Diapason Ice:

The Hockey Organ, its History, and its Performance Practice Traditions

by

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ABSTRACT

The tradition of live organ music at ice hockey games can be traced back to 1929, when the Chicago Black Hawks first made use of a theatre organ at their home games. The practice was subsequently adopted by all of the other franchises in the National Hockey League. In the late twentieth century the future viability of the hockey organ tradition was called into question by the increasingly prevalent use of prerecorded music. This thesis seeks to explore the history of the hockey organ performance practice tradition, from its origins in Chicago, to its proliferation throughout the league, to its contemporary settings in the thirty-team league today. I offer theoretical insights concerning the appeal of organ music in the context of professional sport, and why the live organist continues to perform a role in the arena, in an era in which his or her presence and repertoire might otherwise seem outdated and obsolete.

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performance practice tradition of the theatre organist, following my presentation at the Society for American Music in Cincinnati. As well, I would like to thank my organ teacher, Alan Thomas, for his direction throughout this work, as well as his assistance in producing the final manuscript. Last but not least, I would like to thank my mother, Katie Nagy, without whose guidance and moral support this project would not have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

Reggie Dunlop became infuriated by the music being played in the Chiefs' home arena, so much so that the veteran player-coach climbed the organ loft, snatched the sheet music from the console, and ripped it apart. He shouted at the organist, "Don't ever play *Lady of Spain* again!"[1] It was one of the most memorable lines spoken by Paul Newman in the 1977 comedy *Slap Shot*, and while part of the humor in the coach's response lies in his violent overreaction, the scene also offered ardent fans of ice hockey a chance to reflect on a storied tradition found in their beloved game: that of the hockey organ. It is not apparent to the average fan that the greater tradition of the sports organist—found in baseball, basketball, and even indoor soccer—was in fact pioneered in ice hockey, where the tradition had been established by the Chicago Black Hawks' organization in 1929.[2] Although fans of individual teams may have some knowledge of their local organists, there is a dearth of research devoted to the history of this musical and cultural tradition. There is also little understanding of the impetus behind its construction and inclusion within the arena, as well as its proliferation throughout the National Hockey League.

We must acknowledge at the outset that the idea of having an organ at a hockey game is not a natural or a self-evident one. Ice hockey is not a sport that has a prescriptive musical element, as does figure skating or synchronized swimming. Moreover, it is unclear why anyone watching a hockey game would want to listen to music at all. Why would the spectator require something beyond the presentation of the game itself? In short, why is there an organ in the arena? This question is at the forefront

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1 *Slap Shot,* directed by George Roy Hill (1977; Universal City, CA: Universal Home Video, 2002), DVD.

2 It should be noted that the spelling of the Chicago team's name was changed to the "Blackhawks" in 1986.

of what I wish to explore in this thesis. What inspired the construction of the first hockey organ? How did its use proliferate across the league and the continent? And why is it still present in arenas to this day?

In the first section of the thesis, I explore the origins of the hockey organ and to document its proliferation throughout the league from 1930 until the establishment of a twenty-two-team league in 1992.[3] Professional hockey's first organ, nicknamed "The Barton" after its manufacturer, was built in 1929, in tandem with the newly erected Chicago Stadium, home of the NHL's Black Hawks. The largest and loudest such instrument ever constructed, this prototypical hockey organ can also be understood within larger cultural contexts. The early hockey organs, their organists, and their musical repertoire were largely drawn from the realm of the theatre organ. In turn, the theatre organ was part of a larger phenomenon in the early twentieth century, wherein mass manufactured organs were found in a wide variety of secular public spaces for the purpose of providing musical accompaniment.

From primary sources, we are afforded some explanation of the early hockey organ's appeal. There was a sense that musical accompaniment would somehow enrich the presentation of events at Chicago Stadium, an idea referred to by one journalist as "applied psychology."[4] At Chicago Stadium, the organ brought spectators together in common song, and the quick wit and musical charm of its well-known performer, Al Melgard (1889–1977), were lauded. In the work of later hockey organists such as Norm Kramer in St. Louis, we find that the performer is actually revered by the audience and team alike, for the belief that his playing can actually *change* the outcome of a game and

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[3] Gil Stein, *Power Plays: an Inside Look at the Big Business of the National Hockey League* (Secaucus, N.J.: Carol Publishing Group, 1997), 63.

[4] "Ring Uplift Effect of Organ," *The Washington Post*, November 10, 1929.

increase the likelihood that the home team will win.

Advances in technology would radically change the look and sound of musical presentations in the arena during this sixty-year period. Laurens Hammond's first eponymous electric organs were sold in 1935, with the smaller, cheaper, and more versatile organs serving as an attractive prospect for many of the franchises in the NHL. Following the 1967 expansion from the "Original Six" era, newer stadiums were equipped with electronic sound systems, which brought with them a radically different musical output. Rock music—in particular heavy metal—had become a staple in the arena by the 1980s, with some teams even opting to do away with a live organist altogether. The electronic sound system also offered a franchise the opportunity to use prerecorded organ cues, rendering the live performer all but obsolete. By the end of the 1992 expansion era, it seemed as though the organ was doomed to be lost in the increasingly busy soundscape of the arena.

In the second part of my thesis, I examine the theoretical underpinnings behind the hockey organ's appeal and its proliferation. Our historical narrative does not end in 1992, as there is still a vibrant community of organists in the NHL. If the hockey organ continues to be used in spite of the technological versatility afforded by prerecorded music, we must ask why this is so. To that end, we have the theoretical framework of nostalgia studies to draw upon. Building on the work of sociologists Fred Davis and Janelle Wilson, we see how nostalgia operates as a distinct form of consciousness. Framing the past through a particular narrative that is neither logical nor illogical, nostalgia imparts upon its intended audience a "different reality" in which one can accept an overly pleasant view of past events, even if it is fraught with contradictions. Notions

of personal displacement in nostalgia account for why a consumer may feel nostalgic for an event or product to which they hold no personal connection. This allows the entire NHL—even franchises with no lengthy organ tradition—to draw upon the rich history of the Chicago Stadium organ. This is further explored in literature from the realm of marketing, in which scholars such as Stephen Brown look at the ways in which nostalgia serves as a tool for strengthening a brand and selling a product. In the case of the National Hockey League, facets of the game—such as the hockey organ—are used to hint at the league's age. This in turn is used as a tacit reminder of the league's quality and trustworthiness.

We can also speak with greater precision regarding the original appeal of the hockey organ by considering ritualistic aspects of this musical tradition. This music represents a genre that is known solely through an aural transmission, with very specific locales in which it is played, and ritual movements and subtext behind the music. In this regard, hockey organ music can be viewed as a "folk music" tradition of sorts, and analyzed as such. Yet when speaking of professional hockey venues, we begin to see a "folk" who, when analyzed through paramaters of ethnicity, class, and economic or national boundaries, are nothing if not extremely diverse. Despite the apparent lack of homogeneity, "hockey fans" can still be understood as a cohesive group when viewed through the lens of Benedict Anderson's work. Anderson, a political scientist who first coined the concept of the "Imagined Community" in a book by the same title in 1983, theorizes about the formation of socially constructed communities. They are "imagined" in the sense that, as Anderson puts it, "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of

each lives the image of their communion."[5] There is perhaps no better definition of the sports fan, whose "nationalist" output is largely confined to the locus of the arena. One need only think of the popular "Leafs Nation" and "Sens Army" to see such nationalistic language associated directly with hockey fans.

While Anderson applies this concept to the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century, it fits well within the framework of any musical ethnography. The ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman contends that such an imagined community can form its own musical canon.[6] Bohlman's canon-formation theories also grapple with an "imagined" or "invented" tradition and the way in which it is formed. As he puts it, an invented tradition will invariably "centralize an aspect of the past that never really existed, that enjoyed no previous currency whatsoever, much less centrality."[7]

Notions of nationhood aside, the sound of the organ has traditionally been a trope associated with religiosity, specifically that of the Christian churches of Western Europe. We can discount neither this association nor the impact it has had on the organ's role in the NHL. Scholars such as Robert Higgs highlight the ways in which professional sports, particularly those of North America, draw upon many of the same ritualistic aspects of Christianity and create a "secular religion" within a pseudo-sacred realm of a different sort.[8] By extension, the hockey organ then represents a form of "sports hymnody," providing a common song to accompany the ritual unfolding on the ice.

But to what end do franchises in the NHL wish to present, consciously or

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5 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 6.

6 Philip Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 106.

7 Ibid.

8 Robert Higgs, *God in the Stadium* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

otherwise, an "imagined" tradition? The writings of the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga (1872–1945) look at the underlying structure beneath these acts of ritual. In *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga argues that playing, a trait common to all humans and higher mammals, is integral to socialization and furthermore manifests itself in all aspects of human culture, including war, law, politics, sports, poetry, ritual, commerce, and music.[9] The ontological structure of play helps us to understand what exactly the organ is doing in the arena, and similarly what takes place within the framework of a hockey game. In abstract terms, the hockey organist's work is no more or less perplexing than other acts of musical performance, each of which can be reduced to a form of play. Play forms exist within a fixed time and space, and have a set of rules that its willing participants adhere to. The inherent "fun" with which play is imbued is antithetical to the notion of the "serious." As a form of play, in fact, the hockey organist's work is more similar to the game of hockey than is perhaps readily apparent. We are also provided with a unique framework in which to employ Huizinga's theories: here is a form of play that is wholly bound and restricted to a greater play-form within which it exists. That is, the hockey organ's music is almost wholly dependent on the locus of the arena and the game for its value and meaning. Furthermore, this modern, "professional" embodiment of ice hockey—replete with strictly maintained records and a quasi-reverence for its retired players of former glory—then requires the organ to imbue it with the very notions of play that it expunged. While hockey in the NHL is a "serious" sport with rigorous competition, the organ is not serious and remains much more attuned to its original play forms.

But the organ's play cannot be reduced to the "community singing" of the arena.[10]

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[9] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a Study of the Play-element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950).

[10] "Ring Uplift Effect of Organ," *The Washington Post*, November 10, 1929.

The playful nature of the hockey organist also offers commentary upon the game that it accompanies, in the form of parody. Examples from the Chicago Black Hawks and New York Rangers demonstrate that since its inception, the organ has provided a parodic "wink" to the audience, letting them know that the seriousness of the hockey game is steeped in artifice. From a reading of Mikhail Bakhtin, one can derive many parallels between the hockey organ and the medieval jester, who by causing laughter allowed the common people a chance to reflect on their own state and society.[11] This is markedly different than the use of heavy metal in the arena, where we find music that is far more "serious" than the organist's repertoire, and which is connected to notions of aggressiveness and masculinity.

Lastly, having established a theoretical framework, in the third section of the thesis I analyze the current performance practice of the hockey organist. How many franchises make use of an organist? Is there a uniting thread among the franchises that do not? What variety of organs does this new generation of performers use, and where is the organ located within the arena? What is the repertoire of the hockey organist, and what are the origins of his or her music? If there is a similarity in musical output among different arenas, how is this maintained? Do organists keep in contact with one another? Finally, given the changing soundscape of the arena, how have organists responded and reacted to the introduction of prerecorded music to the arena?

The anticipated outcomes should play themselves out within the corporate sphere of professional hockey. With the advent of automated sound systems and canned organ music, there is a temptation to do away with the live performer. If a persuasive argument

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[11] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin,* trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

is made that the organ is an important and viable tradition in hockey, and that the performance by a live organist is integral to the spectacle, then perhaps teams would do more to nurture and foster this tradition. Continuing to support live organ performances would in turn ensure that this "folk" tradition does not become sterilized and that the canon remains in a constant state of change and flux for decades to come.

CHAPTER I: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

History of the Secular Organ

Although we cannot fully explore the history of the organ within this thesis, a brief overview will allow us to situate the hockey organ in historical context. Instruments that have featured some form of manual action and wind- or water-powered chest have been in existence since the third century B.C.; the ancient Greek Hydraulis was the earliest known design. The organ appears to have been primarily a secular instrument up until the Middle Ages.[12] By the sixteenth century, it had become firmly established as an instrument used in religious worship in the Christian churches of Western Europe, and was rivalled only by the mechanical clock as the most complex machine created by preindustrial Europe. The evolution of organ design in the Renaissance and Baroque eras was related largely to architectural concerns, and distinctive national schools of organ builders produced instruments of widely varying timbres.

Within the confines of a hockey arena, the organ is not explicitly religious in any capacity.[13] By the 1920s, when organ music came to silent film theatres and hockey arenas (to name but two examples) the instrument was once again was found in secular music spheres. But how did it come to establish itself as such? When did the organ come to saturate musical life, both inside and outside of the Church? It is perhaps rather apt that the first examples of the post-medieval, secular organ tradition come from the militantly

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[12] Barbara Owen, et al. "Organ." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com .proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/44010pg4 (accessed March 31, 2010).

[13] In later sections, however, we shall explore several *implicit* religious overtones which are found in the hockey organist's performance.

secular French Revolution. The republican government was at odds with the Catholic Church and its political influence, and this would result in republican forces all but completely cancelling Catholic church services and masses by the close of the eighteenth century. Although parishes (and by extension, their organs) were not being used in any religious context, the ruling government of France made sure to put the organs to use as vehicles for "awakening and inspiring a holy love of the Fatherland."[14] This was coupled with the closing of many monasteries in German-speaking territories throughout the early nineteenth century, and an eclipse of the organ tradition throughout the Iberian peninsula.[15] Although the forcefully anticlerical sentiments of the French Revolution were relatively short-lived, these events nevertheless signalled an enduring change in both the aesthetics and function of the organ.

It was during this same era that the organ began to acquire a greater variety of timbres and colours, borrowed from the symphony orchestra. In addition to the foundational diapason stops (i.e., those whose sounds were peculiar to the organ, or otherwise did not reference an outside sound), the organ attempted to mimic woodwinds, strings, and brass instruments, even though those instruments which were no longer in common usage in the orchestra.[16] Although such innovations in and of themselves were hardly new ones—organ stops referencing orchestral instruments were firmly entrenched by the seventeenth century—by the beginning of the nineteenth century they were more pervasive than in previous decades, and were coupled with an increase in the volume,

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[14] Barbara Owen, et al. "Organ." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com .proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/44010pg4 (accessed March 31, 2010).

[15] Ibid.

[16] One thinks of relatively common "viola d'amore" and "crumhorn" stops, to name but two of the more esoteric examples.

colour, and expressivity of the romantic orchestra.[17] The goal, in essence, was to create an instrument that served as a "one-man orchestra," with the versatility and practicality of having a single performer handle all orchestral sections. With this added heft and range of timbres, the organ of the early eighteenth century became quite significantly more removed from its characteristic sound as an instrument within the church. It is not an unfair extrapolation to say, therefore, that the organ's greater reliance on sounds from the symphony orchestra (largely a secular musical vehicle), and the expansion of the organ outside the realm of the church, are unlikely to be mere coincidence.

The logical conclusion of the organ's foray into orchestral timbres and repertoire was found in the orchestrion. The term is used for a series of organ-like instruments developed concurrently throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, particularly in what constitutes the southern part of present-day Germany. The theoretical underpinnings of these instruments were based on the writings of the German composer and organist Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814), who proposed a series of reforms and ideas regarding the construction of new (and often smaller) organ flues that exploited the newly understood rules of harmonic overtones.[18] In addition to an emphasis on an orchestral mimesis—attempting to faithfully recreate the sounds of the strings, woodwinds and brass of the orchestra—these instruments also took advantage of advances in organ pipe design, which permitted a comparatively small, portable instrument to be built. These innovations brought the organ further into the realm of

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[17] Barbara Owen, et al. "Organ." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com .proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/44010pg4 (accessed March 31, 2010).

[18] Barbara Owen and Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume. "Orchestrion." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/20409 (accessed June 13, 2010).

secular music, as the orchestrion was not confined to a church, nor to any single locale, for that matter.

An entire industry began to be formed around the organ in the mid-nineteenth century, with a subsequent demand for the orchestrion in dozens of public venues where music was required. An orchestrion—or some variety of instrument with a series of flues and reeds made to sound like an orchestra—could easily be found in hotels, restaurants and dance halls, as a cost-effective and novel alternative to a small salon orchestra.[19] It could be played by a single organist working from some variety of orchestral reduction or organ transcription, or (as was often the case) it could be designed to be fully automated, played with the assistance of pinned barrels or punch cards, as was later popularized by the player piano in the early twentieth century.

North American Organs, the Beginnings of the Theatre Organ

If we are to speak of the organ tradition in the NHL, then we must place the instrument in a North American context. The organ could be found in North America as early as 1657, with the installation of a pipe organ imported from France in a local parish in Quebec City.[20] Despite this, a native tradition of organ building took another two centuries to establish itself. It did not begin to take shape until the nineteenth century, with an increase in demand for church organs in burgeoning urban centres such as

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Antoine Bouchard. "Organ Building." In *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*. The Canadian Encyclopedia, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0002661 (accessed March 10, 2011). Little is known of this original organ, except for a brief mention in a Quebec notary's deed dated May 22, 1657.

Boston, New York, and Montreal. We cannot speak of these developments in the same vein as those that took place in Europe. This was not a "secularization" of the organ, as these were organs being designed for use in small parishes and churches. Furthermore, the developments taking place in Europe were slow to come to the United States; the large expansion of orchestral timbre and colours did not appear in North America until the mid- to late-nineteenth century, almost a century after it had first occurred in Europe. However, the Americans were quick to catch up with advances from Europe, particularly as large numbers of organ builders—largely German—immigrated to the United States beginning in the 1860s. These developments in the United States would segue into the first experiments with organs that relied on electricity, with electropneumatic actions allowing greater combinations of stops than ever before.

In addition to the development of the electric motor—and by extension, organs with electropneumatic designs—the closing decades of the nineteenth century also saw the development of several rudimentary forms of movie cameras. With them came the beginnings of the American motion picture industry, which in turn ushered in a great increase in demand for organs during the twentieth century, as massive calliopes were installed inside thousands of silent film theatres to provide musical accompaniment. The theatre organ represented a culmination of both divergent streams of organ building at the close of the nineteenth century: it incorporated the "serious" developments of church organ designs, and yet simultaneously served as an homage to Vogler's orchestrion, complete with percussion stops and registrations for different orchestral sections. Indeed, there is little question that it was the secular organ that brought these innovations to their

most logical ends.[21]

But these "advances" in organ design were not met with uniform enthusiasm. In fact, there was some outright disdain for the theatre organ, and other post-romantic organs of its style. The emphasis on orchestral stops and their addition, it was argued, was to the detriment of the organ's native timbres and registrations, the diapason stops. This in turn threatened to render a large repertoire of music written for the organ either unplayable or unpalatable, as the timbre of the instrument had become so far removed from that which composers—from the Baroque era to the late nineteenth century—had worked with originally.[22]

The second complaint came from the standardization that occurred in the process of organ building as demand rose sharply, particularly in the United States. Albert Schweitzer coined the term "factory organ" to describe the new instruments, which lacked the marriage of artistries— architectural and as as form of instrument-making— that traditionally characterized organ building. The result was mass-produced instruments of standardized designs, lacking idiosyncrasies in sound or shape.[23] These were necessary for coping with a greater demand for organs than had ever existed ever before, with the U.S. census recording more organs built in the year 1927 than in any year before or after.[24] The instrument was omnipresent in American spas, hotels, dance halls, restaurants, and even hospitals.

However, we must be mindful not to paint an overly dark or disdainful picture of

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[21] Barbara Owen, et al. "Organ." In Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com .proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/44010pg4 (accessed March 31, 2010).

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

the organ of the early twentieth century. A well-constructed, well-played organ from one of the large theatre organ makers of the time could bring life and colour into an otherwise sterile black-and-white silent film, using design techniques that not even the most imaginative organ builders from the nineteenth century could have conceived. Whimsical titles such as the "One-Man Motion Picture Orchestra" or the "Pipe-Organ Orchestra" underscore the level of awe attributed to these massive constructs.[25] If the theatre organ represented the logical end of the mimetic experiments in pipe design, then the Fotoplayer Style 50, constructed by the American Photo Player Company, was the logical end of advances in theatre organs. It was twenty-one feet long, and in addition to the orchestral registrations (which had become commonplace in secular organ design), it was capable of such remarkable feats as imitations of cattle calls, traffic, crackling fire, and even various types of gunshots.[26]

Such developments, while interesting in their own right, are indicative of the greater role of the organist at this point in history. In an era in which recording technology was crude at best, any sound that would accompany a movie would invariably be performed by a live musician. While it may have been possible to employ a full orchestra in large metropolitan areas such as New York, this was simply not practical for many smaller theatres, which would resort to hiring small bands consisting of accordionists, banjo players, and the inevitable percussionist who doubled as a sound-effect performer, akin to the "foley man" of the talking-picture era,[27] reproducing the

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[25] Roger Hickman, *Reel Music: Exploring 100 Years of Film Music* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2006), 67.

[26] Ibid.

