Calixa Lavallée and the Construction of a National Anthem

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> *This magnificent "chant national" . . . seems to combine all the beauties that we like to find in the national hymn of a people.*[1]

Among the odds and ends that came down to me after the death of my mother in 2005 were musical items from her father, William Frank Nelson, who was a singer and conductor in London, England. Perhaps the biggest surprise was a manuscript setting of the Nigerian National Anthem which my grandfather had apparently submitted as part of a 1959 competition to set the lyric written by the English-Nigerian immigrant Lillian Jean Williams. In the end, my grandfather's setting was not adopted; instead, the competition winner, which served Nigeria from 1960 to 1978, was a setting by Frances Berda, otherwise unknown but apparently also English. It is strange to think of all these people from England contributing to the national anthem of a different country but, in the end, national anthems (or songs or hymns) are frequently much of a muchness, as anyone who has watched a lot of Olympic medal ceremonies can attest. Example 1 is the first phrase of my grandfather's entry. Example 2 is the opening of Berda's winning setting, now the "Old National Anthem" of Nigeria.

Both are hymn-like and outline the tonic chord to begin. Like most anthems, they subsequently modulate to the key of the dominant and return in a satisfying, often triumphal, manner to the home key. Of course, outlining the tonic chord at the opening is itself a melodic gesture that evokes grandeur, pomp, and importance. Besides innumerable national anthems like "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "La Marseillaise," think of the opening of Wagner's overtures to *Die Meistersinger* and *Tannhäuser* which, of course, were composed during the time when nationalism in music was flourishing in many countries.[2] Yet, in this case, the similarity of the two anthem openings is not likely to have aroused suspicions that one was copied from the other. They were, after all, created simultaneously,

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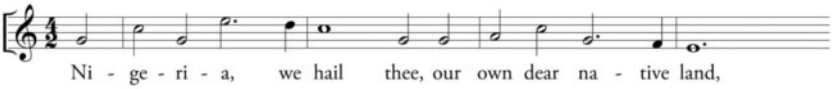
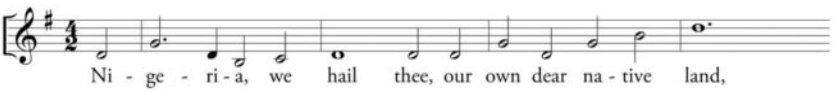


Example 1. Opening of "Nigeria We Hail Thee," by William Frank Nelson.



Example 2. Opening of "Nigeria We Hail Thee," by Frances Berda.

more or less, in competition and in isolation. Any similarity, therefore, is certain to be coincidental, in spite of a general likeness and the shared contour of their opening three notes (or four, allowing for octave displacement). If a piece of music seems to allude to a preexisting work, particularly a famous one, then questions are likely to be raised about whether some musical gesture has been consciously borrowed from the earlier work. Such is the case with Canada's national anthem, "O Canada," composed as a "chant national" by Calixa Lavallée in 1880.[3] Whether Lavallée had any identifiable model in composing "O Canada," specifically the "March of the Priests" from Mozart's *Magic Flute*, has been the subject of speculation for over a century.[4] My contention is that in composing "O Canada," Lavallée used not only that Mozart piece but multiple models that caught the spirit he sought to convey by Wagner, Liszt, and the German-American composer Matthias Keller, paraphrasing segments from these sources and weaving them together into a sort of patchwork. Making that case is the purpose of this essay, but first it is important to understand the background of the composer and the commission.

Lavallée's Life and Career

Born just northeast of Montreal in 1842, Calixa Lavallée was the son of instrument builder and conductor Augustin Lavallée.[5] He appears to have been something of a musical prodigy since he left home at thirteen to study in Montreal, and by the age of seventeen was on the road in the United States as a member of a minstrel company. Equally adept at violin, cornet, and piano, his versatility would have made him a valuable member of any touring musical group. In 1861, shortly after the outbreak of the American Civil War, Lavallée quit the troupe to join the band of the

Fourth Rhode Island Regiment. He served in that band, following the regiment around for a year in various campaigns, playing music and helping to tend the wounded. That culminated in the deadly Battle of Antietam in September 1862, after which Lavallée was mustered out of the service. He toured for another year with his former company, the New Orleans Minstrels, and with a music hall "Parlor Opera" company, before returning to Quebec in December 1863.

For two years, Lavallée established his reputation in Montreal as an excellent pianist and astute critic. Then, in early 1866, he rejoined his old minstrel company and toured extensively in the United States once again, marrying a Massachusetts girl in 1867. On July 1 of that year, Canada became the first independent nation in the British Empire through the confederation of its provinces, creating the entity for which Lavallée would eventually compose a *chant national*. By 1870, Lavallée had joined the San Francisco Minstrels, who, notwithstanding that name, were resident in music halls in New York City. In mid-1871, he changed companies again to the Morris Brothers' Company based in Boston. There, he joined David C. Hall's Band as a leading member and conductor on a Boston–New York steamship run, before returning to Montreal in early 1873.

His homecoming seems to have marked a turning point in Lavallée's life, after which he began to appear primarily as a classical concert musician and teacher. After a brief summer return to Massachusetts, he was funded by patrons in Montreal for music study in Paris, and he remained overseas for two years, mostly in Paris but with some travel to other countries. After his return in mid-1875, Lavallée dedicated himself to teaching, composing, concertizing, conducting, and to establishing a national—in this instance meaning French-Canadian—conservatory, relocating to Quebec City in 1878 to facilitate that goal. In March of 1880, he was commissioned by the Congrès Catholique Canadiens Français to write the music for a *chant national*. "O Canada" was duly composed and premiered in June of that year during celebrations surrounding Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day—then, as now, a beloved holiday in Quebec. A few weeks later, Lavallée abandoned his life in Canada and returned to New England.

By late 1880, Lavallée had settled once again in Boston, which became his home for the last eleven years of his life. One of his primary achievements during this period was the successful championing of American music, with his organization and performance of an all-American concert at the Music Teachers National Association (MTNA) meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1884 recognized as a landmark event and the beginning of a national movement.[6] Indeed, after Lavallée's death in 1891, an appreciation at the 1892 MTNA meeting, once again in

Cleveland, referred twice to his patriotism and called him "the Lafayette of our American musicians."[7]

Calixa Lavallée was revered in Canada for his musical ability from a very young age: already in 1873 his talent was described as "essentiellement national";[8] he was described in 1915 as "un musicien vraiment canadien"[9]; and the subtitle of his 1936 biography was *Musicien National du Canada*.[10] Although Lavallée spent twenty-one years of his career in the United States as compared to seven in Canada,[11] his remains were transferred to Montreal from Boston's Mount Benedict Cemetery in 1933, largely at the instigation of his eventual biographer, Eugène Lapierre. A longtime and habitual American resident by choice and necessity, Calixa Lavallée's complicated identity had been recertified as Canadian, once and for all.

