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“ON STEADY ADVANCE ...”
AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE RHETORICAL INTENT OF
THE TESTAMENT OF FREEDOM
BY
RANDALL THOMPSON

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BY
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A DOCUMENT APPROVED FOR THE
SCHOOL OF MUSIC

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Abstract

This document will investigate the events and circumstances that shaped the music and message of Randall Thompson's *The Testament of Freedom*. Evidence uncovered in this investigation will provide a more complete historical record regarding the intended message, or *rhetorical intent* of the work for future conductors, performers, and audiences. *The Testament of Freedom* was composed in honor of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, the Father of the University of Virginia. It was commissioned by the University of Virginia President's Bicentennial Celebration Committee in the fall of 1941, just four months before the attack on Pearl Harbor. The work premiered on April 13, 1943, the same day that President Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated the Jefferson Memorial in Washington D.C. In the intervening time between the initial commission of *The Testament of Freedom* and its premier, the confluence of world events led Randall Thompson to reshape, not just the original musical parameters of the commission, but the rhetorical intent of the work that ultimately resulted from that commission. This document will prove that knowledge and consideration of Randall Thompson's rhetorical intent is imperative when assessing its moral value to society and consequently, its performance viability for future generations of conductors, performers, and audiences.

The first chapter will explore the genesis of *The Testament of Freedom* up to its premier on April 13, 1943, the second chapter will consist of a selective sketch of the life Randall Thompson intended to emphasize the experiences in Thompson's life that informed the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom*. The third chapter will examine the musical rhetoric within *The Testament of Freedom* to ascertain how Thompson crafted the music of the work to illustrate its rhetorical intent. Evidence will be presented within chapter three to show that Randall

Thompson chose rhetorically significant models for both the structure and melodic material within the work. Chapter four's conclusion will summarize these findings and identify the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom*.

KEYWORDS: Randall Thompson, Thomas Jefferson, Choral, Choral Music, American Music, American Choral Music, The Testament of Freedom, World War II, The Jefferson Memorial, The University of Virginia, Prometheus, Beethoven, Eroica, The Enlightenment, Twentieth Century Music, Glee Club, Men's Glee Club, Greek Mythology, Philosophy, Fascism, European Music, Germany, Italy, France, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Alleluia, Orchestration, Rhetoric, Rhetorical Intent, Musical Rhetoric, Locus of Concern, Music History, Musicology, Conducting, Conductor, Choral Conducting, Orchestral Conducting, Instrumental Conducting

Chapter One - The Genesis of The Testament of Freedom

Introduction

On April 13, 1943, the University of Virginia Men's Glee Club premiered a new work by American composer Randall Thompson (1899-1984) entitled *The Testament of Freedom* at The University of Virginia, in Charlottesville. The original four movement work is a TTBB setting with piano accompaniment of selected writings of Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), the author of the Declaration of Independence, the Third President of the United States, and the father of the University of Virginia.¹ At the time, Randall Thompson was living in Charlottesville, Virginia, and serving as a Professor of Music and the Director of the Music Department at the University of Virginia. Randall Thompson began his work at the University of Virginia on September 14, 1941, just 3 months before the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. This event, the subsequent nationwide mobilization for war, the destruction of Europe, and the unavoidable effect these events had on the students in the institution he served, led Randall Thompson to integrate multifaceted rhetorical intent within *The Testament of Freedom* - a work that was originally commissioned as an orchestral piece, for the singular purpose of honoring Thomas Jefferson on the 200th anniversary of his birth. What follows is an account of the events leading up to and following the creation of Randall Thompson's work, *The Testament of Freedom*.

¹ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Piano-Vocal Score. Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1943, 2.

The Evolving Commission

An account of the events that led Randall Thompson to compose *The Testament of Freedom* is documented by the music historian Dr. Carl B. Schmidt, and his wife Elizabeth, in a chapter specifically dedicated to Thompson's time at The University of Virginia.² According to Dr. and Mrs. Schmidt, shortly after Thompson arrived on the campus of The University of Virginia, he was appointed to the university's bicentennial celebration music committee. Thompson was approached on behalf of the committee at large by music department Professor Harry R. Pratt, to write an original work to be premiered at the celebration. Dr. and Mrs. Schmidt provide a quote from an interview Thompson gave to Jean Bonin, in October of 1973, recalling this event:

I was first approached by Professor Pratt who had been delegated by the President's committee on the celebration to ask if I would write a symphony, perhaps a tone poem, something around Jefferson and his ideas of life.³

According to Thompson in 1973, at the time he was approached by Professor Pratt, he was already considering altering the suggested setting of a "symphony, perhaps a tone poem," to one that would be more meaningful to the students, many of which would soon be fighting in the war,

I told them that I would be delighted and feel honored to, to make some sort of contribution but... I would prefer to write a work to be performed by professional musicians, who would come from Richmond or Washington, from outside the University to perform it. I wished it could be something that the members of the University could do for Mr. Jefferson right on the grounds.⁴

Thompson's statement strongly indicates that the bicentennial committee sought a relatively impersonal work to honor Mr. Jefferson, that would also help raise the stature of the university

² Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 485-544.

³ Ibid, 512.

⁴ Ibid.

by including outside professionals “from Richmond or Washington” in the performance – one of the stated reasons representatives of the university gave for recruiting Thompson to work at the university.⁵ But from the first, Thompson’s artistic creed pushed him in a different direction. In a clear indication that Thompson had developed a close relationship with the young men of fighting age who made up The University of Virginia Men’s Glee Club, Thompson shared his thoughts on the commission at the club’s final meeting of the 1941-42 academic year, and even asked the students to take part in the research for it,

I told the Glee Club, at their final meeting of the year, that I’d been asked to write an orchestral piece for the Jefferson Bicentennial; that (come to think of it) I’d far rather write something that they could sing on that day; that I’d ask Pres[ident] Newcomb if I could switch to a choral piece; that I’d start looking for the text right away & hoped they’d [the students in the Glee Club] help. This must have been in May [1942].⁶

Despite Randall Thompson’s statement that he would ask Pres[ident] Newcomb if he could switch to a choral piece, there is no evidence that the author could locate to indicate Thompson ever reached out to President Newcomb or any other representative of the Bicentennial Committee, to seek permission to alter the musical setting of the commission. In fact, there is some correspondence that indicates Thompson did not need to seek such permission. In a letter from Professor Pratt to Thompson, dated April 10, 1941, before Thompson accepted the position at The University of Virginia, Pratt assured Thompson that he would have the artistic freedom to make such a decision:

I have probably said all this before but let me repeat that there are no strings attached to the job and that you will have full rein and full cooperation from me and the various administrative officers. There are no tyrants here and each professor is allowed free scope to develop [*sic*] in an individualistic manner...⁷

⁵ Ibid., 490, 508, 509.

⁶ Ibid., 513.

⁷ Ibid., 493.

Just over a month after Thompson was first approached by the bicentennial committee, he discovered the words written by Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, that would inspire *The Testament of Freedom*.

Long Tom Lived to See the Day

Randall Thompson did not have to wait long for the inspiration to alter the setting of the commission to one that would allow for the involvement of the University of Virginia Men's Glee Club. On July 3, 1942, an article appeared in the afternoon edition Charlottesville Daily Progress, entitled "Long Tom Lived to See the Day."⁸ Thompson himself states explicitly that this article and the words of Jefferson quoted in it, was the rhetorical inspiration for *The Testament of Freedom*,

... this [the article] impressed me so deeply that I thought surely these words should be incorporated, preferably sung by Mr. Jefferson's own students... The clipping from the Progress [*sic*] was the beginning of the Testament & became the final chorus.⁹

"Long Tom Lived to See the Day" weaves through the events of July 3 and 4, 1826, from the perspective of a dying Thomas Jefferson, as he relives the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. See Appendix for the rhetorically significant portions of the article that Randall Thompson read when he happened across it in the summer of 1942.¹⁰

The final sentence of "Long Tom Lived to See the Day," erases all ambiguity about the rhetorical intent of the article: "His {Jefferson's} hope has today become our determination." What becomes nearly self-evident when examining the rhetoric of the article in relation to *The*

⁸ "Long Tom Lived to See the Day," *Charlottesville Daily Progress*, July 3, 1942, 4.

⁹ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 513.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 512.

Testament of Freedom, is that Thompson found the rhetoric needed to deploy the two pillars of his artistic creed. With this message he could both “ally himself with the labor of an institution [The University of Virginia and The United States of America]”¹¹ and write a piece that would “reach and move the hearts of his listeners in his own day.”¹² When Thompson said “The clipping from the Progress was the beginning of the Testament & became its final chorus” he identified the source of the text for the fourth movement of *The Testament of Freedom*, but he also identified the rhetorical intent that informed his choice of texts for the first three movements.

Jefferson Himself

To find texts for the remainder of the work, Thompson turned to the renowned Jefferson scholar and University of Virginia Professor Bernard Mayo. Mayo was in the process of completing his book, *Jefferson Himself; The Personal Narrative of a Many-Sided American* and was kind enough to lend Thompson the galley proofs.¹³ The texts Thompson chose for the first three movements of *The Testament of Freedom* can all be found in chapter three of *Jefferson Himself* entitled “Revolutionist.” Thompson plucked the text for what comprises the entirety of the first movement and the end of the fourth, out of middle of the conclusion to Jefferson’s

Summary View of the Rights of British America. Movement I text:

The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy but cannot disjoin them.¹⁴

¹¹ Caroline Cegin Benser and David Francis Urrows. *Randall Thompson: A Bio-Bibliography*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 7.

¹² Joseph Machillis, ‘Introduction to Contemporary Music’ (WW Norton & Company), 475.

¹³ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 513.

¹⁴ Bernard Mayo, *Jefferson Himself: The Personal Narrative of a Many-Sided American* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Company, 1942), 52.

The text Thompson chose for the second and third movements can be found in succession in Mayo's book in his listing of Jefferson's Declaration of Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, written in 1775. Movement 2 text:

We have counted the cost of this contest, [*sic*] and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great... We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that His Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.¹⁵

Movement three text:

We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offense. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our native land, in defense of the freedom that is our birthright and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves; against violence actually offered; we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.¹⁶

Thompson himself described his use of Mayo's book in choosing the text and did so through the rhetorical lens of the text he found in "Long Tom Lived to See the Day:"

Well, this was a bonanza if there ever was one [Thompson told Bonin], because I had only to read the passages from the earlier sections in which he [Jefferson] as pen of the American Revolution, quoted there [Mayo's book] from his pen the most

¹⁵ Ibid., 55.

¹⁶ Ibid., 56.

thrilling series of passages leading up to the American Revolution, to which “I shall not die without hope” was the ultimate conclusion looking back in retrospect, reflecting. So there the whole thing was right in those pages that they [Mayo] had found...¹⁷

According to one of the earliest photolithographic piano/vocal editions of *The Testament of Freedom*, provided to the author by Dr. Carl B. Schmidt, Thompson began composing the work in January of 1943. Movement one was composed between January 24 and January 25, 1943.¹⁸ Movement two was composed between January 29 and February 4, 1943.¹⁹ Movement three was composed between March 2 and March 8, 1943,²⁰ and movement four was composed between March 13 and 23, 1943.²¹ This early edition of *The Testament of Freedom* is also noteworthy because Thompson includes the names of The University of Virginia Men’s Glee Club who participated in the original performance (see appendix for list of names).²²

Just six days after Thompson completed work on *The Testament of Freedom*, he gave an interview to the university newspaper “College Topics,” that confirms the rhetorical influence of “Long Tom Lived to See the Day” in *The Testament of Freedom*. In that interview, Thompson implicitly summarizes the rhetorical intent of the article, “His hope has today become our determination,” when speaking about all the words of Jefferson he chose for the work,

The point about the texts is self-evident. I believe that they are as pertinent today as they were at the time they were written. In fact, I believe they sum up why we are fighting and what we are fighting for as eloquently as anything else that has been written.²³

¹⁷ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 513.

¹⁸ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Piano-Vocal Score. (Boston: Randall Thompson, 1943), 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

²² *Ibid.*, III.

²³ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 514.

The Premier and Notable Performances of The Testament of Freedom

The University of Virginia Men's Glee Club began Tuesday and Thursday evening rehearsals for the premier of *The Testament of Freedom* in the beginning of February 1943. The rehearsal process for premier was challenging because many of the club members were student-soldiers and their schedules hampered the rehearsal process.²⁴ Thompson anticipated these issues and composed the work with the student-soldier's schedules in mind.

The Testament of Freedom served as the celebratory punctuation for all Founder's Day activities at The University of Virginia on April 13, 1943, including the Founder's Day concert held in Cabell Hall. The concert consisted of music Jefferson himself loved and new arrangements of music composed to honor Jefferson's presidency and inauguration in March of 1801.²⁵ Most of these arrangements were done by University of Virginia faculty including the conductor of the UVA Glee Club, Steven Tuttle, and Thompson himself. But one arrangement on the program, *The Charms of Lovely Peggy*, is attributed to Randall Thompson and his Harmony Class.²⁶ Steven Tuttle conducted the work with Randall Thompson serving as the accompanist.

By all accounts the premier performance of *The Testament of Freedom* was a resounding success. Thompson himself described the reception of the first performance to a friend in an April 16, 1943, letter, writing,

Practically every seat in the hall was taken—about 1000 all told, I'd say. When the broadcast was over, I left the stage; and when I came back leading Steve [Tuttle], the audience rose to its feet; which was pretty overpowering for us all.²⁷

²⁴ Ibid., 515.

²⁵ *College Topics*, "Founders Day Concert Will Feature Original Musical Compositions Thompson. Thomas Jefferson's Favorite Music will be played," April 9, 1943, 1.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Randall Thompson to Bertrand Bronson, April 16, 1943 letter at US-Beb (BANC Mss79/89c).

The premier performance was broadcast on the radio network that later became ABC, at 10:00 p.m., to thirty-three states, on the evening of the performance. It was also recorded by the Office of War Information “for distribution and rebroadcast to troops overseas.”²⁸

According to Carl B. and Elizabeth Schmidt, there was one seat reserved in the hall that was not filled. Thompson had sent an invitation to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to attend the performance. The Schmidts’ explain the reason why he was not able to attend,

Thompson had personally invited him [President Roosevelt] to attend, but a March 23, 1943 letter from Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President at the White House, indicated that the President could not because he would be engaged in the celebration of the dedication of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial in Washington that same day.²⁹

The Testament of Freedom was widely performed in the four decades following its premier in 1943, with approximately three hundred documented performances from 1943 to 1984. Performances steadily increased across the country in high schools, universities, and community choruses, reaching Zenith in 1976, and then steadily tapering off until Thompson’s death in 1984.³⁰ The most noteworthy performances of the work include the April 14, 1945 Carnegie Hall performance by the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Harvard Men’s Glee Club that served to honor Franklin Roosevelt just days after his death, and the 1961 Inaugural Concert performance of the work for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson at Constitution Hall, by the National Symphony Orchestra, Georgetown University Glee Club, and the Howard University Choir.³¹

²⁸ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 518.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 519.

³⁰ Carl Schmidt, Phone Interview by John Ousley, Norman, Oklahoma, February 22, 2021.

³¹ Carl B. Schmidt and Elizabeth K. Schmidt, *The Music of Randall Thompson: A Documented Catalogue*. (Fenton: E.C. Publishing Group, 2014), 215.

Chapter Two - The Life of Randall Thompson

Introduction

This chapter consists of a selective sketch of the life Randall Thompson intended to emphasize the experiences in Thompson's life that informed the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom*. The structure of this narrative will emphasize the following: Thompson's early life and Classical education, the influence of Thompson's philosophical mentor, George Herbert Palmer, on Thompson's artistic philosophy; how Randall Thompson's experience as a Harvard undergraduate during WWI influenced his relationship with The University of Virginia Men's Glee Club, and finally, how Thompson's time in Europe between WWI and WWII influenced his compositional output leading up to and including *The Testament of Freedom*.