[27] In film terminology, to "foley" is to incorporate a wide variety of sound effects in a film after the dialogue has already been recorded. The term is named for famed Hollywood sound effects pioneer Jack Foley (1891–1967).

unrecorded footsteps and door knocks of a film. If finances were available, a theatre could use an orchestra to accompany music in late afternoon and evening performances, however the organ provided that which the salon orchestra could not: sheer decibel output. It has always been, for all intents and purposes, the loudest single musical instrument in the Western world. The ability of a single, versatile performer to wield the same force as an orchestra explains in part the appeal of the organ, "the most complex of all mechanical instruments developed before the Industrial Revolution."[28]

At the height of the industry in the 1920's, there were only a handful of large companies producing the majority of theatre organs in the United States. The connection between the theatre organ and the hockey organ, however, comes to us of from the Barton Organ Company of Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Barton, considered a regional organ builder in the American midwest, began constructing instruments for silent films in 1911. Known for his trademark "Bartola" line of organs, founder Dan Barton (1884–1974) achieved particular success through the 1920s in marketing his instruments in and around the Chicago area. Originally employed as a percussionist in a small theatre orchestra, Barton became mindful of the demand for theatre organs, partnering with several different companies in order to manufacture his patented line of theatre organs. His own factory began construction in 1916, with an office based in Chicago, Illinois. Although one of the smallest of American theatre organ companies at the time, the Barton Company managed to remain competitive in part because of its own organ school, based in Chicago, which trained organists to play idiomatically for their instruments.[29]

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[28] Barbara Owen, et al. "Organ." In Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/44010pg4 (accessed March 31, 2010).

[29] Dan Barton, interview by Ruth Westover and John Kuony, Oshkosh, WI, prior to August 20, 1969,

Although many of his organs could be mass-manufactured from a single set of designs, his magnum opus was a unique and unrivalled work that was housed not in a theatre or opera house, but in a sports stadium. The organ at Chicago Stadium, which was nicknamed "The Barton" after its creator, was a $220,000 endeavour—a fortune by 1920s standards—capable of producing the equivalent volume of twenty-five brass bands, more than enough to drown out the 20,000-seat capacity at the new arena on Chicago's Madison Avenue. Although twelve different companies had bid for the organ contract at Chicago Stadium, including those organ builders known for their large cathedral instruments, the Barton Company—the smallest of the twelve—was awarded the contract. How was this feat achieved? Barton attributed his success to an encounter with Chicago Stadium impresario Paddy Harmon (1878–1930), who saw a Barton organ at the Dreamland Ballroom in Chicago's West Side. The nightclub was located beside a stretch of the city's "L" rail line, and bandleader Charlie Elgar, even after having hired dozens of new orchestra members, was unable to stop his music from being drowned out by the passing trains. The advantage of Barton's organ was its sheer volume, and loudness was of equal importance when constructing the world's largest pipe organ.[30]

Performance Practice and Repertoire in Theatre Organ Music

Part of the difficulty in constructing an historical model for the performance practice of NHL organists lies in a lack of written records. None of the pioneers of the tradition are alive today, so an idea of how the hockey organ was performed is largely derived from inference. It is easier by comparison, though, to speak of performance

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interview #OH1969, transcript, Oral History Collection, Oshkosh Public Museum Archives, Oshkosh, WI.

[30] Ibid.

practice with regard to organists from the cinema. Although there are also no living theatre organ pioneers, there are at least some surviving written records of the period from which we can gain insight into the film organist's performance practice.

Dan Barton's organ company, in addition to manufacturing, repairing, and tuning his line of instruments, also made a point of ensuring that a proper performer was trained to operate the organ. Although Barton himself was not an organist (he was a percussionist), this was nevertheless felt to be a prudent measure, given his instrument's disastrous early results. As he said in an interview in 1969:

> From the very start, I realized that it would take a talented pianist to successfully play the Bartola. To follow the picture action, [he?] would have to improvise and to know dozens of tunes to play without music. We used pianists like Harry [Aum], Bernard [Caum], Eddy Hanson, Jay Hulbert and many others. They played the Bartola the opening week, and during the week taught the local pianist to play the instrument. These boys were wizards. And I sometimes wondered at the musical results they attained.
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> This scheme did not work. The local piano player many times lacked talent. Would not practice....The management hopped on the local organist. What was the trouble? Why didn't the Bartola sound the same as the first week with the factory demonstrator? The local pianist was on the spot and he was not going to admit he lacked ability. So he told the boss our ...that the Bartola had gone on the bum. And he could do no better owing to the poor shape the instrument was in....It was soon apparent that, besides building the Bartola, we also had to produce the fellow that played it.[31]

The result of this endeavour was Barton's organ school, established in the early 1920s.[32] From this school, a long line of established organists in the idiom would be trained with the particular touch that the Bartola required.[33] The aforementioned difficulty that a

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Barton does not give precise dates for the establishment of his organ school. However, from his interview we can extrapolate that the school was opened in the the first half of the decade, and was well-established by the beginning of the construction of Chicago stadium in 1928. We can also presume that the school did not survive much beyond the Barton Organ Company's closure in 1932.

[33] Although the organ typically lacks the touch sensitivities ascribed to a piano, the Barton organ often had two distinct sets of stops connected to a single manual; thus, the organist playing them needed to be mindful of the amount of force used, as the colour of the music being produced would be drastically changed otherwise.

competent pianist had in mastering the instrument lay in the different touch required for each manual, with an highly *legato*, sustained phrasing on the right hand (i.e., in the melody), and a more detached touch for the left-hand chordal accompaniment.[34]

But by Dan Barton's own estimation, a skilled theatre organist was not only well-versed in the accompaniment style, touch, and registration appropriate to his instruments, but also gifted as an improviser.[35] He claimed that it would be impossible for an organist to follow dozens of pages of catalogued sheet music during a live performance, even if the film being played came with its own list of cues for different scenes (which it often did), for the very reason that the onscreen action was taking place so quickly that the organist could not meet the challenge of sifting through a printed list. Instead, a skilled theatre organist would have a large canonical repertoire of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century classical music (e.g., Bizet, Saint-Saens, Wagner, etc.), as well as popular song, committed to memory. With this knowledge, he or she would be able to ascertain the needs of a particular scene in the film, and play a popular and recognizable tune from memory accordingly.[36]

The notion of small musical fragments being used to characterize particular characters or emotions is echoed in the writings of Erno Rapée (1891–1945), the Hungarian-American pianist and conductor. In his 1925 *Encyclopaedia of Music for Pictures*, Rapée relates this practice directly to the concept of the *Leitmotif*—the individual musical phrases and themes corresponding to a character or scene—found in the operas of Richard Wagner (1813–1883). To this end, his text contains a list of

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[34] Barton, interview.

[35] Indeed, such has been a long standing requirement for organists from the classical tradition, as well. Church organists and composers such as Bach and Buxtehude were also known as skilled improvisers on the organ.

[36] Barton, interview.

different cues upon which a performer could draw when a scene demanded it. Hundreds of terms—from "Abyssinian" to "Quadrilles" to "Witches"—could be found in the reference book, along with a list of appropriate pieces and their composers, as well as advice to the performer who could not find enough apt cues for a given scene ("any oriental music," to give one example, would suffice for Abyssinia, provided it did not sound distinctly Indian or Persian).

In a chapter devoted to the theatre organ, Rapée echoes the sentiments of Dan Barton with regard to versatility and improvisation:

> The same principles as are applied to scoring a picture can be followed with the organ but can be worked out in much greater detail than with an orchestra since even a fairly clever organist can play two themes at the same time which cannot be done by an orchestra unless special arrangements have been made. An organist can more closely follow the action by increasing or reducing his volume or by changing his stops than any orchestra, no matter how well schooled or rehearsed....The main requirements for an organist who wants to improvise for his picture is the ability of making smooth and quick modulations from one key to another, this, added to the memorization of several themes and applying them at the proper time and also having a fairly good knowledge of the more or less known songs will help the organist to achieve a satisfactory synchronization.[37]

Rapée's point regarding the comparison between the theatre organ and its orchestral counterpart is well-taken. In addition to the organ's volume advantage, and the cost-effectiveness of hiring one performer rather than dozens, the organist had an advantage in musical "manoeuvrability," so to speak. Whereas improvisation is all but impossible for the orchestra, it is worthwhile—and indeed, perhaps preferable—for an organist to be versed in this skill. Improvising would require less preparation time on his or her part than would preparing or studying a burdensome score for a new feature film.

Although the performance practice of the theatre organist is an interesting subject, what is its relevance to the tradition found in professional hockey? Al Melgard, the

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[37] Erno Rapée, *Erno Rapee's Encyclopaedia of Music for Pictures* (New York: Belwin, 1925), 17.

Chicago Black Hawks' longest-tenured organist, was someone who straddled the divide between a theatre organist and a sports organist. Dan Barton recalls the encounter that brought Al Melgard to his attention:

> At the time we sold the S.J. Gregory Circuit a three-manual, 14 stop organ for the new theater, he was building a Cicero...in Illinois. Mr. Gregory said he had an organist playing for him in Hammond, Indiana, which he wanted to have play the Cicero organ...we suggested he send the organist to our Chicago office organ school for instruction. And that's how we met Al Melgard....Al could play more organ than the instructor. Melgard had everything. A wizard organist if ever there was one. After one season at the Cicero organ we put Melgard into our Chicago office as demonstrator and to handle our organ school.[38]

Understanding that the original hockey organist was first and foremost a highly gifted theatre organist, we can make several inferences based on upon our knowledge of the theatre organist's performance practice. First, if hockey organ music is wholly derived from the theatre organist's improvisatory tradition, then not only is it unlikely that we will find any surviving examples of printed hockey organ "cues," but it is equally unlikely that there ever existed a printed record to begin with. And second, a successful hockey organist would have had to be able to quickly ascertain the mood and tone of a game and select a tune accordingly, not unlike how a theatre organist scored a given scene in a film. Finally, although the number of actual theatre-style organs in the NHL is low (as we shall see in later chapters), one can presume that the styles of accompaniment and voicing found in the theatre organ repertoire would be comparable to those found in the realm of hockey organ music.

Al Melgard and Chicago Stadium

In analyzing the tradition of organ music in the NHL, it behooves us to look at the

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[38] Barton, interview.

earliest known instance of its use, in order to fully understand how the practice originated and how it contrasts with present-day usage. Although the absence of interviews with organists of this early period limits what we can say with certainty, through existing written records we can gain useful insights into the performance practice of early NHL organists and then compare it with the present-day situation. It is prudent to put the sheer size of this instrument into perspective. Barton required twenty-four full box cars on three trains to ship the instrument piece-by-piece from Wisconsin to Illinois.[39] It took over one hundred mechanics to install the instrument, with the focal point being the console one hundred feet above the ice.[40] The organist at Chicago Stadium would have "nearly 400 keys, 32 pedals and more than 850 switches" on the six-manual console, which has the equivalent volume of 2,500 brass pieces playing simultaneously.[41]

Al Melgard performing on the console to the Barton Organ
(Source: "Chicago Stadium Remembered," http://www.catoe.org/barton.html, published September 7, 2001).

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[39] Barton, interview.

[40] Don Hayner, and Tom McNamee, *The Stadium: 1929-1994: the Official Commemorative History of the Chicago Stadium* (Chicago, Ill: Performance Media, 1993), 12.

[41] Ibid.

Don Hayner and Tom McNamee emphasize the spectacle of the instrument as well as its auditory output. It was not simply the organ that was massive—in fact, every aspect of the stadium represented size and grandeur:

> When it opened in 1929, the Stadium was one of the biggest arenas of its kind. It could seat 8,000 more people than Madison Square Garden and everything about it was huge. Huge floor. Huge organ. Huge steel trusses holding up the roof. The crowds, too, were huge. The Stadium was built for big shows. It was a building specifically designed for spectacle.[42]

According to Dan Barton, it was Al Melgard who first played the organ in March of 1929, on the day that officially marked the opening of the stadium with a performance from a traveling circus.[43] Melgard was without question the longest-tenured organist at the arena, playing from 1929 until his retirement in 1974. Over this forty-five-year span, Melgard was responsible for providing music at political conventions, boxing matches, bicycle races, and even basketball games; ice hockey was not the only event that had a live organist at Chicago Stadium. Nevertheless, hockey was where the instrument saw its first usage in association with professional team sports.

Although the organ may seem anachronistic by twenty-first-century standards, we must remember that during its heyday, it represented the pinnacle of musical technology, playing contemporary and popular pieces at a decibel level no recording from the time could match. A *Washington Post* article from November 1929 describes exactly this phenomenon. It provides a detailed chronicle of both Paddy Harmon, the impresario responsible for Chicago Stadium, and its organ, which the author dubbed the "stadium wonder." He writes:

> [The] organ is the biggest in the world by twice and as unholy as a prize ring. But

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[42] Ibid., 1.

[43] Barton, interview. There are conflicting reports as to who was the first to play the Barton organ. An article attributes the feat to organist Ralph Waldo Emerson (*Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1929), claiming Emerson would officially inaugurate the organ on the first of August.

> with the organ Paddy makes gentlemen out of rowdy persons who pay money for a bloody evening, and makes 'em like it. It's applied psychology. Paddy knows music's effect on people...so when the crowd shambles in Ralph Waldo Emerson, famous organist, climbs to the gold console and rolls out lively airs, marches, and so on....later he plays pieces...everyone knows and they have community singing under a leader.[44]

There seems to be little in terms of biographical information for Ralph Waldo Emerson.[45] Originally from the city of Los Angeles,[46] he moved to Chicago to become a staff organist for the radio station WLS after nearly a decade of playing the theatre organ following World War I. He would become one of Dan Barton's most trusted musicians, serving as an instructor for Barton's organ school and doubling as one of the company's top "demonstrators," showing prospective and new buyers of Barton organs precisely what the instrument was capable of doing.

However, in connection with Chicago Stadium—and by extension, the Chicago Black Hawks—Emerson appears to be a mere footnote in history. It was Melgard who became most closely associated with the stadium's instrument, due both to his lengthy tenure and to his apparent popularity. By all accounts, Melgard was an instant success in Chicago. Pamphlets provided to patrons who attended the opening ceremonies of the stadium claimed that the organ was charged with the task of providing "psychological accompaniment" to sporting events such as boxing matches and bicycle races.

Yet of all the sports and events exhibited there, none became so closely associated with the organ as ice hockey. Why? Although music was commonplace at political conventions, the speakers at the 1932 Democratic and Republican conventions (both held at Chicago Stadium) were cautioned by political pundits not to orate while the organ

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[44] "Ring Uplift Effect of Organ," *The Washington Post*, November 10, 1929.

[45] He should not be confused with the American philosopher and transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), with whom there appears to be no immediate relationship.

[46] "Huge Organ Soon to be Air Feature," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1929.

played, as their voices would be guaranteed to be unheard.[47] Boxing aficionados also seemed to dislike the massive calliopes. One writer from the *Chicago Tribune* complained that the organ's playing "drowns out remarks from the gallery and detracts from the reality of the occasion," citing other boxing venues in New York City where the intermissions in between rounds were filled with the crowd's heckling and taunting of the fighters. Apparently, the organ's musical accompaniment did not serve to berate the pugilists, and also discouraged others from doing so as well.[48]

While the "reality" of foam-padded fisticuffs is certainly debatable, both these examples make an obvious point: when the actions on the centre stage are taking place, the music of the organ becomes a distraction. Inherent in the format of hockey, by comparison, are frequent stoppages of play, which lend themselves well to the *intermezzi* of the organ. In this respect hockey is similar in pace to baseball. It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that "America's favorite pastime" would appropriate organ music from hockey, with Ebbets Field in Brooklyn installing the first permanent "Baseball Organ" in 1941.

With no previous hockey organ repertoire to draw upon, Melgard's music was largely derived from the popular musical repertoire of the time, in a fashion similar to the prerecorded music played in the present-day hockey arena. Yet the selection could also have an intended humorous effect to coincide with actions taking place on the ice. During the warmup and preparation for a Black Hawks game, Melgard would wait for the referee and two linesmen to get onto the ice. When they began to skate, he would play the tune to the English folk song "Three Blind Mice," in honor of the three officials—contrary to the

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[47] "Orators Can't Drown Out Stadium Organ," *Reading Eagle*, May 14, 1932.

[48] Westbrook Pegler, "Shea and Mastro Market Old Neighborhood Grudge" *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 24, 1929.

opinion of the Tribune's boxing writer, the organ was in fact capable of mocking and taunting. This ritual gained Melgard such notoriety that he was personally instructed by the NHL to cease and desist from the practice.[49] In spite of this, one article from 1949 suggests that not all the referees were quite so taken aback:

> It was once reported that the...officials were irritated by his flippant irreverence. But when Al was desperately ill, one of the more irascible referees wrote him: "Hurry up and get well, Al, so you can play our theme song again—(signed)—Three Blind Mice.[50]

As for the the instrument itself, there was approximately a half-second delay from the moment the organist played a note to when he could hear it, presenting an added difficulty for the performer.[51] More importantly, an ever-present issue with the Barton was the need to exercise restraint with registrations—not only was too much volume distracting to patrons, but it could actually cause physical damage to the stadium. Only when the national anthem was being played at the beginning of a match was it acceptable to have all the stops pulled out. Melgard would famously boast about the one known exception to this general rule: when a riot broke out in the stadium following a controversial split decision win at the end of a boxing match. In order to quell the violence in the stands, Melgard laid his arms across the manuals, and the sound of the 864 stops all playing at once was so powerful that—according to Melgard—the light fixtures in the ceiling shattered, finally inducing the crowd to settle down.[52] It is unclear whether the light fixtures actually broke, but Frank Pellico, Melgard's student and

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[49] Hayner and McNamee, *The Stadium,* 12.

[50] Donald Freeman, "Chicago's Melgarden of Music," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 27, 1949.

[51] In addition, Melgard encountered many personal difficulties in playing the organ. When his left index finger was severed in a shop accident, he lost a job playing for a radio station and his professional playing career was in jeopardy. Having previously taught World War I veterans to play the piano with missing digits, Melgard devised his own "adaptive fingering" techniques to work around the shortcoming.

[52] Ibid.

successor at the Chicago Stadium, opines that even if it was an exaggeration, such a feat was certainly *possible* on the Barton.[53]

The quality of play and lightheartedness pervaded many of the musical selections at Chicago Stadium, with one journalist describing it in pun as a "Puckish sense of humor."[54] In addition to playing pieces that were regularly featured at Black Hawks games, Melgard often had to improvise when a sudden and unexpected turn of events occurred on the ice. In one instance, a fan had thrown a rabbit onto the ice, and without hesitation Melgard began a rendition of Noel Gay's "Run Rabbit Run."[55] Within a few months, he had become so popular with audiences that Chicago Stadium president Sid Strotz assured him that he would have the position of stadium organist for as long as he wished.

Proliferation of the Organ in the Early NHL

In order to put the Barton organ at Chicago Stadium in context, we must briefly examine the history of the NHL, as well as the arrival of organs into other hockey arenas. The founding of the National Hockey League in 1917 occurred during an era when professional hockey—even in its comfortable homestead of Canada—was considered to be a volatile and risky business venture. From the turn of the nineteenth century until well into the 1920s, professional hockey in Canada was fraught with issues of financial stability and competing leagues jockeying for top players. Leagues would rise and disband at a pace unthinkable by contemporary standards, often simply to exclude a given team or its owner from participating in the league. Such was the case for the NHL, which

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[53] Hayner and McNamee, *The Stadium*, 14.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Donald Freeman, "Chicago's Melgarden of Music," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 27, 1949.

was a direct successor to the former National Hockey Association (NHA). It was founded by the surviving franchises of the NHA—the Montreal Canadiens, the Montreal Wanderers, the Ottawa Senators, and the Quebec Bulldogs—primarily to refuse admittance to Eddie Livingstone (1884–1945), the contentious owner of the NHA's Toronto Blue Shirts.[56] During the economic boom of the 1920s, the NHL began a period of rapid expansion, rising from three franchises in 1918,[57] to ten by the start of the 1929–1930 season. This period would mark the league's first expansion into the United States, beginning with the Boston Bruins in 1924, the New York Americans in 1925 and the Chicago Black Hawks, Detroit Red Wings, and New York Rangers in 1926. Yet the ten-team league of 1930 would then contract, following the economic turmoil of the Great Depression. By 1942, with the demise of the Montreal Maroons, the NHL had been reduced to six teams: the Boston Bruins, Chicago Black Hawks, Detroit Red Wings, Montreal Canadiens, New York Rangers, and Toronto Maple Leafs, erroneously referred to in hockey lore as the "Original Six" franchises.

The period of financial uncertainty from 1930 onward would seem to make the installation of an arena organ—or at least one of the size and scope of Chicago's Barton—an unattractive proposition for other franchises in the NHL. Yet insofar as a sense of pride and competition was instilled in players by their home arenas, NHL teams still felt the need to keep pace with one another in terms of the opulence of musical investment. In that spirit, another theatre organ would be erected in the NHL when

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[56] John Chi-Kit Wong, *Lords of the Rinks: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875–1936* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 71. Following the transition to the NHL, the Bulldogs were forced to relocate to Toronto for the start of the 1917–1918 season, becoming the Toronto Arenas, and in turn the Toronto Maple Leafs in 1927.

[57] Although the Montreal Wanderers were one of the founding members of the NHL, they had ceased operations after only one season, due to financial constraints.

Chicago's Midwestern rivals, the Detroit Red Wings, installed an instrument in 1934 or 1935.[58] The organ at the Olympia was used to accompany not only home games of the Detroit Red Wings, but also Monday night amateur hockey and the public skating that followed each game.[59] The organ cost upwards of $50,000, and early accounts suggest that it was also being played at practices for the Red Wings and their minor league affiliate, the Detroit Olympics.[60] One journalist remarked that the organ was interfering with team practice, that its music gave off "too much rhythm."[61] Although little information is available on early Red Wings organist Merle "Bob" Clarke, music at the Olympia through the 1960s and 1970s was provided by organist Art Quarto (1914–2008).[62]

The only other noteworthy example of a pipe organ in the NHL—as opposed to the later models of electric and electronic organs—was a brief experiment with a massive Wurlitzer purchased by the Toronto Maple Leafs.[63] The five-manual instrument was originally constructed in 1922, and was shipped from upstate New York to its first home in the Shea Hippodrome Theatre on Toronto's Bay Street. Until the theatre's closure and demolition in 1956, the Shea Hippodrome was a performance arts centre that housed everything from flea circuses to "traveling aborigines" to a series of vaudeville-style

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[58] There appears to be no direct mention in print media of when the organ was first erected. An article from The Windsor Daily Star dated October 30, 1935 mentions Red Wings owner James Norris arriving to hear a performance on the "new pipe organ at the Detroit ice palace," and so one can only presume it had been installed at the beginning of the season.

