Theaters of Competition: Modernization and the Survival of the National Hockey League's Original Six

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Abstract: For more than two decades after its inception, the National Hockey League (NHL) experienced the contraction and expansion of franchises as the league extended its control over the major professional hockey market in both the United States and Canada. From its initial membership of four teams in 1917, the NHL increased to as many as 10 teams and extended as far south and west as St. Louis, Missouri before contracting back to the Original Six franchises in 1942. Interestingly, the Original Six played in modern multipurpose arenas constructed in the 1920s and 1930s. The present study seeks to understand the historical factors that influenced the design and construction of those multipurpose arenas and the role of those venues in the persistence of the Original Six. The historical methodology for sport management was applied to study the design and construction of multipurpose arenas between 1924 and 1931. Furthermore, modernization theory was employed to understand and rationalize the intentional actions of sport managers within a burgeoning capitalist socioeconomic setting. Findings suggest that sport managers responded to an expanding economy, emerging middle-manager class, and consumer culture by designing facilities capable of maximizing profits and attracting broad demographic and economic segments, thus assuring the Original Six's survival.

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At its founding in 1917, the National Hockey League (NHL) was comprised of four teams: two playing in Montreal and one in Ottawa and Toronto, respectively. Following The First World War, a geographic shift occurred in the NHL, expanding it from its historical roots in Canada toward the United States (U.S.). The success of the NHL, as an entertainment product, in the decade following World War I in the U.S. and Canada often hinged on a franchise's ability to attract in-facility spectator dollars, due to the absence of significant corporate sponsorships and media broadcast rights fees (Ross, 2008). Relatedly, urban arenas in the U.S. and Canada increased in size, scope, and durability during the 1920s. More specifically, between 1924 (Montreal Forum) and 1931 (Maple Leaf Gardens) seven urban arenas were purposely built to accommodate major professional hockey as well as other sport, entertainment, and social functions on a scale not previously seen in North America. Within the first decade of its formation, the NHL expanded to 10 teams with six franchises located in the U.S. before contracting to the Original Six franchises by 1942. Interestingly, the Original Six franchises all played their home contests in modern arenas built between 1924 and 1931.

The first three decades of the 20th century saw the emergence of a consumer culture that afforded both facility owner/managers and NHL owners the opportunity to capitalize on the business of professional hockey in large urban arenas. While leisure activities and entertainment existed well before the 1900s, an identifiable entertainment industry emerged and rapidly expanded via urban entertainment facilities and modernization during the 1920s and 1930s. Of note, various scholars have examined how professionalized entertainment, including the construction and/or adaptation of built spaces (e.g., musical theaters, movie theaters, night clubs), and the emergence of consumer culture, within the music, movie, and theater industries, grew in response to the transition from Victorian to post-World War I society (e.g., Carney, 2009; May, 1980; Schwartz, 2009; Shindo, 2010). The norms of Victorian athletic culture emphasized amateur competition, while the modern society of the 1920s increasingly preferred the entertainment spectacle of professional athletics (Field, 2002; 2008; Nelson, 2009; Raitz, 1995b).

Less understood is how new urban arena construction, in response to socioeconomic changes and emerging consumer culture, contributed to the persistence of the NHL's Original Six franchises. Further, the influence of developing economic changes and consumer expectations on facility construction, renovation, and design continue to be relevant within sport management research and practice, particularly as professional and amateur sport organizations vie for customers in an increasingly crowded and fragmented entertainment space (Downs & Seifried, 2021). The seeming correlation between the construction of new urban arenas and the ultimate survival of six NHL franchises raises the purpose of the current study to ask the following questions:

1. What factors prompted the construction of new, multipurpose, urban arenas in the U.S. and Canada during the 1920s and early 1930s?
2. What were the unique features of the modern, multipurpose, urban arena of the 1920s and early 1930s?
3. How did the construction of modern, multipurpose arenas contribute to the persistence of the NHL Original Six franchises?

In recent years, sport scholars have increasingly endorsed the use of historical research within sport management to address contemporary issues and better understand past developments because of the

methodology's flexibility and utility in both theoretical and practical settings (Amis & Silk, 2005; de Wilde & Seifried, 2012; Seifried, 2010a, 2017; Seifried et al., 2017). The methodology also gained traction within sport management literature (e.g., Andrew et al., 2011; Seifried & Katz, 2015; Seifried et al., 2017; Walker et al., 2018) and, noticeably, within professional sport facility research (e.g., Downs & Seifried, 2019a; Seifried & Pastore, 2009a, 2009b, 2010). As further evidence, Downs and Seifried (2019a) found that much of the sport management scholarship utilizing the historical methodology to analyze facilities emphasized professional baseball, professional football, and collegiate football facilities in the U.S. Moreover, Downs and Seifried (2019a) discovered many of these works embraced the concept of modernization. The modernization construct aims to explain changes in society and likely emerged as a preferred lens to examine sport in North America, specifically the U.S. and Canada, because the construct accommodates capitalist influences on professional sport and, more broadly, leisure activities (Seifried & Novicevic, 2017).