A Budding American Musician

Ira Randall Thompson was born in New York City, New York, on April 21, 1899. Not long after he was born, his family moved from New York and ultimately settled in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where Thompson spent his childhood. Thompson dropped use of his first name "Ira" by the time he enrolled as an undergraduate at Harvard in 1916.³²

Thompson showed promise as a musician from a very young age and his introduction to American centered music was immediate. The first description of Thompson as a musician comes from a letter written by his mother, Grace Thompson, to his grandmother. In it she describes how the five-year old could play "America" at the piano in two different keys:

Randall is certainly a wonder at it. He is now working on chords. He can play America (with both hands) in either F or C. And such enthusiasm for learning. The

³² Ibid., 13.

rhythm with which he plays & the sweet sounds he produces are so different from most beginners.³³

Thompson was homeschooled (which included private study in music and piano) until 1911, when he began his formal education at the Lawrenceville School, where his father taught English. His time at the Lawrenceville School was devoted to achieving a “Classical” education that, according to Carl B. Schmidt, “proved decisive in the development of interests that shaped his career.”³⁴ This education included the study of ancient Greek and Roman history and philosophy, American History, the study of languages such as Latin, Greek, German, and French, Public Speaking, Biblical Instruction, and Vocal Music.³⁵

A Civic-Minded American Composer

By the time Thompson entered Harvard in 1916, he was already a capable musician and eager to begin developing his identity and philosophy as an American composer. During his first term at Harvard, Thompson developed what would be a life-long relationship with Harvard’s Alfred Professor Emeritus, George Herbert Palmer.³⁶ No individual would outshine Palmer’s influence on Thompson’s artistic philosophy. Musicologist Steve Schwartz writes of this influence, “Palmer specialized in ethics and contended that individual expression alone didn’t justify works. All work had context within society, and only within that context... could a work

³³ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 24

³⁶ F. M. Colby, eds., *New International Encyclopedia*, 1st ed. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1905), s.v. “Palmer, George Herbert.” “George Herbert Palmer (1842- 1943) was an American educator, writer, and philosopher, who became an instructor of Greek at Harvard in 1870, assistant professor of philosophy in 1883, and Alford professor of natural religion, moral philosophy, and civil polity in 1889. His publications include *New Education*, *The Glory of the Imperfect*, *Self-Cultivation in English*, and translations of the *Odyssey* of Homer and the *Antigone* of Sophocles.”

be evaluated be evaluated for good or ill... Thompson adopted and held this view throughout his life....”³⁷

Later in life, in a speech he delivered at Princeton in 1946, Thompson would summarize Palmer’s influence on what Francis Urrows calls Thompson’s fully formed “artistic creed,”

At Princeton, he [Thompson] was invited to deliver an inaugural address, which he called, “Music, Popular and Unpopular.” Here he summed up what had become his artistic creed: “A composer’s first responsibility is, and always will be, to write music that will reach and move the hearts of listeners in his own day,”³⁸

In his Princeton speech, Thompson identified what governed the musical rhetoric in *The Testament of Freedom*. Because unlike any other composition, Thompson endeavored through *The Testament of Freedom* to “reach and move the hearts” of a very specific audience of listeners – an audience with whom he had a unique, shared experience and personal connection.

A Student-Soldier During World War I

During Randall Thompson’s undergraduate studies at Harvard, there were two events that would ultimately influence the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom*. The first of these events is the breakout of WWI. Many of the popular sentiments (especially of young men of fighting age) and social and administrative adjustments made for college students during World War I would be mirrored a generation later for the student-soldiers at The University of Virginia when Thompson was composing *The Testament of Freedom*. The deteriorating situation in Europe had a profound impact on his freshman year at Harvard. As more and more students

³⁷ Steve Schwartz, *Nationalists and Populist Composers: Voices of the American People*, (Lanham: The Rowan & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2018), 72.

³⁸ Caroline Cepin Benser and David Francis Urrows. *Randall Thompson: A Bio-Bibliography*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 29.

became student-soldiers, Harvard was forced to respond in various way to accommodate America's involvement in the war.³⁹

Even before the United States declared war, Harvard began altering normal campus life in preparation. For example, Harvard closed museums to the public to keep the collections safe from possible sabotage. But the most significant change for young Randall Thompson came after the United States entered the conflict. Immediately after the formal declaration of war, Harvard implemented a new final exam schedule and canceled all athletic activities.⁴⁰ Harvard also allowed students whose enlistment in the military or naval service interrupted their academic progress to be credited as if they had continued until the end of the year.⁴¹

Like most men of fighting age, Thompson actively sought a combat deployment. Seeing the writing on the wall, Thompson enlisted in the U.S. Naval Reserve, four days before the United States issued its declaration of war on April 6, 1917. In a letter to his parents dated April 5, 1917, Coxswain Junior Grade Thompson⁴² conveys the excitement and frustrations of a student-soldier who wants nothing more than to abandon Harvard Yard for a battleship,

We put in an early application for active service... If by some chance we don't get called out, I think I shall go down to the wharves and go on board a schooner and sail away. This suspense is something far more horrible than all the seven wars of Israel. So you see, patience is the present requisite. It's all that is needed now. Just sit with your hands itching for the wheel with nothing to do but college work. It seems so trifling. Everything is trifling except coast patrol service. Yesterday, Wednesday, I went to classes. It was the first time this week. I shall go to everyone I can.⁴³

³⁹Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 63.

⁴⁰LBR Briggs, *Athletics Called Off, Opponents Informed*, Harvard Crimson, April 6, 1917

⁴¹ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 63.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., 64.

History Rhymes in Virginia

The University of Virginia that greeted Randall Thompson twenty-five years later would have looked eerily similar to the Harvard of 1916-1917. For many Americans in 1940, the fall of France was a clear indication that America would eventually be forced to take up the fight to save Europe. Therefore, much like Harvard in the lead up to World War I, The University of Virginia began altering campus life in anticipation of America's involvement in World War II. According to military historians Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., and Robert L. Baxter, Jr, students at The University of Virginia began "marching, however awkwardly, to military cadences well before"⁴⁴ the attack on Pearl Harbor. But it was after the Japanese sneak attack on the American naval fleet in Hawaii on December 7, 1941, that life changed for students and faculty, as documented by Wagoner and Baxter,

The sudden attack on Pearl Harbor heightened fears of sabotage, attack, or even invasion along the east as well as the west coast of the United States. In Charlottesville, steps were immediately taken to increase vigilance on the university grounds. During the Christmas holiday [1941], armed guards patrolled the university, their presence indicating a special concern for the protection of the research facilities.⁴⁵

Like Harvard during World War I, during World War II The University of Virginia upended its academic calendar to allow student-soldiers to receive credit and graduate early. By the time Thompson read "Long Tom Lived to See the Day" on July 3, 1942, The University of Virginia

⁴⁴ Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., and Robert L. Baxter, Jr., *Higher Education Goes to War: The University of Virginia's Response to World War II*, (The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 100 No. 3, July 1992), 400-401, In the spring of 1942, UVA students took it upon themselves to organize a military drill group that trained and marched throughout campus daily, "On the morning of 26, March 1942, some forty student-soldiers abandoned the collegiate custom of "late to bed and late to rise" by turning out at 7 A.M. in Madison Bowl for exercise and military drill. Over the next few weeks, the ranks of what became known as the Dawn Patrol gradually increased to approximately one hundred students... When the drill period was shifted to the afternoon, membership in the volunteers became even more popular, and the ranks renamed Dusk Patrol then swelled to four hundred."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 401-404.

had implemented an academic calendar that allowed student-soldiers to complete their degree work and graduate “in June, September, December, and March of each year during hostilities.”⁴⁶

Having experienced the same upending of normal academic life at Harvard during World War I, Thompson clearly had the unpredictable daily lives of his student-soldiers in mind when he composed *The Testament of Freedom*. In a letter to E.C. Schirmer dated September 16, 1943, Thompson spoke directly to the fact that he composed the work in consideration of the rehearsal restrictions that affected student-soldiers who comprised Glee Clubs in universities all over the United States. Anxious to see *The Testament of Freedom* in print during the war and during Jefferson’s Bicentennial Year that was to end April 13, 1944, Thompson wrote,

...it is not hard to learn and in these days of short rehearsal hours, it’s good to have something that the singers can sing out on, without having to work and work to get the notes learned.⁴⁷

Evidence that Thompson hit the mark—both in terms of *The Testament of Freedom’s* war time rehearsal utility and its rhetorical intent—comes from the work’s first documented performance outside of Virginia. Carl Schmidt writes of this performance and quotes two letters from his father, Harold Schmidt (1909-1993), to Randall Thompson, sent in the spring and summer of 1944,

The first performance outside of Virginia, for which a program exists...was given in Nashville, Tennessee on April 22, 1944 [*sic*] by the Fisk University [a historically black college] Choir conducted by Thompson’s friend Harold Schmidt.... Thompson had sent Schmidt a signed copy of the photolithographic piano-vocal score inscribed “New Year’s 44.” After the performance Schmidt wrote Thompson on April 25th [*sic*]: “We met at the most fantastic hours because some of them were in uniform, and their schedule did not agree with regular men in college. I can see that they love the work. Everyone remarked about the appropriateness of the Testament for these times....” On June 22nd [*sic*] he added: “I had thirty-three men and they did a magnificent job. It was spirited, energetic, and very exciting. The problem with rehearsals was exceedingly difficult because

⁴⁶ Ibid., 404.

⁴⁷ Carl B. Schmidt and Elizabeth K. Schmidt, *The Music of Randall Thompson: A Documented Catalogue*. (Fenton: E.C. Publishing Group, 2014), 208.

approximately a third of the chorus was in uniform and it was hard to get them to rehearsals....⁴⁸

Randall Thompson never saw battle in World War I and his time as an undergraduate in active duty was short-lived. But young Randall Thompson's experience as a student-soldier came full circle for Professor Randall Thompson after December 7, 1941. Thompson's experience as a student-soldier at Harvard afforded Professor Thompson a unique depth of empathy for his student-soldiers in The University of Virginia Men's Glee Club and in Glee Clubs all over the United States. *The Testament of Freedom* is in many ways a product of this rhyme of history.

Randall Thompson Strikes Back

When Thompson—speaking about the original parameters of the commission for *The Testament of Freedom* and his desire to change it—said, “I wished it could be something that the members of the University could do for Mr. Jefferson,” the “members of the University” he had in mind were the young men of fighting age that made up the University of Virginia Men's Glee Club. Randall Thompson had a special affection for University Men's Glee Clubs that stemmed from a rare, yet formative rejection during his time as a Harvard undergraduate.

Randall Thompson was a society-minded composer, and this artistic philosophy was an extension of Thompson as a person. Writing of Thompson's diary entries from his first year at Harvard, Carl B. and Elizabeth Schmidt, paint a picture of a “gregarious”⁴⁹ young man:

In sum, the diary paints a vivid, often charming picture of a very busy young man for whom academic studies were quite often regulated to the background replaced

⁴⁸ Carl B. & Elizabeth K. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 522.

⁴⁹ Carl B. & Elizabeth Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 51.

in the foreground by social interaction with students, faculty, friends, and relatives, for which he had a penchant.⁵⁰

Mr. and Mrs. Schmidt then draw a direct line from Thompson the “social animal” to the early Classical education and influence of George Herbert Palmer that informed his philosophy as a composer,

One is tempted to think that Thompson fully subscribed to Aristotle’s famous words from his poetics:⁵¹ Man is by nature a social animal; an individual who is unsocial naturally and not accidentally is either beneath our notice or more than human. Society is something that precedes the individual. Anyone who either cannot lead the common life or is so self-sufficient as not to need to, and therefore does not partake in society, is either a beast or a God.⁵²

For a young man at Harvard who had both an interest in music and in being an active part of campus society, there was one exclusive social group that topped all others: The Harvard Men’s Glee Club. As a Freshman, Thompson auditioned for the ensemble but was rejected by the director, Archibald T. Davison.⁵³ Thompson did not mince words about how this rejection influenced his life and career, “My life,” he was oft quoted as having said, “has been an attempt to strike back.”⁵⁴

How did Thompson “strike back” during his time at The University of Virginia? The answer to that question is twofold. First, and more personally for Professor Thompson, he devoted a large amount of his time to The University of Virginia Men’s Glee Club, and in doing so developed a uniquely close relationship with the student-soldiers who served in it. Carl and

⁵⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁵¹ Ibid., 51.

⁵² Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. William Ellis (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1952), 3.

⁵³ Harvard Glee Club Foundation. “Archibald T. ‘Doc’ Davison.” Harvard Glee Club Alumni, 2023. 9, “Archibald Thompson Davison (11 October 1883 – 6 February 1961) was an American musicologist, conductor, composer, and music educator. Davison was also the first conductor of the Harvard Glee Club, which under his direction, from 1920 to 1933, came to be regarded as the best amateur chorus in the U.S. Davison (known as “Doc”), transformed the Glee Club from a small, informal, and rowdy group that performed popular tunes to a more serious group, which toured the U.S. performing a more serious repertory.”

⁵⁴ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 43.

Elizabeth Schmidt describe Thompson's involvement and connection with the Club, while also speaking to how the war affected its membership:

Depending on the semester, Thompson's association with the Glee Club was four fold [*sic*]: as advisor helping to raise the level of the group's repertoire, as accompanist, as occasional conductor of his own works, and as composer/arranger. During these war years the Club's membership was often precariously low owing to military obligations, but the enthusiasm students exhibited for working with Pratt, Tuttle, and Thompson was unflagging. Surely Thompson's most important association came during his second year of tenure when the university celebrated the 200th anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birth on April 13, 1943.⁵⁵

This social interaction in many ways filled the void left in Thompson by his rejection from the Harvard Glee Club, but also provided a regular, direct connection to a group of student-soldiers who were experiencing the exact same set of circumstances that Thompson himself experienced as an undergraduate during World War I. Second, Thompson created his most famous and most performed major work, *The Testament of Freedom*, specifically to "reach and move the hearts" of the young men of fighting age that made up Glee Clubs all over the United States. Thompson himself confirms all the above in a series of letters to his music publisher E. C. Schirmer in 1943. After Schirmer informs Thompson that paper rationing and the availability of the desired editor are slowing down the publishing process, Thompson explains exactly why he is "kick[ing] and scream[ing]" to get it printed quickly,

As for the TESTAMENT, you are right: I am most anxious to see it in print. As I anticipated—even in view of the war—various Glee Clubs are already nibbling for it: Harvard, Princeton, Duke, University Glee Club of N.Y. Our [Thompson is speaking of himself here as a member of the UVA Glee Club] own experience with it here was that it really appealed to the men in these times, whereas the usual repertory seems less relevant... So the sooner the better, I say... I'd like to have people know and think about them—hear them [the Jefferson texts he chose]—now, when their meaning is so pertinent. (One of the basses who sang in the work here last spring and who is now in the marines wrote me the other day that his flying fellows told him that they thought the Testament should be printed by the thousands and distributed to every man in the service, 'the texts are so timely—and so

⁵⁵ Ibid., 511.

timeless.’) [*sic*] I am now satisfied that you are going to bring the work out as soon as you can and I promise I won’t kick and scream anymore.⁵⁶

In the earliest versions of the work, Thompson also confirms that the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom* was focused on The University of Virginia Men’s Glee Club and ultimately, all the student-soldiers they represented. While the first line of the inscription included in the official piano/vocal score first published by E.C. Schirmer in 1944, reads,

The Testament of Freedom was composed in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson.⁵⁷

...the dedication on the handwritten title page of Randall Thompson’s piano/vocal sketchbook for *The Testament of Freedom* reads,

To the University of Virginia Glee Club
in memory of
the Father of the University
R.T.
Jan.24-Mar 23
1943⁵⁸

Beyond the explicit dedication, there is one important—if not passive—piece of evidence to show that Thompson composed *The Testament of Freedom* to specifically reach and move the hearts of the men of fighting age that made up The University of Virginia Men’s Glee Club and the student-soldiers in Glee Clubs across America that they represented. Like any composer (and maybe even more so), Randall Thompson was concerned with making sure that his compositions were quickly made available so they could be sold to and performed by the wider public. Given that *The Testament of Freedom* was “singularly stirring during war time”⁵⁹ and

⁵⁶ Carl B. Schmidt and Elizabeth K. Schmidt, *The Music of Randall Thompson: A Documented Catalogue*. Fenton: E.C. Publishing Group, 2014. 208.