[59] "Detroit Boss Watches Team," *The Windsor Daily Star,* October 30, 1935.

[60] "Hockey Doings are Being Recorded by Items from Camps," *Christian Science Monitor,* October 28, 1935.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Robert Wimmer, *Detroit's Olympia Stadium*, (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 68.

[63] It might be worthwhile to mention the difference between an electric organ, and an electronic organ. A pipe organ which receives its air pressure via a motorized pump is electropneumatic. An early model of the Hammond organ or its rival instruments, in which an electric current is used to control mechanical parts (spinning wheels, discs, etc.), can be said to be electric organs. Finally, an instrument which is controlled by electricity, yet lacks moving parts (i.e., it is controlled via a circuit board) such a contemporary Hammond organ or synthesizer, would be correctly classified as an electronic organ.

variety shows.[64] Upon the theatre's closure, the Shea Hippodrome's organ—which had originally been appraised at $50,000 in 1922—was purchased for a scant $2,000 by the owner of the Toronto Maple Leafs and Maple Leafs Gardens, Major Conn Smythe (1895–1980).[65] About Smythe's new acquisition, Lloyd Klos writes:

> The Major, with a feeling of tradition and history, was convinced that the organ would serve a useful purpose in providing background music at hockey games, church rallies etc. The console, pipes, new bandstand and an executive clubhouse all fitted into a neat structure at the south end of the Gardens under a huge new portrait of Queen Elizabeth.[66]

The Wurlitzer's tenure at Maple Leaf Gardens was ultimately quite brief. In 1963, the Wurlitzer was deemed "superfluous" by the new team management, and was removed from the stadium in order to make room for 1,800 new seats inside the arena. This action was taken not by Smythe, but rather by a consortium of people including the infamous Harold Ballard (1903–1990), who in 1969 became principal owner, a position he held until his death in 1990.[67]

This particular case study underscores many important facts to consider about the suitability of the pipe organ in the context of the hockey arena. Although it offered the highest decibel level of any single musical instrument of the time, its prohibitive cost and

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[64] Lloyd E. Klos, "A man...a castle...a Wurlitzer..." Toronto Theatre Organ Society, http://www.theatreorgans.com /toronto/history.html (accessed October 20, 2010).

[65] Ibid. In fact, as the source decribes, Smythe had purchased the instrument almost "too late," at the behest of his personal physician, Dr. Bruce Tovee, who was also an accomplished theatre organist and member of the American Theater Organ Society. Too late, in the sense that Smythe had stepped in and purchased the instrument from the company hired to demolish the theatre—and by extension, the organ—at a point when the roof had already been torn down!

[66] Ibid.

[67] William Houston, *Ballard: A Portrait of Canada's Most Controversial Sports Figure* (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1984), 60. Harold Ballard was arguably one of the most contentious owners in the history of professional hockey, and the fact that the organ was removed under his supervision can hardly be considered a coincidence. The portrait of Queen Elizabeth II, which had been placed in the arena by Smythe in 1956 at the same time as the organ, had also been removed under Ballard's direction. His reasoning was that it would make room for more seats, and when the decision regarding the portrait was questioned, Ballard famously replied, "She doesn't pay me, I pay her. Besides, what the hell position can a queen play?"

sheer size made it an unappealing choice for many arenas, where the interior space for seats was at a premium. Furthermore, considering the massive collapse in credit and economic stability at the time of the Great Depression, the construction of all varieties of pipe organs was discouraged, whether for stadiums, theatres, or churches. Yet in spite of this, the organ was clearly a sought-after commodity for other NHL franchises, who wished to keep pace with Chicago and provide their own similar form of in-game musical entertainment.

The Hammond Organ

To add to the list of reasons a sports team might opt to forgo the installation of a pipe organ, in 1934 the engineer Laurens Hammond (1895–1973) created the first of his namesake design of "tonewheel" electric organs, known as Hammond organs. The instrument began mass-manufacture in April 1935, and its design hinged on the patented tonewheel, which was largely responsible for the instrument's characteristic sound. The Hammond organ was not the first electric organ to be designed, but it was by most estimates the most successful in terms of market saturation. The key to its success was a characteristic timbre that was considerably more palatable to musicians than were electronic organs such as the Rangertone and Telharmonium—it was often described as being more "warm" or more "organic" than a typical electronic instrument.[68]

Laurens Hammond did not equivocate with regard to the target market for his organs. They were designed and marketed as a low-cost, space-saving alternative to a

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[68] Mark Vail, *Keyboard Presents the Hammond Organ: Beauty in the B* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2002), 14.

pipe organ. However, given the particularly quick attack of the instrument, the Hammond organ was an unsuitable choice for playing the vast repertoire of classical church organ music written for the acoustic instruments. And yet Hammond's boisterous claims about the ability of his organs—that they could produce the entire range of effects possible on the pipe organ—was met with considerable opposition.[69] Nevertheless, the Hammond B-3, the company's flagship model, found a considerable following not only in contemporary church music and gospel music, but more prominently in several forms of secular music—jazz, R&B, and pop music, to name but a few.

But if we are to speak of a "characteristic" sound of the Hammond organ, the definition of such a timbre must be qualified. What does a Hammond organ sound like? Moreover, what is it that makes its sound distinct from that of a theatre or church organ? A discussion of the "Hammond sound" invariably points aficionados of the instrument toward the B-3 model. The most popular and enduring model produced by Hammond, the B-3's timbre has come to act as a synecdoche for all Hammond organs. This was in part because of the instrument's use of vibrato and chorus effects, designed to supplement the

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[69] Orpha Ochse, *The History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 371–3. The notion that a Hammond organ and its characteristic sound are ill-suited for classical hymnody is almost universally accepted by organists today—including those that are Hammond aficionados, or those who use more contemporary electronic instruments in their church services. This, however, was not abundantly clear in 1935, when the instrument was marketed as a pipe organ replacement. Already suffering as a result of the Great Depression, many distraught and outraged pipe organ builders had gone as far as the U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to seek action against Laurens Hammond. They sought to challenge the claim made by Hammond that his instrument "produces the entire range of tone coloring necessary for the rendition, without sacrifice, of the great works of organ literature." Organ builders further claimed that the Hammond organ could not rightly be referred to as an organ at all, as it lacked many of the components necessary for an instrument to be classified as such. By 1938, the FTC ordered Hammond to cease his boisterous claims about the capabilities of his instruments, although by that point much of the press coverage surrounding the case had greatly swelled the demand for his organs. By the close of World War II, however, much of the initial hysteria had faded, and church organ builders had not gone the way of the kerosene lamp makers, despite the predictions of Hammond's attorney that they would.

typically "static" sound of an electric organ.[70]

However, such design changes are almost trivial in the greater discussion of the B-3's colour. More importantly, the B-3 was the first model to be supplemented by the "Leslie cabinet," the rotating speaker cabinet designed by Don Leslie (1911–2004). Mark Vail describes the mechanical action and inspiration behind the design of the Leslie:

> Thanks to reflective surfaces in the performance space, as well as the Doppler effect that occurs when a noise-emitting source moves toward, past, and then away from your ears, the Leslie speaker creates a unique effect that greatly enhances the organ sound, especially when the rotation speed is switched at critical points in the performance. How did Don Leslie figure out to use rotary components with speakers? He was inspired by the experience of listening to a pipe organ. In a pipe organ, the pipes themselves are spread out across a fairly wide range. The base of a bank of pipes can measure up to 12 feet or more across. Therefore, the sources of notes you hear are spread out, and notes emanate from different spots across the stereo field.[71]

Although the intent may have been to emulate the acoustic field of a pipe organ, there is little question that the sound produced is markedly different from that of a pipe organ. Officially, Hammond and his authorized dealers discouraged and downplayed the relationship between the B-3 organ and the Leslie cabinet—Laurens Hammond resented a third-party manufacturer such as Leslie "improving" upon the sound of his organ.[72] His resentment notwithstanding, the two appliances became intrinsically connected to one another, producing a sound that is intrinsically that of the Hammond organ.

The necessity of the Leslie cabinet in producing the desired sound is underscored by the normally thin, quiet sound of the Hammond organ. Organists who perform publicly with a Hammond organ in a rock or jazz context concede that the instrument was not designed as a performing organ. Rather, the organ's docile timbre was intended

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[70] Vail, *Beauty in the B*, 11.
[71] Ibid., 13.
[72] Ibid., 11. The point has been rendered moot; as of 1991, the Suzuki Music Manufacturing Company is the exclusive producer of both the Hammond organ and the Leslie speaker cabinet.

more than anything else as an instrument for amateurs looking to perform in their living rooms. This same sentiment was echoed by Dan Barton, who seemed to question the legitimacy of the Hammond organs, referring to them as "house organs" that noticeably lacked the "real organ pipes" that a church organ—or his theatre organs—would feature.[73]

Gladys Goodding, Eddie Layton, and the Hammond Connection

How did the characteristic sound of the Hammond organ then come to be associated with ice hockey? This question cannot be fully explored or understood without touching on the parallel tradition of the baseball organist. The repertoires and, indeed, the performers of both traditions are intertwined to a large extent. In the case of the Hammond organ, both related musical streams converged in New York City in the early 1940s.

The two earliest figures in the NHL to play a Hammond organ both did so for the New York Rangers. Gladys Goodding (1893–1963) was also professional baseball's first full-time organist, playing for the Brooklyn Dodgers at Ebbets Field. Eddie Layton (1925–2004), meanwhile, was better known for his long tenure as the organist at Yankee Stadium. At various points in history both were responsible for organ performances for the New York Knicks of the NBA and—of greater importance to this study—the New York Rangers of the NHL.

Born in Macon, Missouri, Goodding was raised in the St. Louis Masonic Home, a local orphanage. It was not until 1923 that she moved to New York City. Like Al Melgard, her move to the big city coincided with a demand for silent film organists in

[73] Barton, interview.

theatres, and she soon found work with Loews and RKO theatres during this heyday of the theatre organist.[74] She became most well-known for her work as the organist for the Brooklyn Dodgers at Ebbets Field from 1942 until 1957.

But as in Chicago, ice hockey was the first sport in New York City to utilize an organist—Goodding had begun playing at Madison Square Garden in 1935, and continued to do so until her sudden death from a heart attack in the fall of 1963.[75] It is not entirely clear what instruments Ebbets Field and Madison Square Garden utilized. One might infer from primary sources that the former had a pipe organ,[76] while the latter used some fashion of electric organ.[77] Craig R. Whitney, however, asserts that Goodding's instrument at Ebbets Field was, in fact, also a Hammond organ.[78]

Goodding's style appears to have matched much of the frivolity of the hockey organ at Chicago Stadium. She would often pair the heated physicality of a hockey scrum with tunes such as Emile Waldteufel's "Skaters Waltz," pieces one writer referred to as the "mellow chestnuts" of the old Madison Square Garden.[79] Because Goodding came from a background in theatre organ-playing, as Melgard did, we can also reasonably assume that this influenced her playing style and her command of improvisation. Because of Goodding's work in the service of professional sports in New York City, author Craig

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[74] Bob McGee, *The Greatest Ballpark Ever: Ebbets Field and the Story of the Brooklyn Dodgers* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rivergate Books, 2005), 165.

[75] Deane McGowen, "Persol Upsets Thomas at Garden with vicious 2-handed attack," *New York Times*, November 30, 1963.

[76] "Dodgers Get into Trouble Again with Calliope Hating Neighbor," *New York Times,* July 10, 1942. References to the instrument as a "calliope" would indeed suggest an apparatus similar to that of a pipe organ.

[77] "Riotous 'Sport' at the Garden," *New York Times*, August 6, 1965. This is a much more difficult case to make than the pipe organ at Ebbets Field. However, during a brawl following a contested boxing match, rioters managed to tear out the Garden's organ and throw it "over a five foot wall," a feat that seems next to impossible were it the console of a pipe organ.

[78] Craig R. Whitney, introduction to *All the Stops: The Glorious Pipe Organ and Its American Masters* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), XIX.

[79] George Vecsey, "As Times Change, Fighting Remains Part of the Game" *New York Times,* December 21, 2006.

R. Whitney speculates that at the height of her career, her popularity in the United States outstripped that of any concert pipe organist, even iconic contemporaries such as Virgil Fox (1912–1980).[80]

In Eddie Layton, on the other hand, we find our first example of an organist who did not matriculate from the silent film world, in part due to his relative youth compared to both Melgard and Goodding. Layton was born in Philadelphia and began studying the organ at the age of twelve. It is unclear whether he had begun on an electric organ or a pipe organ, but Layton would quickly gain fame for his work as a Hammond organist. Layton was hired by the Hammond company in the 1950s, becoming one of the company's traveling product demonstrators, a role similar to the one Al Melgard held with the Barton Organ Company some thirty years earlier. Layton's fame afforded him the opportunity to release several albums of music played on the Hammond organ. These included collections of original compositions, sentimental ballads, folk music, and even famous themes from radio and television programs. In fact, radio and television became Eddie Layton's segue into professional sports. Layton was hired as a staff organist for CBS in the 1960s, and was charged with providing accompaniment and composing scores for television soap operas. At the time, CBS also had a controlling interest in the New York Yankees organization, and in 1967 Layton made his debut on the organ console at Yankee Stadium. The same year, he would begin an eighteen-year stint playing the organ at Madison Square Garden, providing music for the home games of the New York Rangers and New York Knicks.

Much like Melgard's at Chicago Stadium, Layton's tenure at Madison Square Garden was one that was characterized by frivolity and jocularity. It was something that

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[80] Whitney, XIX.

Layton himself seemed to embrace openly, as demonstrated in an excerpt from a 1969 profile published in the *New York Times:*

> "Hey, let me tell you what I'm going to do for Sunday's Rangers game," said Eddie Layton, the bubbly, mischievous house organist at Madison Square Garden. "The first time there's a fight—and I guess there has to be a fight sometime—I'm going to play 'Love Is a Many Splendored Thing,' won't that be something?[81]

In various interviews and conversations, Layton made light of the fact that he knew next to nothing about the sport he was accompanying. He had never participated in sports as a youth, and he went so far as to admit that at the first Yankees game he accompanied, he did not understand the rules of baseball.[82] He similarly had never seen a game of ice hockey before his debut performance for the New York Rangers in 1967, but his extended and storied tenure with both franchises suggests that his lack of knowledge was not a significant hindrance to his ability to make music for the respective sports.

NHL Expansion and the St. Louis Blues

By the close of the 1960s, every one of the "Original Six" teams could boast an organ of some variety played on a nightly basis for its home games. Maple Leaf Gardens—presumably with a smaller, space-saving electric organ to placate owner Harold Ballard—had organists Horace Lapp (1904–1986) and Ralph Fraser (b. 1934) playing at hockey games in the 1950s and 1960s, respectively. John Kiley (1912–1993) and his Hammond C-3 organ had become a regular fixture at the Boston Gardens, while Claudette Auchu—known in Montreal as "La Fille du Forum"—was hired as the organist for the Montreal Canadiens in 1969. This coincides with roughly the same point in

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[81] Gerald Eskenazi, "Organist at Garden Pipes Up Rangers," *New York Times,* March 23, 1969.
[82] Ibid.

history when the NHL doubled in size from six teams to twelve, its first expansion in nearly forty years. Of the six expansion teams—the Los Angeles Kings, the Minnesota North Stars,[83] the Philadelphia Flyers, the Pittsburgh Penguins, the Oakland Seals,[84] and the St. Louis Blues—none became more closely associated with the organ than the Blues.

St. Louis organist Norm Kramer (b. 1927) had been hired at the onset of the 1967–1968 season, and was arguably more of a celebrity as a hockey organist than even Al Melgard, the pioneer of the tradition. Furthermore, his popularity outshone that of many of the players, and Kramer's ability to elicit reactions from the audience was credited by Blues head coach Scotty Bowman as giving the team a scoring boost during their home games. One local sports writer estimated that Kramer's organ playing accounted for an extra "half a goal" per game for the team, a figure that Kramer himself took very seriously.[85] As Bowman recalls:

> So the next year [1968], he went in to sign his contract for about 39 games and the owner of the team (Sidney Salomon, Jr.) liked him but he (Kramer) wanted $10,000 (a year) instead of what, $35 a game which is a little over a thousand. The owners said, 'No we cannot afford that kind of money, Norm, even though you got a lot of notoriety from playing for us.' So he hauled out the newspaper and he says you got some players who are being paid $20,000, he says I am worth a half a goal a game (which meant he was a 20-goal scorer in a half-season of work without the playoffs), they don't even score 10 goals in a season....The newspapermen said somebody in our organization felt he was worth a half a goal a game to our team, and he probably was worth that at the time because he was the first guy who put music in and the got the crowd going.[86]

It would be inaccurate to suggest that the organ was taken this seriously only in St. Louis. In 1970, St. Louis was awarded the NHL's twenty-third annual All-Star game, and the

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[83] The North Stars moved in 1993 to become the Dallas Stars.

[84] They later became the Cleveland Barons, before the team disbanded in 1978.

[85] Evan Weiner, "Kramer played the Blues in St. Louis," National Hockey League, http://www.nhl.com/ice/news.htm?id=521989 (published March 19, 2010).

[86] Ibid.

question of who would play the organ became a contentious point of debate. Bill Wirtz, owner of the Chicago Black Hawks, argued that the Western conference (i.e., the league's six expansion teams) would have an unfair scoring advantage so long as the Blues organist would be playing throughout. To prove that this was not an idle threat, Wirtz demanded that Chicago organist Al Melgard—the "senior organist" in the "senior division," as he put it—play at least half of the All-Star game, or else he assured the league that he would "never come back to St. Louis again."[87]

Although Kramer had become an iconic figure for the St. Louis Blues, his increasing pay demands eventually led to his dismissal in 1973. However, much like a star player on the ice, he had previously been scouted by several other teams interested in his services, both in the NHL and in the upstart World Hockey Association (WHA). When he entertained an offer from the Atlanta Flames in November 1972, Kramer pointed out that at that point in the season, Atlanta had yet to win a home game.[88] On his first night playing their organ, the Flames achieved a tie, as the sound system "wasn't just right," but in the team's next match, against the North Stars, the Flames "just walked over Minnesota. The crowd came off its hands the last five minutes."[89]

Kramer's role in forming the hockey organ's canon is also noteworthy in that he claims to have introduced the infamous musical "rallies" into the NHL.[90] Whether he had originally composed them or simply borrowed them from Major League Baseball is unclear, but Kramer attributes his musical craft and timing in a hockey game to watching the Houston Astros' scoreboard on television and getting a feel for how music was

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87 "Hawks' Owner Keyed Up over 'Star Organist." *Meriden Journal*, January 20, 1970.

88 Pat Thompson, "Is Kramer Worth Goal Per Contest Organically?" *Gettysburg Times*, January 9, 1973.

89 Ibid. It is unclear from available sources whether or not these games with the Flames resulted in a permanent position for Kramer.

90 Ibid.

presented at the Astrodome. Without belabouring Kramer's playing to the exclusion of other organists, his career with the St. Louis Blues underscores the innate advantage that the organist was perceived to give a team, and the effect supposedly produced by a loud cheering audience in a given team's home arena.

1970s and 1980s: The Hockey Organ's Decline

Those familiar with the NHL and its venues within the league will recall that at some point in the 1980s, prerecorded music tracks, largely from the genres of rock and heavy metal, began to succeed the hockey organ in several arenas' markets. There is no consensus as to which franchise was first to implement the practice, but there are several possible candidates, including the Philadelphia Flyers and the Minnesota North Stars.

The hockey organ, which first came into use as an instrument in the National Hockey League in the late 1920s, was still the league's primary means of music production as late as the 1960s. Sound recording technology was still in its infancy, and crude enough that it was unsuitable for a large arena. Much as the DJ in modern arenas is the purveyor of popular music to the crowd, so too was the organist in the 1930s. But popular tastes changed, and the rise of rock and roll in the postwar period was accompanied by significant advances in recording technology. The Philadelphia Flyers' first arena, the Spectrum, was erected in 1967 not only with the presentation of professional hockey in mind, but just as much in order to allow the presentation of rock concerts.

Yet it was not rock that would provide the first noteworthy venture into prerecorded music for the Flyers. Rather, it was a recording of vocalist Kate Smith

singing a rendition of Irving Berlin's patriotic song "God Bless America." Preempting the singing of the U.S. national anthem, it quickly became a staple in the Spectrum, as fans and players alike noticed that the Flyers would win more often when the Smith recording was played. This culminated in Smith's live performance of the song at the Spectrum in 1973, at the Flyers' home opener of the season. By then, her version of "God Bless America" had become synonymous with the Flyers winning games, and had achieved a venerated status within the city of Philadelphia.

Although the relationship between Kate Smith's singing and the rise of rock music may seem tenuous, it underscores a watershed moment in the soundscape of the ice hockey arena. If one recalls Norm Kramer's fame in St. Louis, the organist was believed to provide something beyond mere musical accompaniment: he (or she) had seemingly supernatural powers over the game being played on the ice. Kate Smith's rendition of "God Bless America" managed to capture that same kind of power, and intrinsically linked itself with the sport. For the first time since 1929, the organ could not lay claim as the only—or, indeed, as the most popular—musical option available to a franchise.