The present study engages in the historical method for sport management and applies modernization theory to understand multipurpose arena construction during the first 15 years of the NHL (i.e., 1917 and 1931). These years were chosen because that period begins with the establishment of the NHL and includes the completion of construction for each of the new multipurpose arenas for the Original Six franchises. Downs and Seifried (2019a) noted that modernization is a useful tool within sport management scholarship because the construct assists scholars in understanding trends in economic development, thus allowing them to contextualize sport facility construction of the past and anticipate changes in the present and future. Therefore, this investigation has the potential to enhance understanding of the modern-day NHL's interests in expanding into Seattle, WA and rumors about expansion or relocation of franchises into Quebec City, QC and Houston, TX among other potentially viable markets (Barberio, 2019). The use of modernization is particularly appropriate in the present study because the construction of new facilities occurred during the booming capitalist economy of the 1920s.

Modernization and Sport Scholarship

For more than two centuries, academics have utilized modernization theory to explain the social, political, and cultural changes that occurred in the Western world as a response to economic development (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Seifried & Novicevic, 2017; So, 1990; Thornton, 2005). Within the Western context, modernization theory came to emphasize and explain the changes occurring in urban areas, as seen through their robust, diverse economies and emergent leisure culture (Wirth, 1938). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber, 2011) indicated that it is within urban areas that individual choices to embrace societal norms are prominent. The role of individuals within urban areas is paramount to modernization theory, in part because the rate of modernizing can be accelerated or slowed as a result of individual actions, cultural factors, and geography (Adelman, 1993; Gilman, 2003; Inglehart & Baker, 2000).

An important element of modernization in the context of sport is the recognition that the industry "shares more in common with its future than its pre-modern past" (Adelman, 1981, p. 7). Within sport management scholarship, modernization theory has been used to understand the relationship between the sport industry and society (Downs & Seifried, 2019a). This view was championed by Adelman (1983) who indicated that the use of modernization theory allows for the interpretation of changes to individual sports while understanding those

sports within a changing society. An important contextual element related to this project is that technological innovations will occur in the pursuit of profit (Adelman 1986, 1993). Within this point and present context, Sack (1986) and Gruneau (1988) identified commercialized products and spaces as a key feature of the sport industry in a capitalist system.

More recently, Seifried and Novicevic (2017) established that modernization research within the field of management came to emphasize the concepts of reflexive modernization and ecological modernization. Reflexive modernization considers managerial decisions to incorporate technology and bureaucracy into organizational operations in an attempt to manage risk and promote desired outcomes (Giulianotti, 2009). Similarly, ecological modernization seeks to understand how managers employ technology and bureaucracy to promote business interests while protecting and/or managing the environment (e.g., natural, industrial, and virtual) and environmental concerns (Millington et al., 2018). Overall, managerial effort to advance organizational goals with awareness of risk and the environment "prompts reform, reorganization, and adaptation" (Downs & Seifried, 2019a, p. 341).

In further support of modernization, it should be noted that previous sport-modernization scholarship focused on facility history and on the construction of British soccer facilities (Bale, 1993), American professional football and baseball facilities (Seifried, 2010b; Seifried & Pastore, 2009a, 2009b), and American college football facilities (e.g., Downs & Seifried, 2019b; Seifried & Tutka, 2016; Tutka 2016). Furthermore, multipurpose, urban arenas, specifically professional hockey facilities, received some scholarly attention. For instance, Shubert (2016) examined the urban arena from the architectural history perspective, tracing the artistic roots of facility design through to the design of contemporary corporate entertainment venues. Similarly, Field (2002, 2008) and Seifried and de Wilde (2014) investigated aspects of the construction of Maple Leaf Gardens and Madison Square Garden III through the lens of marketing history, highlighting the importance of product, price, place, and promotion in the construction of financially viable sport facilities. However, negligible scholarly attention has been paid to the history of multipurpose arenas and no modernization literature focuses on the utility of the theory in assessing arena construction.

Methodology

Recently, sport management scholars demonstrated the utility of historical methods within management research (Andrew et al., 2011; Girginov & Sandanski, 2008; Seifried & Katz, 2015; Seifried et al., 2017; Walker et al., 2018). The present study followed Seifried's (2010a, 2017) guide for sport management historical research. Importantly, Seifried's guidelines for historic research clarified and differentiated historical research within sport management from the quantitative and qualitative methods routinely utilized by management scholars.

Historical research begins with a reliance on the accumulation and analysis of primary and secondary sources. Seifried (2010a) indicated primary sources are the ideal archival data to use in historical sport management research because those sources are produced by individuals with firsthand knowledge of an event or who experienced an event contemporaneously. Secondary sources of data contribute to the authenticity and credibility of historic research and are a unique form of data comprised of information gleaned from primary sources (Seifried, 2010a, 2017). The present study utilized searchable academic databases such as HathiTrust Digital, JSTOR, Lexis-Nexis, Academic Search Complete, Business Source Complete, and Google Scholar to

secure primary and secondary sources of data. Additionally, the current research utilized the archival newspaper sites *newspapers.com* and *newspaperarchive.com* to secure contemporaneous newspaper coverage of facility construction. Contemporaneous newspapers are particularly valuable to historical researchers because their contents are considered accurate (Golder, 2000) and reflect the interests of the society in which they were published (Starc, 2007). Finally, webpages dedicated to sport facilities (e.g., *ballparks.com*), teams, and scholarly journal articles or books were used to gather specific information related to facility construction. Overall, the accumulation of primary and secondary sources yielded relevant archival data related to facility construction, facility design, financing, and amenities.