⁵⁷ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Piano-Vocal Score. (Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1943), 2.

⁵⁸ Carl B. Schmidt and Elizabeth K. Schmidt, *The Music of Randall Thompson: A Documented Catalogue*. Fenton: E.C. Publishing Group, 2014. 204.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

quickly became Thompson's most performed major work in the decades that followed the war, it is self-evident that Thompson and his publisher would benefit greatly from quickly providing an SATB arrangement of the work. But this is not what happened. In a testament to the importance of the dedication, Thompson did not complete an SATB arrangement of *The Testament of Freedom* until August of 1975, thirty-two years after the work's premier.⁶⁰

The Riches of Europe

After graduating from Harvard in 1920, Thompson spent extended periods of time in Europe during the 1920s and 1930s,⁶¹ sojourning in France, Switzerland, Scotland, Austria, Germany, and England.⁶² The majority of his time was spent in Italy, after Thompson won the 1922 Walter Damrosch Fellowship in Music at the American Academy in Rome, where he would live and study until 1925. Shortly after arriving in Rome, Thompson would come face to face with the beginnings of the Fascist movement that would engulf the world in war during his time at The University of Virginia.

...on October 24th in Naples, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) informed the Fascist Congress of his intention to "rule Italy." In the last week of October the so-called "March on Rome" took place that led to the resignation of Prime Minister Luigi Facta and the refusal of King Victor Emmanuel III to have the Italian Army intervene. Five days later the King asked Mussolini to form a new cabinet and permitted a Fascist government to assume power.⁶³

While studying in Italy, Thompson would develop another life-long relationship that would drastically impact the commission that became *The Testament of Freedom*. While at the

⁶⁰ _____ *Testament of Freedom*, SATB Piano-Vocal Score. (Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1975).

⁶¹ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Story of Randall Thompson's Alleluia Revisited*. (Boston: ECS Publishing Corp. 2010).

⁶² Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 120, 124, 135.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 124.

American Academy in Rome, Thompson began studying with Gian Francisco Malipiero,⁶⁴ an Italian neoclassicist with a deep understanding of Italian music history.⁶⁵ Steve Schwartz writes of Malipiero's impact on Thompson's later affinity for choral music and more specifically, the choral music of Italy,

At the time of Thompson's study, Malipiero was editing the complete works of Monteverdi. He [Malipiero] dismissed the current attitude of favoring "absolute music (instrumental, nonprogrammatic music) over vocal or choral. At Malipiero's urging, Thompson began to study the choral music of the Renaissance, and this resulted in the *Five Odes of Horace* (1925), his first truly mature work. Malipiero probably exerted the strongest influence on the course of Thompson's career.⁶⁶

It is also important to note that as Thompson was learning from Malipiero in Italy, he was still in regular correspondence with the other major influence on his life and career, George Herbert Palmer. In a response to a letter Thompson had sent him in late 1923, Palmer would write prophetically about how his young pupil's experiences in Europe would eventually affect the social impact of his music:

It was good to receive your greeting & to have a glimpse of your beautiful house. We miss you here, but rejoice at the marvelous opportunities you are richly improving [*sic?*]. Such training will give you a different standing in your profession. Commonly enough, musicians are empty people, men of narrow experience, with little to express. To be a master in anything one must have mastered much besides his special job. European riches will soak into your music & give it distinction. I have no fear it will obliterate America.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Gianluca Scaglione, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., s.v. "Gian Francesco Malipiero." (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2022), "(born March 18, 1882, Venice, Italy—died Aug. 1, 1973, Treviso), composer whose music represents a fusion of modern techniques with the stylistic qualities of early Italian music. Malipiero made important contributions to musical scholarship. With the financial support of American patron Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, he edited the complete works of Monteverdi (1926–42) and collaborated in the collected edition of the works of Antonio Vivaldi (1947–72)."

⁶⁵ Steve Schwartz, *Nationalists and Populist Composers: Voices of the American People*, (Lanham: The Rowan & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2018), 72.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

⁶⁷ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 143.

Perhaps the most significant event in Thompson's life occurred in France in 1924. In Paris Thompson would begin his relationship with his future wife, Margaret Whitney.⁶⁸ Margaret, who came from an affluent family, spent a significant amount of time in Europe in 1924 and 1925, but also made another special trip to Paris in 1926 to purchase her wedding dress and trousseau.⁶⁹ There should be little doubt that Paris held a sentimental place in the hearts of Mr. and Mrs. Thompson. Randall's affection for France would come center stage a generation later when Italy and Germany invaded the country, leading him to compose his best known choral work.

Randall Thompson's training in Italy did give him "a different standing in his profession." Because of that training, he gained an appreciation for, and a mastery of, choral music that would ultimately become his legacy in American music. But that legacy wasn't forged in an academic vacuum. Thompson knew that if he was to make the most of his musical mastery, that he must master "much besides his special job." He knew that if he was to become an uncommon musician that could "reach and move the hearts of listeners in his own day," then he must seek to fill his life with an uncommon richness of experience. Thompson himself would confirm this in an interview he gave in 1975 to Byran McGilvray,

I think we are a sum total of all of our experiences. Musically, the things that you love, the things that you make your own, become part become part of your musical experience... [A] person becomes the sum of all his tastes and experiences.... A child growing up develops his speech – (which is a composite of the way he heard things spoken) – and different accents in speech are not unlike music. You have an American accent or a Scottish accent according to the places where you live and people you have known... These things accumulate in you, and when you come to speaking, you represent a composite....⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Steve Schwartz, *Nationalists and Populist Composers: Voices of the American People*, (Lanham: The Rowan & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2018), 73.

⁶⁹ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 197.

⁷⁰ Byron Wendol McGilvray, "The Choral Music of Randall Thompson: An American Eclectic." D.M.A document., University of Missouri, Kansas City, 1979.

Randall Thompson left Harvard and Europe with a vast number of riches on which to draw. In 1940, he would begin to allow those riches to soak into his music & give it distinction, at an emotional level equal to the times. So much so, it would lead Thompson to compose his single most popular and performed composition.⁷¹ Written in 1940, Randall Thompson's *Alleluia* is in many ways a rhetorical harbinger for *The Testament of Freedom*.

⁷¹ Thompson's *Alleluia* is without a doubt his most popular and performed single work, while *The Testament of Freedom* is his most popular and performed multi-movement work.

An Alleluia for Europe

In the spring of 1940, Thompson was approached by the Chairman of the Board of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, on behalf of the orchestra's renowned conductor, Serge Koussevitzky, to write a choral "fanfare" celebrating the opening of the Berkshire Music Academy. But despite the explicit parameters of the original commission, Thompson's concern over recent events in Europe compelled him to write something rhetorically different. The event that led Thompson to unilaterally alter this commission was announced to the American public by President Franklin Roosevelt. President Roosevelt made this announcement while giving a commencement speech at the university where his son had just graduated with a law degree,

...word reached him (Roosevelt) of the treacherous Italian attack on France just as that nation was succumbing to Hitler's forces. A thunderstorm darkened the skies over Charlottesville [Virginia] as the president amended his speech and seized the occasion to announce to the world the gravity of new developments and the intended American response.⁷²

In a dark, yet artistically fortuitous confluence of events in the life of Randall Thompson, Roosevelt announced Italy's role in the fall of France at the University of Virginia, where Thompson would find himself employed in 1941. Roosevelt's speech echoes the words of Jefferson, chosen by Thompson two years later for *The Testament of Freedom*,

On this tenth day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor. On this the tenth day of June, 1940, in this University founded by the first great teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom. In our American unity, we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses; we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation; and, at the same time, we will harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.⁷³

⁷² Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., and Robert L. Baxter, Jr., *Higher Education Goes to War: The University of Virginia's Response to World War II*, (The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 100 No. 3, July 1992), 399.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 400.

But before *The Testament of Freedom*, came Thompson's *Alleluia*. The rhetorical intent of his *Alleluia* is documented without ambiguity. Thompson biographer Schmidt writes and then quotes Thompson,

The so-called Fall of France had begun on 10 May 1940, when the German army invaded France and the Low Countries. By 14 June German forces had already outflanked the Maginot Line, Italy had declared war on France, and Paris was occupied. Thompson was dismayed at the conditions there and feared for the safety of his many European friends. *Alleluia* was written just after these events.⁷⁴ "...it isn't the kind of Hallelujah ... that Handel had in mind. There are various ways of saying "Blessed be the name of the Lord" or whatever the literal meaning is. You can say it on your knees or you can say it shouting. You can say it quietly to yourself. This piece was written at the time of the Fall of France. I think that Dr. Koussevitsky wanted a rather sensational kind of fanfare, a gesture that really booms and I just didn't feel like writing it. It was too, too sad. O those wonderful, wonderful words of Job which are always used, or almost always I guess, used in the funeral service, quoting Job who says: "The Lord gave and the Lord taketh away. Blessed be the name of the Lord." This is an Old Testament way of saying what the New Testament says when it says, "Thy will be done." Blessed be the name of the Lord"—so that I think I mention this to explain why this is not a shouting kind of Alleluia.⁷⁵

As Germany and Italy invaded France, the feelings of concern Thompson experienced for his friends and family in Europe, invaded the rhetoric of his work in his *Alleluia*. These feelings compelled him to enhance the rhetorical intent and the musical content of an occasional commission, into something more meaningful to himself and society. This simple act of civic-minded defiance resulted in what is widely considered Thompson's single most important contribution to American choral music.

While *The Testament of Freedom* represents a continuing course of creative conduct that began with the *Alleluia*, it also rhetorically illustrates a unified progression of American sentiment concerning the war. The tone of the *Alleluia* is described by Thompson as acceptance—sad acceptance—but acceptance, nonetheless. But the attack on Pearl Harbor

⁷⁴ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Story of Randall Thompson's Alleluia Revisited*. (Boston: ECS Publishing Corp. 2010), 6.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

would shift Thompson's (and America's) sad resignation for the plight of Europe—conveyed in his *Alleluia*—to an unwavering and active resolve to fight “against violence actually offered” in *The Testament of Freedom*. This progression would also shift Thompson's locus of concern toward the student-soldiers who would be taking up arms in that fight. But Thompson wouldn't rhetorically ignore Europe in *The Testament of Freedom*. In fact, he would explicitly invoke Germany's most revered musical figure to illustrate America's hope for Europe's liberation and restoration.

Chapter Three – Making Old Words New

Introduction

This document has established that Randall Thompson was a civic-minded composer, willing to alter the parameters of occasional commissions to enhance the cultural significance of his music for his audience; that Thompson's experiences in Europe greatly influenced his musical output leading up to World War II; that his experiences at Harvard as both student-soldier and Glee Club reject created within him a profound level of empathy and concern for the student-soldiers that comprised Glee Clubs all over the United States, and that the Jefferson texts in *The Testament of Freedom* were chosen with those student-soldiers in mind. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the musical rhetoric within *The Testament of Freedom* to ascertain how Thompson crafted the music of the work to illustrate its rhetorical intent. Evidence will be presented within this chapter to show that Thompson chose rhetorically significant models for both the structure and melodic material within the work.

This chapter will begin by recounting pertinent observations made by critics and musicologists about the musical rhetoric in *The Testament of Freedom*, specifically highlighting observations made about the performance honoring Franklin Roosevelt, shortly after his death. The second section will provide evidence that Randall Thompson melodically quoted a section of the second movement of Beethoven's Eroica Symphony during the rhetorical apex of the work. Chapter four's conclusion will summarize these findings and identify the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom*.

A Providential Performance

As mentioned in chapter two, after the premier of *The Testament of Freedom*, Thompson was eager to get the original piano-vocal version of the work published and in the hands of Glee Clubs all over the United States. But even as he pushed Schirmer to publish the original version of the work quickly, he was not yet finished with it. From the outset, Thompson saw *The Testament of Freedom* as a fully orchestrated work. Carl B. and Elizabeth Schmidt write and then quote Thompson,

Envisioning still bigger things ahead for this composition, Thompson took a leave of absence [from the first summer session at The University of Virginia] in June 1943 for part of the summer and went to Haverford, Pennsylvania to orchestrate it. “I have come up here [he told Ernest C. Schirmer] ... for the express purpose of orchestrating the work, in hope that the Glee Clubs of Harvard, Virginia, perhaps also Princeton and Columbia could all join the work in New York under Koussevitzky... No single Glee Club now is large enough to sing with an orchestra, but by combining forces they could do it and the emotional impact of the performance resulting should not lose thereby.”⁷⁶

In a clear sign of the stress of the times on Thompson, he suffered an ulcer in the fall of 1943, slowing down his work on the orchestration.⁷⁷ He finished the orchestration on October 14, 1944, and immediately sent copies to Koussevitzky.⁷⁸ The maestro of The Boston Symphony Orchestra put the piece on the BSO program calendar for April 6 and 7, 1945, in collaboration with The Harvard Men’s Glee Club. The original program included one other piece, Dimitri Shostakovich’s Eight Symphony.⁷⁹ The performances were very well received and were even broadcast nationally over radio on April 7, 1944.⁸⁰ But these would not be the

⁷⁶ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 523.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Cyrus Durgin, “Trotting Up Accounts of the 64th Boston Symphony Season,” *Boston Globe*, 6 May 1945, Sect. 10, 4.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

performances of *The Testament of Freedom* remembered by history. Carl B. and Elizabeth Schmidt writes this account of the event that led to the most famous performance of *The Testament of Freedom*,

Impressed with *The Testament*, Koussevitsky suddenly decided to take it to Carnegie Hall on April 14 [the day after Thomas Jefferson Day], using the same performers. In the interim, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, while on vacation in Warm Springs, Georgia, had died of a massive stroke on the 12th [the day before Thomas Jefferson day]. Koussevitsky preserved the concert, and critics found it providential that Thompson's work underscored through Jefferson's prose many of Roosevelt's finest and most beloved attributes.

The concert, *with an altered repertoire*, [emphasis added by the author] went on as scheduled, ... Our National Anthem preceded the first movement of Shostakovich's symphony, followed by the first two movements of Beethoven's Third Symphony, "Eroica," and finally by *The Testament of Freedom*. Koussevitsky, who allowed no applause throughout, had reminded the audience the Beethoven dedicated his symphony "to a great man." We play it in memory of the greatest man in the world," he said.⁸¹

When Koussevitzky told the audience that evening in April of 1945, that Beethoven's "Eroica" was written *in honor* of a great man, he could have said the same thing about *The Testament of Freedom*. Thompson himself commented on the apparently Providential circumstances of *The Testament of Freedom's* inclusion in the historic concert. Responding to his family who were attempting to console him after he had received a bad review of *The Testament*, Thompson said, "... I did not need consultation, or praise either. It all seemed quite enough quite enough that—as if by predestination—my setting of Jefferson's words was sung, at that particular time, in that particular place."⁸²

The historical significance of this performance has stuck with *The Testament of Freedom*. While this has been beneficial for the piece in terms of its importance in the broader culture and its continued popularity, it has been detrimental in terms of how it is analyzed. For many

⁸¹ Ibid., 524.