By the 1980s, heavy metal had begun to usurp the organ in markets such as Minnesota, where the North Stars began to incorporate more and more prerecorded music. In contrast to this contemporary rock music, the arena organist and his repertory had come to be seen as clichéd and old-fashioned. Staff organists hired in the 1930s and 1940s had neither the knowledge nor the desire to play rock music. Al Melgard was eighty-four years old when he retired from the organ post at Chicago Stadium in 1974, after having played there for the better part of forty-four years.[91] Eddie Layton, who once

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[91] "Al Melgard, Organist, Dies," *Chicago Tribune*, July 9, 1977.

boasted he could play anything "from *Show Boat* to 'Mrs. Robinson,'" claimed that rock and roll was "not the type of music you can do on an organ."[85] As such, what was once the presentation of popular tunes in the 1930s had become a musical anachronism by the 1970s. Its repertoire was clichéd, camp—in short, anything but popular.

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8 [5] Gerald Eskenazi, "Organist at Garden Pipes up Rangers," *New York Times,* March 23, 1969.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Nostalgia Theory and Nostalgia Marketing

The changing musical tastes described, however, explain only the *decline* of the hockey organ in the twenty-year period dating roughly from 1980 until 2000. What then explains the subsequent revival and newfound interest that the instrument has seen since that period? A reading of the organ as a mode of nostalgic discourse is a plausible explanation for the presence of this musical anachronism, allowing it to resist attempts at modernization.

Indeed, our discussion of the role of the hockey organ could fit well as a case study in a larger discussion of nostalgia in the NHL. The NHL has done much to promote and celebrate the legacy of its erroneously named "Original Six" franchises. In 2009 the Montreal Canadiens, the oldest franchise in the league, celebrated their centennial anniversary, which included the use of retro jerseys and tributes to retired and deceased players from the team's years of former glory. Coinciding with this was a newfound interest—both by fans and by the league's franchises—in many aspects of the early years of the league, such as the now annual tradition of hosting a single outdoor game on New Year's Day, dubbed the "NHL Winter Classic." Although only three years old, the Winter Classic emphasizes and has aggressively marketed the "simpler," more "traditional" venue of the outdoor hockey rink. The 2010 Winter Classic game at Fenway Park saw one of the more blatant examples of a reach for the past, when Boston Bruins coach Claude Julien sported a fedora during the match. Why are these nostalgic artifacts found in the NHL, and what purpose do they serve? Theoretical insights come from the realm of sociology, where there has been research regarding the phenomenon of nostalgia. In

particular, close examinations of Fred Davis' text, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*, as well as Janelle Wilson's *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*, can be invoked to explain how nostalgic ideas are formed within the hockey arena.

Both Wilson and Davis contend that nostalgia is a social construct, and examine the ways in which such a construct shapes our receptions, perceptions, and even our own fundamental understanding of reality—to wit, probing the philosophical notion of what is deemed "real." This cannot be reduced to an idle metaphysical question, but rather one of cognition and phenomenology, where the desire to fondly remember past events becomes so overwhelming that, like the conditions of play, it becomes seemingly supra-logical. Davis gives us an account of the history of nostalgia, as the term first came into usage in the seventeenth century. Deriving from the Greek terms *nostos* and *algia*, it literally translates as a "painful desire to return home."[92] It was first coined by Johannes Hofer, a physician who attempted to describe an extreme bout of homesickness among the mercenaries who left his native Switzerland.[93] The term then underwent a "depsychologization" in the 1950s, becoming understood less as a medical affliction or disease than as a normative state of emotion, not unlike love, jealousy, or fear. People had become willing to accept a fixation with the past as a natural desire.

It is nonetheless naïve to consider the nostalgic process to be a simple one of evoking fond memories. Janelle Wilson outlines the salient features of nostalgia quite succinctly, writing that nostalgia is primarily "an intra-personal expression of self which subjectively provides one with a sense of continuity."[94] Secondly, it is "an interpersonal

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[92] Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 1.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Janelle Wilson, *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 19.

form of conversational play, serving the purpose of bonding."[95] Thirdly, it is "a form of ideologizing or mystifying the past."[96] And finally, nostalgia "can be used as a cultural commodity derived from the experience of a particular age-cohort and transformed into a market segment."[97] In short, although nostalgia can still quite literally be understood as a sense of homesickness, it often has a much more tenuous relationship to the personal histories of its affected audience. Davis is steadfast in his assertion that nostalgia must be rooted in some sense of our own past. "Can I be nostalgic for the Ganges," he writes, "a place I have never seen, or you for the Crusades, a time when you have never lived?"[98] It is unclear whether this perspective can explain nostalgic aspects of the use of the hockey organ. Is it nostalgic because it invokes the listeners' past, or is it nostalgic at a level of remove from its audience? We can presume that there are relatively few living fans who attended the earliest hockey organ presentations in Chicago in the 1930s, but we must then be mindful that the organ is still present in a contemporary arena. A young child in attendance at a game today (or in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, etc.) could theoretically become, in his or her later years, nostalgic for a modern incarnation of the organ, which is present in the arena to begin with because it simultaneously evokes nostalgic notions of organs of the past for an older person. As time is in a continuous state of change, it would be fallacious to consider this phenomenon in large epochs—nostalgia too is in a constant state of change, and implications of time are cyclical rather than linear. Consider numerous contemporary revivals of *Grease,* which attempt to capitalize on nostalgic sentiment towards the original 1970s production. That original musical, however, was in

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[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday*, 8.

turn an attempt to capture the nostalgia of the 1950s. In short, the revival demonstrates a sense of nostalgia towards the nostalgic.

Wilson's text, on the other hand, argues for a different view of self-relatedness to nostalgia. She deals with direct examples of so-called "displaced nostalgia," in which self-relation is not present. Teenagers born in the 1980s can "remember" the 1950s with fondness, sensing that it was a simpler age with an innocence that no longer exists in contemporary society.[99] This suggests that one does not need to be connected to the subject upon which he or she reflects nostalgically. I would argue that the best understanding of nostalgia lies between these two interpretations: we can be nostalgic for a time before we were born, but nostalgia is nevertheless culturally situated: a North American of European background is unlikely to be nostalgic for the Ganges, to use Davis' earlier example. This affect is achieved through mass media, where dominant ideology "creates and sustains nostalgia."[100]

There are many obvious criticisms to be leveled against this somewhat one-dimensional view of the past. Such a selective vision distorts reality, and by consequence can make light of significant social plights. To return to 1950s America, for example, is to return to a historical time and place of rampant racial segregation. Whitewashing the past forces the audience of a nostalgic product or event to take an overly critical view of the present. But as Wilson is quick to point out, nostalgia has "gotten a bad rap."[101] "While nostalgia can, on occasion, be dysfunctional for an individual," she writes, "it is also possible that nostalgia can be quite beneficial. Placing oneself in the past, present, or

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[99] Ibid., 88-9.
[100] Wilson, *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*, 99.
[101] Janelle Wilson, in the preface to *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), ii.

projecting into the future is vital function to each of us. The experience and expression of nostalgia need not merely be an escape, nor does the past need to be viewed as static."[102]

In a chapter on nostalgia and art, Davis contends that art both thrives on and shapes the form of nostalgia, even an art form "so nondiscursive and nonrepresentational as music."[103] Drawing upon the work of Leonard Meyer, Davis goes on to suggest that nostalgic representations of music are not only steeped in the past, but can be invoked in fairly contemporary works that make use of an "aesthetic code that evokes the emotion."[104] Davis cites composers such as Sergei Rachmaninoff, Edvard Grieg, and Samuel Barber, among others, to demonstrate musical instances where these "deliberate" nostalgic conventions are found. For Davis, nostalgic modality involves "such conventions as a long legato line in a minor key along with such other elements as slow tempi, much rubato, considerate repetition of cadence, and a wavering pulsation of melody, which in vocal music reaches toward a lullaby-like swaying."[105]

But this presents us with an obvious problem: such forms of nostalgia as described by Davis belong to the domain of classical music, and are unhelpful in analyzing the musical tradition of the sports arena. Indeed, the hockey organ makes little use of rubato rhythms or slow tempi. And although the organ, by virtue of its quick decay, inevitably uses a certain amount of *legato*, this is merely a byproduct of the instrument's design and not an intentional means of conveying nostalgia. For our purposes, in order to situate nostalgic modes of music we must construct a unique aesthetic, or characteristic sound, that somehow invokes nostalgic sentiment for hockey

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday,* 81.
[104] Ibid., 82.
[105] Ibid., 83.

music—traits inherent in the hockey organ that are not mere extrapolations from classical music.

Furthermore, we cannot consider nostalgia in music simply from the perspective of transmission. What is it in the listeners that creates a nostalgic feeling? How does one perceive nostalgia? Both Davis and Wilson allude to notions of nostalgic perception, and as stated previously, such a theory of multiple realities is not meant to elicit a metaphysical discussion of *physical* changes in reality. Rather, in drawing on the work of Alfred Schutz, Davis argues for nostalgic perception as a distinct form of consciousness.[106] What this means is that the nostalgic moment forms a unique optic of the world in its listener, through which he or she comes to temporarily frame reality. This is akin to—but separate from—sleep, a daydream, or other states of altered consciousness with varying degrees of temporal stability and self-awareness. Someone who is actively engaged with nostalgic modes of perception and discourse is thus able to suspend beliefs, doubts, and logical inconsistencies. If one listens to a song from the 1950s, one "knows" that the decade was not as idyllic as it is being portrayed. But on the plane at which nostalgia operates, the listener is able to compartmentalize such "truths," and remove the individual sense of "self" from the moment long enough to perceive reality through a specific set of parameters.

Marketing nostalgia in the NHL

If nostalgia does in fact function as a "cultural commodity" in and of itself, as Wilson contends, then an important question must be asked regarding the use of the

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[106] Ibid., 74.

hockey organ as a mode of nostalgic discourse. As the NHL and its individual franchises are profit making corporations, what is the expected result or benefit to be derived from using a live organist, or anything else that would draw upon nostalgic sentiments? How does such use benefit the marketing of the target product—the game of ice hockey—to its intended audience? Does the organ have an advantage over the modern sound system, with its near infinite discography and its capacity to be programmed?

In terms of pure technical versatility, with the ability to load and program an entire discography prior to the game even starting, there can be no question that an electronic sound system boasts a significant advantage over the organ. But marketing scholar Stephen Brown has described how nostalgic technologies serve as fruitful avenues for businesses to employ in the marketing of their products. Brown offers several examples of businesses that have benefited from so-called "nostalgia marketing," including famous brands such as Coca-Cola, Starbucks, and Old Spice.[107] A wide variety of methods are employed in resurrecting images of the past, which Brown reduces to two fundamental categories: "repro" and "retro." Repro—short for "reproduction"—is a faithful recreation of a past product or image, wherein the product is virtually identical to that which was originally produced, save the fact that it is being made anew to draw upon nostalgic sentiment. An old logo or jersey design's being used in the NHL today would be an example of repro nostalgia, where there has been no fundamental alteration to the original construct.

By contrast, retro nostalgia is a more apt term for the present-day manifestations of the hockey organ. This kind of nostalgia occurs when the product being presented or

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[107] Stephen Brown, "Retro-marketing: yesterday's tomorrows, today!" *Marketing Intelligence and Planning* 17, no. 7 (1999): 363.

marketed is only cosmetically related to the object of its reminiscence. Upon closer inspection, newer technology has superseded the older design, resulting in a new product that is created upon a negotiation between past and present. Brown offers several examples of a retro design's being used in marketing a product; his most relevant analogy for our purposes is that of the new Volkswagen Beetle. Although the outer design has the same shapes and contours as its 1960s incarnation, the new Beetle produces "a twenty-first century car with twentieth-century styling."[108]

So what of the sounds of the organ? What is it about the instrument that is nostalgic, aside from the sheer longevity of its tradition? I would argue that it is not a particular piece or performance, but rather the distinct timbre of the instrument. While Chicago was famous for its massive instrument in the style of a theatre organ, no other franchise's organ rivaled the sheer size and spectacle of Chicago's Barton. The short-lived experiments with theatre organs in Toronto and Detroit aside, the sound of the Hammond drawbars became associated intrinsically with the sound of the hockey organ in general. And it is this characteristic timbre that then becomes inextricably tied to hockey—the sound of the whirling Leslie cabinet comes to represent the greater game of hockey and all of its presentation *pars pro toto*.

The way nostalgia then applies to the hockey organ becomes obvious. None of the "original" Hammond organs, from Eddie Layton onwards, are still in use, to say nothing of the pipe organs that were once housed in the arenas in Chicago, Detroit, and Toronto. And although instruments resembling the older organs are still present in NHL venues,[109]

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[108] Ibid.

[109] To what extent they are "replicas" of the old organs is certainly debatable. There remains a wide discrepancy in the league with regard to the different instruments being used. Only four of them bear an obvious physical resemblance to a theatre organ or Hammond organ. The others are a collection of

the internal mechanisms that guide their sound production have little to no similarity to Laurens Hammond's original organ designs, or to the Leslie cabinet speakers and their Doppler effect. But even as the technology has changed, the strength of the association between the timbre and the sport has remained. This explains why, even as the technology has progressed and advanced rapidly since Hammond's first designs in the early 1930s, that technology is being directed and manipulated in order to recreate the sounds of older organs. Frank Pellico, in an interview with a *Chicago Tribune* reporter, described the transition from the old Chicago Stadium to the United Center in 1994.[110] Although a wide variety of electronic instruments were available to the franchise, the choice was made to procure an Allen digital theatre organ. Pellico explains that although it is not suitable for playing much of the contemporary music in the arena, the Allen organ closely emulates the sound of a pipe organ, and so it was chosen to help maintain the 65-year legacy of the Barton organ.

Insofar as nostalgia hinges upon temporal constraints, one must consider not only the age of traditions but also the age of its affected audience. Data collected by Holbrook and Schindler suggests that when forming decisions regarding favorite songs and artists, as well as overall aesthetic preferences for popular music, the average person's taste begins to solidify in his or her early adolescence. The pattern of internal canon formation, if you will, "follows an inverted U-shaped pattern that reaches a peak in about the 24th year [of life]."[111] Thus, it would stand to reason that those having been born immediately

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keyboards and synthesizers, which to one extent or another offer much of the same imagery as the old organs (i.e., a live performer playing, moving his hands on a keyboard), even if a pedal board or the ability to change registrations is limited or unavailable.

[110] Chicago Tribune, "A visit with Chicago Blackhawks organist Frank Pellico," Chicago Tribune, http://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=36JN5SvpAvU (accessed December 1, 2010).

[111] Morris B. Holbrook and Robert M. Schindler, "Some Exploratory Findings on the Development of Musical Tastes," *The Journal of Consumer Research* 16, no. 1 (June 1989): 124.

after World War II would most fondly remember Eddie Layton's organ-playing at Madison Square Garden during the 1960s and 1970s. The age demographic in question, of course, is the ubiquitous "baby boomer" generation cited in many discussions of nostalgia.

But although we can easily cite age as support for the theory of the organ as nostalgia, it must be pointed out that of the thirty franchises in the NHL today, relatively few enjoy the longstanding tradition of organ music that the Blackhawks—or even the Rangers—have had. Yet in spite of this, music emanating from the organ can be heard in newer markets such as Ottawa and New Jersey, whose franchises are (at the time of this printing) nineteen and twenty-nine years old, respectively. The instrument has no lengthy currency in either market, but both franchises have made the conscious decision to continue employing an organist. The organ's timbre is being drawn upon as part of the larger sound of sport as a whole, rather than as characteristic of any individual franchise. Broadcast media certainly helped to popularize this sound: NHL fans in Ottawa may not have had the opportunity to see a game in person, but through television and radio broadcasts, they were certainly aware of the organ's musical presence. We therefore see a manifestation of Wilson's "displaced nostalgia" in a real-life scenario as it pertains to the newer teams, in cities where the organ tradition could not have existed. It is not a far reach to say that displaced nostalgia also allows adolescent fans to reminisce on the tradition of the organ. But there is a third kind of displacement that can be considered: that of an imagined past or constructed memory. A 2002 study found that a consumer's confidence in a given product and his or her desire to purchase it—in the case of the controlled experiment, a trip to Walt Disney World—was strengthened by drawing upon

an individual's childhood memories. Yet the exact same effect appeared in different individuals notwithstanding any actual past experience—one could, in fact, have fond memories of going to Disneyland as a child, even if the adult in question had never set foot in Disneyland in his or her entire life.[112] Once again, issues arising from displaced nostalgia offer us an explanation of the hockey organ's perseverance in the greater National Hockey League.

But to what end are these changes being made? What tangible benefits does nostalgia offer a business? Brown argues that although there are many nuances to be found in the realm of nostalgia marketing, much of its success and desirability revolves around establishing a brand's lineage and heritage. As he writes:

> Clearly, the pervasiveness of retromarketing has something to do with the companies that are promulgating it, since it doesn't happen all by itself. From an organisational standpoint, indeed, it makes eminent sense to play the heritage card when there is a heritage to play with. In a world where top-notch performance is industry standard in countless product categories—cars, cameras, colas, cornflakes, chinos, cellular phones etc.—the length of one's lineage remains a meaningful dimension of differentiation and, at the same time, a means of positioning the competition as less trustworthy, less reputable, less knowledgeable than the first born.[113]

The analogy is not a perfect one for the NHL's situation, as in the North American market it cannot be said that the NHL has much in terms of direct competition from other major hockey leagues. That said, if one considers that the NHL is the smallest of the "big four" North American sports leagues—smaller than the National Football League (NFL), National Basketball Association (NBA), and Major League Baseball (MLB)—then it makes perfect sense to make such a "meaningful differentiation" regarding the league's ninety-three-year heritage.

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[112] Kathryn A. Braun, "Make My Memory: How Advertising Can Change Our Memories of the Past," *Psychology and Marketing* 19, no. 1 (January 2002): 3.

[113] Brown, "Retro-marketing," 4.

The Hockey Organ as Ritual

If we are to analyze the music of the hockey organ and the meanings it contains, we find that the tools of historical musicology—namely, harmonic and formal analysis—provide us with very little insight to the phenomenon.[114] The individual tunes found on the organ are all distinct from one another, and fairly memorable to a fan of the sport. That said, each of them is very short, a seemingly trivial motif for which the tools of theory and analysis offer us little beyond a very superficial understanding. How then do we attach meaning to this music? What tells us why the organist plays particular call-and-response cues? Do the spectators in attendance instinctively know how and when to react to the given musical gestures that the organist plays?

In lieu of the framework provided by traditional musicology, it may be more helpful to analyze the hockey organ using the methodology given to us from ethnomusicology, insofar as that discipline is more attuned to matters concerning performance practice and the environment in which music is created and received. It behooves us to analyze the role of the music within its greater ritual purpose, rather than provide an essentialist account of the music on a sheerly aesthetic basis. That is to say, rather than analyzing the chords and melodies of the individual cues and rallies, it would be more fruitful to analyze the broader context of where and when the music is being performed. Much of this is straightforward and easy to unpack: the venue (i.e., the arena), the performer (i.e., the organist), and the intended audience (i.e., hockey fans in attendance) are known and given; these features do not change. But even if we understand the mechanics of this musical tradition, what function and purpose—if we can

[114] Nevertheless, in Chapter III we shall explore a few of the more common cues found in the arena, and illustrate their harmonic and melodic progressions.

ever speak of a "purpose" with regard to music—does it serve? Why is music being interspersed into a game of ice hockey? Why is music, for that matter, present at *any* sporting venue, in any role?

Although those of us who are inclined to study and analyze music may take this connection for granted, there is nothing natural or obvious about the relationship between music and sport. In fact, in an organ-related anecdote from the world of baseball, one commentator questions not only the reasoning behind organ music in sport, but even its very legality.

"I am a Dodger rooter, your Honor. I love ball games and I love music, but this stuff from the organ—phooey, phooey!"[115] These words were uttered in July 1942 by J. Reid Spencer, a 70-year-old retired music teacher from Brooklyn, NY. He had brought the Brooklyn Dodgers organization to court to demand they remove their electric organ—the first such permanent installation in professional baseball—from Ebbets Field. The so-called "cacophony" emanating from the organ was disturbing his afternoon naps and he argued that it was a public nuisance. This dispute was made more difficult by the Magistrate, Abner Surpless, who suggested that the playing of "popular tunes" before and after the game constituted a musical concert, which the team had no legal right to put on. "I go to see the Dodgers play," Surpless said. "After all, I only go there to see a good ball game. If I want to hear good music I go to the philharmonic concerts. The two don't mix."[116] While the courts later ruled in favour of the Dodgers in September 1942, this case study is nevertheless interesting for the commentary that the judge provides. While Surpless' opinion regarding music in the stadium is far from an authoritative one, it

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115 "Dodgers Get into Trouble Again with Calliope Hating Neighbor," *New York Times,* July 10, 1942.

116 Ibid.

underscores the fact that as late as the 1940s (if not later), it was not wholly evident to a layperson that professional sports required any musical accompaniment whatsoever. The contemporary arena—replete with distractions such as contests, advertisements, and massive television screens—can in many ways be considered a natural extension of the organ's musical accompaniment of sports, creating an immersive multimedia environment.

The use of music at sporting events nevertheless has had a long and storied history that constitutes one of the most colorful chapters in the history of the organ itself. The concept of "professional sports" as we understand the term today, which has a much greater relevancy for our purposes, is a fairly recent phenomenon in human history, dating back only as far as the late nineteenth century.[117] Implicit in the concept of sport as profession is the marketing required to make the given sport a viable business—here, the spectators, and not the athletes playing the sport itself, are key. It is for the spectators that the music is provided, and it is the spectators who react most obviously towards the music.