Following source accumulation, the present study scrutinized the primary and secondary data via the process of source criticism (Seifried 2010a, 2017). Through source criticism, historical researchers determine the credibility (i.e., validity and reliability) of their data (Berg & Lune, 2012; Struna, 2011). The use of credible data assists in producing meaningful hypotheses at the end of historical research studies (Seifried 2010a, 2017; Walker et al., 2018). Source criticism is critical to research that relies on digital data because of possible fabrication of documents (Klugman, 2017; Sterling et al., 2017). To establish validity and reliability of the sources, an external and internal source criticism was conducted. External criticism checks determined the authenticity of the sources by verifying that the data came from respected archival collections (Seifried, 2010a; Struna, 2011). Internal criticism checks established the trustworthiness of data (Decker, 2013; Donnelly & Norton, 2011; Kipling et al., 2014; Struna, 2011). The researchers completed internal criticism by examining all documents in their entirety to develop contextual understanding of each document, while simultaneously proceeding with careful consideration of the perspectives and possible biases of the source authors (Struna, 2011).

After completing the source criticism, the researchers proceeded with a source analysis through the development of detailed categorical outlines that established the "relationship between the event and the larger themes" (Seifried, 2010a, p. 591). The production of categorical outlines promoted the triangulation of data while limiting researcher or methodological bias within the collected data. The researchers compiled data related to each facility and city supporting NHL franchises during the period of study. Within, spreadsheets in Microsoft Excel software assisted the identification of trends in the design, construction, and modifications of multipurpose facilities during the 1920s and 1930s to improve the strength of the findings (Booth, 2005; Seifried, 2010a). The source analysis was further enhanced through the application of modernization theory because it provides a lens through which the relationship between multipurpose sport arena construction and the agency of entrepreneurial individuals can be understood. Within, the efforts to capitalize on consumer expectations through the adoption of new technologies and improved services was associated with various facility constructions. The construction of state-of-the-art facilities with desired amenities and new technologies in viable professional sport markets contributed to the persistence of the Original Six.

Results

The 1920s emerged as an economically integrated decade, as both the Canadian and American economies were increasingly interconnected when the U.S. became Canada's leading trade partner (Crane, 2015). In the U.S., population growth was triggered by an influx of immigrants, including Canada to U.S. immigration, and the job

creation brought about by rapid industrialization (Howell, 2001; Kalbach et al., 2019). Though new immigrants, including U.S. to Canada immigrants, flocked to Canada pursuing manufacturing jobs with steadily increasing nominal wages, by 1920, the Canadian national population reached roughly 9,000,000 (e.g., Kalbach et al., 2019) while the American population grew to more than 106,000,000 ("Fast Facts," n.d.). The populations in Canada's largest cities (i.e., Montreal and Toronto) lagged behind their major American counterparts (See Table 1 and Table 2 below) (Emery & Levitt, 2002; Hurd & Cameron, 1935; Cooper, 1969). For example, the population of Canada's largest city, Montreal, reached 618,506 according to the census of 1921, while Toronto totaled 521,893 (Piva, 1983). Conversely, the largest city in the U.S., (i.e., New York City) registered a population of 5,620,048 by 1920 (Gibson, 1998).

Table 1 - Top Ten U.S. Cities by Population from Census 1920

City	State	Population
New York	New York	5,620,048
Chicago	Illinois	2,701,705
Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	1,823,779
Detroit	Michigan	993,078
Cleveland	Ohio	796,841
Saint Louis	Missouri	772,897
Boston	Massachusetts	748,060
Baltimore	Maryland	733,826
Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	588,343
Los Angeles	California	576,673

Note. Data gathered from Gibson (1998).

Table 2 - Top Ten Canadian Cities by Population from Census 1921

City	Province	Population
Montreal	Quebec	618,506
Toronto	Ontario	521,893
Winnipeg	Manitoba	179,087
Vancouver	British Columbia	117,217
Hamilton	Ontario	114,151
Ottawa	Ontario	107,843
Quebec	Quebec	95,193
Calgary	Alberta	63,305
London	Ontario	60,959
Edmonton	Alberta	58,821

Note. Data gathered from Piva (1983).

The changing urban landscape and shifting economy produced an identifiable middle-manager class of workers in both countries. Further, the emergence of an identifiable, professional, middle-management class suggested a modern urban economy. Schwartz (2009) proposed the managerial class was necessary for modern, technologically advanced organizations to function because educated workers possessed mental skills that bridged the gap between the upper-class, top-level managers, and lower-class organizational operatives. This emergent middle-manager class formed an important customer segment for various entertainment entrepreneurs (Schwartz, 2009). In Canada, the prosperous upper class organized and subsidized professional hockey in the eastern part of the country, while in the U.S., sport and entertainment entrepreneurs sought to capitalize on the burgeoning American economy (Ross, 2008).