⁸² Ibid., 526.

conductors, performers, and even musicologists who examine the piece, the performance honoring Franklin Roosevelt serves as the rhetorical birth of *The Testament of Freedom*. Often, there is too much rhetorical emphasis placed on world events occurring when this performance took place (1945, right after the death of FDR and just months before VE day) and too little on when *The Testament of Freedom* was written and premiered (the spring of 1943, almost a year before D-Day). This distinction was much more visible even in the days just before Roosevelt's death, as evidenced in this critique of the April 6 and 7, performances in Boston, documented by musicologist Annegret Fauser,

After the 1945 Boston performance Leslie A. Sloper, the critic for the *Christian Science Monitor*, pointed to the contemporary relevance of *Testament of Freedom* when he explained that “the text evidently was chosen for its timeliness when considered in connection with the present war. Jefferson’s eloquent words are stirring today, when victory seems near; no doubt they were even more so two years ago, when the future was less clear...”⁸³

In Fauser's examination of *The Testament of Freedom*, her recognition of the above observation allowed her look beyond the historical significance of the FDR memorial performance, and dive deeper into the original rhetorical intent of the music. But unlike Fauser, far too many examiners of *The Testament of Freedom* have relied on the critique of the FDR memorial performance, written by New York Times music critic Olin Downes, who referred to *The Testament of Freedom* as a “composition of astonishing simplicity, appropriateness and effect.” This very complimentary yet emotionally driven review by Downes has created a certain level of academic confirmation bias, leading examiners to conflate tonality, a familiar structure, and Thompson's practical part writing for the student-soldiers to whom he dedicated the work, with rhetorical and thus, compositional simplicity. Even Fauser is guilty of this to an

⁸³ Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II*. (New York Oxford University Press, 2013), 245.

extent. Immediately following the quote above, she adopts the “compositional simplicity” narrative introduced by Downes in 1945,

...For the composer [Thompson], the clarity of Jefferson’s words and his creation of “a democratic government for all the people” demanded a musical equivalent in a compositional “simplicity of design and structure” that could be “enjoyed the length and breadth of the land.” A work whose musical language did not challenge its listeners but rather fit with the prevalent musical taste was particularly suitable for such an occasion.⁸⁴

Musicologist Steve Schwartz goes a step further in his criticism of *The Testament of Freedom*, when he writes,

Unfortunately, with the exception of the first movement, the score is one of Thompson’s weakest. It comes from a writer of sure technical skill, but, excepting the first “big tune” of the opening movement, “The God who gave us life”—expansive and rousing—there’s little memorable in it. Thompson himself regarded it as an occasional work [not true⁸⁵], although that’s deceptive, since all of his work was written to very specific commission. However, too much just goes by, like the scenery in downstate Illinois, away from the big river. Long stretches consist of homophonic all voices marching in rhythmic lockstep. It works for one movement, but not for four. Thompson probably knew what he had, since he refers to the “big tune” in every movement of *The Testament* when he wants to jack up the emotional level. Nevertheless, with all its performances and recordings, obviously *someone* must like the work.⁸⁶

While Thompson designed *The Testament of Freedom* for the rehearsal utility of student-soldiers and for textual clarity, this does not mean that he “did not challenge its listeners.”

Thompson believed that every single musical device and expression used by a composer should have a rhetorical purpose.⁸⁷ When Byron McGilvray asked Thompson if he had ever composed music to convey a specific rhetorical intent, his response shot right to the heart of the subtlety of

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ See Carl B. Schmidt and Elizabeth K. Schmidt, *The Music of Randall Thompson: A Documented Catalogue*. (Fenton: E.C. Publishing Group, 2014), 208, Thompson writes to Schirmer, “Also, the work is singularly stirring in war time. I do not feel that the work will be any less interesting, intrinsically, in other years...”

⁸⁶ Steve Schwartz, *Nationalists and Populist Composers: Voices of the American People*. Lanham: The Rowan & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2018, 76.

⁸⁷ Byron Wendol McGilvray, *The Choral Music of Randall Thompson: An American Eclectic*. D.M.A document., University of Missouri, Kansas City, 1979, 24.

the depth in his musical language, “Yes, but I’ve never fired off any cannons to deliver it.”⁸⁸

The depth of Thompson’s music is found in his ability to draw from his personal experiences and use them to “make old words new,”

In my way of thinking, to increase in complexity is not [necessarily] progress. I do not think the newer an art is the more complex it has to be. I could give you several quotations on this subject. I’ll give you one. Shakespear, in one of his sonnets, said, “All my best is making old words new.”⁸⁹ I see no reason spending your life developing your own accent (you’re developing a summation of all your own life experience) and then throwing that out of the window. Why would you do that? If that isn’t wasteful, I don’t know what is.⁹⁰

The following examination of movement IV of *The Testament of Freedom* will show that Thompson was so adept at “making old words new,” that Schwartz and many others would overlook the well-known musical language he quoted to assist in the dispensation of the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom*.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 287.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 24.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 25.

A More Than Fortuitous Pairing

A friend of Thompson's, Constance Biddle, who was present for both the premier in 1943 and the concert in 1945, illustrates the effect that Roosevelt's death had on the listener's rhetorical interpretation of the piece. But she also notices a strong connection between Beethoven's *Eroica* and *The Testament of Freedom*,

It was wonderful to be there on Sat[.] to hear y[our] splendid chorus & the Eroica! ... In Charlottesville 2 y[ears] ago you & only a few others knew what you'd done tho' all were loud in friendly praises. Last Saturday there were many who did & appreciated what you'd done. We read & read Olin Downes [']s fine tribute. ... We were all shaken & crushed by Mr. Roosevelt's death & the splendid noble music of the Eroica & yours brought pride and comfort. How spirit restoring works of art can be!⁹¹

Beyond the "great man" connection, it is not difficult to understand why Koussevitzky picked the first two movements of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony as a tribute to the recently fallen war-time commander-in-chief. The second movement is a somber depiction of a state funeral march that brilliantly evokes the communal emotions unique to the death of a fallen national hero. But as Constance Biddle observed, there was also a powerful rhetorical impact on the audience that heard Beethoven's *Eroica* and *The Testament of Freedom*, in succession. Olin Downes, who was also in attendance that evening, confirms this in his critique of *The Testament of Freedom*,

It was an occasion that far transcended in its significance and atmosphere anything that performances with exclusively artistic objectives could have offered. Yet it was an achievement of the highest art... ..It may be conceived that after such music [the *Eroica* Symphony] the composition of a certain Randall Thompson faced difficulties. It is very remarkable that this apprehension proved groundless.⁹²

⁹¹ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018),

⁹² Olin Downes, "New Trends in Composition: Thompson's *Testament of Freedom* Seen as an Expression of Our National Traditions and Spirit." *The New York Times*, 22 April 1945, Sect. 10-12.

But Downes doesn't just state that Thompson's work stood up to Beethoven's 1806 masterpiece. Downes implicitly suggests Beethoven as a possible source for the structure of *The Testament of Freedom*,

Mr. Thompson has written a composition of astonishing simplicity, appropriateness, and effect. He has produced what amounts to a choral symphony in four movements, and one which made a profound impression on the audience...⁹³

While this observation can be attributed to the emotional weight of the circumstances surrounding the tragic event that led to this historic performance, Downes and Brittle are not alone in comparing *The Testament of Freedom* to a Beethoven Symphony. Musicologist Annegret Fauser goes beyond just observing that *The Testament of Freedom* is a four-movement work. Examining the third movement she writes,

Thompson's choice of texts was clearly made in response to the war. The third movement, for example, opens with, "We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies..." Jefferson's words barely needed any translation into the ubiquitous rhetoric of the period, which presented the U.S. entry into World War II as a defensive act, ... That Thompson set this movement in C minor,⁹⁴ with a motive of three accented eighth notes followed by a half note tied to the next measure placed prominently and repeatedly in the introduction, makes the reference to Beethoven's Fifth, with its V for victory motive, glaringly obvious.⁹⁵

The letter V in morse code is noted by three short pulses and one long. The use of the motive as anti-Nazi propaganda originated in Europe with the French resistance. It was not long before other Allied countries took up the rhythmic rhetoric and began to associate it with Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, making the work a signal for the hope of an Allied victory.⁹⁶ Given Fauser's

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ It must be noted that Movement II of Beethoven's Third Symphony is also set in C minor.

⁹⁵ Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II*. (New York Oxford University Press, 2013), 244.

⁹⁶ Cynthia Collins, "Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and Morse Code," CMUSE, May 19, 2016.

observation, it must be noted that the “short, short, short, long” rhythmic motive is much more perceivable to the listener in Thompson’s prevalent use of the triplet.

Finding Freedom’s Fugue

While Thompson explicitly documents that he *completed* work on *The Testament of Freedom* chronologically, this information is not irrefutable proof that he composed the musical rhetoric in the work chronologically. But Thompson’s statement, “The clipping from the Progress was the beginning of the Testament & [emphasis added by the author] became its final chorus,” is irrefutable proof that the rhetorical intent of the work derives from the fourth movement & serves as strong evidence to indicate that movement four very likely contains the most rhetorically significant musical material. Therefore, this analysis will begin by identifying the most rhetorically significant portion (the rhetorical subject) of the text in movement four, followed by an examination of the musical rhetoric that accompanies it.

Chapter two established that Thompson’s experiences in Europe resulted in a deep connection to the lands, the people, and the cultures of the continent; that Italy and Germany’s invasion of France deeply affected Thompson, and that the fall of France led him to alter the rhetoric of an explicit commission when he wrote his *Alleluia*. It was also established that due to his experiences at Harvard, Thompson uniquely identified and empathized with the student-soldiers in The University of Virginia Glee Club, many of whom would soon be serving the country in battle. Therefore, this context must be chiefly considered when attempting to identify the rhetorical subject of the text in movement four of *The Testament of Freedom*.

Considering the context of Thompson’s personal experiences as they relate to the ubiquitous American experience in 1943, the rhetorical subject of the text becomes self-evident:

“Even should the cloud of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and liberties of Europe, this country remains to preserve and restore light and liberty to them.” This portion of the text not only encapsulates Thompson’s personal locus of concern when he composed *The Testament of Freedom* early in 1943, but that of the United States, as well. For Thompson, the first half of the rhetorical subject “Even should the cloud of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and liberties of Europe,” represents his concern for the cultural riches of Europe, while the second half of the rhetorical subject, “this country remains to preserve and restore light and liberty to them,” represents the student-soldiers of the United States that will take up arms to fulfill Jefferson’s prophetic words.

The image shows a musical score for four vocal parts: Tenors I and II, and Basses I and II. The music is in 8/8 time and features a melodic line with lyrics. The lyrics are: "ev'n should the cloud of bar-bar-is - m and des-pot-is - m a - gain ob - scure the". The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *mp* (mezzo-piano). The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words hyphenated across measures.

(Figure 1 – Movement IV – The Cloud Theme)⁹⁷

The first half of the rhetorical subject is found in the fourth movement of *The Testament of Freedom* beginning at measure thirty-six⁹⁸ and extending to beat three of measure forty-three. Thompson marks the importance of this text in Movement IV by setting it to the return of the

⁹⁷ © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission. See appendix 4.

⁹⁸ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Orchestra Score. Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1944.

second melodic theme (The Cloud Theme⁹⁹) of the work, first presented in movement one with the text, “the hand of force may destroy.”

Thompson’s melodic connection of the texts from Movement I and Movement IV is significant because it rhetorically divorces “the science and liberties of Europe,” from “the hand of force...” of the “cloud of barbarism and despotism” that seek to “obscure,” and “disjoin them (life, light, science, and liberty)” from the enlightened cultures of Europe. At the same time, the melodic connection rhetorically unifies Jefferson’s definitional use of the words “light” and “life.” Therefore, the text Thompson sets in the first movement can be read “The God who gave us *light* gave us liberty at the same time,” and the text Thompson sets in the fourth movement can be read, “this country remains to preserve and restore *life* and liberty to them,” without any change in Jefferson’s rhetorical intent.

In both movements one and four, The Cloud Theme is an antecedent phrase. But in the first movement, The Cloud Theme proceeds to the melodic consequent set to the text, “but cannot disjoin them,” first appearing on beat four of measure twelve.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The Cloud Theme only appears in the piece when Jefferson’s text describes something that is to be overcome, as it does in measure ninety-eight of movement II, when The Cloud Theme accompanies the text, “we will in defiance of every hazard...”

¹⁰⁰ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Orchestra Score. Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1944.

(Figure 2 – Movement I – The Cloud Theme)¹⁰¹

In this text, Jefferson explicitly declares a self-evident truth that predates Jefferson himself—that it was God that gave the *fire* of life and liberty to mankind and what God has given and joined together, no mortal force can separate. Thompson sets this text triumphantly, with rising and falling fifths and fourths, to signify that the dispensation described by Jefferson in 1774 will persist throughout time, beyond his present day. This rhetoric is reinforced by the repeat of movement I at the end of movement IV. But in the melodic material that accompanies the second half of the rhetorical subject in movement four, “this country remains to restore light and liberty to them,” Thompson reaches back into history to rhetorically illustrate 1943 America’s struggle.

The second half of the rhetorical subject, “this country remains to restore light and liberty to them,” is found in movement four, beginning on the fourth beat of measure forty-three and extending to measure 57.¹⁰² To indicate that this section of text is rhetorically significant, Thompson sets it in a fugue like canon and repeats the text “this country remains” four times between the Tenors and the Basses, to emphasize the importance of the text.

¹⁰¹ © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission. See appendix 4.

¹⁰² _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Orchestra Score. Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1944,

Hns (F)
 I
 Tpts II (C)
 III
 Tbnets & Tuba
 Timp.
 Tenors I
 II
 Basses I
 II
 I
 II
 Va
 Vc.
 Cb.
 E. C. S. N^o 1615

coun - try re - mains to pre - serve and re -
 mains, this coun - try re - mains to pre - serve and re -

(Figure 3 – The Rhetorical Subject – Eroica Quotation)¹⁰³

¹⁰³ © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission. See appendix 4.

But instead of restating the melodic material in the consequent phrase that follows The Cloud Theme in Movement I, Thompson sets the text in the second half of the rhetorical subject to a rhythmically expanded yet direct melodic quote of the fugue theme from Movement II of Beethoven’s Third “Eroica” Symphony, played by the horns and clarinets in measures 135-139 in Beethoven’s Funeral March.¹⁰⁴

The image shows a musical score for measures 135-139 of Beethoven's Eroica Symphony, Movement II. The score is arranged in a system with six staves. From top to bottom, the staves are labeled: Cl. (Clarinet), Fag. (Bassoon), Cor. I II (Coronets I and II), Cor. III (Coronet III), Tr. (Trumpet), and Timp. (Timpani). The Cl. and Fag. parts have dynamic markings of *ff* and *f*. The Cor. III part has dynamic markings of *ff* and *f*. The Timp. part has a trill marking (*tr*) in the final measure. The music is in 3/4 time and features a melodic quote of the fugue theme from Movement II of the Eroica Symphony.

(Figure 4 – Beethoven’s Eroica Symphony, Movement II, 135-139)¹⁰⁵

Thompson confirms the connection of this passage to the Eroica Symphony in his 1944 orchestration. At the beginning of the Eroica quotation in *The Testament of Freedom*

¹⁰⁴ Ludwig van Beethoven, *Symphony No. 3, Op. 55 (1803-1804)*, sheet music, International Music Score Library Project, accessed October 2, 2022, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

(Movement IV, Measures 43-44), Thompson removes all instruments from the orchestra accompaniment except strings and horns, until the downbeat of measure fifty-one.¹⁰⁶ This is a clear homage to the horns that that sound the quoted material in Beethoven’s symphony.