The most immediate point of connection between music and sport is in the realm of the common song, or chanting. This is more typically associated with singing within the confines of a church, or within a similar communal atmosphere. To join in common song, as do the members of a church congregation—or, for our purposes, fans in attendance at a hockey game—is an integral component of community building that can be traced in a direct lineage with the rise of professional sports. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World* chronicles the tradition of music in modern

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[117] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a Study of the Play-element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), 197.

professional sports back to the closing quarter of the nineteenth century, when marching bands were used to accompany the growing market of spectator sports—namely football, both of the British (i.e., soccer) and American (i.e., gridiron) varieties.[118] However, in soccer matches in the United Kingdom, while it was customary for a marching band to play tunes from its traditional repertoire (e.g., Sousa marches and so forth) this was done only *before* the match. Singing *during* the match was spontaneous and crowd-driven, even if it tended to be based on the music performed by the band beforehand.[119] If we contrast this with the present-day situation, musical treatment during a sporting event is controlled by a professional musician. This has the consequence of creating a hierarchy in the community of the hockey arena: the organist (or music director, entertainment director, etc.) decides what music is played in the arena, what cues are performed, and also, to the extent he or she can, when they are played.[120] Without imposing value judgments on this change in tradition, we can nevertheless observe with interest the way in which power is negotiated and fans in attendance faithfully follow the gestures of the organist. Although this does not preclude the possibility of spontaneous chant, the music nevertheless changes insofar as the individual audience member generally cannot contradict or change the music that the stadium has selected at its discretion. This is similar in a fashion to the ways in which an orchestra is led by a conductor, and yet there is no obvious preparation or visual cue given to the "performers" in the stands—their reaction is instant, and instinctive. The interest in observing these patterns among audiences lies not only in their ability to remember the responses to various musical cues,

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[118] *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World,* s.v. "Sports." For the purpose of this paper, the term "football" will be used in the American sense of the term.

[119] Ibid.

[120] This hierarchy of the arena will be explored at length in later chapters.

but also in the level of cohesion and precision with which the audience members can perform their musical role. As previously stated, there is no obvious coordination among the different fans, and yet there has been documentation, in the context of the so-called "air-ball" phenomenon in soccer and basketball, of large crowds of spectators being able to spontaneously sound the same pitches in such a fashion, to the precision of a range of a semitone.[121]

The music of the hockey organ also shares many features in common with folk music, further strengthening the case for an ethnographic reading of this genre. Analyzing it as such can provide us with many insights into its form and the symbolic value imbued in it. Hockey organ music, like folk music, represents a genre that is known solely through aural transmission—there are (as best as the author has ascertained) no published forms of the organ's call-and-response cues. Organists in the NHL all recognize the individual "organ cues" that formed the basis of their original repertoire. Furthermore, there seems to be no consensus as to the titles of these individual cues, if indeed they have names.

This body of music has a very specific locale in which it is played, with each piece containing its own ritual movements and subtext. But if it is akin to folk music, then who are the folk? When speaking of professional sporting venues, we begin to analyze a "folk" who, when analyzed through parameters of ethnicity, class, and economic or national boundaries, are nothing if not extremely diverse. Despite having no apparent sameness, the archetypal "sports fans" can still be understood as a cohesive group through the lens of Benedict Anderson's work. Anderson, a political scientist who

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[121] Cherrill P. Heaton, "Air ball: Spontaneous large-group precision chanting" in *Popular Music and Society* 16, no. 1 (spring 1992): 81. Furthermore, research suggests that crowds in *different* arenas using this chant begin on relatively the same pitch, as well.

first coined the concept of the "Imagined Community" in a book by the same title in 1983, theorizes about the formation a community that is socially and culturally constructed, as it pertains to the rise of Nationalism. He writes:

> It [the nation] is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know their fellow-members, meet them, or hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion....In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Javanese villagers have always known that they are connected to people they have never seen, but these ties were once imagined particularistically— as indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship and clientship.[122]

Insofar as our efforts to construct a *musical* community are concerned, the polysemic term "folk" is perhaps as good an indicator of imagined community as any. For although the term "folk music" carries with it specific notions of musical style and aesthetic, it is never a self-identifier—no audience members or performers in this genre refer to themselves as "folk," or as "folkspeople." And in the realm of professional hockey, one need only look to popular labels such as "Leafs Nation" and "Sens Army," to name but two groups that carry the implicit notion of "indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship" among the fans of a particular team.

Philip Bohlman explores the imagined community, along with the other defining features of folk music, in his book *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World.* Addressing the salient musical features of the imagined community, Bolhman points to the notion of musical canon, as it pertains to the size and nature of the group that forms its canon. The "size" of the group in sheer numbers is not as important as its level of communication and interconnectivity. That is to say, a "small" group is not necessarily a function of how many people it has, but rather of the extent to which members of the

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[122] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

musical community interact with one another and are familiar with one another. Insofar as hockey fans are concerned, the chorus of the arena—and the music that they know—falls within the realm of the imagined community. Even if large numbers of patrons at a 20,000-seat arena should happen to know one another, it is logistically impossible for a fan to know every other fan of his or her favorite team, whether in the small (former) markets such as Winnipeg and Hartford or the large metropolises of New York and Los Angeles. In short, they have no regular contact with one another. And yet in spite of this, there is a perception that they all share an interconnectedness with one another based upon their allegiance to a team and its game rituals.

If we are to speak of the community of organists, the matter becomes a different one entirely. It is much more conceivable that the music staff members of the thirty NHL franchises all know one another. Even if they are not in physical contact, there exists the possibility that they are connected and that there is a working dialogue within this small community. We then must explore this avenue of "folk music" production in the arena, and the extent to which the label is applicable to their repertoire. Bohlman identifies the oral tradition as one of the salient features of folk music,[123] and given that there likely exists no written record of the individual organ cues used in the NHL, this could serve as a model for how hockey organists learn their own craft.

While Bohlman refers to the "oral" tradition of folk music, for our purposes it is perhaps better conceived of as the "aural" tradition of hockey organ music. These musical cues do not always have lyrics, which—as one might imagine—are an important component of singing or of otherwise transmitting the music orally. Bohlman

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[123] Philip Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1988), 30.

differentiates between the written and oral/aural tradition, not only in terms of transmission, but also in terms of how it affects the aesthetic and style of the given genre. The comparison of the two differs "more in degree than in kind," by his own estimation.[124] In order to maintain an oral tradition, the onus is on the musician to perform works repeatedly. Furthermore, motifs that are repeated many times in succession, or are slightly varied, tend to find favour in the aural canon, as the repetition serves as an mnemonic device for preserving the music. With a cursory glance, we can see how each of the short cues is repetitive by its very nature.

One important aspect to discuss is the concept of nomenclature: what are the titles of these different organ cues? Bohlman writes that the "largest unit in the oral transmission of folk music is the piece—the song, the dance, that musical entity to which a culture ascribes a specific name. The piece of music usually contains internal mnenomic [sic] devices, but its total form also serves as a unit in transmission."[125] The hockey organ cues have no names, or at least no names that can be agreed upon. This forces us to further append and modify the model, but with the acknowledgment that these tunes' lack of titles further strengthens the case that they are transmitted aurally. There is also the question of what these small pieces of music should be called in general, which must be addressed as a point of clarification and nomenclature. Depending on the source one finds, they are variously referred to as "motifs," "cues," "rallies," "clappers," or one of several other comparable terms. However, given the extent to which the hockey organ tradition was formed from an earlier theatre organ performance practice, I have chosen to refer to them as "cues," in the tradition of the silent film organist's "cue sheet."

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 15.

Obviously, as the previous discussion highlights, any discussion of hockey organists or hockey fans as a community—and by extension, their cues as a form of folk music—must be met with a caveat: although it is *similar* to folk music, and shares many of the same characteristic features as folk music, it is distinct from those traditions. In addition to the lack of a significant nomenclature or text, the community being surveyed is extremely small: at the present time, there are only thirty teams in the NHL, of which twenty-three employ an organist in some capacity.[126]

Finally, insofar as an ethnomusicological perspective is concerned, we cannot be satisfied merely with the performance and the audience's reaction and role. Beyond issues pertaining to its transmission, we must consider the social impact of the hockey organ. Implicit in all of the previous definitions of this music (communal song, chanting, cheering, etc.) is the concept of *functional* music. Many scholars who study folk music grapple with the issue of music as part of greater structures in life, whether in religion or through the whistling of a labourer doing his or her daily chores. This argument is carefully qualified by Bruno Nettl, who feels "function" as such has unfairly been used by researchers to "justify the concern with simple, unsophisticated, and—in the academic musician's athletic view of music—inferior products."[127] Typically, one does not search for function when analyzing a piece of "art music" from the Western classical canon, which suggests an obvious hierarchy.

Nettl, in fact, references the sport organ as an example of ritual and function in the

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[126] At this juncture, it would perhaps be prudent to qualify the selection: why only look at the NHL? While the organ can be found in junior hockey, as well as in the minor league hockey system in the U.S. and Canada (AHL, IHL, ECHL, etc.), there are issues with regard to how frequently the organ is used across these different leagues and the extent to which smaller franchises can afford to employ a live performer. Hence, for issues of control (as well as the simple matter of the scope of this paper), the decision was made to restrict the study to a look at the NHL.

[127] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 147.

musical culture of the "advanced" Western world—it is not merely a product of "primitive" peoples. He writes:

> If we make note of the fact that most of the songs of the Blackfoot Indians [sic] were used as parts of religious ceremonies, to accompany social dances, and to keep gamblers from revealing the location of a hidden object, we must also admit that religious services in eighteenth-century Leipzig or twentieth-century New York were and are hardly conceivable without music, that social events such as dances and parties in modern America are inevitably musical events of a sort, that a proper football game has a marching band in the half-time, and a baseball game, at least a hugely amplified electric organ swelling to glorify the Mudville team's home run.[128]

We have already briefly considered the audience's reaction to the musical cues being played on the organ, but this does not fully explain the ritual. If one were to study the music of the religious ceremonies of the Blackfoot, to use Nettl's example, one might be compelled to analyze all the features of the religious ceremony in question in order to fully appreciate and understand the context. To that end, we must remember that the organ music of the arena is subservient not just to the spectators, but also to the hockey game. When is the organ permitted to play, and for what duration of time? Do certain actions on the ice trigger different musical performances? And does the hockey arena have its own holidays—that is to say, are there days when there is intentionally more or less music? Are there occasions for unique handling of the music? Is the musical treatment, to use an obvious example, the same in the preseason as for the Stanley Cup Finals?

When analyzing tradition, both Bohlman and Nettl note that to study any musical "tradition" depends not merely on a fixed point in history. To study the hockey organ, we must be mindful to take into account the change that has occurred over the eighty years of the tradition. Speaking of a determinist view of music in culture, Nettl writes:

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[128] Ibid., 148.

> A society might, for instance, develop a certain way of harnessing energy, then gradually develop a system of technology that takes advantage of it. Eventually there would emerge changes in the social structure that in turn would impose certain values most clearly evident in religion, philosophy and law. These values would eventually come to affect the arts and other aspects of lifestyle. The time from the first stage to the last could be a matter of centuries.[129]

Nettl's analogy appears to be a loose metaphor for the invention of electricity and its application to music through the rise in electronics following World War II. Applying this to our intended study, there is an immediate point of intersection: the advent of the electric organ.

Hockey Organ and Church Organ: Intersections Between Religion and Sport

We have already considered the way in which the music of the hockey organ carries with it a ritualistic function, not unlike religious hymnody. But exactly how far does such a parallel or analogy extend? The very fact that the arena's instrument is an organ, the primary musical vehicle for accompaniment in the history of the Christian church in the Western world, cannot escape our analysis of the situation; it lends credence to the notion of a "pseudo-religiosity" found in professional sport. The idea that sport has reached the realm of religious discourse, and the ways in which this manifests itself, has been the subject of much research and contemplation. In the span of a few centuries, the playing of sports on the Sabbath day (i.e., Sunday) has changed from a complete social taboo—prompting the publication of *The Book of Sports* by James I of England in 1618 to legally approve of sports after church services—to the complete ceremony and fanfare of "Super Sunday" in American football. Such a transformation of cultural mores compels us to consider the role of sports in culture, and whether this

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[129] Ibid., 230.

change represents a *rejection* of religion. Certainly this would not seem to be the case, given the argument that sport shares many of the common traits of religion. Rather, it has been suggested that sport in its own right has come to manifest many of the same characteristics of religion. While writing regular feature columns for *Sports Illustrated*, Frank Deford first coined the term "Sportianity" to define the evangelical zeal that seemingly conflated modern-day sport with all aspects of a person's existence.[130] There are some sports that followed the trends of Sportianity more closely in Western society than others—namely team sports, such as football, basketball, and of course ice hockey. Robert Higgs attributes this to a dualism in American Christian thought, which he considers a rift between so-called "muscular Christianity" and the religion's more contemplative, reflective nature.[131] In an anecdote involving musical selections for a church choir, he writes:

> At church my mother and May Turner would select and play hymns focusing on the softer, more reflective side of belief, such as "Take Time to be Holy" and "Savior, Like a Shepherd Lead Us." How different in meaning were these from "Onward Christian Soldiers," which the Naval Academy Band played regularly on Sunday mornings as I and other Protestant members of the of the Brigade of Midshipmen marched into chapel in uniform and white gloves before droves of smiling, taxpaying tourists. This is religion as theater, religion on parade.[132]

Some scholars, such as Charles Prebish, have gone so far as to say that the theatrical nature of sports has become so pervasive that for many it has replaced any other form of personal religious identity.[133] Yet without reducing the argument to one of absurd proportions, the most that we can say is that the although the hockey organ acts in a similar fashion mechanically to the church organ, it is highly unlikely that it is imbued

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[130] Robert Higgs, preface to *God in the Stadium* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), xiii.
[131] Higgs' text seems to focus on the relationship between Christianity and sport, to the near-exclusion of any other religious traditions. However, since the sports that he analyzes are themselves largely in the American arena, it is not unfair to do so.
[132] Robert Higgs, preface to *God in the Stadium* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), xiii.
[133] Ibid., 18.

with the same religious meaning.

Introduction to *Homo Ludens*

In analyzing and studying the music of the hockey organ through an ethnomusicological lens, we get an understanding of the functional and deterministic aspects through which it exists. However, one can offer a possible explanation for its appeal through a much more primal factor: play culture. As seen through the writings of Johan Huizinga (1872–1945), the concept of play is central to many aspects of human culture, including music and musical performance.

Huizinga was a Dutch cultural historian, formally trained in linguistics. However, his own fields of study were wide-reaching, and he had particular interest in the Middle Ages and art history. Huizinga also published on the subjects of Dutch and American history, as well as cultural criticism. But it is his landmark monograph from 1938, *Homo Ludens*, for which he is most noted to this day. As his title suggests, Huizinga was commenting on the nomenclature of *Homo Sapiens* and *Homo Faber*, arguing that "play," rather than "wisdom" or "tool making," had a greater centrality to human essence. Huizinga does not to wish to conflate all human activity with play, but he does suggest that the "character of play" is prevalent in different human activities and in socialization.[134] In his opening salvo, Huizinga notes that play is of absolute primacy to human society, and that it in fact predates human society, in that "animals have not waited for man to teach them playing."[135] Furthermore, it is by his estimation the only mental abstraction that cannot reasonably be denied to exist. "You can deny, if you like," he

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[134] Johan Huizinga, foreword to *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-element in Culture* (Boston : Beacon Press, 1950).

[135] Ibid., 1.

writes, "nearly all abstractions: justice, beauty, truth, goodness, mind, god. You can deny seriousness, but not play."[136]

Huizinga then goes on to define what exactly it is that is meant by "play," qualifying the concept within various cultural parameters. He does this first by explaining what it is not: play cannot be reduced to the mere notion of a physiological phenomenon or reflex. Any attempt by psychological or scientific means to explain play, and the function that it has in the development of human beings, is open to the charge of essentialism. Any such hypothesis starts from a working assumption that the function of play lies outside of one's own realm, and is invariably incomplete. Huizinga writes:

> They attack play direct with the quantitative methods of experimental science without first paying attention to its profoundly aesthetic quality. As a rule they leave the primary quality of play as such, virtually untouched. To each and every one of the above "explanations" it might well be objected: "So far so good, but what actually is the *fun* of playing? Why...is a huge crowd roused to frenzy by a football match?[137]

Play is, in his words, "a *significant* function" that "transcends the immediate needs of life and imparts meaning to the action."[138] He then contrasts play with the concept of "seriousness," as it is understood in common parlance, portraying the two as diametric opposites for all intents and purposes.[139] In addition to rejecting the theory of biological function in play, Huizinga also rejects the notion that all play is somehow subservient to other human acts. This is all to say that play exists for play's own sake, and—much like culture—it exists within a matrix that cannot be further subdivided.

Another unit of *Homo Ludens* that Huizinga claims cannot be further subdivided is the concept of "fun." Much like the subjective term "folk music," "fun" becomes

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[136] Ibid., 3.
[137] Ibid., 2.
[138] Ibid., 1.
[139] Ibid., 5. Paradoxically though, Huizinga concedes that there are many forms of play which are inherently serious.

difficult to explain and evades all attempts at definition. Although Huizinga, a native Dutch speaker, claims that no word has quite the same meaning or equivalency to the English "fun," it is nevertheless this "fun-element that characterizes the essence of play."[140]

It is at this first juncture in the formation of his theory that we find an obvious relatedness to the subject of music, and more specifically to the subject of hockey organ music. Human beings listen to music on the aesthetic basis of enjoyment, and very few forms of it can be said to have an external, utilitarian "function." Therefore it is unhelpful to rigorously analyze music in such a fashion. Careful with our nomenclature, we must be clear that although music "functions" within a given social or cultural context, it cannot be claimed to be reduced to a simple "function" per se. Music does not serve a function in terms of a teleological goal: an end result one hopes to achieve via music. While many eager pedagogues extol the educational and developmental benefits for a child learning music, these should be thought of—at least ideally—as secondary effects of music and music playing, rather than as their intended purpose. Much like play, music exists within its own matrix that defies rational analysis, making attempts to ascribe worth outside its own performance and reception both impossible and undesirable. Nettl offered his own caution against using "function," as we saw in the previous section, as it became unfairly used as an "otherly" qualifier for music traditions that were outside of the realm of the researcher. But if "fun" is an integral part of play, and is irreducible in and of itself, perhaps then we ought to claim that "fun" is the central function of play, and is its lowest denominator.

Indeed, this "significant function" of play, as Huizinga coins it, is one that eludes

[140] Ibid., 3.

rigorous definition, and by his own estimates is "supra-logical" and representative of a greater such quality of human beings. "Supra-logical" is not to say humans—or their play forms—are irrational, but that play's inability to be defined by a rational analysis of the biological order places it more naturally within the realm of the irrational. By extension, a human's willingness to accept the irrational—to play, in spite of its lack of rational order, "function," and "purpose"—indicates to Huizinga that we are "more than merely rational beings."[141]

Although he is careful not to conflate all culture with play, Huizinga makes the case that this supra-logical act has permeated "the great archetypal activities of human society" since their inception. In speaking of myth and ritual, he writes:

> [T]ake myth. This, too, is a transformation or an "imagination" of the outer world, only here the process is more elaborate and ornate than is the case with individual words. In myth, primitive man seeks to account for the world of phenomena by grounding it in the Divine. In all the wild imaginings of mythology a fanciful spirit is playing on the border-line between jest and earnest. Or finally, let us take ritual. Primitive society performs its sacred rites, its sacrifices, consecrations and mysteries, all of which serve to guarantee the well-being of the world, in a spirit of pure play truly understood.[142]

Play, he continues, is always a voluntary act, and one that stresses a quality of disinterestedness. That is to say, within a set of fixed rules and a fixed time-frame, our various forms of play exist outside of the conditions and wants of "ordinary" life—they are *intermezzi* to our daily lives.[143] They do not correspond to the rest of the world, but are instead independent homologous structures.