Professional Hockey Leagues in Flux

The National Hockey Association (NHA) emerged as the premier professional hockey league in eastern Canada in 1910, as the popularity of professional hockey shifted from mining outposts to urban centers where well-resourced entrepreneurs established teams, including franchises in eastern Canada's largest and most prosperous cities: Ottawa and Toronto (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008, Wong, 2005). Ross (2008) noted that the expansion of professional hockey into Toronto was possible because of the advent of consistent artificial ice-making technology. The first generation of major professional hockey owners were calculating and competitive. Rather than focus their resources on facility construction, team owners opted to rent ice time so that money could be spent on filling rosters with the best available talent (Ross, 2008). Unlike the collaborative, profit-focused governance structure made famous by William Hulbert in his reorganization of professional baseball's National League in 1876 (Gems et al., 2017), NHA owners operated their teams in a traditional Darwinian sense. In other words, while some cooperation in the form of agreed-upon salary caps and reserve clauses were instituted, the owners also tried to put their on-ice competitors out of business in an effort to establish their team as the best in the new professional winter league (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008; Wong, 2005).

Over the course of its first seven seasons, the NHA faced challenges in the form of infighting between owners, player poaching from rival leagues, and the outbreak of The First World War (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008; Wong, 2005). While the NHA faced a legitimate challenge from the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA), by the mid-1910s, hockey scholars have suggested that a general dislike for the owner of the NHA's Toronto franchise, Eddie Livingstone, united the other franchise owners in the common goal of continuing professional hockey in Canada without him (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008, Wong, 2005). In February 1917, the owners of the Montreal Canadiens, Montreal Wanderers, Ottawa Senators, and Quebec Bulldogs voted to suspend the Toronto franchise for the remainder of the season, an act which resulted in Livingstone suing the league and its owners for damages resulting from the "unlawful, unconstitutional, and illegal acts" that suspended the team ("Writs Issued," 1917, p. 10). Following a meeting on November 11, 1917 in Montreal's Windsor Hotel, the NHA, with Livingstone still positioned as Toronto's owner, decided to suspend league play for the 1917-18 season ("National Hockey League," 1917).

The decision to temporarily suspend NHA activity was a final 'end around' Livingstone's ownership. Within two days of the meeting to halt league activity, reports emerged that a new league comprised of the non-

Toronto members of the NHA would likely play a 1917-18 schedule ("Montreal Star is Favorable," 1917). Less than two weeks after the meeting to suspend the NHA, the NHL was formed, with four teams set to compete beginning on December 19, 1917 ("New National Hockey League," 1917). Still playing in wooden facilities susceptible to fire, the first NHL season finished with three franchises. On January 2, 1918, a fire destroyed the Montreal Wanderers' Westmount Arena and subsequent financial losses forced team owner Samuel Lichtenhein to fold the team and leave professional sport due to the six-figure loss of the facility ("Montreal Club Owner," 1918).

The Rise and Fall of Major Professional Hockey in the West

Wong (2009) described the circumstances that led to the emergence of professional hockey in western Canada, as well as the construction of purpose-built hockey facilities in British Columbia. The combination of relative wealth from the timber industry, interest in hockey, and the desire to develop a professional hockey league led the Montreal-based Patrick family to construct hockey arenas in British Columbia as part of their efforts to establish the PCHA. In addition to founding the single entity ownership PCHA in 1911, brothers Lester and Frank Patrick financed the construction of two arenas in British Columbia. The larger Denman Arena, built in Vancouver, accommodated 10,000 fans and cost \$226,382, the equivalent of \$6,167,400.29 in 2020. The company also financed the construction of Victoria's Patrick Arena, a 4,000-seat artificial ice arena for \$110,000, the equivalent of \$2,996,766.67 in 2020.

The Vancouver-based PCHA faced several limitations when it emerged in 1911. The two greatest challenges facing the PCHA at its inception were a lack of hockey tradition in western Canada and the absence of a local talent pool from which to draw (Wong, 2005). Importantly, while western Canada had no hockey tradition, the spectacle of professional hockey was not foreign to the citizens of British Columbia, as local newspapers reported NHA results, offering hockey fans insights into the sport and its best professional players (Wong, 2009). Name recognition, coupled with the stinginess of the NHA owners and lack of local players, allowed the Patricks to recruit and sign well known NHA players to PCHA contracts, giving their new league instant credibility (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008; Wong, 2005; 2009).

Following several years of player poaching on both sides of the country, the PCHA and NHA reached an agreement that stabilized major professional hockey in Canada. The PCHA gained the right to draft three players from the ranks of the NHA each year, as well as the rights to any new professional players from west of Thunder Bay, ON, while the teams of the NHA were allowed to protect three players each year from the PCHA draft ("Hockey Agreement Has Been Reached," 1913). Additionally, the agreement between the leagues established a best-of-five series for the Stanley Cup between PCHA and NHA champions that alternated host locations and rules each year ("Ottawa Players," 1913).

Beyond the PCHA-NHA agreement, the PCHA turned to amateur leagues in the western Canadian prairies, such as the Big Four League of Saskatchewan, to develop talent to supplement its rosters. By the close of the 1910s, the premier amateur league began paying its players, an act that jeopardized the PCHA's monopoly on professional hockey in western Canada. The Big Four rebranded itself as the Western Canada Hockey League (WCHL) and reached an agreement with the PCHA that gave the WCHL an opportunity to compete for the Stanley Cup, while guaranteeing the PCHA access to talent (Ross, 2008).

