is a group of eight tunes by prominent New England singing masters, all of which had been printed in Asahel Benham's popular *Federal Harmony* (New Haven: A. Morse, 1790 and at least five later editions before 1798).<sup>39</sup> There can be little doubt that Wetmore was familiar with *Federal Harmony* and knew its author, since Benham was the first to print Wetmore's tunes, in his *Social Harmony* (1798).<sup>40</sup> Why Wetmore's own collection remained unpublished is not known.

Of the fifty-three texts in the collection, thirty-eight can be traced to the English Nonconformist poet and versifier of the Psalms, Isaac Watts, whose poetry predominated in the public worship of New England Congregationalists of the period. Other texts have been traced to Joel Barlow, the Connecticut reviser of Watts, the psalmist William Billings, the Boston jurist Perez Morton, and Wetmore himself. One text is a *cento* taken from poems by Alexander Pope, Isaac Watts and Samson Occom.<sup>41</sup> An anonymous poem lamenting the death of Washington is traceable to a Hartford broadside of 1800.<sup>42</sup>

What solemn sounds the ear invade?  
 What wraps the land in sorrow's shade?  
 From heaven the awful mandate flies:  
 The father of his country dies.

Unidentified texts include two apparently secular lyrics.

The "Republican Harmony" manuscript cannot be dated precisely. A note on the first page "written ab. 1798" (not in Wetmore's hand) must be incorrect unless it refers to the date Wetmore began the collection. Among the tunes are his WASHINGTON, commemorating the national hero's death in December 1799, and SYLVIA, written on the death of his first wife in March 1800. CASTLE STREET, a British tune of obscure origin, and the only non-American tune in the book, had its first American publication in Philadelphia in 1801.<sup>43</sup> By 1804 it had achieved some currency in Connecticut; in that year Daniel Read, then compiling the

second edition of his *Columbian Harmonist*, wrote to his brother Joel from New Haven,<sup>44</sup> "Castle Street L. M. and Doom's Day L. M. are two solid tunes, the former highly approved here; do you know them?" "Republican Harmony" also contains tunes by Knapp and Hills not published until 1805 and 1807 respectively, in versions nearly identical to the printed versions. If Wetmore derived all these tunes from printed sources, he could not have completed the book until 1807. If he had the tunes in manuscript before their publication (as seems plausible, since Wetmore also included tunes by these two composers which were *never* published), he could have completed "Republican Harmony" as early



Fig. 4. Gravestones of Truman Wetmore and his second wife, Elizabeth Jarvis Wetmore, both buried in Winchester Cemetery, Winchester.

as 1804 or 1805. Either supposition agrees with biographical evidence which assigns Wetmore's greatest musical activity to the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Wetmore's manuscript collection is not the only source of his music; nine of his tunes were printed during his lifetime. Two were introduced in Asahel Benham's *Social Harmony* (Connecticut, 1798), while the rest appeared in various collections by Stephen Jenks over the years 1803 to 1807. Most of these pieces were printed only once, but two, AMERICA and FLORIDA, were frequently reprinted, and achieved considerable popularity during the early nineteenth century. It was on these two brief "fuging-tunes"