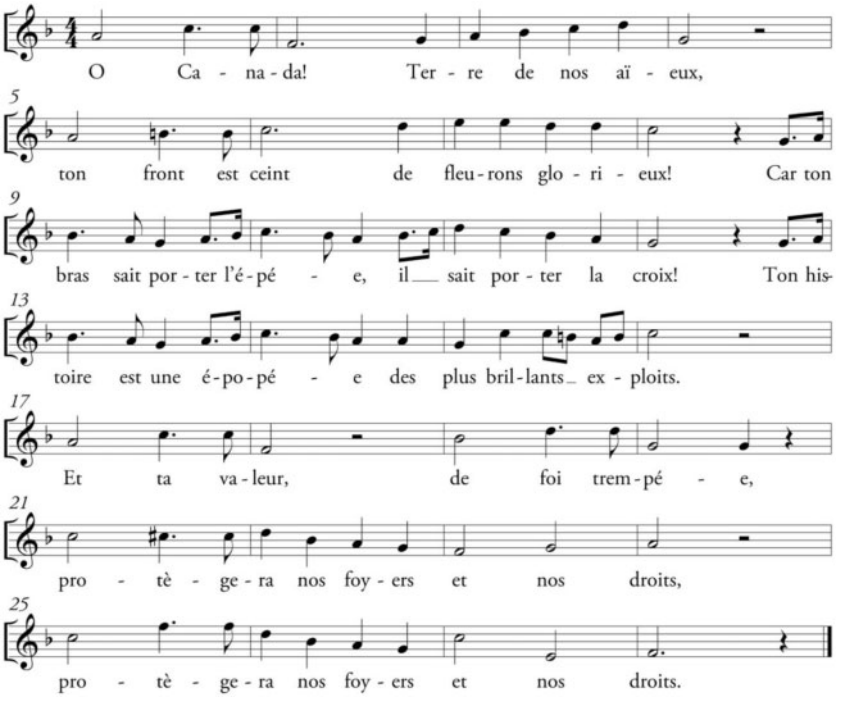
"O Canada": Deconstruction and Reconstruction

Starting around 1936, Lavallée's "O Canada" began to be used semi-officially as Canada's national anthem, though from around 1900 it had been widely sung, especially by French Canadians.[12] It was recognized officially as Canada's national anthem in 1980 though, in practice, it had already held that position de facto for some decades in both French and English.[13] Example 3 presents Lavallée's *chant national*, with the first stanza of lyrics written for it in 1880 by Judge Adolphe-Basile Routhier.[14]

The Contentious Mozart Opening, mm. 1–8

As noted, the opening outline of the tonic chord is classic for national hymns and anthems. Still, that did not prevent critics from speculating that Lavallée had taken his opening melodic gesture from the "March of the Priests" that opens Act 2 of Mozart's *Magic Flute*. In 1936, Eugène Lapierre addressed that charge in his biography by claiming the opening figure was simply universal, just as those openings for the Nigerian national anthem are similar in outline and effect. He gave a catalog of similar candidates, including passages by Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Verdi, and Gounod, among others, and explained at length how Mozart's work differs from Lavallée's.[15] But the perception of an affinity with Mozart's March persisted, causing the distinguished Canadian composer and musician Sir Ernest MacMillan in 1963 to dismiss the connection as obvious and negligible.

> I must admit to being somewhat amused by those knowing souls who attribute it to Mozart (not that this in itself would be any disadvantage) because the first three notes coincide with those of the Priests' March in *Die*



Example 3. "O Canada," by Calixa Lavallée, with lyrics by Adolphe-Basile Routhier.

> *Zauberflöte*. I am reminded of the retort of Johannes Brahms when someone remarked on the resemblance of the great tune in the finale of his first symphony to that of Beethoven's "Hymn to Joy": "Any fool can see that!"[16]

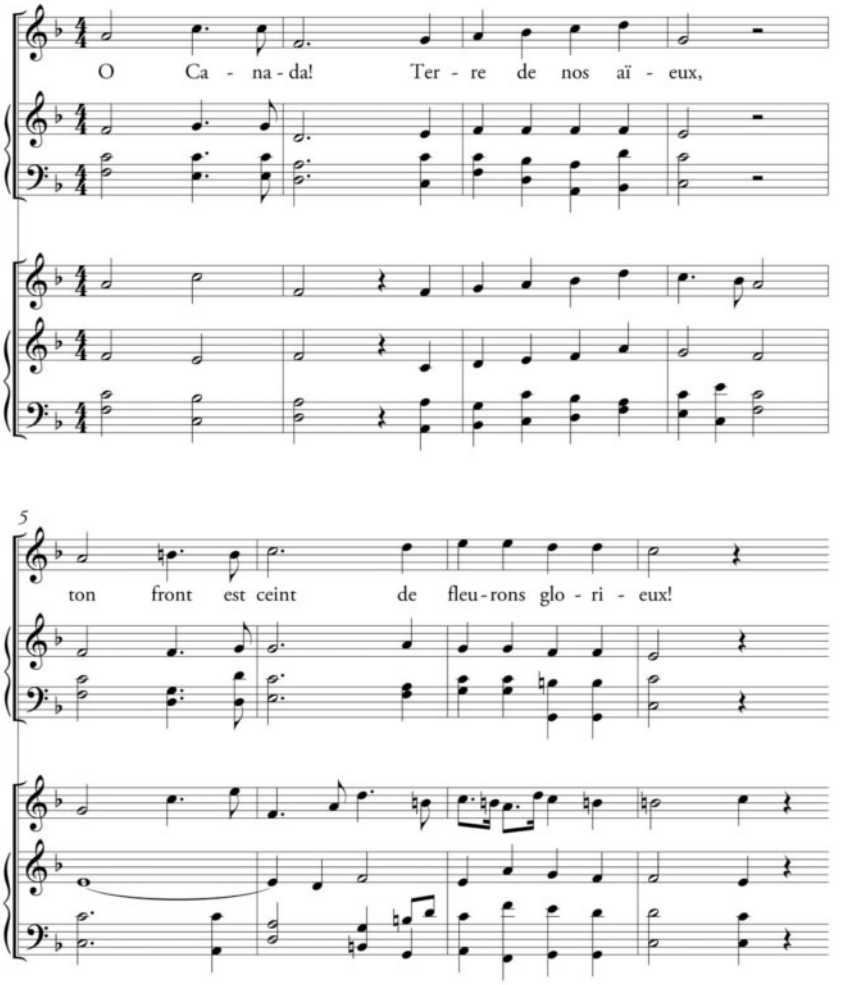
Having the only knighted musician in Canadian history make a pronouncement in that way probably laid the matter to rest for many people. Indeed, the online article on "O Canada" in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, updated by Andrew McIntosh in 2018, reports that Lapierre's 1936 biography "refutes charges of plagiarism," implying that he did so successfully.[17] Mozart's "March of the Priests" has continued to echo in the background of "O Canada," however. In his recent anthem-centered biography of Lavallée, Robert Harris concedes an explicit connection: "They're identical. They have the same rhythm, same melody, same tempo, same mood, and—more strikingly from a musical point of view—the same harmony." Harris asks rhetorically if this was plagiarism and concludes that Lavallée simply "called upon Mozart from his musical subconscious": an unintentional borrowing of a few seconds of Mozart's March,

with the rest of the anthem being entirely original and glorious.[18] Canadian composer John Beckwith's review of Harris's book does not suffer even this unintentional borrowing, citing Lapierre's 1936 list of similar openings, and claiming: "The pattern, 3–5–1, is a commonly occurring feature of many compositions from the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries."[19] So, the prevailing positions seem to be that it is either an unintentional and incidental borrowing of a famous work, or coincidental use of a musical commonplace.