Wong (2005) identified the WCHL-PCHA agreement as the first sign that the league was on shaky footing

because it recognized the WCHL as another legitimate professional league in western Canada. As the PCHA continued into the 1920s, poor attendance figures, financial challenges, and the NHL's expansion into major U.S. markets further hastened the demise of the league (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008; Wong, 2005; 2009). Holzman and Nieforth (2002), Ross (2008), and Wong (2009) agreed that the expansion of the NHL into the U.S. was the most difficult challenge for western hockey to overcome. Unlike the hockey markets in western Canada, the cities targeted for NHL expansion in the U.S. in the mid-1920s (i.e., Boston, Chicago, Detroit, New York City, and Pittsburgh) supported larger populations, had wealthier owners, and planned larger facilities than those of the PCHA or WCHL. Resultantly, the NHL could outspend either league for talented human capital (i.e., players). Despite the merger of the PCHA and WCHL into the Western Hockey League (WHL) prior to the 1924-25 season, major professional hockey in western North America ceased one year later.

Toward an "Original Six"

After surviving early tumult, the NHL expanded its product with the establishment of a second Montreal franchise, later named the Maroons, and creation of the Boston Bruins in 1924. These franchises were of critical importance to the future of the NHL. With the Maroons, the league added a team and tenant for the newly constructed 9,300 seat Montreal Forum. The Boston Bruins represented the league's first American franchise. After the NHL added the Montreal Maroons and Boston Bruins franchises in 1924, the league continued to increase its membership in the coming years as part of an ongoing effort to limit opportunities for Eddie Livingstone, or any other competitors, to enter major professional hockey, while also lining the pockets of existing NHL owners.

Despite being excluded from the NHL in 1917, Eddie Livingstone attempted to create a rival professional league that would compete in both Canada and the U.S.; however, NHL President Frank Calder worked tirelessly to undermine Livingstone's efforts (Wong, 2005). In order to block Livingstone and his allies from starting a legitimate competitor, the NHL rushed to establish professional teams in viable American markets (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008). Due in part to having high-level amateur hockey teams, cities like Boston and Pittsburgh had the existing facility infrastructure and fan bases to support major professional hockey. New York City also emerged because it dominated the continent in financial and media presence, as well as hosted the notable boxing promoter, Tex Rickard, who was set to complete a new arena in 1925: Madison Square Garden III (MSG III) (Ross, 2008; Seifried & de Wilde, 2014). Placing franchises in those three cities afforded the NHL a premier position in each city, while also expanding the overall territorial reach of the league before Livingstone could organize (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002; Ross, 2008).

NHL expansion also provided an initial financial windfall for the league's existing franchises. For example, expansion franchises were required to pay a \$15,000 expansion fee that was pooled into a common account for pre-existing teams only, which provided a financial incentive for adding new franchises. In 1925, two new franchises, the New York Americans and Pittsburgh Pirates, were added to the league. Prior to the 1926 season, the Chicago Blackhawks, Detroit Cougars, and New York Rangers were added, bringing the total franchise number to 10. NHL expansion was done with little foresight, however. While the expansion brought immediate cash infusions into the bank accounts of existing owners, the process created circumstances that eventually set the stage for contraction to six teams in 1942 (Wong, 2005).

Wong (2005) cautioned that although NHL expansion further legitimized its hockey product as the unquestioned, top professional league, it also stressed its members. League expansion created logistical problems, as well as human and physical resource issues. The 10-team NHL required additional travel over longer distances, which forced teams to spend more money on transportation to away games over the expanded, international schedule. During the last season before expansion, the NHL played a 24-game schedule. Three years later, the league played a 44-game schedule. In addition to the expanded, international schedule, there was an insufficient pool of quality professional players. For example, the Pittsburgh Pirates paid to professionalize the amateur Pittsburgh Yellow Jackets team (Holzman & Nieforth, 2002). The decreased supply of players, paired with the demand for elite talent, inflated player salaries. The financial issues faced by teams were further exacerbated by the Great Depression.

While logistical and salary issues could be mitigated through the creation of accommodating schedules and the enforcement of a salary cap, access to a modern facility capable of generating ticket revenue separated teams that would survive the Great Depression from their counterparts who folded. There are two exceptions to this point. First, the New York Americans, the first tenant of MSG III, ceased operations after 1942. While the Americans had access to MSG III, the New York Rangers owned the building. Thus, the Americans paid rent to their competition, acknowledging a hockey hierarchy in the New York market. More damaging to the Americans' finances was their positioning as the lone American team in the Canadian Division of the NHL, which required extensive international travel (Ross, 2008). Second, although the Montreal Maroons entered the league as the sole tenant of the new Montreal Forum in 1924, the team was never fully embraced in Montreal because of the popularity of the Canadiens franchise among the large French-Canadian population. Aside from this caveat, playing in a modern facility in a large metropolitan area allowed teams to weather the Great Depression (See Table 3 below).