## PRINTINGS OF AMERICA AND FLORIDA TO 1810

Date	Author, Title	Attribution
<b>AMERICA</b>		
1798	A. Benham, <i>Social Harmony</i>	Wetmore
1799	A. Benham, <i>Social Harmony</i>	Wetmore
[1801]	Little and Smith, <i>Easy Instructor</i> , also [1802]	Wetmore
1803	L. & T. Seymour, <i>Musical Instructor</i> , also 1808	Wetmore
1804	E. Child, <i>Sacred Musician</i>	Unknown
1804	<i>Collection of Sacred Vocal Music</i>	—
1804	<i>Cumberland Melodist</i>	—
1805	Little and Smith, <i>Easy Instructor</i> , also 1806, 1807, 1808	Wetmore
1805	J. Ingalls, <i>Christian Harmony</i>	—
1808	Chapin and Dickerson, <i>Musical Instructor</i>	—
1808	J. Read, <i>New England Selection</i>	—
1809	A. Fobes, <i>Delaware Harmony</i>	Benham
1809	L. & T. Seymour, <i>New York Selection</i>	Wetmore
[1809]	Little and Smith, <i>Easy Instructor</i> , also [1810]	Wetmore
1810	J. Wyeth, <i>Repository of Sacred Music</i>	Wetmore
<b>FLORIDA</b>		
1803	Griswold and Jenks, <i>American Compiler</i>	Dr. Wetmore
1804	D. Read, <i>Columbian Harmonist</i> , 2nd ed.	Wetmore
1804	S. Jenks, <i>Delights of Harmony</i>	Wetmore
1805	S. Jenks, <i>Delights of Harmony</i>	Dr. Wetmore
1806	D. Read, <i>Columbian Harmonist</i> , 3rd ed.	Wetmore
1808	J. Read, <i>New England Selection</i>	—
1808	D. Peck, <i>Musical Medley</i>	—
[1809]	Little and Smith, <i>Easy Instructor</i> , also [1810]	Wetmore
1810	D. Peck, <i>Valuable Selection</i>	Dr. Wetmore
1810	J. Wyeth, <i>Repository of Sacred Music</i>	Wetmore

Fig. 5

that Wetmore's reputation as a composer rested. Page 86 shows the printings of both tunes to 1810.<sup>45</sup> Later printings of these tunes differ from the originals only in minor details. The relative accuracy of these later versions indicates their derivation from a common original and supports the notion that the printed form of a tune was usually regarded as definitive. Less accurate are the spellings of Wetmore's name in later attributions, which include Whetmore, Witmore and Whitmore.

After 1810 AMERICA and FLORIDA remained popular among Southern shapenote tunebook compilers. Popular Southern tunebooks containing both tunes include Ananias Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* (1816), Allen Carden's *Missouri Harmony* (1820), William Walker's *Southern Harmony* (1835), and B. F. White and E. J. King's *Sacred Harp* (1844). AMERICA and FLORIDA are printed in the latest *Original Sacred Harp, Denson Revision* (Cullman, Alabama, 1977) and are sung at Sacred Harp singings in the rural South to this day.

There is some evidence that Wetmore's tunes remained popular in the North until after his death in 1861. In that year James Carnahan Wetmore wrote that FLORIDA was "sung to this day, in all the places of Methodist worship."<sup>46</sup> James Boyd claimed in 1873 that "some of his tunes" were still "retained in the worship of the churches."<sup>47</sup> Finally, F. O. Jones, in an article devoted to Wetmore, stated that "his music was popular in its day, and a few of his tunes are still to be found in church collections."<sup>48</sup> Despite this evidence, it appears that Wetmore's music has been forgotten in his native state, and it is chiefly in the rural South that a small number of his tunes has been reprinted and sung up to the present as part of a living musical tradition.<sup>49</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> David Warren Steel, "Sacred Music in Early Winchester," *CHS Bulletin*, April 1980.

<sup>2</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *The Wetmore Family of America* (Albany: Munsell & Rowland, 1861), p. 52. Preparations for war with England, complicated by Abel's hasty marriage in May 1774 (only three months before the birth of his first son), may have contributed to his lack of formal education.

<sup>3</sup> Winchester, Conn. Land Records, Book 3, p. 521.

<sup>4</sup> Second U.S. Census 1800, Connecticut photostat copy, Volume 6, Litchfield County.

<sup>5</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Jenks, *The Delights of Harmony and Norfolk Compiler* (Dedham, Mass.: H. Mann, 1805), pp. 42-43.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Jenks and Elijah Griswold, *The American Compiler* (Northampton, Mass.: Andrew Wright, 1803), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Winchester Town Records, quoted in James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 68, footnote.

<sup>11</sup> The Albany physician's surname is variously given as McLaren and McEwen by Wetmore's biographers. McClelland, trained in Scotland, was a founding member of the Medical Society of the County of Albany, and is known to have trained seven younger physicians. See Sylvester D. Willard, *Annals of the Medical Society of the County of Albany* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1864), p. 228.

<sup>12</sup> Winchester, Conn. Land Records, Book 4, pp. 136 and 254.