The complaint about the triadic opening being commonplace seems reasonable. Indeed, in his recent study of musical borrowing, Peter Burkholder reckons: "Based on contour alone, a similarity of five notes in a triadic theme is relatively likely to be a coincidence."[20] The key point here is that the similarity is not based on contour alone. The affinity is both unmistakable and significant, not only in the opening three notes that have been the focus of so much controversy, but throughout the first eight measures: in the shape of the phrase, its rhythm, its places of movement and repose, its progression toward the dominant, and the cadence at measure 8. It is not a matter of direct quotation per se, or, at the other extreme, of a commonplace triadic outline, but of clear influence and inspiration for the entire phrase, following a shared opening gesture. The two passages in parallel are shown in Example 4.

The first three notes of the melody are identical, as everyone has noted, but the harmony in those opening measures is strikingly similar, with the arrival on D minor at the downbeat of the second measure. This is followed by the same quarter-note rhythm in stepwise ascent in mm. 2–3, leading to D at the top of the phrase. The second phrases begin with identical rhythm in measure 5, and in fact, the dotted quarter-note figure of the Mozart passage there can be seen as the source of Lavallée's opening rhythm in the first measure as well. The second phrases are also parallel in featuring an overall C–E–D–C melodic arch, culminating in parallel rhythm in measure 7 and a modulating cadence to C at measure 8.

Beyond that technical affinity, the "March of the Priests" also makes perfect sense as a model from a symbolic point of view. Mozart's music introduces the Masonic ceremony at the beginning of Act 2 of *The Magic Flute* with a majestic March by the Council of Priests of Isis and Osiris, headed by Sarastro. Sarastro is about to inform the Council that Prince Tamino, the opera's noble protagonist, is ready to undergo the trials whose survival will lead to enlightenment. It is a solemn moment in the opera, and undoubtedly of great gravity for Mozart himself, since he was inducted into the Masonic order in December 1784 and was an active member until his death seven years later (just weeks after *The Magic Flute* premiered).[21] Lavallée's anthem is marked *maestoso e risoluto*,[22] so the sense of grandeur,



Example 4. Parallel openings of "O Canada" by Calixa Lavallée and "March of the Priests" from *The Magic Flute*, by W. A. Mozart.

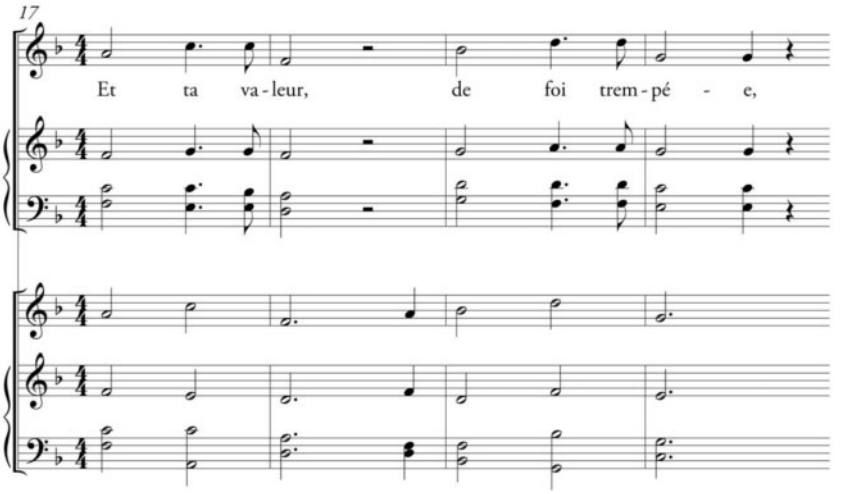
importance, nobility, unity, religious solemnity, and even destiny, as found in the Mozart work, is embodied in Lavallée's anthem as well. Such characteristics would seem desirable for any national anthem, so it is not surprising that Lavallée would choose to appropriate Mozart's music and its affect. For all of these reasons—the extensive musical affinity, the musical character, and the symbolism—I believe the resemblance represents not an unintentional borrowing nor a mere coincidence, but a deliberate choice by Lavallée.

The charges of inadvertence or coincidence often seem to stem from a certain defensiveness, or an anxiety that there not be any foreign material in this important national symbol, even though the apparent source and inspiration, in this case, is a majestic work by a "transcendent musical genius."[23] Eugène Lapierre, citing a local legend, suggested that Lavallée took inspiration from the landscape of his home region, and specifically the sound of a waterfall heard in solitary wanderings one afternoon while he was working on his piece.[24] What could be more rooted in the land, more essentially Canadian, than attentive inspiration in its very topography? On the other hand, Lavallée's recent biographer Brian C. Thompson wonders if awareness of the Mozart connection may have derailed the planned first performance of the piece on June 24, 1880 (it was omitted for unknown reasons), with the Masonic context of the "March of the Priests" seeming too out of place for a mass officiated by the Archbishop of Quebec.[25] In order for that to be true, of course, the opening would have had to be recognized as connected to Mozart's opera from *before* its first public performance, which does not seem plausible.

One unexpected detail about the composition of "O Canada," as reported (in English) afterward by Routhier, is that "Lavallée insisted to compose the music first and so he did—and then I made the verses, or the stanzas, with the metrical and the rhyme that were suitable to the music."[26] This is not, then, a situation of Lavallée making a musical setting of the existing lyrics, as usually happens (in the case of Nigerian anthem, for example). Thus, the composer was free to follow whatever musical ideas occurred to him as appropriate to the subject and the genre, not according to the demands of Routhier's lyric nor any specific precedent for the lyric. It is my contention that Lavallée, indeed, proceeded to "combine all the beauties" that he wanted "to find in a national hymn," assembling his anthem, not just from the Mozart, but from various musical precedents that suited the aesthetic and the musical trajectory he wanted to follow. Mozart provided the opening, but other composers contributed as well.

The Liszt Transition, mm. 17–20

Lavallée's biographer Thompson offered one other possibility for the opening motive: the *andante sostenuto* theme from Franz Liszt's *Festklänge* of 1853.[27] Liszt apparently composed the piece in honor of the Fiftieth Jubilee of the Russian-born Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna of Weimar, but revised it in 1860 in anticipation of his long-awaited (and never achieved) marriage to the Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein.[28] It was, in any case, a celebratory work that engaged Liszt for several years. As Thompson points out, the opening notes of its *andante sostenuto* theme



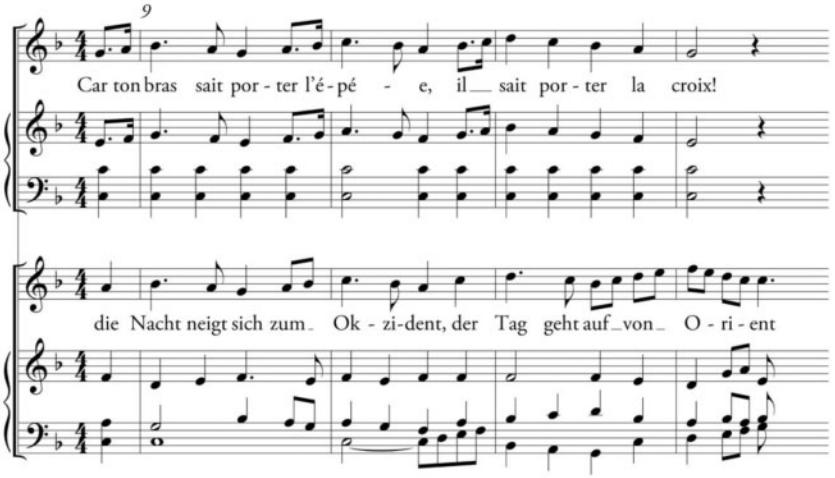
Example 5. Parallel passages from Lavallée's "O Canada" and Listz's *Festklänge*.

are identical to the opening of "O Canada," just like the Mozart quotation, but what is striking about this passage is that it resembles not the opening of "O Canada," but the return to the triadic outline as a transitional segment at measure 17: "Et ta valeur . . ." The immediate reiteration of the triad a step higher in this rhythmic configuration is very distinctive, and is exactly what Lavallée does at "de foi trempée," so that oft-recurring passage from Liszt's celebratory piece seems to be the source for that portion of the anthem (ex. 5).