Table 3 - Urban Multipurpose Facility Cost and Initial Seated Capacity for Hockey

Facility	City	Date Opened	Construction Cost	Cost Adjusted for Inflation (2020)	Initial Capacity
Montreal Forum	Montreal	1924	\$1,500,000	\$22,702,777.78	9,300
Madison Square Garden III	New York City	1925	\$5,600,000	\$82,819,733.33	15,000
Detroit Olympia	Detroit	1927	\$2,500,000	\$37,185,584.29	11,563
Boston Garden	Boston	1928	\$4,000,000	\$60,540,740.74	13,909
Chicago Stadium	Chicago	1929	\$7,000,000	\$105,946,296.30	16,000
Saint Louis Arena	Saint Louis	1929	\$1,500,000	\$22,702,777.78	14,200
Maple Leaf Gardens	Toronto	1931	\$1,500,000	\$25,540,625.00	12,473
Average			\$3,371,428.57	\$51,062,647.89	13,206

Note. Inflation calculated using CPI Inflation Calculator (n.d.)

The fates of the Pittsburgh Pirates and Ottawa Senators bring the importance of a modern facility in a major city into greater focus. The Pirates played their games in the 5,000-seat Duquesne Gardens, a 30-year-old facility that was converted from a trolley car barn in 1896 for \$500,000, or roughly \$15,405,456.35 in 2020. By comparison, the New York Americans joined the league the same season, but played their games in the 15,000-seat, \$5,600,000 MSG III. When adjusted for inflation, MSG III would cost \$82,819,733.33 in 2020. The differences in the two facilities' costs, capacity, age, and amenities are significant. Following a playoff appearance in their first year in the league, the Pirates struggled on the ice and at the box office. As Rhee and Wong (2018) profiled, the Pirates hockey team ultimately moved to Philadelphia in 1930 and rebranded as the Quakers, playing their games in the similarly sized and accommodating 5,500-seat Philadelphia Arena before shuttering after one season.

Unlike the upstart Pirates, the Ottawa Senators had been a part of the NHA-NHL since 1910 and won multiple Stanley Cups, including four as part of the NHL. However, the Senators also played in the smallest market in the NHL. Ottawa recorded a population of 107,843 at the census of 1921, but had a stable economic base due to the large bureaucratic workforce living in the Canadian capital (Piva, 1983). In 1923, the team moved into the new Ottawa Auditorium, a \$355,000 (\$5,372,990.74 in 2020) facility that seated 7,500 fans. The city's size and the capacity of the Ottawa Auditorium, compared to the major market facilities of the NHL, limited the Senators earning potential. Despite efforts to save the franchise, by 1934 the financial situation became unsustainable and the team moved to Saint Louis, MO to take advantage of the recently built \$1,500,000 (\$22,702,777.78 in 2020), Saint Louis Arena that seated 14,200 people.

The competitive advantages of major American markets, and the ability of American franchises to build and/or fill facilities with greater capacities than their smaller counterparts, threatened the existence of the NHL's Canadian franchises (Wong, 2005). Financial difficulties, particularly for teams in smaller facilities, were exacerbated by the onset of the Great Depression and extensive international travel (Ross, 2008). Ultimately, the NHL became a league where viable franchises played in modern facilities. The demise of the Pirates, Senators, Maroons, and Americans by 1942 left the NHL with six franchises spread across Canada and the U.S. Interestingly, the league would not embrace expansion again until 1967.

Theaters of Competition

The first three decades of the 20th century brought cultural changes that afforded both facility owner/managers and NHL owners the opportunity to further capitalize on the business of professional hockey in urban arenas. The proliferation of professional sports and a professional sports industry similarly served the desires of modern society. Permanent, urban, multi-purpose arenas rose to meet various consumer entertainment demands and capture consumer dollars (Raitz, 1995b; Seifried, 2010b; Shubert, 2016).

Unlike facilities built to house professional baseball and football, modern arenas were designed with consideration for hockey, but were decidedly more focused on other entertainment activities, such as boxing, wrestling, cycling, the circus, and variety shows (Koppett, 1999; Seifried & de Wilde, 2014; Shubert, 2016). Furthermore, the modern arenas marked a conscious decision by facility owners to build their facilities as entertainment centers, not just sporting locales (Field, 2002; Shubert, 2016). As a result, modern arenas tended to be built near the city center, rather than on inexpensive real estate on the outskirts of town, as Seifried and Pastore

(2009a) found with professional baseball and football facilities and their owners' small-business mindsets. Of the seven identifiable modern arenas, six were built in the city, rather than on its outskirts. This point is well illustrated by the construction of MSG III.

Raitz (1995a) suggested that sport stadia were like theaters. The emergence of modern arenas modifies this point. Modern facilities were not just like theaters, they were intentionally designed to be psychologically indistinguishable from theaters. By the mid-1920s, New York City had a vibrant entertainment core in the form of its theater district. The most notable component of the theater district is the commercial and artistic enclave known as Broadway. Schwartz (2009) delimited the Broadway portion of the theater district to the artistic spaces between 13th and 45th street on the road named Broadway. The broadly identifiable entertainment center catered almost exclusively to New York City's upper class in 1900; however, the rise of the middle-manager class gave access to leisure entertainment for a larger subset of the population. Owners of newly constructed, multipurpose, indoor facilities capable of hosting attractions, sport and otherwise, enhanced their facility's legitimacy, the legitimacy of their attractions, and financial viability by choosing sites in or near the entertainment districts.