<sup>13</sup> Personal communication from Richard Crawford. Located by Richard Crawford in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

<sup>14</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 70.

<sup>15</sup> Allen P. Britton, "Theoretical Introductions to American Tune-books to 1800" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 1949), pp. 585-586.

<sup>16</sup> Frederick Marsh, "Historical Sketches of the First Ecclesiastical Society in Winchester," manuscript, at The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, p. 90.

<sup>17</sup> Frederick Marsh, "Historical sketches," p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> John Boyd, *Annals and Family Records of Winchester, Connecticut* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1873), p. 68.

<sup>19</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 68.

<sup>20</sup> Manuscript account by Dr. E. D. Hudson, quoted in Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington, Connecticut from Its First Settlement in 1737* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1878), p. 624.

<sup>21</sup> Revivals in 1783, 1799, 1813, and 1815 resulted in increased church membership among the young. An account of these revivals can be found in Marsh, "Historical sketches."

<sup>22</sup> Reproduced in Elliott B. Bronson, *A New England Village Green* (n.p., 1914), p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> Winchester Society Records, 6 November 1821.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, p. 163.

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, p. 621.

<sup>26</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 58.

<sup>27</sup> Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, p. 626.

<sup>28</sup> Two tunebooks entitled *Federal Harmony*, published around 1790, commemorated the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789. A *Republican Harmony*, by Nathaniel Billings, appeared in 1795, whose title may have been prompted by partisanship. Wetmore may have known this collection.

<sup>29</sup> Albert E. Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 188-190.

<sup>30</sup> Frederick Marsh, "Historical sketches," pp. 80-81.

<sup>31</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 92.

<sup>32</sup> John Boyd, *Annals of Winchester*, p. 68.

<sup>33</sup> John Boyd, *Annals of Winchester*, p. 224.

<sup>34</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 69.

<sup>35</sup> From an undated local newspaper clipping, entitled "A Unique Property List," kindly supplied by Mrs. C. H. Bunnell of Winsted.

<sup>36</sup> The house in which he lived after 1828 had been built by the Rev. P. V. Booge, and had been lived in by another clergyman and a lawyer before Wetmore purchased it. Today it is occupied by yet another "priest," the Rev. Ernest L. Bengston, Jr. of Winchester Congregational Church.

<sup>37</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 69.

<sup>38</sup> John Boyd, *Annals of Winchester*, p. 68.

<sup>39</sup> The tunes are CANTON by SWAN, CUMBERLAND and SILVER-SPRING by Benham, JUDGMENT ANTHEM, PLEASANT-VALLEY and SYMPHONY by Morgan, PROVIDENCE by Read, and TRUMPET by BROWNSON.

<sup>40</sup> Wetmore's fellow chorister, Lorrain Loomis, owned a copy of Benham's *Federal Harmony* by August 1795, according to a note transcribed by H. P. Main into another copy, now at the Newberry Library.

<sup>41</sup> Betty Bandel and James Chapman, notes to long playing record, "Vermont Harmony" (Philo 1000), p. 2, and personal communication from Betty Bandel.

<sup>42</sup> "A Hymn on the Death of Gen. Washington," broadside [Hartford, 1800], Evans No. 37673.

<sup>43</sup> In Nehemiah Shumway's *American Harmony* (Philadelphia, 1801).

<sup>44</sup> Daniel Read to Joel Read, July 25, 1804. From Daniel Read's letter book, now at New Haven Colony Historical Society; transcribed by Nora Stevenson.

<sup>45</sup> Data from Richard Crawford's card file index of sacred music published in America through 1810.

<sup>46</sup> James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family*, p. 69.

<sup>47</sup> John Boyd, *Annals of Winchester*, p. 68.

<sup>48</sup> F. O. Jones, *Handbook of American Music and Musicians* (Canaseroga, N.Y.: F. O. Jones, 1886), p. 173.

<sup>49</sup> A recording of Wetmore's FLORIDA, sung by Sacred Harp singers in Mississippi, is included in "FASOLA 53 Shape-Note Folk Hymns" (Asch Mankind Series AHM 4151).