Again, apart from the parallel melodic contours, the arrival on D minor at measure 2 is strikingly similar, and the prominent F–E–D of Lavallée's bass line at the opening can be seen in the midst of Liszt's texture as well. That parallel also occurs with F–E in mm. 3–4, culminating in the arrival on C major.

Ironically, five years before Lavallée wrote "O Canada"—in fact, during his time in Europe—an anonymous writer in London's *Monthly Musical Record*, in introducing Liszt's *Festklänge*, calls that passage the "first subject" and says that it "seems to take the form and character of a grand national anthem."[29] Whether or not he read the *Monthly Musical Record*, Lavallée apparently thought so too.

One further connection between the two passages is their placement within the overall work. Liszt's "first subject" occurs five times throughout *Festklänge* in a variety of instrumentations and keys, and in dynamics from *pp* to *fff*, but in the midst of the texture rather than at the opening.



Example 6. Parallel passages from "O Canada" and *Wach auf* by Richard Wagner.

Lavallée's allusion also occurs prominently, but as a grand transitional passage in the middle of the piece, so it is not just the contour, but the function of the passages that are related.

The Wagner Interlude, mm. 9–16

It is possible to identify sources for other portions of the piece as well. The Liszt passage was treated prior to this because of its resemblance to the Mozart opening. As shown in Example 6, however, the undulating passage before the Liszt quotation, beginning with the pickup to measure 9, seems to be from *Wach auf, es nahet gen den Tag*, the chorus from Act 3, scene 5 of Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* (1868) where the villagers welcome the leading Meistersinger, Hans Sachs.[30]

Besides the very close melodic parallel, the bass pedal on C in the first two measures of the Wagner is extended throughout the phrase by Lavallée. There are also parallel thirds and tenths between the melody and other voices, where Lavallée's alto voice matches, first Wagner's tenor in measure 10, then his bass in measure 11. Together with the pedal point they give the two phrases a similar sound that greatly reinforces the melodic similarity.

Wach auf is foreshadowed in the Prelude to Act 3 of *Die Meistersinger*, with a meditative, hymn-like interlude for horns and bassoons. There is no question that Lavallée was familiar with Wagner's music. In fact, the second public performance of "O Canada," at a reception in honor of Lieutenant-Governor Robitaille on June 25, 1880, featured Wagner's

March from *Tannhäuser* as the opening work on the program. But Wagner was not universally appreciated, especially in francophone countries. When Lavallée's friend and collaborator the Canadian mezzo-soprano Rosita del Vecchio sang in Europe in 1878, a Montreal newspaper noted with satisfaction: "Fortunately, nothing of Wagner was heard."[31] There was also the anguish of the occupation of France during and even after the Franco-Prussian War, of which Lavallée was painfully aware. Even in Massachusetts on September 5, 1873, before traveling to Paris, he participated in a celebration marking the end of the occupation.[32]

When Lavallée arrived in Europe, however, Wagner's *Wach auf* had achieved a new level of fame beyond its inclusion as a hymn-like moment in the 1868 opera. On May 22, 1872, the cornerstone was laid for the Bayreuth Festival Theater, after designs by Wagner himself, and after the ceremony, Wagner conducted two works: Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and his own *Wach auf*.[33] The theater was under construction all during Lavallée's stay in Europe, and was completed around the time he returned to North America in the summer of 1875. By then, *Wach auf* was achieving such a level of public fame that when Wagner arrived at the Vienna train station on March 3, 1876, a massive chorus serenaded him with *Wach auf*, and Wagner was "moved to tears."[34] Indeed, the *Wach auf* music was special for Wagner long before he finished the opera: in a series of 1862 letters, he described the *Wach auf* chorale as emerging in the Act 3 Prelude like a "brilliant and sublime outburst" and "like a gospel."[35]

Lavallée apparently admired it too, even though he may have been aware that his Canadian compatriots, if they knew about it, might not appreciate having any Wagner in the *chant national*, especially from a work with such overtly German nationalist overtones.[36] In choosing models from Liszt and Wagner, Lavallée was simply following what Douglas Shadle has documented as the taste of American composers around 1880.[37] As an accomplished pianist, Lavallée could play the published scores of any of these pieces for himself, so hearing them performed was not necessary.[38] Nonetheless, Liszt's *Festklänge* was premiered in America by Carl Zerrahn in Boston in March 1860, and in New York in December of that year under Carl Bergmann.[39] With his extensive traveling, it is difficult to know what performances Lavallée might have heard, but *Festklänge* was played in Boston again in December 1871 and at Central Park Garden in August 1872, both under Theodore Thomas.[40] Wagner's *Wach auf* or excerpts from Act 3 of *Die Meistersinger* were premiered by Bergmann at the New York Philharmonic Society in May 1870,[41] and Thomas presented it five times at Central Park Garden in mid-1873 before Lavallée left for Europe.[42] So, in the years before Lavallée composed his anthem, these pieces were recently composed and publicly available in the

circles where he was active as a musician. And nothing could further reinforce Wagner's position as the ultimate composer of national music at that time—even in America—than the 1876 commission for his *American Centennial March* at the astronomical fee of $5,000.[43]

Lavallée would certainly have been aware of that, though he could not have anticipated how *Wach auf* specifically would later figure into German nationalist propaganda during the Nazi regime, being used, as Thomas Grey says, "to express the tender, inner soul of the *Heimat*."[44] In 1933, Joseph Goebbels said that, more than any other work, "it closely relates to our times and our spiritual condition," and that it symbolized a "reawakening of the German *Volk* out of the deep political and spiritual narcosis that it entered in November of 1918."[45] Leni Riefenstahl used an instrumental version (as from the Act 3 Prelude) in the soundtrack to her narrationless propaganda film *Triumph des Willens* (1935), during tranquil scenes of daybreak at Nuremberg before the 1934 Nazi Party Congress there.[46] Hans Sachs, after all, was from Nuremberg.