Thompson gives further confirmation of this connection in movement four, measure fifty-two. Here Thompson ends his expanded quotation of Beethoven’s fugue with a tri-tone leap moving from E on beat one, to B flat on beat two, and descending by step on beats three and four until landing on an F at the down beat of measure fifty-two.¹⁰⁷ The tritone leap is set to the word “restore” and held for four slow beats, to emphasize the importance of the text.

(Figure 5 - TOF - Movement IV - mm. 51)¹⁰⁸

This tritone leap is a rhythmically expanded, yet exact intervallic/melodic quotation of the end of the fugue tune from the second movement of the *Eroica* as it appears repeatedly in measures 114-134 of Beethoven’s work.

¹⁰⁶ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Orchestra Score. Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1944.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

The image displays a musical score for the second movement of Beethoven's Eroica Symphony, spanning measures 108 to 131. The score is written for piano and is in B-flat major and 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as trills (marked 'tr'), slurs, and dynamic markings. Specific measures are highlighted with boxes: measures 115-117 and 121-123. A trill in measure 115 is marked with 'tr' and 'A4'. Another trill in measure 121 is marked with 'tr'. The bass line is particularly active, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

(Figure 6 - Eroica Symphony – Mvt. II)

Beyond the evidence presented in this document indicating that Thompson quoted Beethoven's fugue, ultimate confirmation is achieved by simply listening to the sections of the two portions of the works discussed in this analysis, in succession. Doing so makes the existence of the quotation self-evident. Thompson uses the motive to musically illustrates America's

heroic rise from the ashes of Pearl Harbor depicted in Movements II & III.¹⁰⁹ But unlike Beethoven, Thompson doesn't abruptly halt the march of the heroic motive. Instead, he expounds upon it to illustrate the steady advance of "...the flames kindled on the 4th [*sic*] of July [*sic*] 1776..." at measure sixty.¹¹⁰ Thompson then inverts the heroic motive at mm. 90 to illustrate Jefferson's text, "on the contrary, they will consume these and all who work them," describing ultimate outcome of the struggle to liberate Europe.¹¹¹

Jefferson's text evokes mythical imagery of the Greek god Prometheus¹¹² handing fire—or the light of life—to mankind. Considering Thompson's Enlightenment-focused Classical education and the mentorship of George Herbet Palmer,³⁶ it is a certainty that Thompson was well acquainted with the Greek myth of Prometheus. Furthermore, Thompson's devotion to promoting the need for composers to study and know music history and literature as it relates to their craft, it is a certainty that he knew of the Eroica Symphony's fourth movement connection to the Greek fire-giver.¹¹³ But beyond mere speculation, the Eroica fugue's Promethean

¹⁰⁹ See Thompson's March 26, 1943, transcript, including remarks to be spoken by Ted Butterworth (President of the UVA Men's Glee Club) and Bernard Mayo before the CBS and OWI broadcasts at US-Chua (1914, Box 1 Folder March-April 1943), Thompson writes, "The second chorus faces the stark reality of taking up arms in defense of freedom. The middle section ("We gratefully acknowledge") is set as a kind of prayer, unaccompanied. The third chorus suggests the aggressive march for freedom; tramping of feet; call to arms; the singing of marching men; the determination to fight to the end."

¹¹⁰ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Orchestra Score. Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1944.

¹¹¹ See Thompson's March 26, 1943, transcript, including remarks to be spoken by Ted Butterworth (President of the UVA Men's Glee Club) and Bernard Mayo before the CBS and OWI broadcasts at US-Chua (1914, Box 1 Folder March-April 1943), Thompson writes, "The fourth chorus begins with a peaceful introduction and calmly reaffirms belief in our destiny of freedom [winning the war], rising at the close to a full statement of the theme of the first chorus and ending in block-like "freedom", "life", and the two welded into one."

¹¹² Prometheus means "forethought," and the figure is seen in Greek mythology as the giver of wisdom, knowledge, science, and the arts to mankind. These gifts symbolized by fire, led to the advances of Western Civilization.

¹¹³ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018), 415, Thompson writes, "...it is my feeling that each student must gain a thorough familiarity with the literature of his own medium, such knowledge to be supplemented, so far as possible, by a knowledge of musical history and literature in general."

connection in *The Testament of Freedom* becomes unavoidable when examining Thompson’s explanation of the title.

According to Thompson, the rhetorical intent of the word “Testament” is to project a Promethean narrative. In the notes Thompson sent to the Music Director at CBS in preparation for the national broadcast and OWI recording of the premier of *The Testament of Freedom* in 1943,¹¹⁴ Thompson writes that, “the word “Testament” here is used in the religious sense, as “dispensation”—a privilege granted by God or Nature to mankind” and that “the first chorus proclaims this dispensation....”¹¹⁵ In this statement, Thompson confirms the casting of Thomas Jefferson in a Promethean role in *The Testament of Freedom*—a rhetorical role that Jefferson himself, as the author of The Declaration of Independence, dawns in the “flames kindled” text in his 1821 letter to John Adams. In fact, the “flames kindled” text serves to confirm a Promethean reference made by Jefferson in the text that became the rhetorical subject of *The Testament of Freedom*. When Jefferson writes the prophetic words, “Even should the cloud of barbarism, and despotism, again obscure the *science* [emphasis added by the author] and liberties of Europe, this country remains to restore light and liberty to them,” it is a reference to Aeschylus’ depiction of Prometheus in *Prometheus Bound*, as not just the bringer of fire to mankind, “but also their preserver, giving them all the arts and *sciences* [emphasis added by the author] as well as the means of survival.”¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the prophetic nature of Jefferson’s text from the point of view of Thompson in 1943, also supports a rhetorical connection between Jefferson and Prometheus in *The Testament of Freedom*. The name, “Prometheus” means “Forethinker.”¹¹⁷ If

¹¹⁴ Carl B. Schmidt, *The Road Not Taken: A Documented Biography of Randall Thompson* (New York: PENDRAGON PRESS, 2018),

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ “Prometheus | Greek god,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed October 2, 2022, 1.

¹¹⁷ “Prometheus,” Online Etymology Dictionary, accessed October 2, 2022, 1, “The name is Greek, and anciently was interpreted etymologically as “forethinker, foreseer,” from *promēthēs* “thinking before,” from *pro* “before” + **mēthos*, related to *mathein* “to learn” (from an enlargement of PIE root *men* “to think”).”

Thompson did in fact quote Beethoven's Eroica fugue as a Promethean illustration as the evidence indicates, then it stands to reason that Thompson would employ "some other, perhaps symbolic, musical devices" in "the first chorus [that] proclaims this dispensation." While Thompson did compose some musical rhetoric to illustrate his casting of Jefferson as a Promethean figure in Movement I of *The Testament of Freedom*, most of it did not make it into the work. But thirty years after its premier, Thompson would give some clues to help free Prometheus.

A Great Big Greek Δ

Movement I of *The Testament of Freedom* begins on beat two of the first measure, with a iv-ii-V chord progression, over five beats, in the key of F major. This abrupt introduction leaves the listener feeling as though they have just tapped into a transmission already in progress. Thompson reinforces this impression by not providing a strong cadence in F major until near the end of the first section of Movement I, at measure twenty. Thompson famously spoke about what led to this abrupt beginning in his interview with Jean Bonin in 1973. But considering the discovery of the Eroica fugue quotation that accompanies the rhetorical subject in Movement IV, this often-quoted interview with Thompson demands further examination in full light of this new context. Thompson begins by telling Bonin about how he originally began Movement I of *The Testament of Freedom*,

... I started out bravely with a rather pompous heroic statement and a whole page of music, which after a day or so I deleted, that is to say all but the first three chords, the third one being repeated but three different chords. They are three chords that *inevitably* [emphasis added by the author] define the tonality that the piece was to be in, and really that was all that was needed to start off....¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Randall Thompson interview by Jean M. Bonin, October 18, 1973, Oral History Collection, US-Chua (RG-26/12)

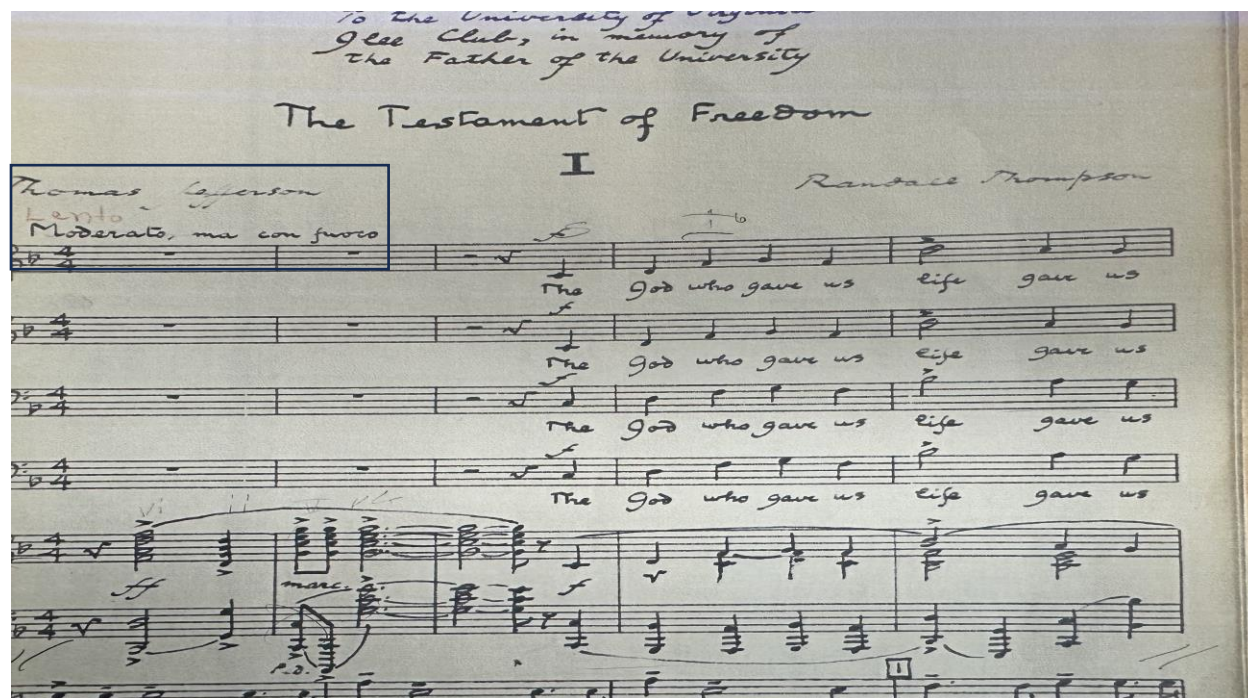
The statement above proves that Thompson’s original inclination was to write an overture like section to what eventually became a four-movement work. This confirmation of Thompson’s intent strongly suggests that his initial concept of *The Testament of Freedom* was exactly as Olin Downes described it in 1945—as a Beethoven-like Choral Symphony in four movements. Furthermore, his description of the deleted overture-like introduction as a “rather pompous heroic like statement” clearly reinforces Downes’ observation. Thompson continues,

The rest was just rhetoric and so I made a great big Greek D [Δ] through all but those first three chords and I have always preached the fact that the eraser is the most, the greatest aid to musical composition, but never practiced what I preach with greater effect than that because it is sufficient.¹¹⁹

After an exhaustive investigation into possible vernacular uses of the phrase “a great big Greek D” to refer to removing or erasing of material, the author could not find a single example of this phrase being used in this manner outside of the above quote by Thompson. While the phrase can and has been explained away as a meaningless utterance of an older man or a turn of phrase meant to be interpreted contextually, these explanations ignore Thompson’s contemplative, if not outright academically haughty, style of communicating his musical thoughts. In short, Randall Thompson doesn’t invent new words or phrases to say old things—Randall Thompson uses old words to say new things. Therefore, to determine if Thompson’s use of the term was rhetorically significant, the author applied the context of *The Testament of Freedom*’s rhetorical subject, specifically Jefferson’s reference to “the science and liberties of Europe.” In chemistry, there are certain reactions which require heat energy to initiate. The triangle or uppercase Greek Δ is used in a chemical equation to symbolize the addition of heat to

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

complete a chemical reaction.¹²⁰ The evidence to support that Thompson used this phrase in 1973 to reference fire, thus rhetorically casting Jefferson in the light of Prometheus, can be found directly and unequivocally in the earliest available edition of the music itself. Unlike the later published editions of *The Testament of Freedom*,¹²¹ Thompson’s original handwritten score places the *Moderato, ma con fuoco* (*Moderately, but with fire*) directly over measure one, and directly under the name “Thomas Jefferson.”



(Figure 7 – Photolithograph of RT’s Handwritten Piano-Vocal Score of TOF)¹²²

While Thompson obviously approved the change of tempo and direction for the first three measures for the published version of *The Testament of Freedom* to ensure that future conductors wouldn’t take the fiery introduction too fast, Thompson himself didn’t need the

¹²⁰ Alexander Johnson, “What does the triangle symbol mean in organic chemistry?” Science Oxygen, accessed December, 2022, 1, <https://scienceoxygen.com/what-does-the-triangle-symbol-mean-in-organic-chemistry/>

¹²¹ _____ *Testament of Freedom*. Orchestra Score. Boston: E.C. Schirmer, 1944, 3, published editions of *The Testament of Freedom* place the *Moderato, ma con fuoco* direction over the choral entrance with a *Largo* over measure one.

¹²² © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

clarification of direction when accompanying the April 1943 premier of the work. Therefore, it stands to reason that the original handwritten score (see Figure 7) is a more accurate depiction of his rhetorical intent than the score published by E.C. Schirmer. Thompson continues in his 1973 interview with Bonin to confirm that the direction his handwritten score more accurately reflects his rhetorical intent but does so in a way that doesn't fully reveal its Promethean connections,

Now I'll tell you a secret: Those three different chords, if set to words, would say the name of the author of our text. They occur again at the conclusion of the piece where there is a reprise of the original sentence in the first chorus, "God who gave us life." They, those chords [,] are repeated in various tonalities, leading up to the final cadence. So when those shouts of liberty come in the chorus, the background is a repetition of the chords that say Thomas Jefferson. There are other, perhaps symbolic, musical devices in the work, but this is the most striking one...¹²³

The Promethean connection is fully revealed directly in the music that Thompson references in the above quote. He musically connects the implicit musical repetitions of the name "Thomas Jefferson" to a Promethean narrative via the use of cross-motive-style musical rhetoric depicting (The Delta Motive) Great Big Greek Δs (See Figure 8).

¹²³ Randall Thompson interview by Jean M. Bonin, October 18, 1973, Oral History Collection, US-Chua (RG-26/12)

44.

Handwritten musical score for "TOF - Finale". The score consists of vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "lib-er-ty,". The score includes various performance markings such as *ff*, *rall.*, and *rit.*. Blue annotations highlight specific passages in the piano part, including a section marked *rit.* and another marked *rall.*. The piano part features complex rhythmic patterns and arpeggiated figures.

(Figure 8 – TOF – Finale)¹²⁴

¹²⁴ © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

The existence and intent of this musical rhetoric is a confirmation of the musical rhetoric in the opening chorus that Thompson describes as a dispensational proclamation of life and liberty from “God or Nature” (See Figure 9).

To the University of Virginia
Glee Club, in memory of
the Father of the University

The Testament of Freedom

I

Thomas Jefferson Randall Thompson

Lento
Moderato, ma con fuoco

The God who gave us life gave us
The God who gave us life gave us
The God who gave us life gave us
The God who gave us life gave us

lib-er-ty at the same time, at the same time; the hand of force may de-

(Figure 9 – TOF – Movement 1)¹²⁵

Final confirmation of the existence and the Promethean intent of this musical rhetoric is found in the final five measures of Movement IV, when Thompson musically dictates the name “Thomas Jefferson” and punctuates it and the work with The Delta Motive in the final two measures (See Figure 10).

¹²⁵ © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

63 *Sostenuto, quasi largo* 45.