This notion of the "play world" and what exactly it constitutes is a point of fruitful discussion among philosophers in the "New Kant" movement, to which Huizinga can be considered an adherent. The German philosopher Eugen Fink (1905–1978)

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[141] Ibid., 4.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., 9.

discussed the ontological structure of play in a similar such vein. For Fink, it was important to note that while play was indeed an independent structure, it "was not derived from any other manifestation of life."[144] Rather, although all aspects of our life are interwoven, play "come under the ontological dispositions of human existence. It is a fundamentally existential phenomenon."[145]

Play and Music

In *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga devotes an entire chapter to the so-called "play-forms" found in various arts. He concedes in its opening chapter that no form of art is more closely related to play than music is. This is found even in its manifestation in language: English, as well as other Germanic languages, use the verb "playing" to describe the act of making music. Huizinga argues that this cannot be mere "semantic coincidence," but that it is telling of a deeply rooted psychological relation between music and play. [146] He cites Plato as a source who tackles the issue of play and music. Huizinga writes:

> For Plato, *mimesis* is a general term descriptive of the mental attitude of the artist. The imitator—*mimetes*—that is to say the creative as well as the executive artist, knows not himself whether the thing he imitates is good or bad; *mimesis* is mere play to him, not serious work. This is true even of tragic poets, he says; they too are only *mimetikoi*—imitators. We must leave on one side the question of what this somewhat depreciatory definition of creative work really means; it is not altogether clear. The point for us is that Plato understood creativity as play.[147]

Huizinga chronicles numerous examples from the European classical music tradition to describe the ways in which different periods viewed the musical experience. It was not always afforded the reverence often attributed to it today, and although there was

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[144] Eugen Fink, "The Ontology of Play," trans. Sister M. Delphine, *Philosophy Today,* no. 4 (Summer 1960): 78.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 158.
[147] Ibid., 162.

admiration for the technical virtuosity of musical performance, the art itself held only a social and ludic function. Music has, however, always featured an inherent level of competition, a constant factor in many forms of play. Of this we are given examples of the improvisational contests of Clementi and Mozart, as well as the boisterous vocal competitions captured in Wagner's *Der Meistersinger von Nürnberg.*

Although this constant play-factor can also be found in dance and poetry, Huizinga notes that it is quite absent in the plastic arts, such as painting and sculpture, wherein the artist creates a piece through painstaking labour and craft. It is important to note that according to the definition of "play" supplied, it is not the act of composing music that invokes play, but primarily its performance and reception, which he dubs the "atmosphere of common rejoicing."[148]

Having this knowledge of play forms and their ontological structures, let us then apply it to the music of the hockey organ. We may make general observations concerning the relationship between play and music, and conclude that music is a form of play. But in what way does this enrich our ability to understand what goes in the hockey arena? How does play culture manifest itself in the realm of the hockey organ? Rather than the individual compositions, it is their performance that is of primary importance to this end. And the "atmosphere of common rejoicing" seen in the cheers of fans in attendance at a game is as good a descriptor of the hockey organ's role as can be given. In fact, if we recall the profile of Paddy Harmon from the first section, it was described in so many words by a journalist writing a profile of the Chicago Stadium impresario.[149] From this, we can deduce many practical uses for the hockey organ—it was entertainer, crowd

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[148] Ibid., 167.
[149] "Ring Uplift Effect of Organ," *The Washington Post,* November 10, 1929.

controller, and community organizer, all embodied in a single musical performer and instrument. But it is this last role—that of organizing the community of fans—that the hallmark characteristics of a play-culture are most prominent.

An exploration of play in the work of the hockey organ must inevitably look at its most obvious relationship: that to the hockey game itself. If the relationship between music and play is perhaps not entirely clear at first glance, there can be no mistaking the play characteristics of sport. Sport is essentially a pure form of play, but it is important to note that it is called "sport" and not "play." The professionalism of sport is in opposition to the amateurism of play, and given that professional sport is a relatively new phenomenon in the broader timeline of human history, we might conclude that unlike play, it is not a natural and integral characteristic of human existence. The legacy of Romanticism and the Industrial Revolution, Huizinga asserts, did much to smother the innate play-culture found in Western society.[150] As a result, there was a need to find an outlet for the desire for play that was not being naturally satisfied, as it had been through the arts and culture. "It might seem at first sight," Huizinga observes that "certain phenomena in modern social life have more than compensated for the loss of play-forms. Sport and athletics, as social functions, have steadily increased in scope and conquered ever fresh fields both nationally and internationally."[151] This level of "seriousness" found in professional sports has dramatically changed the culture that surrounds it. In England, by example, Huizinga writes:

> Ever since the last quarter of the 19th century games, in the guise of sport, have been taken more and more seriously. The rules have become increasingly strict and elaborate. Records are established at a higher, or faster, or longer level than was ever conceivable before. Everybody knows the delightful prints from the

[150] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 187.
[151] Ibid., 195.

> first half of the 19th century, showing the cricketers in top-hats. This speaks for itself.[152]

Following from this, it is conceivable that the hockey organ (which cannot reasonably be thought of as a "serious" form of music-making) is somehow charged with the task of maintaining a level of playfulness in the arena, where it otherwise would not exist.

But is this the only role of the hockey organ? Was there another reason for including the massive calliopes at Chicago stadium in 1929? If we presume that professional sport rose to prominence as society at large played far less itself, could the organ then possibly fill a similar musical role? That is to say, was there—as a result of the same forces of industrialization that created professional sport—a musical deficiency of some sort that prompted the installation of the organ for in-game musical production?

The entry on music and sports in *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World* makes the point that while music was a part of early professional soccer in Great Britain, the wind band that would play the marches of John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) was restricted to the beginning of the matches; music during the match was the responsibility of the crowd, which would sing and chant throughout the game. What, then, would have changed this dynamic in the twentieth century? Were crowds unable to spontaneously create their own song anymore? According to Sousa, the aforementioned American composer, the United States at the turn of the century was at a dangerous crossroads regarding its musical culture. Of particular concern to Sousa and others was the steep decline in singing. The culprit? The mechanical reproductions of music from the gramophone, for which he coined the term "canned music," owing to the metal can in

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[152] Ibid., 197.

which the machine's wax cylinder recordings were housed. In a congressional hearing from 1906, Sousa stated:

> These talking machines are going to ruin the artistic development of music in this country. When I was a boy...in front of every house in the summer evenings, you would find young people together singing the songs of the day or old songs. Today you hear these infernal machines going night and day. We will not have a vocal cord left. The vocal cord will be eliminated by a process of evolution, as was the tail of man when he came from the ape.[153]

If we accept such a candid statement at face value, then perhaps the situation in the arena can be explained through the same matrix that Huizinga uses to account for the rise in popular sport. The United States was an industrial society that had begun to mass-manufacture the sound of the human voice. In doing so, the innate culture of singing that had been prevalent earlier was diminished—why sing a song if you have a professional recording? But there was still a desire, even a need, for the "atmosphere of common rejoicing" to persist in the arena, in an era that lacked the sophisticated sound system of the contemporary sporting venue. Given the premise that there was still the desire to sing and cheer at a sporting event, even during the perilous decline of the human vocal cord (as suggested by Sousa), the organ then became the most practical means to maintain that which had been lost under the guise of technological progress.

We must be ever mindful of the extent to which play is the founding principle of both hockey and its music. Both are entirely self-referential, and restricted to specific confines of time and space—outside of the sixty minutes of regulation time (and a possible overtime, shootout, etc.), hockey does not exist. The seriousness about the game is artificial, and the audience, who are willing participants in this game, accept this

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[153] Lawrence Lessig, 2008, *Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 34.

artifice and embrace it. It is supra-logical, to use Huizinga's term, to consider one individual player either to be a hero or a villain based on the jersey that he wears and the city for which he plays. But this binary belongs to the game, and eludes attempts to be analyzed or criticized based on outside forces.

The music most certainly plays into this artifice, creating a melodrama around the actions on the ice. When the home team is given a penalty, the music falls silent. There is disbelief or even outrage at what is taken place. But if the situation is reversed, and the home team goes on the powerplay, the music is in abundance, and a particular *leitmotiv* is used. In the case of Ottawa, it is Westminster Quarters, but other arenas have been known to use the theme from *Dragnet,* or the opening phrase of Bach's Toccata in D minor for organ. Their individual aesthetic properties are perfunctory; the sounds are there to let the audience know that something positive—something they can rejoice in—is taking place. Also featured prominently is the recording of some boisterous sound effect (e.g., a train horn, boat horn, siren, etc.), whenever the home team scores, in order to raise the excitement and decibel level of the arena.

All that the organist plays, as in the cases of face-offs or penalties, comes when there is a stoppage in play on the ice. The reason for this is that the music should not detract from or "damage" the performance taking place on the ice.[154] Although we can understand the music of the hockey organ as having value in its own right, it is nevertheless intrinsically bound to the game; without the hockey game, there is no

[154] Several attempts to contact someone in the NHL regarding these regulations were unsuccessful. Although all the organists spoken to did agree that they should not continue to play once the game resumes, none was able to cite a specific rule or regulation that forbids it. Furthermore, none was able to come up with an instance of an organist's being reprimanded for continuing to play after the puck had been dropped. It is perhaps best understood as an "honour code" among the various franchises and their organists.

hockey organ music. Thus, read through the lens of *Homo Ludens*, the hockey organ can be understood as play within play. The music of the organ has all the qualities of play, and yet it is folded into the larger hockey game taking place in the same venue. All of its time parameters, its actions, and its relationship to its participants are wholly dependent on the different forms of play on the ice. It is interesting to consider such a layered form of play—nothing in Huizinga's writing excludes the possibility, and yet it has never been considered as such.

Rock Music in the Arena, Rock Music in Opposition to the Organ

The actions taken by various franchises in the NHL during the 1980s and 1990s provide evidence for some tentative conclusions. In particular, the demand to hear the call-and-response cues of the organ remained, even as the DJ and prerecorded rock music came to replace the organist as the main purveyor of music in the arena. Lou Lamoriello, general manager of the New Jersey Devils, referred to the sound as "old-time hockey," and lauded the effect the organ had on the fans in attendance. An executive with the NHL was also critical of the consequences of prerecorded music for the audience:

> [Frank] Supovitz, who concerns himself with all aspects of the N.H.L. experience in the arenas, acknowledged that overused recordings can have the wrong effect, such as when there are three face-offs in quick succession and the music blares while fans sit on their hands...."It can be jarring," Supovitz said. "People know they are being manipulated, and they don't react to that. You have to pick the right piece of music for the right moment." He said the intent of using recorded rock songs is to attract "the young, male demographic." But when they play it, it often makes it impossible for young men or old women or children or anybody else to talk to the person sitting next to them.[155]

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[155] Joe Lapointe, "On Hockey: For the Devils, Sounds of the Past Have Returned," *New York Times*, April 17, 2000.

The use of rock music in an in-game presentation is a juxtaposition of music and sport similar to that of the hockey organ. However, the effect produced by rock music is clearly different from that produced by the organ, so what are the reasons that one be chosen or preferred over the other? One explanation is offered by a gendered reading of the hockey arena and rock music. The NHL consists exclusively of male players, hence before even entering into a discussion of the audience and the musical selection, already one dimension of the stadium's environment is intrinsically male.

We must consider, therefore, that although music in the arena is presented primarily for the benefit and enjoyment of the audience, it is not used exclusively so. Rock is touted in the arena by players and coaches alike as a means of getting the team "pumped" into a suitable frenzy for the game to take place. During his tenure as head coach of the Philadelphia Flyers in the 1980s, Mike Keenan felt that during the pre-game warmup, rock music should be played exclusively. For Keenan and others, this was the only way to ensure that the players were in the right mindset for the aggressive game ahead. If Keenan questioned the work ethic or intensity of his team at any point, he would then speak to the operator of the Spectrum's sound system and tell him to turn up the volume until the music being played was sufficiently loud to inspire his players.[156]

Frank Supovitz's suggestion that the NHL was targeting its brand to a "young male" demographic is certainly not without precedent; evidence suggests that this is how the sport has been marketed historically. Russell David Field observes that as far back as the 1920s and 1930s—a time when both the Maple Leafs and Rangers constructed new arenas—spectating at a hockey game was an overwhelmingly male domain, and both

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[156] Mike Emerick, "House Organ," National Hockey League, http://nhl.edgeboss.net/wmedia/nhl/mike_emrick /20060119_20k.wax (published January 20, 2006).

venues were built with such expectations in mind.[157] Rather than being targeted at adolescents, however, a night at the hockey game aimed to attract an older, affluent, professional male, competing for his time and money with other high social events such as a night at the theatre.[158] Playing more and more rock music can then be viewed as an attempt to capture a younger generation of fans, with the gender component of the strategy consistent with the way the league has been marketed historically.

When relating masculine identity to both the hockey arena and rock music, the former is a far clearer proposition than the latter. Robert Walser, writing on the connection between heavy metal and masculinity, certainly echoes the notion that heavy metal's largest support base is a "teenage male audience."[159] He further specifies that this demographic is one that is lacking in "social, physical, and economic power but besieged by cultural messages promoting such forms of power, insisting on them as the vital attributes of an obligatory masculinity."[160] It is curious to consider, then, that the NHL would be marketing itself to a segment of the population that lacks "economic power," a situation perhaps remedied by the *parents* of teen males purchasing hockey tickets and various forms of merchandising themselves. Parents are unlikely to have the same moralistic aversion to their children spectating at a hockey game than to their listening to heavy metal music on its own,[161] or as least not to the same extent. But the greater point in this discussion is the connection among various forms of power held by the "young

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[157] Russel David Field, "A Night at the Garden(s): A History of Professional Hockey Spectatorship in the 1920s and 1930s" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2008), 3. Among numerous anecdotes, Field offers Conn Smythe's remarks on the erection of Maple Leaf Gardens, such as a 1931 boast that it was a place "that people [sic] can be proud to take their wives or girl friends to."

[158] Ibid., 2.

[159] Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), 109.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid., 10.

male" in the hockey arena. While he may lack physical strength as well as social and economic power, these are all found in abundance in the hockey player. The modern NHL player is a celebrity in his own right, and his physical strength, speed, and dexterity command a multimillion-dollar salary. From a political standpoint, there is perhaps no better visual counterpart to the politics of heavy metal than ice hockey. The reliance on loud, aggressive sounds of heavy metal draws easy parallels to a sport that by its nature is loud and aggressive. Since the 1980s—when rock music began to be introduced into NHL arenas—the relationship between the two has remained more or less a constant. It is understood that the majority of the music in a given game today will be rock music, with the amount of organ music being somewhere in the vicinity of twenty-five to thirty percent of total music in one night.[162]

If the use of rock music within the arena represents a reach for the "aggressive male" embodied in heavy metal, then where does this leave the organ and its output? It would be simplistic—and indeed, incorrect—to draw a gender binary whereby the organ's output is then considered "feminine" by opposition. And yet nevertheless, there does appear to be a duality in musical production, wherein rock/heavy metal music from a CD represents a markedly different effect than the organ does. If there is such a duality, and juxtaposing gender on the organ offers us little further explanation, how do we then draw a contrast between the organ and rock music? Since we cannot seem to find a suitable contrast to the "male" construct of heavy metal, a more fruitful avenue of exploration lies in contrasting its "aggressive" qualities. What then is a contrasting point to aggression? If we consider the organ's early role in arenas in Chicago and New York, we find a noted emphasis on the jocular; the arena organist is as much a prankster or

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[162] Larry Olsen, telephone interview by the author, Raleigh, NC, June 5, 2010.

jester as a musician. Al Melgard's decision to play "Three Blind Mice" as the referee and linesmen skated on the ice, for example, was clearly a joke at the expense of the officials. This is markedly different from the aggression of rock music, which carries with it an inherent seriousness—it is seldom, if ever, met with laughter from the audience.

The hockey organ often seems to have been employed as a form of musical parody, and that would certainly distance its output from the aggressive domain of rock music. If we consider what is meant by "parody" in this context, then the aggression of rock music takes on an air of intense seriousness by contrast. Consider Keenan's views on the volume and intensity of rock music during the Flyers' pre-game skate. Keenan is not wrong to believe that the organ has added little to the overall mood of aggression in the arena. We recall that in accounts of the riot that took place during a boxing match at Chicago Stadium, Melgard's organ was employed very intentionally to *quell* the aggression of spectators.[163]

If the organ is in fact musical parody for the arena, removed from the seriousness of aggressive rock music, we must then qualify this usage. The Russian philosopher and semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975) referred to parody as a literary form that ridicules "the straightforward, serious word in all its generic guises."[164] Literary scholar Linda Hutcheon expands upon this definition, looking at the notion of parody and the ways in which it manifests itself in contemporary art forms, including music and the plastic arts. She refers to parody as a "metadiscursive" self-reflection that draws upon ironic interpretation.[165] Etymologically, the Greek terms *para* and *odos* literally mean a

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[163] Hayner and McNamee, *The Stadium*, 12.

[164] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin,* trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, c1981), 52.

[165] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (Chicago:

"counter-song," from which one might infer that parody has a much more primal relationship with music than is immediately apparent. Bakhtin suggests that rather than being merely the mockery of an established form, the comic parody of Roman and Greek antiquity was as much responsible for creating literary forms as its "serious" counterpart—they were equal partners in making new genres.[166]

At its root, all forms of parody amount to an imitation of a previous work of art or idea, yet imitation is not parody without a sense of an ironic response. A composer who takes a direct quotation faithfully from a work by Bach or Vivaldi is not performing parody. It is only when the work comes in fragmented form, and is markedly distorted from the original work—"transcontextualized," to use Hutcheon's term—that it becomes more than a quotation, and ascends to the plane of parody. Composer Lukas Foss' (1922–2009) work *Phorion* can be said to be a form of parody, in that it takes an original Bach piece for violin, and produces an effect that Hutcheon describes as an "ironic, nightmarish world."[167]

Yet this analogy is unsatisfactory for the purpose of the hockey organ, since its scope of ridicule or parody is different. In Foss' *Phorion*, parody is undoubtedly present, but its scope is only the previous musical conventions established by J.S. Bach and composers of the eighteenth century. Hutcheon implies that it is only the visual arts and literature which can parody both previous works and "general iconic conventions."[168] But examination of the tradition shows that iconic conventions *are*, in fact, the precise source of the organ's parody. It is through the use of musical tropes that the organ produces

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University of Illinois Press, 2000), 1.

[166] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 58.

[167] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 12.

[168] Ibid.

parody, yet its musical parody is directed not towards other forms of music, but rather at the spectacle taking place on the ice below.

Consider for a moment one of the most aggressive displays of force to be found in the game of hockey: a fight that has broken out between two players. We find examples from both of Madison Square Garden's pioneer organists—to say nothing of the other five "Original Six" franchises in the league—where the organ's response to the fight was to play music that ran quite contrary to this aggression. Goodding's conscious choice to play the "Skater's Waltz," and Layton's to play "Love is a Many Splendored Thing," during fights demonstrates that the organ, rather than "mickey-mousing" the action on ice (to use film music terminology), instead contributes to a ribbing or mocking of the fight, where the jarring difference between the mood of the fight and the mood of the music are meant to provoke laughter in the audience. This of course, takes places decades before the advent of rock music, much less heavy metal. The more affluent and homogeneous audience of the 1930s and 1940s did not have any of the deficits in "power" that we ascribe to the adolescent male of today, and so the expectation that the music would underscore the violence or strength of the on-ice fight was simply not present.

The desire to have an audience laugh through a parody of the game, however, was present, and bears striking similarity to the image of the medieval jester discussed at length by Bakhtin. For him, the jester of the medieval European carnival offered the peasant class a means by which to laugh by producing a "language" of its own—both in a metaphorical and in a literal sense—and hide an otherwise pointed criticism of Church and state.[169] Yet Bakhtin argues that while the carnival jester's parody in the Middle Ages had a broad reach, such was not the case for twentieth-century forms of parody. As he

[169] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 71.

writes:

> In modern times the functions of parody are narrow and unproductive. Parody has grown sickly, its place in modern literature is insignificant. We live, write and speak today in a world of free and democratized language; the complex and multi-leveled hierarchy of discourses, forms, images, styles that used to permeate the entire system of official language and linguistic consciousness was swept away by the linguistic revolution of the Renaissance.[170]

But if one speaks of a musical language, to draw our analysis back to the hockey organ, one questions to what extent this is true. Within the world that exists in the hockey game, are the organists wholly free in what they can play? All evidence would suggest this has emphatically not been the case. The organist is certainly limited in *when* he or she can play by the actions taking place on the ice. Furthermore, Melgard's censure for having played "Three Blind Mice" suggests that there was a limitation on the acceptable repertoire, and that the officials presiding over the game are above ridicule. While we must avoid hyperbole by likening the hockey arena to a feudal state, it is nevertheless important to note that insofar as this environment is concerned, the notion that the hockey organ's language is completely free and democratic is fallacious.

To return to the example of the on-ice fight, one can understand how the playing of a waltz or sentimental ballad during a bout of fisticuffs produces laughter. But to what end? What is the intended effect of this? Bakhtin characterizes laughter as a "permanent corrective," which in the case of the novel seeks to offer a "critique on the one-sided seriousness of the lofty direct word, the corrective of reality that is always richer, more fundamental and most importantly too contradictory and heteroglot to be fit into a high and straightforward genre."[171] For the hockey organ, the waltzes and soap opera music are then a metaphorical "wink and nudge" to the audience, letting the spectators in on the

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[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid., 55.

secret that he or she knew all along: the tension and hatred of the game, the rivalry and the violence of the fight, all are artificial. The organ's parody draws back the curtain, and shows that the game is not as "one-sidedly serious" as it would have its fans believe.

Prerecorded Organ Cues, Issues of Authenticity

Although the timbre of the drawbar organ has the effect of becoming a synecdoche for ice hockey, the consequences this holds for the live organist are still unclear at best. For if we can reduce the association between the organ and hockey to the mere colour of the instrument, where does this leave the performer? Is there anything about the organists themselves—or the sight of their instrument—that connotes nostalgic images of hockey? It is a difficult question to answer, fraught with subjective matters of audience reception.

The inference drawn from the image of fans who "sit on their hands" during rock music is clear: the organ supposedly adds a level of participation and interaction that prerecorded music could not. Although the noise is cited as one of the pitfalls of rock music, it is also true that this music does not have the same call-and-response cues that are found in the hockey organist's repertoire, and which are native to the sports arena.

But whatever the benefit of having the sounds of organ music in the stadium may be, none of this precludes the possibility that the organ itself—as well as its performer—is superfluous. Is there any reason to pay for a live organist, who plays many of the exact same songs and cues at any given team's 41 home games? Does the organist have any greater intrinsic value than a compact disc containing his or her entire oeuvre? While it may be our instinctual reaction to believe that the live organist does have a tangible value,

we must question why this is so. Nostalgia theory certainly explains the constancy of the sounds of the arena, but given that many of the early NHL organists performed in lofts not visible to the audience, it becomes a difficult proposition to claim that one is nostalgic for the unseen organists themselves.