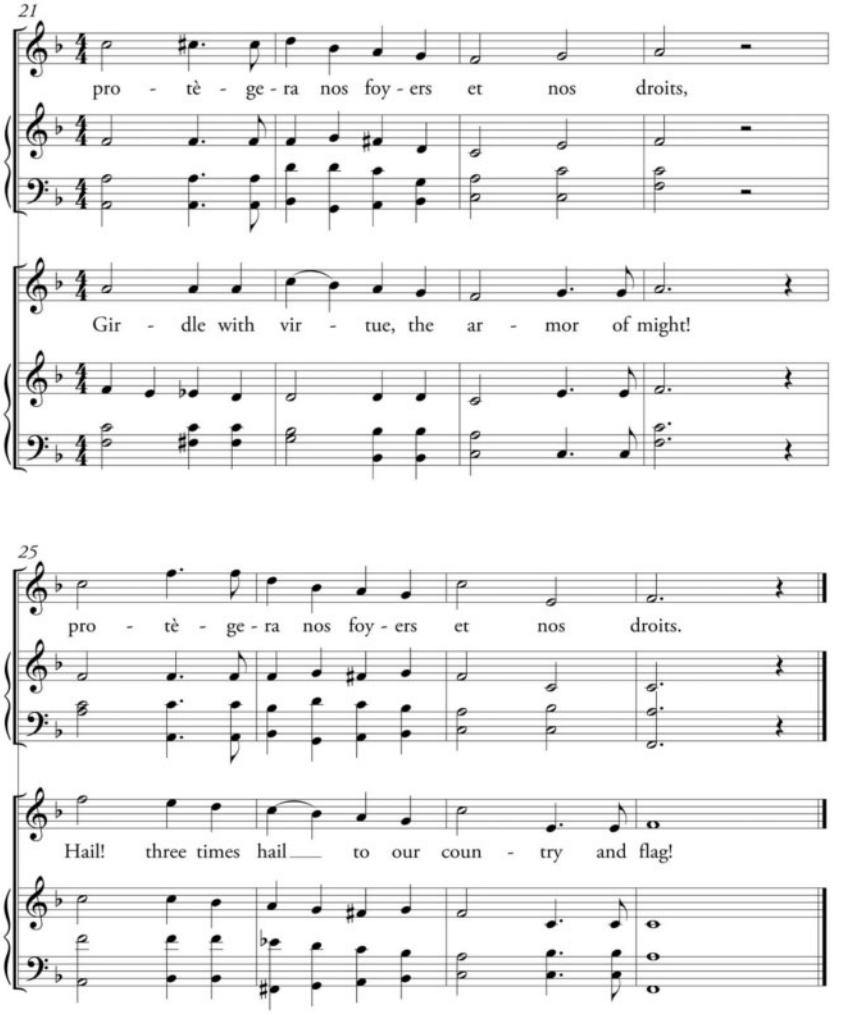
Lavallée's choice cannot be faulted for that later history. His reaction to the piece likely resembled that of French musicologist and composer Julien Tiersot, who in 1899 described *Wach auf* as "un choral d'une sublime beauté," unsurpassed perhaps even by Bach. Tiersot writes that its principal beauty was not "its melody, noble and pure as it is, nor its broad and unaffected harmonies, nor the splendors of its sonority: it is the sense of ardent conviction that reverberates throughout."[47] A meditative passage of "ardent conviction" seems to have suited Lavallée's purpose perfectly for this section of his *chant national*.

The Keller Climax, mm. 21–28

Only the final section of "O Canada" remains. It seems clearly to be based on "Speed our Republic," sometimes called "The American Hymn," an 1866 work by the German-American composer Matthias Keller.[48] Example 7 shows the relevant Lavallée and Keller passages.

The melodic and rhythmic resemblances throughout are extraordinary. In addition, the chromatically rising melody of Keller's bass line at the opening is paralleled in the rising chromatic line of Lavallée's opening melody. The cadences in mm. 22–24, furthermore, are identical, as are the bass lines A–B-flat–G–A–B-flat–C–C–F and the harmony in mm. 25–28. It is impossible not to hear this portion of "O Canada" as echoing Keller's hymn. How might Lavallée have known it?

Keller arrived in America from Württemberg in 1846 and worked as a violinist, conductor, and violin-maker in Philadelphia and later in New York and Boston. It is conceivable that Lavallée crossed paths with Keller



Example 7. Parallel passages from "O Canada" and "The American Hymn," by Matthias Keller.

around 1860 in New York, but we have nothing to confirm that. At any rate, an 1874 memoir gives the origin of Keller's piece as follows:

> Shortly after the late Civil War broke out, it will be remembered that a prize of five hundred dollars was offered by a committee of gentlemen for the best National Hymn. Here was an opportunity for our German-American. His love of liberty had grown . . . since his arrival in his chosen land, and at this time his patriotism knew no bounds; so it was but natural that he should have felt himself called upon to compete for the prize, or,

> what was far more precious to him, the honor of having written the Hymn of the American Nation. Inspired by such sentiments, he set about his labor of love, which resulted in that outpouring of reverence and love of country, the "American Hymn." The words as well as the music were his own, and the spirit of devotion that breathed through the one characterized the other.[49]

"The American Hymn" became so popular that it was, for a time, the first piece performed every Independence Day on Boston Common.[50] It became a staple of military bands, and was chosen by one ambitious bandleader, the Irish immigrant Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, as the music for a celebratory lyric of peace that he commissioned from Oliver Wendell Holmes, father of the famous jurist. This was the centerpiece for a gigantic Peace Jubilee that Gilmore organized in Boston in June 1869 to celebrate, somewhat belatedly, the end of the Civil War. "Angel of Peace," the resulting contrafactum of Holmes's poem set to Keller's music, arguably became more famous than Keller's original, at least for a time, since it was performed by a chorus of 10,000 and a combined band and orchestra of 1,000 players.[51] Lavallée was not in Boston at the time since he was on tour with the New Orleans Minstrels, but his troupe delighted audiences that summer with a hilarious parody of Gilmore's extravaganza. Lavallée was in Boston with Hall's Band for Gilmore's World Peace Jubilee in 1872, however, and the "Hymn of Peace" was revived for that event,[52] so Lavallée would have heard it then if he was not hearing and perhaps performing Keller's original patriotic hymn on a regular basis. One thing he might have taken from Keller's work is that immigrant composers could write music as proudly and nationalistically as native-born composers. Apparently, he could see that the converse was also true: music by foreigners could be borrowed, as appropriate, for creating a *chant national* in Canada. Lavallée knew what he liked, and was enough of an international musician by 1880 to take his preferred models where he found them.

Authorship and Identity

One odd piece of lore from the composition of "O Canada," as reported by Louis-Nazaire LeVasseur, a member of the anthem committee, is that when Lavallée gave the final manuscript of "O Canada" to publisher Arthur Lavigne to present to Lieutenant-Governor Robitaille, he neglected to sign his name.[53] Silly Calixa! Such modesty! Such absentmindedness on a nationally momentous occasion! Lavallée afterward said that he left Canada a few weeks later for financial reasons,[54] and that was true for many French-Canadian musicians around this time.[55] Given that

the composer had just constructed his anthem from borrowed portions of other composers' work—Austrian, German, Austro-Hungarian, and German-American—it bears considering that Lavallée, perhaps, did not feel he could wholly claim authorship and therefore did not sign the music. This is speculation, of course, but his precipitous departure from Quebec after his apparent triumph (even abandoning his wife and son), and going back to New England, is a striking and surprising gesture, even for someone as peripatetic as Lavallée. It seems remotely possible that whatever discomfort he felt, having bundled a multinational patchwork into an important Canadian commission, may have contributed to his decision to leave in such a hurry. Whatever the reason, Lavallée left his homeland at that moment, never to return. Ultimately, he could not escape being "canonized" in Canada for his work on the anthem, but if the foreign, especially Germanic, sources of his creation had been known at the time, one wonders whether his *chant national* would have achieved quite the level of acceptance and affection it enjoys today,[56] and if he would still be lauded as the "musicien national."[57]

Calixa Lavallée was clearly an extraordinary musician and a capable composer, with remarkably wide experience in both popular and classical genres, and a distinguished international career.[58] His contributions to raising the standard of musical performance in Quebec during his residence there were considerable. His timely championing of American composers generated much deserved attention for music by Americans, including—since he played some of his own compositions in his American recitals—himself.[59] His commitment to music education through his involvement with the MTNA provided leadership to that organization during its critical early period. In other words, there are many reasons to celebrate Calixa Lavallée as both a Canadian artist and an American artist, even while recognizing that "O Canada" was not his most original composition.