Handwritten musical score for "TOF - Finale" by Randall Thompson. The score is for voice and piano. It features vocal lines with lyrics "life, lib-er-ty, life, lib-er-ty, life, lib-er-ty" and piano accompaniment with dynamic markings like "ff" and "sfz". The score is marked "Sostenuto, quasi largo" and includes a "March 13-23, '43" signature.

(Figure 10 – TOF - Finale)¹²⁶

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Chapter Four – Conclusion and Commendation

Randall Thompson was a distinctly American composer who prided himself in forwarding the idea “that American composers had a responsibility to reject the ‘literal and empty imitation of European models.’ ”¹²⁷ But Thompson’s commitment to that idea was always subservient to his governing creed as a civic-minded artist and composer. His compositional commitment to utility, accessibility, rational originality, and above all, the ability of his music to “reach and move the hearts of the listeners in his own day,” ultimately guided the rhetorical intent and thus, the musical content of his work. Therefore, if Thompson believed the relevance of his work for the listeners in his day could be enhanced by changing the parameters of a commission, he did so without hesitation. At the same time, if the rhetorical intent of his work could be enhanced by literal, musical imitation of a European model, he did so without hesitation - *if* that imitation wasn’t empty.

Randall Thompson’s evocation of Beethoven in *The Testament of Freedom* is far from empty rhetoric. By setting *The Testament of Freedom*’s rhetorical subject to Beethoven’s heroic fugue, Thompson enhanced the inherent rhetoric of Jefferson’s prophetic text to depict his personal concern and desires for Europe and— at the same time—to depict the student-soldiers that fought to restore the light of freedom to the world, as the heroes they were. Underneath the words of Jefferson sung by those heroes, the quotation of the Eroica fugue harkened Beethoven’s charge to the world “to do good wherever we can, to love liberty above all things, and never to deny truth though it be at the throne itself.”¹²⁸ Furthermore, Thompson’s use of Beethoven’s musical rhetoric and his references to Greek mythology highlights the fact that the

¹²⁷ Caroline Cepin Benser and David Francis Urrows. *Randall Thompson: A Bio-Bibliography*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 7.

¹²⁸ Jan Swafford, *Beethoven: Anguish and Triumph* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014), 50.

Enlightenment culture that produced Beethoven was in many ways, as Jan Swafford notes, a product of the “American Revolution [and] its external expression of enlightened ideals laid out in Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence.”¹²⁹

Randall Thompson’s *The Testament of Freedom* is a musical articulation of what President Franklin Roosevelt expressed in his dedication of the Jefferson Memorial, that “Generations which understand each other across the distances of history are the generations united by a common experience and a common cause;” that “Jefferson, [and Beethoven] across a hundred and fifty years of time, is closer by much to living men than many of our leaders of the years between;”¹³⁰ that the cloud of barbarism and despotism that settled over Germany and Italy cannot obscure or claim Beethoven, or Monteverdi, or any of the riches of Europe that they represent. Because like Jefferson, Beethoven’s music swore “eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.”¹³¹ Ultimately, Thompson knew it was the eternal fires of Jefferson’s Enlightenment based ideals that would support his student-soldiers and the country they represented, in the battle to preserve and restore the priceless “riches” of Italian and German civilization to their rightful place in American and world culture after the war was over. This was Thompson’s rhetorical intent for *The Testament of Freedom*.

In conclusion and final confirmation of the rhetorical intent of *The Testament of Freedom*, the author offers the words read by Professor Bernard Mayo before the premier of *The Testament of Freedom*. These words and the performance were recorded by CBS and broadcast many times by the United States Office of War Information to all war theaters. The performance

¹²⁹Ibid., 49.

¹³⁰ Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address at the Dedication of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, Washington, D.C. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/209959>

¹³¹ Ibid.

was heard by and offered comfort to, hundreds of thousands of soldiers before the end of the war. One of the soldiers who heard the recorded performance was twenty-year-old Ray Ousley, of Jefferson City, Missouri. Ray Ousley heard *The Testament of Freedom* in the South Pacific in 1944-1945, while serving as a drummer in the 128th United States Navy Construction Battalion's famous 128th Swing Band (See Figure 11), under the direction of George Liberace. The rhetoric of the recorded performance outlined in the text read by Mayo during the premier of *The Testament of Freedom* affected a young Ray Ousley so deeply, that it compelled him to introduce *The Testament of Freedom* to his eight-year-old grandson, the author of this document, more than 50 years after first hearing it,

... Here are the freedoms—political, religious, and intellectual—which Jefferson and the Revolutionary generation fought for; and the freedoms that Americans are fighting for today. We have always—and today more so than ever before—felt the force of the prophetic words of John Adams uttered on his deathbed on July 4th, 1826. It was 50 years after Independence, the very day that Jefferson died. John Adams said: “Thomas Jefferson still lives.”

And Thomas Jefferson does live. Today he fights alongside you, his fellow Americans, whether you are fighting in a foxhole, aboard a ship, in the air, on the production line, or behind a plow. We have today mechanical weapons vastly different from the muzzle loaders of Revolutionary days. But how little change time brings in the thoughts of those who believe in freedom. Our weapons are tanks and planes and guns. But our greatest weapons are still our fighting ideals—the spirit of will, the will to fight, of the men who use those weapons. And the ideals for which we Americans and all liberty-loving people fight[ing] today have been most eloquently expressed by Thomas Jefferson.

Here are the words of Thomas Jefferson which Randall Thompson selected for his musical composition, “The Testament of Freedom...”¹³²

¹³² Randall Thompson, March 26, 1943, typescript, remarks to be spoken by Ted Butterworth (President of the UVA Glee Club) and Bernard Mayo before the broadcast at US-Chua (Box 1914, Box 1 Folder March-April 1943). Emphasis added by the author.

... the band



Our own 128th Band needs no introduction—it has made a name for itself and the 128th Battalion all the way from Camp Endicott to Guam. The Swing Band, with the show “Music Under the Stars,” has played for approximately 500,000 servicemen on Guam alone and has been featured via shortwave on state-side hookups, as well as V-discs and WXLI broadcasts.

- George Liberace . . . Director of the Swing Band
- Kenneth Stilwell . . . Director of the Military Band
- Harold Atkinson . . . Band Maintenance
- Bob Babbitt Sax—Vocals
- Maurice Buckley . . . Sax—Vocals—Pontoonairs
(vocal group)
- Gordon Catching . . . Trumpet—Impersonations
- Sid Clarkson Sax—Songs of the West
- Dou Dalen Sax—Vocals—arrangements
- Lloyd Ellis Guitar
- Joe Fiorella Drums
- Al Fitzgerrel Trombone—Vocals—Pontoonairs
- Ray Fritts Trombone—Pontoonairs—arrangements
- Guild Holmes Drums
- Charles Hrudieka . . . Trombone—Pontoonairs—arrangements
- Thomas Jepperson . . . Drums—Comedian—Publicity
- Charles McConnell . . . Bass—arrangements
- Donald Miller Technical staff
- Tommy Nelson Trumpet—Vocals in Jive
- Ari Novak Flute—Transportation
- Carl Olderr Technical staff
- Ray Ousley Drums
- Joe Previte Sax—Comedian
- Edgar Read Trumpet
- Bill Rufo Accordion
- Ernest Shaeffer Drum Major—bass
- Andy Skubish Sax—Vocals
- Harry Toney Comedian—Advance
- Bernie Warner Trumpet—Comedian



(Figure 11 – The 128th Swing Band)

APPENDIX

1. Selected Portions of “*Long Tom Lived to See the Day*”

He drew a deep breath, closed his eyes, contentedly, and the sunset light like a smile touched his mouth. So, I have lived to see the day, thought Long Tom. To see my country weather the first half century.

For this was July 3, 1826, and just fifty years before, lacking a few hours, the Declaration of Independence had been written by young Tom Jefferson. So was born the nation which embodies his faith in his fellow man.... We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men were created equal....

Yes, equal. Just that, with no provisions or qualifications. All men equal. Not only Anglo-Saxon, free, white, American males, with title to a section of land, but all men everywhere.... So, before departing the soul of Jefferson paused, looking back, revisited a day half a century gone by.

Shortly after midnight, when it really was the Fourth at last, Dungleison's patient became agitated. He sat up and began to write in the air, making motions of excited penmanship. He murmured syllables that the doctor could not understand; for Jefferson was talking to men long dead. Is it now to be liberty, all daring, every man signing, though it should mean he signs his warrant for his arrest and death [*sic*] Or liberty with cautious qualifications [*sic*] liberty, if; liberty for some; liberty in the sweet by-and-by that is never?

So they pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. And overhead on the roof of the old State House, a bell begins to peal. It is the bell on which some prophet at its casting had inscribed “Proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof.” The below of that challenge rolls out till it sets all the bells of Philadelphia to ringing: the clangor catches from parish to parish, till the last meetinghouse of Maine proclaims it over the border to the French Canadians, crossing themselves on their way through the dark woods; till it peals over the swamps of Georgia and reaches the ears of the Spanish in Florida, so that their hands go troubled to their...sword hilts.

Even across the water, men heard the din, and they looked in one another's faces. They said, “It is not in Plato or Seneca. We cannot find it in the Talmud or the Koran or the Magna Charta. Show us where it is written!”

Here [*sic*] here where the ink of the Signers' names is still wet upon the parchment.

Thomas Jefferson wrote the words there. And he wrote these too, for us to read on July the Fourth, 1942:

“I shall not die without hope that life and liberty are on steady advance. Even should the cloud of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and liberties of Europe, this country remains to preserve and restore light and liberty to them. In short, the flames kindled on the 4th [*sic*] of July [*sic*] 1776, have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engines of despotism; on the contrary, they will consume these and all who work them.”

An hour after noon of the Glorious Fourth, he died. His hope has today become our determination.¹³³

¹³³ “Long Tom Lived to See the Day,” *Charlottesville Daily Progress*, July 3, 1942, 4.

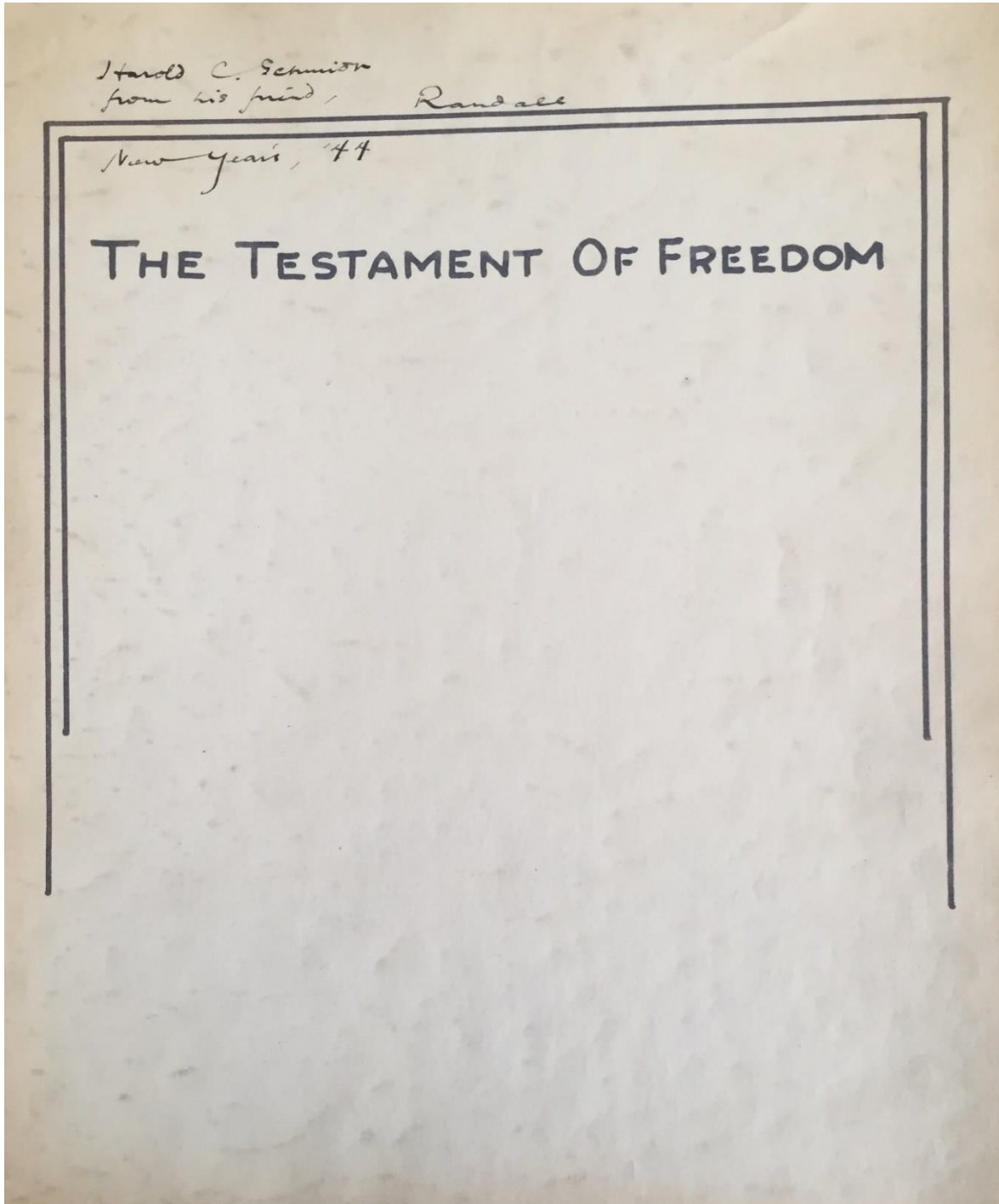
2. Names of The University of Virginia Glee Club members who sang in the April 13, 1943, premier of *The Testament of Freedom*.

III

The Testament of Freedom was composed in honor of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Jefferson. — It was first performed at Cabell Hall, University of Virginia, on Founder's Day, April 13, 1943, by the University Glee Club: First Tenors, A. E. Barnard, P. W. Bourjaily (Manager), J. C. Buntin, C. E. Butlerworth (President), J. B. Davis, M. R. Lovell, J. E. Sandridge; Second Tenors, N. N. Adler, J. E. Berdahl, J. W. Clarkson, K. P. Fitzgerald, R. D. Fraley, R. C. Gamble, R. H. Gravate, R. D. Miller, C. L. Minor, W. G. Nott, H. P. Taylor, B. Wood; First Basses, E. D. Brand, W. H. Brown, R. van S. Chamblin (Librarian), A. K. Cocks, E. M. Dixon, W. C. Eaton, L. G. Heinrich, H. F. Neighbors, W. M. Still, C. D. Tait, S. Talbot; Second Basses, C. H. Bolen, K. F. Bevan, R. L. Davis, T. B. Furcron, D. C. Jensen, J. D. Kreis, O. N. Meredith, W. H. Pigg, P. M. Talbot, D. J. Wheeler, A. C. Whitlock, D. C. Wilson, F. S. Wood. — Stephen D. Tuttle conducted and the composer accompanied. — The performance was broadcast over a Nation-wide hook-up by the Columbia Broadcasting System and recorded by the Office of War Information for re-broadcast to the Armed Forces overseas.



3. Photolithograph Randall Thompson's handwritten piano-vocal score of *The Testament of Freedom* sent by Thompson to his friend Harold Schmidt, Director of Choirs at Fisk University, in 1944. Special thanks to Dr. Carl and Elizabeth Schmidt for providing and allowing the author to publish this score in this document.¹³⁴



¹³⁴ © Copyright 1943 by Randall Thompson, asn. 1944, 1971 to E. C. Schirmer Music Company, a division of ECS Publishing Group. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

Copyright, 1943, by Randall Thompson

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IV

The texts are from the following
writings of Thomas Jefferson:

I. A Summary View of the Rights
of British America. 1774

II and III. Declaration of Causes and
Necessity of Taking up Arms, July 6, 1775

IV. Letter to John Adams, Monticello,
September 12, 1821

Approximate performing time: 24 mins.