Part of the problem in examining the implications for prerecorded organ cues is that there are few suitable musical parallels to draw upon. If we are to hold an album of rock music in opposition to a live performance, or attempt the same in examining the work of a classical symphony orchestra, our methodology suffers a serious pitfall. In both such examples, the music is at the forefront of the performance involved. Although we can certainly acknowledge the appeal of less tangible qualities in the live performance—the venue, the atmosphere, and the opportunity for socializing, to name a few—there is little doubt that those in attendance are there first and foremost to hear the music being performed. In the case of an ice hockey game, the inverse is true; there is little doubt that the music is *not* at the forefront, that it takes a secondary role to the presentation of the sporting event itself.

Issues of authenticity have been part and parcel of recorded music almost as long as the technology for recording music has existed. Walter Benjamin, writing about the implications of phonograph technology for art, was correct to point out that art forms, in principle, have always featured an element of reproducibility.[172] Even mechanical production has a long and storied history with regard to works of art—one need only think of terracotta figurines or coinage, produced since Greek antiquity in massive quantities. Yet by Benjamin's assertion, these artifacts, although mass-produced, are not

[172] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," trans. Andy Blunden, Marxists.org, http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm (accessed October 28, 2010).

reproductions. They exist in their own time and place, and are bound to notions of authenticity and originality. What is deemed to be "authentic" is in turn bound to a greater sense of ritual and cult. As Benjamin writes:

> We know that the earliest art works originated in the service of a ritual—first the magical, then the religious kind. It is significant that the existence of the work of art with reference to its aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function. In other words, the unique value of the "authentic" work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value. This ritualistic basis, however remote, is still recognizable as secularized ritual even in the most profane forms of the cult of beauty. The secular cult of beauty, developed during the Renaissance and prevailing for three centuries, clearly showed that ritualistic basis in its decline and the first deep crisis which befell it.[173]

This point is especially poignant if we consider the characteristic repertoire of the hockey organ. The dependency on ritual for these cues, and on the location in which ritual takes place, is akin to the relationship between religious hymnody and its place of worship. And yet although there are commercial recordings to be found of religious compositions from various traditions, the output from the arena seems to evade any "secular" readings of beauty, remaining far more intrinsically connected to notions of function and ritual.

While it is true that music corresponds to ritual, it is worth noting that ritual corresponds to music as well. Peter Johnson, writing on the legitimacy of the audio recording as it pertains to the realm of classical music, argues that an objection to recorded music is raised on the grounds that there is a "loss of feedback between performer and audience."[174] For Johnson, this feedback in classical music could be the sound—or lack thereof—generated by the "intense silence" of the audience members as they listen intently to the work being performed. Anthony Rooley further suggests that the "energies" imparted to a performance by the audience in fact equal those given by the

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[173] Ibid.

[174] Amanda Bayley, ed. *Recorded Music: Culture, Performance and Technology* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2009), 40.

performers.[175]

In the locus that Johnson and Rooley describe—the concert hall of a symphony orchestra, to be precise—the effects of the audience on the performer and the furnished musical product seem to be an implicit nuance, at best. The silence created by the audience of classical music is similar for a large orchestral work, or that of an intimate lute recital given by Rooley himself. In this setting, the exceptional quiet of the audience can be mimicked by the controlled quiet of the recording studio.[176] By contrast, such intense silence runs contrary to the music of the hockey organ, making it far more dependent on its locus. The audience responds to the cues with the explicit sound of their clapping, keeping in timed precision to the output of the performer and his cues. In this environment, the energies of the audience become obvious.

But in the model proposed by Rooley, the energies of the audience and the performer are reflective: after having performed the music, the audience in turn offers its energies to the performance, in a cyclical pattern throughout the work. One might rightly question whether this effect could be achieved without any performer at all, as in the case of the prerecorded organ cues. As far as the historical model for the practice is concerned, much of the uncertainty revolves around the location of the organist in relation to the rest of the arena and to the spectators. Johnson writes:

> The need to see musical performers in action is further challenged by the many instances where live performers are all but invisible to the audience. Church musicians hidden away in west-end galleries or organ lofts, and Wagner's entire orchestra buried under the pit at Bayreuth, are not musically ineffective for being out of sight.[177]

Certainly, in the history of the hockey organ, the traditional home of the organ's console

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[175] Anthony Rooley, *Performance: Revealing the Orpheus Within* (Longmead: Element Books, 1990), 43.
[176] Bayley, *Recorded Music*, 41.
[177] Ibid.

was out of the line of sight of the audience, either located inside of the press box with the announcers and media, or situated inside its own specially designed loft. Such was the case for both the Chicago Blackhawks and the St. Louis Blues,[178] to name two of the earlier NHL franchises with organ traditions. As with the cathedral organist situated in the loft, there was no perceived need to see the organist at the stadium—he or she was intended to be heard and not seen. In fact, as franchise and stadium owners grappled with the issue of maximum occupancy, there was a practical reason for not wanting the organ console to take up space on the concourse that could otherwise be used for additional seats.

Today—perhaps as a result of this perceived threat to authenticity—the standard is for the organist to be located somewhere in the stands, where he or she will be plainly visible within the architecture of the stadium. While the many of the previously mentioned "energies" of the performance relationship remain, there are new dynamics present in this configuration. Even in a cursory survey of organists currently working in the NHL, one finds mentions of spectators taking photos of the organist, or enquiring about their instrument and their craft.[179] More interesting still are the musical requests made to the organist, and the ways in which the audience can have a direct effect on the pieces that the organist plays. Both such examples underscore how, when challenged by the phenomenon of prerecorded music, measures taken by the organization and the organist can supplement the musical output, making for a performance that is, in effect, more "live" than the original live performance, reinforcing notions of authenticity in the organist's work.

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[178] Jeremy Boyer, telephone interview by the author, St. Louis, MO, October 1, 2010. Such is still the case for Blackhawks, but they are one of few franchises that continues to do so.

[179] Ibid.

CHAPTER III: THE HOCKEY ORGANIST'S PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

The Hockey Organ Songbook: Cues and Rallies

Having discussed the hockey organ's history, cultural context and performers past and present, we now turn to a discussion of the music which repertoire is being performed. Traditionally, the corpus of music performed consisted primarily of popular songs from the 1930s and 1940s. These pieces still constitute a large body of music being played in older hockey organ markets such as Chicago.[180] Yet a large portion of what the organist plays today is a set of brief pieces designed to get the audience to clap or cheer, or to elicit some other response. Do these individual cues have their own names? Are any of them native to particular arenas, or more popular with certain franchises? Conversely, are there any cues that individual teams may shy away from or outright avoid? Does the playing style and voicing of the cues vary widely from one arena to the next? And can we attribute to a particular author any of the cues being played?

On the question of authorship, it appears that the identity of the composer of the majority of these cues cannot be ascertained. Norm Kramer certainly claimed that he came up with the call-and-response cues found in the hockey arena, but this is disputed and (and apparently unverifiable). Furthermore, we cannot state definitively whether any or all of the cues originated in ice hockey or are imports from baseball or basketball. The one very notable exception for which we can trace authorship has been the case of the famous "charge" cue, so named for its single-word lyric (see Example 2, pg. 77).[181] Currently it is copyrighted under the name "Stadium Doo Dads," and until the close of

[180] Frank Pellico, telephone interview by the author, Chicago, IL, October 19, 2010.
[181] Richard Goldstein, "Eddie Layton, a New York Sports Fixture, is Dead," *New York Times*, December 28, 2004.

the 2009–2010 NHL season, it was covered under an ASCAP public performance license.[182] Evidence suggests that Rangers organist Eddie Layton may have been the progenitor of many of these nameless cues. Layton did, in fact, famously boast that he was the first to use the "charge" cue. However, this claim has been hotly disputed, and evidence today suggests that "charge" was written by University of Southern California football player turned marching band director Tommy Walker (1922–1986).[183] Nevertheless, the fact that Layton knew the tune, and regularly incorporated it into his performances, underscores an important point: the organists in this tradition had an awareness—at least at a cursory level—of the music found in different venues and arenas, and managed to use this disseminated repertoire in their own home venues. Therefore, when we consider notions of the musical canon as it pertains to the hockey organ, it is perhaps more correct to say that we are examining the greater canon of organ music in professional sports, within the matrix of the NHL. Furthermore, while it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a comprehensive list of all individual cues and variations, we will examine those cues that appear most often throughout the league and that have no clear external authorship.

In an interview in 1969, a *New York Times* reporter attempted to provide some insight into the music that Eddie Layton performed on the organ, possibly the earliest known instance of any written record for these cues. Gerald Eskenazi notes that when

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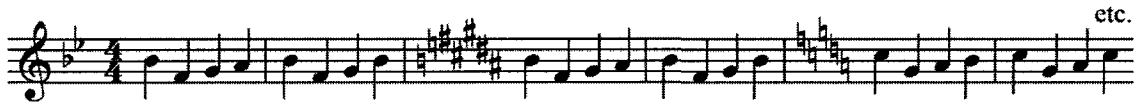
[182] Interview with an anonymous hockey organist by the author. The organist(s) who provided this information to the author asked that their name not be revealed, as this was considered to be sensitive material. A search of the ASCAP database does in fact list a title under the name of "Stadium Doo Dads." However, attempts by the author to contact the copyright holders, Hollbrand Music Publishers, were unsuccessful.

[183] Bruce Anderson, "Give Him Credit For The Charge: Tommy Walker converted six notes into a famous fanfare," *Sports Illustrated*, November 12, 1990. Furthermore, Layton was not the first baseball organist to use "charge" either, as it appears to have been appropriated by the Dodgers organization upon their relocation to Los Angeles from Brooklyn.

Layton is attempting to rouse the audience into a furor, "he will hit a D-flat, and suddenly 17,250 pairs of hands will start to clap and feet will pound the floor. Rhythmically, but agonizingly slow, he'll pound an F, then a G, then A, and back to D-flat and start again, but faster this time."[184] Eskenazi does not provide the reader with any indication as to the direction of the melody. Is the leap from F to D-flat a rise of a major third, or a descent of a minor sixth? In either case, this four-note combination falls outside of a diatonic scale, with D-flat, F-natural, and A-natural representing a curious augmented triad. If, however, we allow ourselves to "correct" one of the notes, and use a B-flat in place of the D-flat, the cue then becomes more recognizable. It in fact is a common four-note ostinato, which rises in chromatic succession:

Example 1 - "Lead-up Cue"

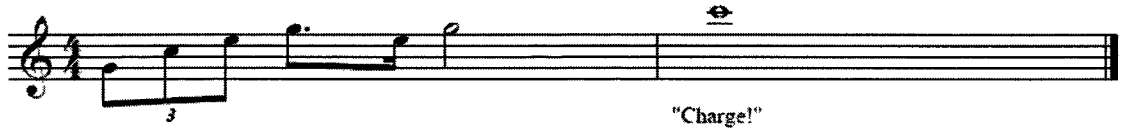


This ostinato pattern was first introduced to baseball (and later hockey) by Eddie Layton, according to Hurricanes organist Larry Olsen.[185] However, Olsen claims that it was originally part of the theme song to the Mickey Mouse Club, composed by long time Mickey Mouse Club host Jimmie Dodd (1910–1964).[186] This buildup is typically followed by an arpeggiated trumpet call and the audience shouting "charge," either with

[184] Gerald Eskenazi, "Organist at Garden Pipes up Rangers," *New York Times,* March 23, 1969.
[185] Olsen, interview.
[186] Ibid.

the organ playing the final cadence or *a capella*:[187]

Example 2 - "Charge!"



The trumpet call is then repeated in rising chromatic motion, much as in the buildup shown in Example 1. However, it can also be heard rising in major thirds by organists such as Ottawa's Greg Drover, who claims it gives the cue a "richer, fuller sound."[188] These two cues can also be played separately from one another. Nashville Predators organist Kyle Hankins refers to Example 1 simply as "organ rally number two," stating that "charge" only follows it when there is a particularly lengthy stoppage of play.[189] The four-note ostinato can also be combined with a different cue—Washington Capitals organist Bruce Anderson combines it with a rendition of "Go Caps Go," which follows the pattern of the monosyllabic cue shown in Example 3, below.

Like "charge," three other cues appear to be employed in nearly all of the thirty NHL franchise home arenas. When the organist begins playing, he or she begins by playing a small musical excerpt, be it from rock, Tin Pan Alley, or even theme songs from television shows such as *The Addams Family* and *Green Acres.* The choice of which excerpt to play, is dependent on the length, and its suitability to seamlessly segue into the

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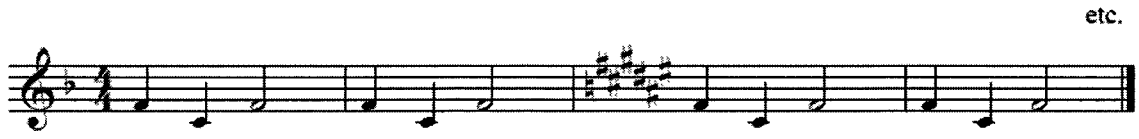
[187] In some arenas, particularly those that employ canned music or that feature other live instrumentalists, the arpeggiated chord is in fact played by a trumpet. This reinforces the hypothesis that it originated as part of a marching band tradition.

[188] Greg Drover, interview by the author, Ottawa, ON, January 9, 2010.

[189] Kyle Hankins, e-mail to the author, February 10, 2011. However, in Hankins' nomenclature, "Charge" is also referred to as "5-1-3-5-3-5," in keeping with the "Nashville" system of notational shorthand.

cue that they are going to play next.[190] One of these cues, perhaps the most popular since it does not favor any particular team and is quite brief, can best be referred to as the "Go Team Go" cue:

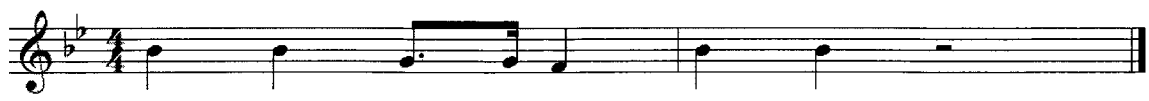
Example 3 - "Go Team Go"



It is essentially a simple three-note cadence that, like the previous examples, rises in chromatic succession. Since the home team's name is to be chanted, the audience employs a suitable monosyllabic nickname for their team, if it does not already have one. Thus the Ottawa Senators have become the "Sens," the Chicago Blackhawks have become the "Hawks," and the Carolina Hurricanes have become the "Canes," to use but three examples. The short forms are omnipresent as nicknames for their respective teams. Whether the organ plays this cue because the team has a suitably sized nickname, or if the fans find a short form in order to accommodate the organist's cue, is unclear.

Another common cue used one that affords the fans either two or three syllables for their team's name:

Example 4 - "Let's go"

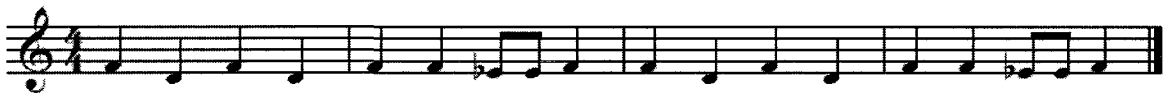


[190] Drover, interview.

Once again, the ostinato pattern continues, but in this instance the ending is punctuated by the words "Let's go," and an extra two beats of clapping while the organ is silent. Here, the audience's clapping forms a direct call and response with the organ cue in section.

The final ubiquitous cue—also a disyllabic chant—is unique in that its cadence suggests a modal quality:

Example 5 - "Let's go [Fly-ers]"



Note that the final whole-step motion between the F and E-flat suggests the Mixolydian mode, rather than a traditional major/minor key. This seemingly innocuous tune appeared to be the most contentious of the three cues, as it is more closely associated with some teams than others. If the Philadelphia Flyers or New York Rangers are visiting Ottawa, Senators organist Greg Drover hesitates to play this tune, as it is then viewed as a chant for the opposing team.[191] Similarly, in Raleigh, North Carolina, home of the Carolina Hurricanes, organist Larry Olsen claims that many of the fans are former residents of upstate New York who will loudly cheer for the Buffalo Sabres if this cue is used. Such subversive acts as inciting support for the visiting team naturally runs contrary to the aims and goals of the hockey organist.

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[191] Ibid.

The Role of the Contemporary Hockey Organ

Having considered the history of the hockey organ from its origins, we will now consider the present-day tradition of the early twenty-first century. At the end of the 2010 season, there were twenty-three franchises in the NHL that continued to make use of an organ. Each of the seven franchises that did not employ an organist nevertheless used the sound of prerecorded, "canned" organ music within their arenas.[192] The twenty-three live organists employ a wide range of different instruments. If we adopt the traditional definition of an organ as some variety of instrument with multiple manuals and a pedal board, then only five of these instruments can accurately be referred to as such.[193] The other eighteen are then more correctly categorized as some variety of keyboard or synthesizer.

There is also a fair deal of variety to be found among the different performers themselves. If one wishes to hold up the Melgard-Goodding model as the "authentic" hockey organist, derived from the realm of the theatre organ, we cannot claim that this style is normative in today's NHL. One finds organists who were formally trained as church organists,[194] those who were trained as pianists,[195] and those whose organ repertoire was derived more from the tradition of jazz and rock organ than it was from the theatre organ. Despite this wide variety of performance backgrounds and instruments across the league, hockey organists will concede that the repertoire being played in the arena—although featuring slight idiosyncrasies from stadium to stadium—is largely drawn from the common pool of call-and-response cues, and a relatively common (or at

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[192] Olsen, interview.
[193] The five organs in question belong to the Carolina Hurricanes, Chicago Blackhawks, New York Islanders, St. Louis Blues, and Washington Capitals.
[194] Jim Holmstrom, telephone interview by the author, Toronto, ON, June 15, 2010.
[195] Drover, interview.

least similar) repertoire of music.

Insofar as a discussion of the greater "sports organ" performance practice is concerned, it is important to note that several of the current cohort of NHL organists have performed—or continue to perform—as musicians in Major League Baseball, the National Basketball Association, or some variety of minor league or collegiate sports. Frank Pellico had formerly been an organist with the Chicago Cubs before being hired by the Chicago Blackhawks, and Ray Castoldi maintains positions as organist for both the New York Rangers and the New York Yankees. Jeremy Boyer, the current organist for the St. Louis Blues, had previously played for collegiate baseball and had studied under Ernie Hays, his predecessor with the Blues and also the former organist for the St. Louis Cardinals of Major League Baseball. Although the consensus from organists interviewed suggests that the musical repertoire is largely the same in baseball as it is in ice hockey, Boyer suggests a marked difference in the amount and frequency of organ music between the two. The slower pace of baseball, coupled with more frequent breaks in action, means that there are more opportunities to play, and that these opportunities are also of a greater length.[196]

In the realm of basketball, the team's locale has much to do with its musical treatment. For the NBA's Los Angeles Lakers, organist Dieter Ruhele describes a crowd with a much different "vibe" than that of a hockey game, and the organist must react accordingly to the change in dynamic.[197] Conversely, Leafs organist Jim Holmstrom briefly provided prerecorded music for the Toronto Raptors and claimed that Raptors management did not want *any* organ music to be played. For the Toronto market, the

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[196] Boyer, interview.
[197] Dieter Ruehle, e-mail to the author, January 7, 2011.

sound of the organ was apparently a signifier too closely associated with the more established sport of ice hockey.[198]

While there are variations in musical treatment from sport to sport, there are also differences with regard to how individual organists handle their repertoires. Since the days of Norm Kramer in St. Louis, it was apparent that different NHL organists were aware of the music their contemporaries were creating. Three of the longest-tenured organists currently in the NHL—Ray Castoldi of the New York Rangers, Jim Holmstrom of the Toronto Maple Leafs, and Dieter Ruehle of the Los Angeles Kings—have remained in regular contact with one another since the 1980s.[199] Ruehle recalls a distinct playing style for each of the organists of his youth, such as Vince Lascheid of the Pittsburgh Penguins, and Ernie Hays of the St. Louis Blues.[200] Today, organists in the league have kept in contact with one another in large part through the work of Larry Olsen. Olsen, organist for the Carolina Hurricanes, maintains a mailing list and Facebook group with his twenty NHL compatriots, discussing their musical performances as well as changes to music, instruments used, and transitions from live organist to prerecorded music or vice versa.[201]

In view of our earlier discussion of heavy metal through a gendered discourse, we should note that every one of the current twenty-three organists in the National Hockey League is male, as well. While this is an interesting statistic on its own, it is also one without historic precedent. Gladys Goodding was second only to Melgard in pioneering the hockey organ tradition. In the 1980s, The Minnesota North Stars employed the

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[198] Holmstrom, interview.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ruehle, e-mail.
[201] Olsen, interview.

services of Sue Nelson before the team's departure to Dallas. Nancy Faust, the longtime iconic organist for baseball's Chicago White Sox, also enjoyed a brief stint as organist with the Phoenix Coyotes in the early 2000s.[202] The Flames also employed the services of Irene Besse, who is also noted for her work playing the organ during the 1988 Olympic winter games in Calgary.[203]

By virtue of being the progenitor of the organ in ice hockey, Chicago plays up its link to the past most strongly, and this is reflected in the conservatism of their music presentation. Until the conclusion of the 2008–2009 season, organist Frank Pellico was still given the opportunity at every Blackhawks home game to perform a twenty-minute concert during the intermission following the conclusion of the second period, a luxury unheard of in the output of any of his contemporaries. Moreover, until the end of the 1992–93 NHL season, music heard at Blackhawks home games was still exclusively comprised of organ music. This had to do with a shift in venues, as the Chicago stadium was simply not equipped with a P.A. system or other means of playing recorded music. It was not until the Blackhawks' move to the United Center in 1993 that we first find prerecorded music being used at a Blackhawks home game. This also marked the end of the sixty-three-year tradition of the Barton organ at Chicago Stadium. The organ currently resides in the private residence of billionaire entrepreneur Phil Maloof, most noted for his ownership of the NBA's Sacramento Kings.