Uncovering the models used for any musical composition could be straightforward, but when that work is a beloved national anthem, other elements come into play. I have tried to make the case for Lavallée's "O Canada" borrowings as clear as possible, but I recognize that not everyone will agree that I have proved his debt in each one of these instances. As a Canadian by birth, I suspect that may be especially true in Canada where, for sentimental reasons, people could be reluctant to accept my argument, no matter what the evidence.[60] After all these years, encountering the works that seem to have inspired Lavallée should be a cause for curiosity and delight, not regret, embarrassment, or defensiveness. When I was working on this study, however, a colleague said, "I can see the headlines now: 'Musicologist says "O Canada" was stolen!'" I hope that is not the

reaction, because even if Lavallée himself may have felt somewhat awkward about using multiple models (and that is by no means certain), I would not describe what he did as stealing.

In appropriating passages from works he admired, Lavallée was partaking in a common practice of his era—something that Christopher Reynolds has comprehensively documented in his book *Motives for Allusion*.[61] Reynolds describes several methods by which composers of the time—including Mozart, Liszt, and Wagner—incorporated preexisting material into new works: motivic transformation, assimilation, contrast, and retexting, among others. Lavallée's appropriations are all assimilative in some way, where he takes preexisting material, not quoting it precisely, but assimilating it into his texture.[62] The Mozart and Keller references additionally fall into the category of retexting: the Mozart because, although there were no lyrics, the specific purpose of the original is explicit, and the Keller because it had a patriotic text to begin with, and Lavallée repurposed its music for his own anthem (though it was ultimately Routhier who supplied the new lyric). The fact that Lavallée apparently used multiple models for his anthem, moreover, makes the case for the individual appropriations even more compelling: When it was only the Mozart that people were arguing about, it was easy enough to dismiss the connection as unintentional or incidental, but when virtually the entire anthem seems to be referential, the individual cases become more difficult if not impossible to deny.

How are we to view these borrowings? Christopher Reynolds argues: "An allusion requires four elements: a composer (author), the new composition, the old composition, and the audience," whose role is to recognize the allusion for its contributed meaning.[63] Often, audience perception is the main goal of an allusion, meaning that someone must recognize the allusion in order for it to achieve its full effect. It does not appear, however, that Lavallée intended that perception for anyone else (a situation Reynolds acknowledges may occur), so the allusiveness is something that Lavallée kept to himself. Thus, according to Reynolds's criteria, we might regard "O Canada" as a series of hidden allusions, using the music and affect of the models but keeping their origins secret.

Also relevant to Lavallée's method is "patchwork," one of Peter Burkholder's fourteen different "Procedures for Using Existing Music" in the music of Charles Ives: "In a patchwork, fragments of several tunes are joined into a single melody, sometimes elided through paraphrase and sometimes interspersed with new music."[64] There is not so much new music in "O Canada," but the paraphrase and joining of its models seem precisely how it was constructed. "O Canada" thus fits Burkholder's definition of a patchwork or, more specifically, of a "cento"—a joining of

passages from other authors that "succeeds on its own, without requiring that the scraps be recognized, because the sources all share a similar character."[65]

It seems to me that Lavallée simply appropriated phrases from pieces that he admired as models, whose harmonic or melodic progressions inspired him, and whose emotional character suited his purpose in composing a patriotic song for his native country. He did not expect that others would identify the sources because the pieces were recent or, as far as can be determined, virtually unknown in Quebec in the decades before 1880 (and that includes even Mozart's *Magic Flute*).[66] By reshaping his sources into a patriotic Canadian song, Lavallée made them serve his own ends, just as Martin Luther appropriated secular songs and Catholic chants—by turning them into chorales, he symbolically asserted the supremacy of religion in daily life over secular matters and proclaimed the vitality of his new church against the old one. Lavallée not only found the right spirit in this combination of Germanic models, but wanted to claim that spirit for Canadians as well. It is a mark of his success that, for Canadians at least, "O Canada" is more famous and more evocative than its sources.

Ultimately, as a subtle blending of Lavallée's native French-Canadian sensibilities with multiple foreign elements, "O Canada" in a felicitous way represents the "mixing pot" or "mosaic" that is central to the cultural identity of Canada as a nation. Its charm for virtually all Canadians as a "cherished musical symbol" (to use the words of John Beckwith) should, therefore, remain undiminished.[67] In fact, discovering that the long-revered anthem has always been a mixture of disparate elements could be liberating for Canadians, and make "O Canada" feel even more inclusive, especially for those who represent later waves of immigration, who are immigrants themselves, or whose heritage is more diverse than the work's ostensible French-Canadian birth and English-Canadian adoption.

Lavallée's anthem possesses "all the beauties that we like to find in the national hymn of a people"—in its dignified musical character, in the pleasure people feel in singing it, and in the powerful sense of pride engendered in its compatriot listeners, not to mention genuine admiration in foreign listeners.[68] That is success by any measure. Besides which, nothing could be more essentially Canadian than that, having missed the scheduled opportunity at mass with the Archbishop in the morning, the first public performance of "O Canada," on the evening of June 24, 1880, was at the Quebec Pavillon des Patineurs, home of the local hockey club.[69]

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A note on the audio pastiche: The audio file patches together a version of "O Canada" using recordings of Lavallée's proposed sources. Since this

involves some manipulation of pitch and tempo from the different pieces, a certain fuzziness to the sound is a result.

Notes

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1. Epigraph: "Le magnifique *chant national* . . . parait réunir toutes les beautés que l'on aime à trouver dans l'hymne national d'un peuple," *Le Canada Musical* 7, no. 3 (July 1880): 56.

2. See, in particular, Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), chap. 4, "Nationalist Music," 117–60.

3. Since Lavallée was later involved in a project to start a "national" conservatory, by which was meant a French-Canadian conservatory, it seems clear that the initial identity of "Oh Canada" was as a Quebec anthem, only later being translated and embraced by English Canada and officially adopted in 1980.

4. Arthur Letondal seems to have been the first to note that various listeners had discerned echoes of Mozart's *Magic Flute*—something he dismisses as incidental and insignificant even if it were true. See Arthur Letondal, "Les Précurseurs: Calixa Lavallée," *L'Action Française* 3 (October 1919): 434–44, at 444.

5. For the first really detailed biography of Lavallée, we are indebted to Brian C. Thompson, first in his dissertation and then in a monograph biography. See Brian Christopher Thompson, "Calixa Lavallée (1842–1891): A Critical Biography" (PhD diss., University of Hong Kong, 2000); and Brian Christopher Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows: The Life and Times of Calixa Lavallée, 1842–1891* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015). The facts of Lavallée's life presented here owe much to his research.

6. Lavallée's recital was not the first all-American concert, but it was billed and hailed as such at the time, and was influential in generating more interest in American composers. See E. Douglas Bomberger, "*A Tidal Wave of Encouragement,*"

American Composers' Concerts in the Gilded Age (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), chap. 2, "The MTNA Concerts, 1884–1888: An Idea Whose Time Had Come," 9–22.