To the University of Virginia
Glee Club, in memory of
The Father of the University

The Testament of Freedom

I

Thomas Jefferson

Randall Thompson

Lento

Moderato, ma con fuoco

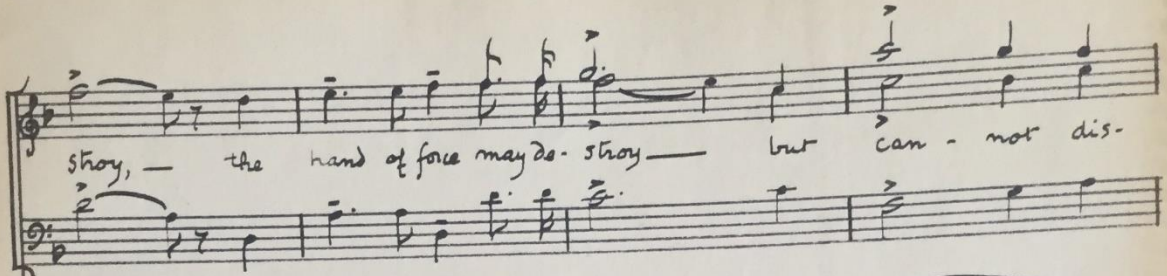
The God who gave us life gave us
The God who gave us life gave us
The God who gave us life gave us
The God who gave us life gave us

ff *marc.* *f*

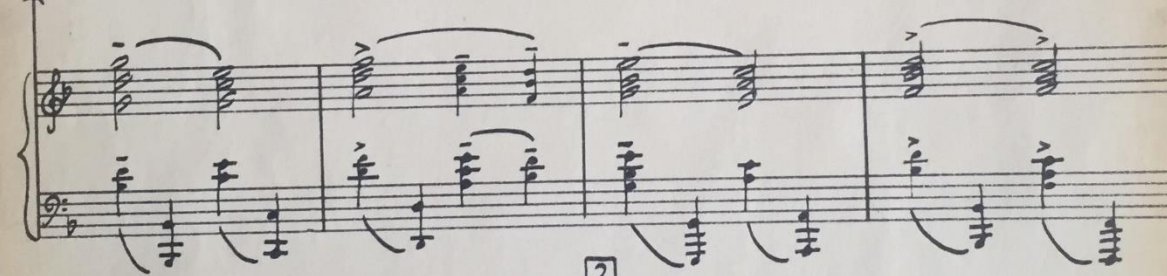
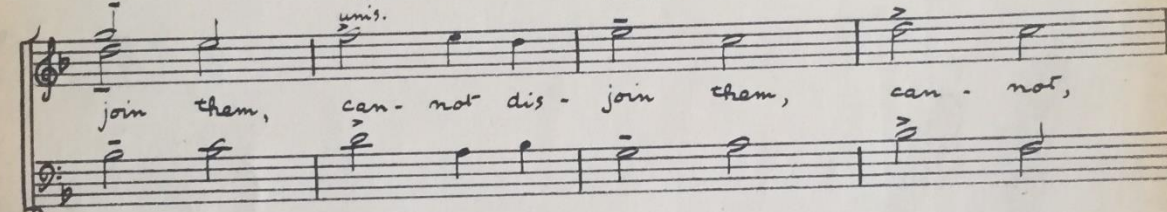
lib-er-ty at the same time, at the same time; the hand of force may de-

2.

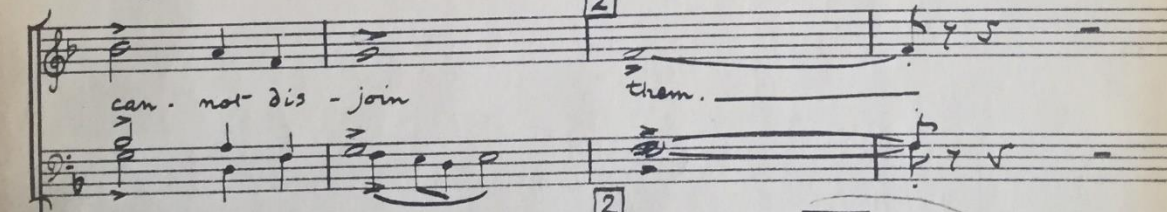
shoy, — the hand of force may de- stroy — but can - not dis-



join them, ^{unis.} can - not dis - join them, can - not,



can - not dis - join ² them.



3

mf

The

mf

3/2

God who gave us life save us liberty at the same time, at the

4

p

the hand of force may de- stroy, - the hand of force may de-

Same time;

4

p

mp

4.

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "stroy — but can - not dis - join them, can - not dis - join them, can - not, can - not dis - join them." The piano part features various textures, including triplets and chords. Dynamics include *mf*, *f*, *mf*, *mp*, *p*, and *pp*. There are also markings for *cresc.* and *mf* *dim.*. The score is numbered 4 in the top left corner.

mf *f* *mf* *dim.*
stroy — but can - not dis - join them, can - not dis -
f *mf* *dim.*
mf *f* *mf* *dim.*
mp *unis.* *p*
join them, can - not, can - not dis - join
them.
pp *cresc.* *p*

6

God who gave us life save us lib-er-ty at the same time, at the

same time; the hand of force may de-destroy, — the hand of force may de-

mp *mf* *f* *sost.* *ritto* *sfz*

6.

stroy — but can - not dis - join them, can - not dis -

join them, can - not dis - join

can - not,

them.

a tempo *proo rall.*

a tempo *proo rall.* *ffz*

attacca

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score is written in G major and 4/4 time. It consists of six systems of music. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The fourth system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The fifth system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The sixth system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The score includes various performance markings such as *a tempo*, *proo rall.*, *ffz*, and *attacca*. There are also some circled numbers and other annotations.

Jan. 24-25, '43

II

Lento sostenuto Basses I and II (unison)

pp

We have counted the cost of this con-test and find

ppp cresc. *mf*

noth-ing so dread-ful as vol-un-tar-y slav-er-ry.

9 *mf* Tenors I and II (unison)

Hon-or, jus-tice, and hu-man-i-ty for-bid us tam-e-ly to sur

9

10

poco cresc.

rend-er that free-dom which we re-ceive'd from our gal-lant an-ces-tors,

poco cresc.

10

p *legato*

and which our in-no-cent pos-ter-i-ty have a right

p *legato*

cresc.

cresc.

p *dolciss.*

to re-ceive from us.

ff

mf cantabile

mf

p *m.2.*

p *m.5.*

pp

12 *f*
 We can-not en-dure the

12 *Surge*
ff *f*
poco rall. *ff*

cresc.
 in-fam-y and guilt of ae-sign-ing suc-ceed-ing gen-er-a-tions to that wretched-ness
cresc. *ff*

poco rall.
cresc. *ff*

13 *mf*
 which in-sev-it-ab-ly a-waits them if we base-ly en-
mf *dim.* *p*

13 *mf*
dim. *p*

14

mp — *pp mezza voce*

tail — her-e-di-ta-ry bond-age up-on them.

14

mp *pp*

15

15

p dim.

16

ff *ff* *ff* *ff* *ff* *ff* *ff* *ff*

Our cause is just. Our un-ion is per-fect.

16

ppp *ff* *ppp*

17 *rit. mf cresc. accel. a tempo ff dim. rall.*

Ten I *mf cresc.* *ff dim.* *P*

Ten II *mf cresc.* *ff dim.* *P*

Bass I *mf cresc.* *ff dim.* *P*

Bass II *mf cresc.* *ff dim.* *P*

rit. (accel.) (a tempo) (rall.)

18 *Poco andante; liberamente e con devozione*

pp *ppp*

We grate-ful-ly ac-know-ledge, as sig-nal-

We grate-ful-ly ac-know-ledge, as sig-nal-

We grate-ful-ly ac-know-ledge, as sig-nal-

We grate-ful-ly ac-know-ledge, as sig-nal-

We grate-ful-ly ac-know-ledge, as sig-nal-

pp *ppp*

pp legato

in-stan-ces of the Di-vine fa-vor'tious, that His
 fa-vor,

19

pp legato

P sempre legato

mf *P*

P sempre legato

Prov-i-dence would not per-mit us to be call'd in-to this sev-ere

P sempre legato *mf* *P*

pp *P* *pp*

mf *mf* *mf*

cresc.

mf *mf* *mf* *mf*

con-tro-ver-sy un-til we were grown up to our pres-ent strength, had been

mf *mf* *mf* *mf*

cresc.

mf *mf* *mf* *mf*

pp *pp* *pp*

cresc.

mf *mf* *mf* *mf*

Handwritten musical score for the first system, consisting of five staves. The lyrics are: "pre-vious-ly ex-er-cis'd in war-like op-er-a-tion,". The score includes dynamic markings such as *mf* and *f dim.*, and time signature changes from 3/8 to 2/4 and back to 3/8. The piano accompaniment is written in the bottom two staves.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, starting with a boxed measure number "20". The lyrics are: "and poss-ess'd of the means of de-fend-ing our-selves." The score includes dynamic markings such as *p dim.*, *pp*, and *rit.*. The piano accompaniment is written in the bottom two staves.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, also starting with a boxed measure number "20". The lyrics are: "and poss-ess'd of the means of de-fend-ing our-selves." The score includes dynamic markings such as *p*, *pp*, and *rit.*. The piano accompaniment is written in the bottom two staves.

21 *Ten. I & II* *mf* *f*
 With hearts for-ti-fied with these
Bass I & II *f*

21 *Come prima, ma senza trascinare*
Allegro
mp cresc. *mf* *f*

an-i-mat-ing re-flec-tions, we most sol-lem-nly, be-fore God and the world,
f

22 *poco a poco cresc.*
 de-clare that ex-ert-ing the ut-most en-er-gy of those pow-ers which our be-
poco a poco cresc.

22 *poco a poco cresc.*

23 *f cresc.*
 ne-fi-cent Au-a-tor hath gra-cious-ly be-stand up on us,
 the arms we have been com-

23 *f cresc.*
 bell'd by our en-e-mis to as-sume, we

24 *risoluto poco a poco cresc.*
 will in de-fi-an-ace of ev'-ry haz-ard, with

24 *risoluto poco a poco cresc.*
 will in de-fi-an-ace of ev'-ry haz-ard, with

24 *poco a poco cresc.*

un - a - bat - ing firm - ness and per - sev - er - ance, em -

un - a - bat - ing firm - ness and per - sev - er - ance, em -

un - a - bat - ing firm - ness and per - sev - er - ance, em -

un - a - bat - ing firm - ness and per - sev - er - ance, em -

25

ploy for the pre - serv - a - tion of our lib - er - ties, our lib - er - ties, our

ploy for the pre - serv - a - tion of our lib - - - - - ties, — our

ploy for the pre - serv - a - tion of our lib - er - ties, be - ing with one mind, — be - ing with

ploy for the pre - serv - a - tion of our lib - er - ties, be - ing with one mind, — be - ing with

25

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal and piano parts.

System 1:

- Vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor/Bass):
 - Lyrics: "lib-er-ties, re-solv'd to die free - - men"
 - Lyrics: "one mind - re-solv'd to die free - - men, free - men"
- Piano accompaniment:
 - Measures 26-31.
 - Tempo markings: *rit.*, *a tempo*.
 - Dynamic markings: *q. p.*, *ff*.

System 2:

- Vocal staves:
 - Lyrics: "rath-er than to live slaves."
- Piano accompaniment:
 - Measures 32-38.
 - Tempo markings: *a tempo*.
 - Dynamic markings: *q. p.*, *ff*.
 - Performance instructions: *rit.*, *piu mosso*, *rit.*, *molto*, *rit.*, *molto*, *rit.*, *molto*, *rit.*, *molto*.
 - Handwritten notes: "faster", "sotto", "m. d.", "attacca".

Jan. 29 - Feb. 4, '43

III

Alla marcia (♩ = 76)

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It begins with a piano introduction in the left hand, marked *pp staccato, ritmico*. The right hand has a melodic line with some rests. The score is divided into systems. The first system shows the piano accompaniment. The second system includes the vocal line with the lyrics: "We fight not for glo-ry or for con-quest." The piano accompaniment continues. The third system shows the piano accompaniment with a measure number "27" in a box. The fourth system includes the vocal line with the lyrics: "We fight not for con-quest." The piano accompaniment continues. The score ends with a final piano accompaniment system.

28

We ex-hib- it to man-kind ————— the re-mark-a-ble spec-tac-le

We ex-hib- it to man-kind ————— the re-mark-a-ble spec-tac-le

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics 'We ex-hib- it to man-kind ————— the re-mark-a-ble spec-tac-le'. The middle staff is the vocal line for a second voice, with lyrics 'We ex-hib- it to man-kind ————— the re-mark-a-ble spec-tac-le'. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment, featuring a bass line with chords and a treble line with chords. A dynamic marking 'p' is present in the piano part.

of a peo-ple at-tack'd by un-pro-vo-ck'd en-em-ies with-

of a peo-ple at-tack'd by un-pro-vo-ck'd en-em-ies with-

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics 'of a peo-ple at-tack'd by un-pro-vo-ck'd en-em-ies with-'. The middle staff is the vocal line for a second voice, with lyrics 'of a peo-ple at-tack'd by un-pro-vo-ck'd en-em-ies with-'. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment, featuring a bass line with chords and a treble line with chords.

out any im-pu-ta-tion or e-ven sus-pi-cion of of-

out any im-pu-ta-tion or e-ven sus-pi-cion of of-

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics 'out any im-pu-ta-tion or e-ven sus-pi-cion of of-'. The middle staff is the vocal line for a second voice, with lyrics 'out any im-pu-ta-tion or e-ven sus-pi-cion of of-'. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment, featuring a bass line with chords and a treble line with chords.

20.

29

fenza.

This system shows the beginning of measure 29. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The treble staff contains a whole rest. The bass staff contains a whole note chord consisting of B-flat, E-flat, and A-flat.

29

fenza.
mf

This system covers measures 30 and 31. Measure 30 features a treble staff with a melodic line starting on G4 and moving up to B-flat4, and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 31 continues the melodic line in the treble and the accompaniment in the bass. Dynamics include *fenza.* and *mf*.

cresc.

This system covers measures 31 and 32. Measure 31 continues the previous system. Measure 32 features a treble staff with a melodic line moving up to B-flat4 and then down, and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The dynamic marking *cresc.* is present.

This system covers measures 32 and 33. Measure 32 continues the previous system. Measure 33 features a treble staff with a melodic line moving up to B-flat4 and then down, and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

30

mf

They boast of their priv-i- le - ges

This system covers measures 33 and 34. Measure 33 features a treble staff with a melodic line starting on G4 and moving up to B-flat4, and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 34 continues the melodic line in the treble and the accompaniment in the bass. The dynamic marking *mf* is present.

30

mf

They boast of priv- le - ges

This system covers measures 34 and 35. Measure 34 features a treble staff with a melodic line starting on G4 and moving up to B-flat4, and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 35 continues the melodic line in the treble and the accompaniment in the bass. The dynamic marking *mf* is present.

and cur-ile-i-za-tion,
and civ-il-iz-a-tion,

31

and yet prof-fer no mild-er con-di-tions, no
and yet prof-fer no mild-er con-di-tions, no

31

mild-er con-di-tions than serv-i-tude or death.
mild-er con-di-tions than serv-i-tude or death.

32

ff *frasoroso, col ped.*

sfz

sfz

Handwritten musical score for piano accompaniment, measures 22-32. The score is written in G major and 4/4 time. It features a complex texture with multiple voices in both hands, including triplets and sixteenth-note patterns. Dynamic markings include *ff* *frasoroso, col ped.* at the beginning, and *sfz* in the middle and end of the section.

sfz

dim.