MSG III came into existence through a combination of necessity and ingenuity. Madison Square Garden II (MSG II) served as a location of recreation and entertainment beginning in 1890. Located on 26th Street and Madison Avenue, MSG II existed near, but not within, the theater district. This difference in locale manifested in the population and audience attending sporting events. Seifried and de Wilde (2014) noted that the crowds attracted to MSG II and similar facilities were comprised of "underworld hustlers, gamblers, and gangsters" in part because the facility hosted a myriad of honorable (e.g., 1924 Democratic National Convention) and sometimes unscrupulous events (e.g., boxing) (p. 459). Tex Rickard scheduled various events in MSG II to turn a profit in a facility previously known for financial loss before his arrival in 1920 (Seifried & de Wilde, 2014). Given its general unprofitability over a period of 30 years before Rickard's permanent entry into the New York market, the facility's owner, New York Life Insurance Company, elected to close MSG II in 1925 to make space for the New York Life Building (Shubert, 2016). After learning that he would no longer have access to MSG II, Rickard set out to establish a new facility, MSG III, to be built at 50th Street and 8th Avenue within the theater district and just off of Broadway (Seifried & de Wilde, 2014). By constructing his arena in the entertainment district of New York City, and mere blocks from Times Square, Rickard established that MSG III would focus on sport as an attractive entertainment locale for more desirable, monied patrons.

Seifried and de Wilde (2014) suggested that Tex Rickard planned MSG III to court the customers of the 1920s who Fullerton (1990) proposed were seeking to demonstrate their social status through consumption. In order to legitimize MSG III to the growing consumer class, Rickard designed a building with a brick exterior to replicate contemporary theaters in New York City while also hiring trained ushers and event security staff (Seifried & de Wilde, 2014). Improved construction design and enhanced security helped to legitimize MSG III and its events for both male and now female audiences (Boddy, 2008). The connection between the modern facility and the theater industry is further exhibited through architectural influence. Shubert (2016) stressed the importance of the architects generally, and theater architects specifically, in the design of multipurpose facilities. As an example, Shubert noted Thomas Lamb, a New York theater and cinema architect, designed MSG III. Incorporating a professional design demonstrated an increased level of sophistication and consideration that allowed facilities to be designed in a more distinct way, as well as reflecting a societal desire to recruit qualified,

skilled professionals in business dealings. As a result, the modern, multipurpose facility came to be recognized as a distinct feature of the urban landscape, representative of the city, and established cities with modern sport facilities as more advanced than those that lacked them (Shubert, 2016).

Bigger and More Practical

Shubert (2016) suggested that the professional architects who designed urban arenas were able to propose the larger multipurpose facilities because of access to affordable, permanent construction materials. Shubert's claim furthered that of Rader (2002) and Seifried and Pastore (2009a) and their focus on ballparks and stadiums. Although the urban, multi-purpose, wood facility grew in size and scope since its inception in the mid-1800s, the facilities were limited in durability and susceptible to fire damage and destruction. Several wood facilities that housed major professional and amateur hockey teams succumbed to flames and explosions, particularly in the first decades of the 1900s (Shubert, 2016). The threat of fire made the proposition of owning, operating, or attending any of those facilities a legitimate risk and provided prompts to modernize (i.e., reflexive modernization).

The threat of fire to multipurpose arenas was most noticeable in Montreal, where a string of fires threatened the viability of its major professional hockey franchises. Above, the loss of the 4,300-seat Westmount Arena to fire in January 1918 and subsequent dissolution of the Montreal Wanderer franchise were mentioned. In addition to the Wanderers, the Montreal Canadiens also played their home contests within that facility. The Canadiens finished the season in the Jubilee Rink, a 3,200-seat natural ice surface arena. In April 1919, an electrical fire also destroyed the Jubilee Rink ("Fire Destroyed Jubilee Rink," 1919). The destruction of both arenas left the Canadiens without a suitable replacement or viable home rink, threatening the future of professional hockey in Montreal ("Strange Fires in Sport Places," 1919). The Canadiens played the first four games of the 1919-20 season on the road while they awaited the hasty construction of the 6,000-seat Mount Royal Arena, another natural ice surface facility ("Canadiens Made Great Start," 1920). Mount Royal Arena was "a respectable enough place" when compared to the Jubilee Rink, but it was not a long-term solution to assure survival (DesRoches, 1988, p. 111).

Prior to the 1924-25 season, a group of 17 investors financed the construction of the first modern arena, the Montreal Forum, to give the city a "bigger and more practical" sport and entertainment venue (DesRoches, 1988, p. 111). According to DesRoches, the Montreal Forum's original plans called for a cost-prohibitive 12,500-seat arena with no obstructed views. The affordable, permanent, artificial ice facility (i.e., ecological modernization) that was built seated 9,300 fans and cost \$1,500,000 (\$22,702,777.78 in 2020). The arena also displayed practical utility from its opening, when the Maroons shared the facility with the Canadiens after a planned conversion to artificial ice in the Mount Royal Arena was delayed ("Ice Not Available," 1924).