7. J. B. Hahn, "President's Address," *M.T.N.A. Proceedings* (Minneapolis: MTNA, 1892), 13–14. Quoted in Thompson, "Calixa Lavallée," 247–48; and Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 304–05.

8. Laurent-Olivier David, "Galerie nationale: Calixa Lavallée," *L'Opinion publique* (13 March 1873): 131.

9. Arthur Letondal, "Calixa Lavallée et L'Hymne National," *Le Devoir*, 6 November 1915, 1.

10. Eugène Lapierre, *Calixa Lavallée: Musicien National du Canada* (Montreal: Granger Frères, 1936).

11. This tabulation comes from Thompson, "Calixa Lavallée," 8; and Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 317.

12. Though subject to frequent revision, the English translation at the root of today's versions was written by Robert Stanley Weir in 1908. A reception history of "O Canada" is given by Thompson in *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, Epilogue, 311–22.

13. In 1964, a government committee was formed to explore the possibility of adopting it officially, but nothing was done until 1980, the centenary of its composition. See Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 315.

14. From the first edition (Quebec: Lavigne, 1880). All examples related to "O Canada" have been transposed into F major for easy comparison. Lavallée's original key was G major but it has been frequently transposed down for greater ease of singing. Of the sources discussed below, Wagner's *Wach auf* was also in G major, the Mozart and Keller models in F major.

15. Lapierre, *Calixa Lavallée*, 179–87.

16. Ernest MacMillan, "A Case for 'O Canada,'" *Globe and Mail*, 16 March 1963, repr. in *MacMillan on Music: Essays on Music by Sir Ernest MacMillan*, ed. Carl Morey (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 128. Brahms actually said "Das sieht jeder Esel," which translates, rather less euphemistically, as "Any ass can see that."

17. See https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/o-canada. An earlier version of that article by Helmut Kallmann (d. 2012) and Giles Potvin (d. 2000), consulted in 2009 and apparently revised in 2012, said nothing about the Mozart antecedent.

18. Robert Harris, *Song of a Nation: The Untold Story of Canada's National Anthem* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2018), 142–44.

19. John Beckwith, Review of *Song of a Nation*, *Canadian Association of Music Libraries Review* 46 (2018): 25.

20. J. Peter Burkholder, "Musical Borrowing or Curious Coincidence?: Testing the Evidence," *Journal of Musicology* 35 (2018): 223–66, at 257.

21. See Katherine Thomson, "Mozart and Freemasonry," *Music and Letters* 57 (1976): 25–46. Thomson points out (29) that the stated purpose of music in the Masonic order was "to encourage the spirit of unity," which seems congruent with a national anthem. See also Jacques Chailley, *The Magic Flute, Masonic Opera: An Interpretation of the Libretto and the Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

22. The early editions say "maestoso è risoluto," which is incorrect in Italian. It is not clear whether the mistake is Lavallée's or the printer's.

23. This exact phrase was frequently applied to Mozart, Bach, and Beethoven in the nineteenth century. The concept of musical genius has recently been rejected by some scholars, though it is still widely used, as in Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and the Idea of Musical Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). For a useful critique of the concept, see Paula Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57 (2004): 443–510. Even Higgins, however, notes the "handful of uncontested geniuses *tout court* like Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven" (489). Besides the idea of general inspiration and musical modeling, Jean-Philippe Côté-Angers argues that the Mozart borrowing suits very well Lavallée's project of creating a work celebrating the military history of French-Catholic Quebec. The "March of the Priests" would thus have been a conscious allusion. See his "Joseph Vézina et L'Orchestre à Vent: L'expression d'un nationalisme musical canadien" (M.Mus thesis, Université Laval, 2010), 76. Lavallée was not setting an existing lyric, so the specific allusions to concepts like "l'épée / la croix" and "valeur de foi trempée" may not have been in his mind, though he and Routhier may have conferred on the basic idea.

24. "Il alla une après-midi s'adosser à une construction en planches, tout près de l'eau, à l'endroit où trois îlots en contrebas constituaient une cascade. On raconte dans la région que Lavallée trouva, dans le bruit de cette cascade, un des motifs de l' "O Canada" (He went one afternoon to lean against a wooden scaffold, right along the water, at a place where three islets below formed a waterfall. In that region, they say that Lavallée found one of the motifs of "O Canada" in the sound of that waterfall.) Lapierre, *Calixa Lavallée*, 176.

25. Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 224–25. In fact, the first performance of Lavallée's new *chant national* was as part of *Mosaïque sur des Airs Canadiens*, an instrumental medley of popular French-Canadian songs, played that same evening by combined concert bands, including the Fall River Band from Massachusetts, all under the direction of Joseph Vézina, a student of Lavallée. See Jean-Philippe Côté-Angers, "The Band of the Quebec City Voltigeurs," *Canadian Winds: The Journal of the Canadian Band Association* 7 (2008): 9–13. For the contents of Vézina's medley, see his "Joseph Vézina et L'Orchestre à Vent," 111–12.

26. Routhier to Thomas Bedford Richardson, 12 February 1907, National Library of Canada, quoted in Gilles Potvin, Helmut Kallmann, and Andrew Mcintosh, "O Canada," in Bronwyn Graves, ed., *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Routhier made four stanzas.

27. Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 223–24.

28. See Joanne Cormac, "Liszt as Kapellmeister: The Development of the Symphonic Poems on the Weimar Stage" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2012), 262–335; and Cormac, *Liszt and the Symphonic Poem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 237–42.

29. "Liszt's 'Fest-Klänge,'" *The Monthly Musical Record* 5 (February 1875): 17–18.

30. In "O Canada," the phrase repeats, though the second time it modulates to the dominant. In the recorded audio pastiche using the models for "O Canada," this modulatory passage is taken from Keller's "American Hymn."

31. "Rien du Wagner, bien entendu," *La Minerve*, 7 February 1878, 2, quoted in Thompson, "Calixa Lavallée," 165–66.

32. Thompson, "Calixa Lavallée," 142; and Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 123.

33. See Joseph Horowitz, *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 81. See also John P. Jackson, *The Bayreuth of Wagner* (New York: John W. Lovell, 1891), 45–46.

34. From the diary of Hans Richter. See Christopher Fifield, *Hans Richter* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 103.

35. See Michael Puri, "The Ecstasy and the Agony: Exploring the Nexus of Music and Message in the Act III Prelude to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*," *19th-Century Music* 25 (2001–2002): 212–36, at 212.

36. See, for example, Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 65–72.

37. Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 264–66.

38. Although he could undoubtedly read orchestral scores at the piano, a skill expected at the Paris Conservatoire, it is very likely that Lavallée knew the Mozart *Marche des Prêtres* through piano transcription since his teacher in Paris, Antoine Marmontel, cited at least one such edition in his method book for the piano, published shortly after Lavallée's study with him: *Conseils d'un Professeur sur l'enseignement technique et esthétique du piano* (Paris: Heugel, 1876), 174. The transcription cited was Georges Mathias, *La Flûte Enchantée de Mozart* (Paris: Heugel, 1866), no. 6. Mathias also published a complete version for solo piano in 1865. When Lavallée got to Paris in 1873, Liszt's *Festklänge* was available in an anonymous arrangement for piano four hands (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1856); and Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* in a piano four-hand arrangement by August Horn (Mainz: Schott, 1873). Marmontel had published a method for four-hand sight-reading in 1872: *L'Art de déchiffrer à quatre mains* (Paris: Heugel, 1872).

39. Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, rev. ed., introduced by Michael Saffle (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996), 131, 136.

40. See Theodore Thomas, *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography*, vol. 2: *Concert Programmes* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905), 120, 148. See also Jorge Luis Modolell, "The Critical Reception of Liszt's Symphonic and Choral Works in the United States, 1857–1890" (M.Mus. thesis, University of Miami, 2014).

41. See the New York Philharmonic digital archive: https://archives.nyphil.org.

42. See Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 123–26. There were further performances in America while Lavallée was in Europe, and during his time in Quebec after his return, but those seem unlikely as opportunities for him to hear the piece.

43. This was for the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. The piece was a disappointment, however, and contributed to the financial ruin of the German-born conductor Theodore Thomas who had funded the commission. See Lieselotte Z. Overvold, "Wagner's Centennial March: Genesis and Reception," *Monatshefte* 68 (1976): 179–87.

44. Thomas S. Grey, "Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* as National Opera (1868–1945)," in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 94.

45. Quoted in David B. Dennis, "'The Most German of All German Operas': *Die Meistersinger* through the Lens of the Third Reich," in *Wagner's "Meistersinger": Performance, History, Representation*, ed. Nicholas Vazsonyi (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 98–119, at 109.

46. See Dennis, "'The Most German of All German Operas,'" 98–99; and Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 287–88.

47. "ce n'est pas sa ligne mélodique, si noble et pure qu'elle soit, ce ne sont pas ses harmonies larges et simple, ni les splendeurs de sa sonorité: c'est l'accent de conviction ardente qui vibre par-dessus tout." Julien Tiersot, *Etude sur les Maitres-Chanteurs de Nuremberg de Richard Wagner* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1899), 168–69.

48. Originally published in Boston by Henry Tolman. It is interesting that the ending is echoed by Keller's "In Memoriam Abraham Lincoln," also published in 1866 but deposited at the Library of Congress three days after "The American Hymn," on 2 and 5 March, respectively. The Lincoln piece was published by Wm. Hall in New York.

49. George W. Birdseye, "Biographical Sketch of M. Keller," in *A Collection of Poems*, ed. Matthias Keller (Boston: O. Ditson, 1874), 52.

50. Ibid., 53–54.

51. Gilmore lists an "M. Keller" among the eighty violas for his "Grand Orchestra," of which the concertmaster was Ole Bull. See Gilmore, *History of the National Peace Jubilee and Great Music Festival* (Boston: by the author, 1871), 750. Of the many thousands of copies of this music that must have been printed for performers, only a single copy survives in the Library of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island.

52. "Angel of Peace" opened the World Peace Festival concerts on 21 and 23 June 1872, and was the second item on the intervening afternoon. "Speed Our Republic" was sung as an encore on July 1. Keller himself was present since he conducted his own "German Union Hymn" on June 18. See Jon Seymour Nicholson, "Patrick Gilmore's Boston Peace Jubilees" (EdD diss., University of Michigan, 1971), 159–65, 175. Though we do not know when and if it was sung at the Festival, an "Invocation Hymn," "Peace on Earth," by Keller is also included in *Music to Be Performed at the World Peace Jubilee and International Music Festival* (Boston: O. Ditson, 1872), 128. Keller's "German Union Hymn" and "Peace on Earth" were mentioned among new works to be sung at the Operatic Society, in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 April 1872, 2. Lavallée also apparently composed a "Hymn of Peace" dedicated "à tous les nations du monde," possibly for the 1872 festival, though no copy survives before a 1954 reconstruction by Eugène Lapierre. On that work, see Thompson, "Calixa Lavallée," 381, and Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 333.

53. LeVasseur, "La Genèse de l'Hymne National 'Ô Canada!,'" (Montreal) *La Presse*, 11 December 1920. This was forty years after the event, which could lead to suspicion about the authenticity of the story. Yet LeVasseur was an eyewitness, and this does not seem like a fact that might be made up, especially since doing so would serve no discernable purpose.

54. In 1890, Lavallée mentioned in passing in a brief article that "à bout de ressource pécuniaires, j'ai dû . . . m'exiler" (my financial resources exhausted, I was forced . . . to emigrate). See Calixa Lavallée, "L'E Muet," *Le Canada Artistique* 1, no. 2 (1890): 36.

55. Jean-Philippe Côté-Angers describes a "massive emigration" or "exodus" among French-Canadian workers, including musicians, to New England. See "Joseph Vézina et L'Orchestre à Vent," 47.

56. Whatever negative feelings Canadians might have had about Germany in 1880, they were certainly exacerbated by the two world wars of the twentieth century.

57. It is interesting that no one blames Francis Scott Key for retexting the music to a forty-year-old drinking song from England, with which America was at war when he wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner" in 1814. Lavallée's borrowing was more sophisticated musically, more creative, and less "subversive," though, in the end, they both chose "foreign" music which they felt suited the character required.

58. For a catalog of Lavallée's compositions, see Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 323–51.

59. On July 8, 1887, Lavallée was quoted in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* as saying that he was "proud to be an American." See Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 320n37.

60. I venture to predict, however, that virtually every Canadian will hear "O Canada" in the audio pastiche that accompanies this article.

61. Christopher Alan Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

62. Reynolds describes assimilative allusions as ones "that endorsed the musical and poetic sense of the earlier passage." See ibid., 66.

63. Ibid., 6.

64. J. Peter Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes: Charles Ives and the Uses of Musical Borrowing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 3–4, and 301.

65. Ibid., 304.

66. See, for example, Marie-Thérèse Lefebvre, "La musique de Wagner au Québec au tournant du XXe siècle," *Canadian University Music Review* 14 (1994): 60–76. See also Pauline Pocknell, "Liszt and His Canadian Circle," *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 38 (1995): 37–66. Even in Toronto, *Wach auf* was apparently not heard until it was programmed in 1890 by Herbert Torrington, who had played it under Zerrahn in Boston in 1870. See Carl Morey, "The Music of Wagner in Toronto before 1914," *Canadian University Music Review* 18 (1998): 25–37, at 31. As for Mozart in Quebec, Lavallée's friend Rosita del Vecchio added a Queen of the Night aria from the *Magic Flute* to her repertoire around 1875, but the first *Magic Flute* operatic performance, even in Montreal, was not until 1945. See Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 164; Helmut Kallmann, Gilles Potvin, and James B. Mcpherson, "Opera Performance," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/opera-performance-emc.

67. John Beckwith, "The Canadian Musical Repertoire, 1992," in *Music Papers: Articles and Talks by a Canadian Composer, 1961–1994* (Ottawa: Golden Dog Press, 1997), 90–110, at 98. Efforts to make the lyrics more inclusive continue, including gender-neutral language adopted by Parliament in 2016. Both French and English versions still seem to exclude immigrants, however—"terre de nos aïeux,""our home and native land"—a feature that is likely to be addressed in future.

68. Frequently mentioned today by non-Canadian listeners, Arthur Letondal cited this effect in 1919: "Ce qui n'est pas douteux c'est que ce chant, large, pénètre d'émotion les étrangers qui l'entendent pour la première fois" (What cannot be doubted is that this monumental song deeply moves foreigners who hear it for the first time). See Letondal, "Les Précurseurs," 443–44.

69. See Thompson, "Calixa Lavallée," 194; and Thompson, *Anthems and Minstrel Shows*, 226. The arena was built in 1877, and the Quebec hockey club was established there in 1878, two years before the anthem premiere.