Handwritten musical score for piano accompaniment, measures 33-34. The texture becomes more sparse, with a prominent triplet in the right hand. Dynamic markings include *sfz* and *dim.*

pp

senza ped.

In our na - tive land, ——— in de -

In our na - tive land, ——— in de -

Handwritten vocal line for measures 33-34. The melody is simple and lyrical. The dynamic marking is *pp* and the instruction is *senza ped.*

pp

meno

Handwritten musical score for piano accompaniment, measures 34-35. The texture is sparse and features a triplet in the right hand. Dynamic markings include *pp* and *meno*.

mf
sense of the free - dom — that is our birth - right
sense of the free - dom — that is our birth - right

mf dim.

and which we ev - er en - joy'd
and which we ev - er en - joy'd

sfz
till the late vi - o - la - tion of it;
till the late vi - o - la - tion of it;

sfz *dim. cresc.*

24. 36

pp *cresc.* *mf*
for the pro - tection of our prop-er-ty
pp *cresc.* *mf*
for the pro - tection of our prop-er-ty

36
pp *mf*

p *ppoco cresc.* *mf*
ac - quir'd sole - ly by the hon - est
p *ppoco cresc.* *mf*
ac - quir'd sole - ly by the hon - est

p *ppoco cresc.* *mf*

mf espress. *p*
in - dus - try of our fore - fath - ers and our -
mf espress. *p*
in - dus - try of our fore - fath - ers and our -

mf espress. *p*

37

selves; a - gainst viol - ence

selves; a - gainst viol - ence

selves; a - gainst viol - ence

selves; a - gainst viol - ence

Dynamic markings: *sfz*, *sfz*, *sfz*, *sfz*

37

Dynamic markings: *mf*, *sfz*, *sfz*

38

act-u-al-ly off - end; we

act-u-al-ly off - end; we

act-u-al-ly off - end; we

act-u-al-ly off - end; we

Dynamic markings: *sfz*, *sfz*, *sfz*, *sfz*, *cresc.*, *cresc.*, *sfz*, *cresc.*

38

Dynamic markings: *sfz*, *sfz*, *sfz*, *cresc.*, *mf*

26.

The musical score is written in a single system with two systems of notation. The first system includes four vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The second system includes five vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "we have tak-en up arms,". The music features various dynamics (sfz, p, f, mp), articulations (accents, slurs), and rhythmic patterns including triplets.

(rall.)

(rall.)

sfz *sopra* *sfz* *sfz* *rall.* *sfz* *molto*

40 *Meno mosso, largamente*

We shall lay them down — when hos-til-i-ties shall cease on the

We shall lay them down — when hos-til-i-ties shall cease on the

40 *ff pesante*

part of the ag-gress-ors and all — dan-ger of their

espressivo

part of the ag-gress-ors — and — all dan-ger of their

41

be-ing re - new'd shall be - re - mov'd, of their be-ing re - new'd shall

be-ing re - new'd shall be - re - mov'd, of their be-ing re - new'd shall

41

marcato

rall. div. be re - mov'd and not be - fore,

unis.

be re - mov'd and not be - fore,

rall.

larghetto

42 *a tempo*

and not be - fore,

larghetto and not be - fore,

42 *a tempo*

rit.

sfz *sfz* *sfz* *sfz*

30.

43

Ritenu
and not be -
and not be -
and not be -
and not be -

Ritenu and not be -
43
sfz *sfz* *sfz*

Tempo I
for.
for.
for. and not be - *for.*
for.

forza
sfz *sfz*

Tempo I
f con forza
sfz *sfz*
attaca

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32.

44

PPP solis voce, le labbra quasi chiuse

I shall not

p *pp* *PPP*

45

(senza cresc.)

die

pp with -

pp with -

45

pp *ff* *and*

poco cresc. *mp*

out a hope that light and lib. er. ty

poco cresc. *mp*

out a hope that light and lib. er. ty

poco cresc. *mp*

pp *P* *pp* *And* *pp*

are on stead - y ad - vance.

are on stead - y ad - vance.

P *P* *P* *P*

46 *P* *mp* *mp*

er'm should the cloud of bar-bar-is-m and des-pot-is-m a-

er'm should the cloud of bar-bar-is-m and des-pot-is-m a-

46 *pp* *P* *mp*

mf *f* *mf* *f* *mf* *f* *mf* *f*

gain ob - scure the sci - ence and lib - er - ties of Eur - ope, this

gain ob - scure the sci - ence and lib - er - ties of Eur - ope,

mf *f* *mf* *f*

34.

47

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 47-50. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The vocal line has lyrics: "coun - try re - mains, this coun - try re - mains". The piano accompaniment includes a *unis.* marking. Dynamics include *pp* and *p*. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

47

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 51-54. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The vocal line has lyrics: "this coun - try re - mains, - this coun - try re -". The piano accompaniment includes a *pp* marking. Dynamics include *pp* and *p*. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical score for the third system, measures 55-58. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The vocal line has lyrics: "to pre - serve and re - store". The piano accompaniment includes a *pp* marking. Dynamics include *pp*, *p*, and *mf*. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system, measures 59-62. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The vocal line has lyrics: "mains to pre - serve and re - store". The piano accompaniment includes a *pp* marking. Dynamics include *pp*, *p*, and *mf*. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical score for the fifth system, measures 63-66. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The vocal line has lyrics: "right and lib - er - ty". The piano accompaniment includes a *mf* marking. Dynamics include *mf* and *p*. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

48

Handwritten musical score for the sixth system, measures 67-70. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The vocal line has lyrics: "right and lib - er - ty". The piano accompaniment includes a *mf* marking. Dynamics include *mf* and *p*. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

49 *pp*

50

them.

to — them.

49 *pp*

50 *p. 39*

omit *pp*

pp unis. *poco a poco cresc.*

The flames — Kin - de'd — on the

poco a poco cresc.

flames — Kin - de'd — on the Fourth of Ju -

quasi fiamme

p

mp

Fourth of Ju - ly, — Sev - en - teen - sev'n - ty - -

mp

ly, — Sev - en - teen - sev'n - ty - - six, have

mp

51

six, have — spread — o - ver too much of the

spread — o - ver too much of the globe

globe — to be ex - tin - quish'd, — to be ex -

to be ex - tin - quish'd, — to be ex - tin - quish'd

52

tin - quish'd — by — the — feel - - - - - le

by — the — feel - - - - - le en - - -

52

53

P dim. *poco f p*

en - gines of des - pot - is - m; (m)

pp dir. *poco f p*

gines of des - pot - is - m; (m)

P dim. *pp*

poco cresc. *v* *mp*

54

P mesto

on the con - trar - y, they will con -

P mesto

on the con - trar - y, they

54

P mesto

38.

some these en-gines and all and-

- will on - some these en-gines and all

f

all who work them.

and all - who work them,

f

55

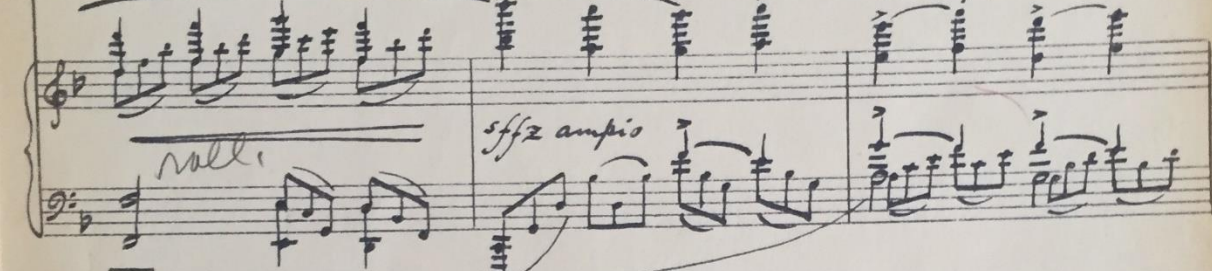
all who

mf

(rall.) (poco ritenuato) (a tempo)

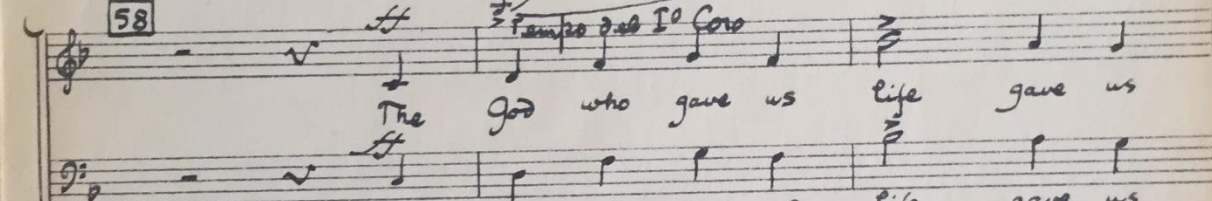
(rall.) (poco ritenuato) (a tempo)

rall. poco ritenuato a tempo



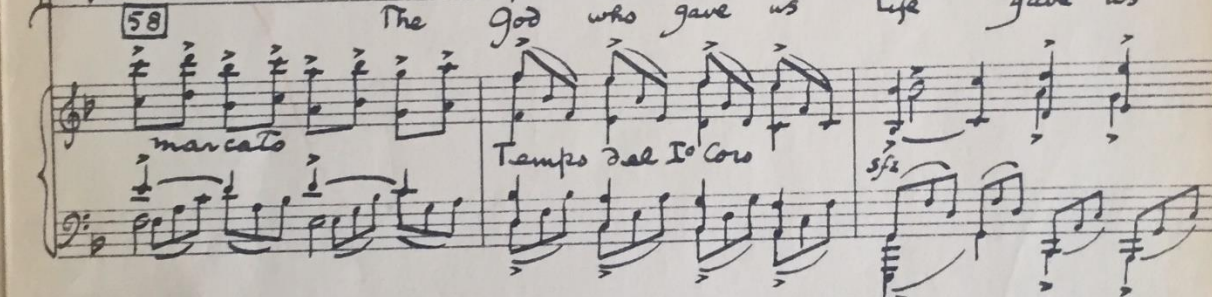
58 *ff* Tempo del I^o Coro

The God who gave us life gave us

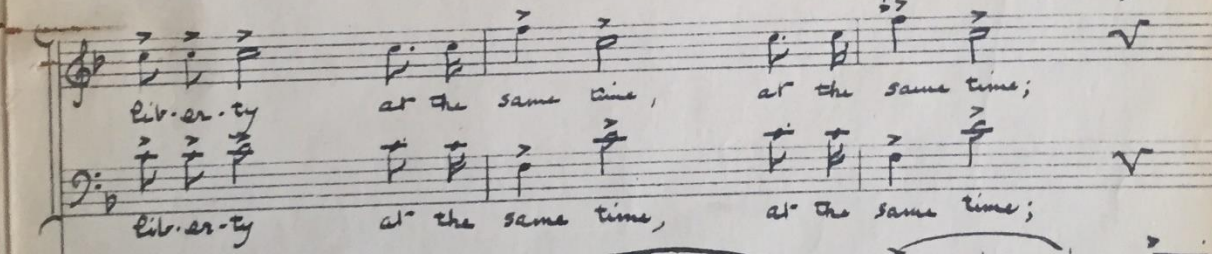


58 *ff* Tempo del I^o Coro

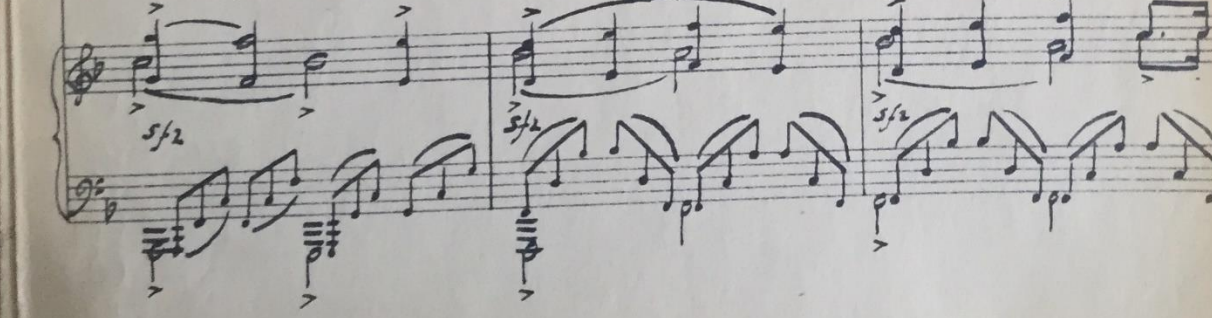
The God who gave us life gave us



lib. er. ty at the same time, at the same time;



lib. er. ty at the same time, at the same time;



59

mf
the hand — of

mf
the hand — of

f marcato
the hand of force may des-

f marcato
the hand of force may des-

59

f
meno f ma sempre

force — may — des - - troy — but —

force — may — des - - troy — but —

troy, — the hand of force may des - troy — but —

troy, — the hand of force may des - troy — but —

appassionato

42.

60 *cresc.*

can - not dis - join, can - not

cresc.

can - not dis - join, can - - not dis -

cresc.

can - - not dis - join them, can - - not dis -

cresc.

can - - not dis - join them, can - - not dis -

60

dis - join, can - - not,

join, can - - not, can - - not,

join them, can - - not, can - - not,

join them, can - - not, can - - not,

61

ritto

marcato *rall.* 62 *a tempo*

can - - not dis - join

marcato *rall.* *Them.* *a tempo*

marcato *rall.* *Them.* *a tempo*

marcato *rall.* *Them.* *a tempo*

marcato *rall.* *Them.* *a tempo*

marcato *rall.* *Them.* *a tempo*

marcato *rall.* *Them.* *a tempo*

marcato *rall.* *Them.* *a tempo*

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

Lib - er - ty,

ff estatico

Handwritten musical score for the piece "Liberty". The score is written on ten staves, organized into two systems of five staves each. The top four staves of each system are vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass), and the bottom two staves are piano accompaniment. The lyrics "lib-er-ty," are written under the vocal staves. The music is in a common time signature and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score includes dynamic markings such as *ff* (fortissimo) and *rall.* (rallentando). The piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The vocal parts consist of simple, rhythmic patterns. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

63 Sostenuuto, quasi largo

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-3. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are vocal lines with lyrics "life," and "lib-er-ty, life,". The bottom two staves are piano accompaniment with chords and rhythmic patterns. The tempo marking "Sostenuuto, quasi largo" is written above the first staff.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 4-6. It consists of four staves. The piano accompaniment continues with more complex chordal textures. The vocal lines are partially obscured by the piano part. A handwritten note "Some tempo" is written in the middle of the system.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, measures 7-9. It consists of four staves. The vocal lines have lyrics "life!", "lib-er-ty!", and "ty, life!". The piano accompaniment features a prominent melodic line in the right hand and chords in the left hand.

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system, measures 10-12. It consists of four staves. The piano accompaniment is highly detailed with many notes and ornaments. The vocal lines continue with lyrics "lib-er-ty!". The system ends with a double bar line.

March 13-23, '43

4. Email containing written permission from E.C. Schirmer Publishing to include the above score and excerpts from The Testament of Freedom in this document.

RE: Dissertation Copyright Permission Request: Randall Thompson's The Testament of Freedom

Sarah Sheldon <ssheldon@ecspublishing.com>

Wed 11/8/2023 1:41 PM

To: John Ousley <john.ousley@church-hsb.org>

Hello John, thanks for sending this. We can approve all the excerpts and full piano-vocal score (with the first page of the third movement redacted as you have done) to be included.

Please include our copyright line with your excerpts:

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Please allow this email to serve as proof of permission, let me know if you need something more formal.

Best,

Sarah Sheldon

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