The shift from old and historic arenas—veritable places of secular worship in the sports world—to state-of-the-art sports complexes is emblematic of the struggle between tradition and modernity, that manifests itself in all aspects of modern art, culture, and

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[202] Ruhele, e-mail.

[203] Sue Nelson, telephone interview by the author, Minneapolis, MN, September 27, 2010.

architecture. It is no coincidence, then, that many markets chose to abandon their organ music, which had become steeped in the tradition of the old, dilapidated stadium from which they had fled. Consider the case study of the Detroit Red Wings. The Red Wings are an "Original Six" franchise that had featured organ music quite prominently until the team's relocation to Joe Louis Arena in 1979, when the tradition was abruptly discontinued. However, at the start of the 2009–2010 season, the Red Wings hired a theatre organist—Dave Calendine, organist at Detroit's Fox Theatre—to play at a few select home games. Specifically, it was those games that were played against their classic "Original Six" rivals. After nearly thirty seasons without an organist, the emphasis placed on those particular games—where the Red Wings faced off in their oldest, most storied rivalries—cannot simply be a coincidence. This was a clear attempt on the part of the franchise to draw on the organ's nostalgic quality.

Regarding the teams that have completely abandoned organ music, it has become difficult to ascertain what their reasoning might have been for doing so. Moreover, it is equally difficult to try to find a common thread connecting these seven different teams—the Colorado Avalanche, Dallas Stars, Edmonton Oilers, Florida Panthers, Montreal Canadiens, San Jose Sharks, and Tampa Bay Lightning—that could account for why these particular franchises would forgo the services of a live organist. Although each of the seven teams has an arena less than twenty years old, such is true for the majority of the league. While four of these teams are found in climates that could not naturally foster ice hockey (or any ice at all, for that matter), Colorado, Alberta, and Quebec most certainly do. And while expansion franchises clearly do not have the same vested interest

in the NHL's tradition, Montreal most certainly does.[204]

In fact, the recent history of the NHL has shown that franchises in the southern United States, where ice hockey is still relatively new, have a keen awareness of the league's heritage and have made attempts to draw on this heritage using a live organist. The Phoenix Coyotes hired Dieter Ruehle, longtime organist for the Los Angeles Kings, to play for the Coyotes in the 1997–98 season. Although Ruehle has since returned to California, the Coyotes have continued to experiment with different organists in their home stadium, the Jobing.com Arena. Nancy Faust, who became well-known as the longtime organist for the Chicago White Sox, was hired by Phoenix to play the organ for three home games in 2008.

Similarly, for the Carolina Hurricanes, it was always apparent that the arena should have its own organist. Hurricanes organist Larry Olsen explains that most of the production team—charged with all different aspects of the "in-game" entertainment—had previously worked for the Florida Marlins of Major League Baseball, and came to Raleigh following the Marlins' 1997 World Series championship. Among that group were several members who were originally from New York City, and as "longtime [New York] Rangers fans," they were adamant that the new team feature an organist prominently.[205]

Yet all of this is to say that we are no closer to understanding why the Montreal Canadiens do not make use of an organist. "*Les Habitants*" ("the Habs") or "*le Tricolore*" as they are known in Quebec, evade every possible form of classification within the NHL. Their existence predates that of the league itself, and with their twenty-four Stanley

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[204] Of course, in returning to Brown's article on retro-marketing, I would argue that it seems all the more worthwhile for these six "organless" franchises to draw on tradition more. This would allow them to strengthen their association to the stronger brand of the NHL as a whole, even if their relationship to this constructed past is minimal or nonexistent.

[205] Olsen, interview.

Cup victories and litany of venerated marquee players, there is little question that the Canadiens are the most storied and successful franchise in the league. With the departure of the Quebec Nordiques to Colorado in 1995, the Canadiens once again became the only team in the league whose home was in a primarily non-English-speaking market. Despite this unique position in the league—and indeed, in North American professional sports in general—the Canadiens still draw on much of the heritage of the league as a whole, including continual use of an organ throughout their residency at the Montreal Forum. In 2002, amid much controversy,[206] organist Diane Bibaud was dismissed as the organist at the Bell Centre, having played with the franchise from 1987 to 1992 at the Montreal Forum and again from 1997 until 2002 at the Bell Centre.[207] Prerecorded organ music began to be used in place of a live performer.

As was the case for many of the franchises that abandoned (or abandoned and then re-embraced) the hockey organ, the decision to change musical directions coincided with a move from one arena to another. Sociologist Anouk Bélanger discusses the especially tense conflict that emerged in the 1990s, as Molson Breweries—the owner of the team—found considerable opposition to its plans to build a new arena for the Canadiens. Although Molson was lauded for taking on the financing of such an urban revitalization project itself, news of the proposed construction of the Molson Center created a furor of nostalgic sentiment for the Forum. As Bélanger writes:

> [T]he prospective closing of the Montreal Forum in favour of a new high-tech arena created an uproar of reaction in the city....The Forum had emerged as a vital public space in Montreal, the argument ran. It was a commercial space, of course, but the building had been claimed symbolically over the years by 'the

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[206] Le Canal Nouveau, "L'organiste du Centre Bell ne sera pas syndiquée," Canoe.ca, (http://www.canoe.com/archives/ lcn/artsetspectacles/general/2005/06/20050612-104447.html), accessed December 1, 2010.

[207] It was originally known as the Molson Centre until 2002, when the name was changed to reflect a change in corporate sponsorship.

> people'. Not only had the Forum provided a home for legendary hockey games, but also for concerts and political rallies that were significant in the development of Quebec's pre and postwar popular cultures. As a much more self-consciously corporate space, the Molson Centre threatened to redefine that vital tie to the Quebec public by creating new exclusions and more distance from 'the people'.[208]

Although nostalgia certainly complemented the aims and means of reinforcing the brand that was the hockey team, Molson was aware that nostalgia flew in the face of its very purpose—to relocate the Canadiens. Their compromise with purists was a nostalgic "farewell" to their old arena, complete with the many other forms of nostalgia that did not conflict with their ultimate goal. This was embodied in games played by retired heroes, and tributes to past players that had passed away. Finally, the old Montreal forum was dismantled piece by piece, and sold to collectors looking to own a physical part of the history of Quebec's "hockey shrine."[209] An act like this allows the Canadiens—or any team changing venues—to selectively shed any peripheral features of their old arena that they have no desire to maintain in a collective memory. While one is nostalgic for the old players and the championships won, there is no need to be nostalgic for a run-down arena, broken chairs, or the acrid stench of cigarette smoke in the bleachers. In this process, the organ becomes defined as the unnecessarily old or mundane. It is then assumed to have no place in the modern arena, and becomes "forgotten" in the transition to the new locus.

But if we take a closer look at the current place of the arena organ, we find that this common reading of the organ as a static anachronism is not fair or accurate. One feature of the repertoire that underscores this change in performance practice is the

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[208] Anouk Bélanger, "Sport Venues and the Spectacularization of Urban Spaces in North America: The Case of the Molson Centre in Montreal," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 35, no. 3 (2000): 390.

[209] Ibid., 391.

incorporation of rock music played on the organ. Organists themselves are often unclear on the purpose this practice serves, when a CD could easily be used in its place. Dieter Ruehle credits White Sox organist Nancy Faust with pioneering the use of rock music on the arena organ.[210] Greg Drover argues that it provides both organist and audience a refreshing change from the dichotomy of call-and-response cues versus recorded music.[211] Even organists of the more conservative style, such as Frank Pellico, have begun to embrace this practice; Pellico first began to play rock music on the organ at the onset of 2010–11 NHL season. Furthermore, the musical effect caused by changing the sounds of an electric guitar to those of a Hammond organ is unexpected, even jarring if the song is a well-known, particularly forceful one such as Black Sabbath's "Crazy Train." In short, it becomes yet another form of parody within the arena.

Parody remains a constant with the hockey organist, even as the role has come to be redefined and reshaped in the contemporary arena. Dave Calendine recalls a particularly memorable moment early in his tenure at Joe Louis Arena in Detroit. During an "Original Six" matchup between the Red Wings and the Chicago Blackhawks, fans were not responding well to Calendine's cues, in part because the home team was losing by a wide margin to the visiting Blackhawks. A fan had approached Calendine at the perch inside the arena where his organ was located, and asked him if he knew the main theme to the 1985 hit Nintendo game *Super Mario Bros.* (written by the Japanese video game composer Koji Kondo). He consented to the fan's request and began to play the iconic music, the sheer absurdity of which sent the arena into a bout of laughter and applause. Calendine states that the response was so positive, his performance had even

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[210] Ruehle, e-mail.
[211] Drover, interview.

been mentioned by the Chicago sportscasters the following day, a rare bit of praise for the opposing team's organist.[212]

Yet the previous disinterestedness of the audience underscores one of the variables that must be taken into account when preparing music to accompany a hockey game.[213] Jim Holmstrom is one of three organists in the league—Ray Castoldi of the Rangers and Dieter Ruehle of the Kings are the other two—who are responsible for both prerecorded music and performing on the organ. For him, the amount of organ music played is directly correlative to whether or not the home team is winning. The crowd is so cheerful and enthralled by the game that he need only play a few call-and-response cues to keep the audience clapping in synchronicity; no prerecorded music is needed.[214] Similarly, every organist interviewed describes an increase in his share of musical output in important rivalry games or playoff games. Frank Pellico, who played for games one, two and five of the 2010 Stanley Cup finals, remarks that his job was reduced to little more than repeatedly playing "Go Hawks Go" in order to keep up with the noisiness of the arena.[215] The active playing of the organ then becomes contrasted to the detached nature of the prerecorded music. There are of course exceptions to this rule: the Senators' past usage of Blur's "Song 2" and the current use of The Fratellis' "Chelsea Dagger" by the Chicago Blackhawks are instances where rock music associated with scoring a goal becomes a *de facto* anthem for the team that uses it. Yet aside from such specific instances, there is no evidence to contradict the notion that the organ becomes more

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[212] Dave Calendine, telephone interview by the author, Detroit, MI, April 19, 2010.

[213] We must also acknowledge that the players on the ice are also listening to the music in the arena, even though they are not members of the audience. Yet short of interviewing individual players, it is difficult to say with any certainty what effect the music has on them. Barring superstitious anecdotes from St. Louis and Philadelphia, we must remain content to observe the relationship between music in the arena and the audience.

[214] Holmstrom, interview.

[215] Pellico, interview.

prevalent in times of victory and at points of great importance for the hockey team. The prerecorded rock music can then be thought of as the inverse: it is the music of passivity, of "unimportant" moments in the arena, and it underscores the sense of, as Frank Supovitz observed, "fans sitting on their hands."[216]

CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION

Now that we have a better understanding of the tradition of the hockey organ in the NHL and its proliferation, it is clear that there are many avenues for further exploration of the topic. Firstly, having speculated on the difference between prerecorded music and organ music within the arena, it would be useful to further analyze and categorize the various forms of music being used. We have constructed a dichotomy of the organist versus heavy metal music, framing the soundscape much as it appeared in the 1980s. Yet as the situation stands today, we find many varied forms of music being played in arenas, from genres such as hip-hop, techno, and even folk music. If we accept that heavy metal's proliferation in the arena was an appeal to a changing demographic, then we might ask: in what ways has the demographic changed again that might warrant an expansion of the musical discography of the hockey game? How are songs incorporated into the DJ's arena repertoire? Does the audience have a direct say in what music is being performed, and do the players also offer their input on musical selections?

Secondly, although interviews with organists such as Jeremy Boyer and Dieter Ruehle have been helpful in making distinctions among organists in various top tier sports, this can at best be considered an introduction an analysis of the baseball and

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[216] Joe Lapointe, "On Hockey: For the Devils, Sounds of the Past Have Returned," *New York Times*, April 17, 2000. See page 64 for the full quote.

basketball organ. Insofar as the history of the hockey organ is imbued with the history and traditions of the NHL, it would be naive to consider its counterparts in other sports—replete with their own traditions, performers, and historical narratives—to be without a distinct and separate meaning beyond that of the hockey organ. At a more focused level of discourse, we might also benefit from studying leagues outside of the so called "top tier" of professional sports. How does the use of the organ differ between franchises in the NHL and minor league franchises in the American Hockey League, or the East Coast Hockey League? Do these smaller leagues find the employment of a live organist to be a serious financial hurdle? If so, are these hurdles similar to what they would have been in the early days of the Chicago Stadium, or are they greater, owing to the nature of the electronic sound system?

And if we are to analyze the use of organ music across various leagues and sports in North America, it would also be of great interest to consider professional sports in Europe, where no native "sports organ" tradition to be found. Although there was a strong theatre organ tradition in Europe, this never made a transition to the soccer stadium as it did to the hockey arena. Why was this so? What was the comparable musical accompaniment in professional sporting venues in 1930s Europe? Given the more recent rise of top-tier ice hockey in nations such as Sweden, Russia, and Germany, we can attempt a direct comparison between their musical selections and those found in North America. How do soundscapes of the arena in Europe differ from those of the NHL?

In closing, I have sought in this thesis to foster a better understanding of the history of the hockey organ, how it was incorporated within the cultural history of the

NHL, and the traditional role it has served for the teams that used one. From the "secular organ" developments of the late nineteenth century, we have seen now the sounds of the organ extended beyond the confines of the locus of the church. Further developments in the United States gave rise to an omnipresence of organs in hotels, civic centres, and silent film theatres. The sheer volume and force that a single performer commanded made the decision for an organ in any public sphere—much less the ice hockey arena—one rooted in practicality.

Through the work of Al Melgard and Gladys Goodding, we have seen that the hockey organist and the silent film organist share a direct lineage and pedigree, in terms of both musical repertoire and performance practice. With Eddie Layton, an approach idiosyncratic to professional sports evolved based upon the sound of the Hammond organ and its iconic Leslie cabinet speaker. The low-cost, portable instrument has allowed franchises to continue the organ tradition even during periods of the financial turmoil, such as that following the Great Depression. Through quick wit and a massive musical repertoire, we have seen that early hockey organists came to be jesters of the arena, providing a musical backdrop to an otherwise glamourous social forum, and allowing spectators to join in a community of singing.

The framework derived from Huizinga and the New Kantians points us towards many of the tangible features that the organ brings to professional sports. The organist serves as community builder, and by bringing the audience together in common song—whether through cheering, clapping, or the shared knowledge of an inside joke—renews the inherent playful nature of the "game" of hockey, lost in the professionalism and seriousness of "sport." The story of Norm Kramer and the St. Louis Blues during the first

expansion years of the 1960s and 1970s also highlights many of the perceived benefits that the organist bestowed upon his or her respective team. The organist not only kept the crowd vitalized and excited about the game on the ice, but in turn offered the home team an advantage—real or imagined—in defeating its opponents and becoming more successful.

As technology progressed and a live performer was no longer the *de facto* norm in the arena, we saw advances and changes in game presentation, such as prerecorded music, the playing of videos, and other forms of peripheral entertainment. The strong association between heavy metal rock music and notions of masculinity, coinciding with this technological leap forward, made a strong case for the DJ and his or her prerecorded arsenal as successor to the organ. Through a set of prerecorded organ cues, the DJ can seemingly replace all the contributions of the live performer with a CD. Yet it is not the fact that rock music took over many of the duties of the organ—characterized as old-fashioned, kitsch, or otherwise unpopular—that surprises us. Given the great versatility and sheer selection of the DJ, it would seem to make eminently good sense to replace the organist. Rather, what is of great interest is the extent to which the organ has *remained* an integral part of the arena's musical presentation in spite of the incursions of rock and other prerecorded music. Its resistance to modernity fits well within established notions and conventions of nostalgia. Framing the mindset of the listener in a "supra-logical" fashion, the organ allows its audience to situate themselves in the past, even if the context of its particular and peculiar history is not one which they have experienced directly. This form of "displaced nostalgia" allows for even greater proliferation of the organ throughout the league, and shapes the ways in which a business such as the NHL

attempts to brand its product. It is the oldest and most storied of North American professional sports leagues, and the hockey organ's sound becomes a sonic reminder of its golden age, and of its authenticity. All indications of the organ's present forms in the NHL suggest that the instrument has found a permanent place of pride within the audience of the game. Although the organist must work in tandem with prerecorded rock music, today's live performers demonstrate their versatility and ability to adapt to the changing soundscape of the arena. This fluidity is at the heart of understanding the hockey organ: its rich eighty-year history is situated at the crossroads of technology and community, of modernity and tradition.

APPENDIX A: NHL FRANCHISES AND THEIR ORGANS

Team	Founded	Current Organist	Current Organ/Keyboard
Anaheim Ducks	1993	Bob Duquesnel	Roland Atelier 90 Keyboard
Atlanta Thrashers	1999	Chuck Bell	Roland Fantom X7 Keyboard
Boston Bruins	1924	Ron Poster	Roland Atelier 90 Keyboard
Buffalo Sabres	1970	Ken Kaufman	Roland VK-7 Keyboard
Calgary Flames	1972 (Atlanta), 1980	Willy Joosen	Korg Triton Keyboard
Carolina Hurricanes	1979 (Hartford), 1997	Larry Olsen	Rodgers 360 Organ
Chicago Blackhawks	1926	Frank Pellico	Allen Theatre Organ
Colorado Avalanche	1979 (Quebec), 1995	No Organist	
Columbus Blue Jackets	2000	Bob Dawson	Technics SX-EA5 Keyboard
Dallas Stars	1967 (Minneapolis), 1993	No Organist	
Detroit Red Wings	1926	Dave Calendine	Korg Triton Keyboard
Edmonton Oilers	1979	No Organist	
Florida Panthers	1993	No Organist	
Los Angeles Kings	1967	Dieter Ruehle	Roland A90 Keyboard
Minnesota Wild	2000	Palmer Harbison	Roland VK-7 Keyboard
Montreal Canadiens	1909	No Organist	
Nashville Predators	1998	Kyle Hankins	Baldwin PS-2600 Organ
New Jersey Devils	1974 (Denver), 1982	Pete Cannarozzi	Korg Triton Keyboard
New York Islanders	1972	Paul Cartier	Lowery Sensation Organ
New York Rangers	1926	Ray Castoldi	Roland A80 Keyboard
Ottawa Senators	1992	Greg Drover	Roland VK-9M Keyboard
Philadelphia Flyers	1967	David May	Roland Atelier 90 Keyboard
Phoenix Coyotes	1979 (Winnipeg), 1996	Bobby Freeman	Korg Triton Keyboard
Pittsburgh Penguins	1967	Tim Priano	Korg Triton Keyboard
St Louis Blues	1967	Jeremy Boyer	Rodgers Theatre Organ
San Jose Sharks	1991	No Organist	
Tampa Bay Lightning	1992	No Organist	
Toronto Maple Leafs	1917	Jim Holmstrom	Unknown
Vancouver Canucks	1970	Mike Kinney	Unknown
Washington Capitals	1974	Bruce Anderson	Allen Theatre Organ

This table is current as of the close of the 2009-10 NHL season.
Source: [Larry Olsen, an e-mail to the Author, April 14, 2010]

APPENDIX B: CHAMBER ANALYSIS OF THE BARTON THEATRE ORGAN, FORMERLY IN CHICAGO STADIUM

DIVISION I (blue dots on stop keys)			DIVISION III (green dots on stop keys)		
	Pipes	WP[217]		Pipes	WP
16' Diaphone I	85	35"	16' Stentorphone I	73	25"
16' Tibia Clausa I	97	25"	16' Tuba Profunda	85	15"
16' Solo String I	85	25"	8' Tibia Clausa III	73	25"
8' Viol d'Orchestra I	73	25"	8' Trumpet	73	25"
8' Viole Celeste I	73	25"	8' Gamba	73	25"
4' Viol Celeste IV	49	25"	8' Gamba Celeste I	73	25"
8' English Post Horn I	73	25"	4' Gamba Celeste II	49	25"
8' Kinuras (3 ranks)	183	25"	8' Tibia Plena	73	20"
8' Gross Flute	85	20"	8' Solo Diapason	73	15"
8' Double Flute	73	20"	8' French Horn	73	15"
			8' Vox Humanas (3 ranks)	219	15"
			8' Clarinet (2 ranks)	146	15"
			8' Oboe Horn	73	25"
DIVISION II (pink dots on stop keys)			**DIVISION IV (violet dots on stop keys)**		
16' Diaphone II	85	35"	16' Tuba Mirabilis	85	25"

[217] WP stands for "Water Pressure." According to a longstanding organ building tradition, wind pressure measurements are provided by means of a U-tube manometer containing water. WP measurements therefore provide the difference in water levels between the two legs of the manometer, rather than in psi ("pounds per square inch"), the more standard scientific unit of pressure.

16' Solo String II	85	25"	16' English Horn	85	25"
16' Major Flute	97	20"	16' Stentorphone II	73	25"
8' Tibia Clausa II	85	25"	8' Tibia Clausa IV	73	25"
8' Tuba Celeste (3 ranks)	159	25"	8' Viol d'Orchestre III	73	25"
8' English Post Horn II	73	25"	8' Viol Celeste III	73	25"
8' Viol d'Orchestre	73	25"	4' Viol Celeste VI	49	25"
8' Viol Celeste II	49	25"	8' Tibia Molis	73	20"
4' Viol Celeste V	73	15"	8' Solo Diapason II	73	15"
8' Oboe Horn II			8' Solo Tuba	61	15"
			8' Saxaphone	61	15"
6 Bass Drums			4 Xylophones		
6 Cymbals			4 Orchestra bells		
12 Snare Drums			Harp (metal)		
3 Crash Cymbals			Tower Chimes		

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