The Montreal Forum's practicality rested in its steel and concrete construction. The Montreal Forum was the first multipurpose facility in the city to mitigate the risks of fire (i.e., reflexive modernization). While this durability helped to minimize risk, steel and concrete construction materials allowed the Montreal Forum and subsequent facilities to accommodate nearly double the spectators of their predecessors (i.e., ecological modernization). Further, the facilities achieved greater capacity through the adoption of multiple decks within the facility framework. As one example, the Chicago Coliseum, the original home facility of the Chicago Blackhawks

franchise, held 8,000 spectators, while the Chicago Stadium opened with a hockey capacity of 16,000 spectators spread over three wrap-around decks just three years later. Given its strength and flexibility compared to other materials, steel was ideal in maximizing space within city street grids. Contemporaneously, Serby (1930) encouraged the use of structural steel for grandstands and upper decks because its strength minimized the number of columns necessary to support the structure, which also allowed space to be maximized within the facility and below grandstands for a variety of purposes, such as the selling of concessions.

While the use of steel and concrete was less expensive in the 1920s and 1930s than previous decades, the proposition of building a massive multipurpose arena from those materials was expensive, nonetheless. For example, the Chicago Stadium used enough concrete to construct a 92-mile-long sidewalk that could connect Chicago and Milwaukee ("Do You Know," 1929). Despite escalating costs, the construction of these arenas was financed with private money, but not by a lone individual. While the Montreal Forum was built with the resources of 17 private citizens, other facilities were financed through the sale of ownership stock. The construction of Maple Leaf Gardens was financed with the assistance of \$700,000 in stocks (Shubert, 2016). Similarly, the Chicago Stadium construction was financed through bond sales that also guaranteed the opportunity to buy 15 shares of common stock in the Chicago Stadium Corporation, per bond purchase ("The Chicago Stadium Corporation," 1928). Lastly, the \$5,600,000 MSG III was financed, in part, through the sale of \$1,000 Madison Square Garden Club memberships, which guaranteed 125 shares of stock and one seat for every event at MSG III (i.e., reflexive modernization through finance) ("Madison Square Garden," 1935). These outstanding debt obligations to investors encouraged facility managers and management companies to maximize profits through efforts to meet the needs of customers and host multiple events throughout the year.

Designed for the Fans You Want, Not the Fans You Have

While geographic location contributed to legitimizing the modern arena as an urban entertainment facility, the construction and layout of the facility further distinguished it from its predecessors. The modern arena emphasized accommodations for myriad events and stakeholders. For example, the multipurpose nature of the facility necessitated that the structure be built to a size not previously attempted in order to accommodate adequate storage for its various potential renters (Shubert, 2016). Although the NHL emerged as the dominant, viable professional hockey league in North America by the mid-1920s, it was far from the most attractive or lucrative professional sport or form of entertainment. However, as Shubert (2011) stated, "the improved solidity and stability of these arenas were essential components to the financial success of the fledgling National Hockey League" and the Original Six (p. 110). These arenas, though not hockey-centric, incorporated both a 200' x 85' hockey rink serviced by an artificial ice plant into its design and construction (Shubert, 2016). Moreover, modern arenas were designed to attract upper- and middle-class clientele. Various design elements and amenities (e.g., restrooms and ventilation) were included within modern arenas to enhance spectator comfort (Field, 2008; Seifried & de Wilde, 2014; Shubert, 2011; 2016).

Internally, the arenas offered a minimum of 9,300 seats and averaged 13,206 seats spread over multiple levels priced and designed to attract different socioeconomic segments of the population. In the case of Maple Leaf Gardens, there were three different price points (i.e., reflexive and ecological modernization through pricing

strategy): \$3, \$2, and \$1 for seating (Field, 2008). The \$3 ticket (\$51.08 in 2020) was for lower-bowl box seats that included upholstered seats with chair backs and exclusive access to the lower bowl via the main entrance. The \$1 ticket (\$17.03 in 2020) granted access to the upper deck of the arena and bleacher seating. The result of offering different levels of tickets and exclusivity had the desired outcome of attracting upper class citizens. Modern multipurpose arenas, therefore, helped legitimize professional sport as an entertainment product on similar footing as art forms, such as the theater. Male and female customers of means, rather than the nefarious characters Seifried and de Wilde (2014) located in earlier sport facilities, could choose to spend an evening out at a professional game without fear or stigma, just as they would expect if they attended a play or musical.

Beyond its seats, the arena included several amenities intended to enhance and promote spectator comfort. Modern heating, ventilation, and air conditioning (HVAC) systems are of note. As an example, MSG III housed 10 ventilation fans for the purposes of circulating air (i.e., ecological modernization) throughout the venue ("Madison Square Garden," 1935). Still, the effectiveness of the HVAC systems across all facilities during this period is debatable. For instance, Foulds (2005) noted several problems with the Boston Garden's HVAC system, despite claims it was better than that of the previous home (i.e., Boston Arena). In the summer months, the facility was oppressively hot; in the winter, it was often cold, and cigarette and cigar smoke lingered in the facility.

Increased restroom space is another notable amenity improvement within modern facilities. Take for example the contrast between Dey's Arena, a 7,000-seat facility and home to the Ottawa Senators from 1908-1923, and the 13,909-seat Boston Garden. Dey's Arena had three restrooms, two for men and one for women, while the Boston Garden featured 10 restrooms (i.e., reflexive modernization of the sportscape). Further illustrating the emphasis on adequate restroom space, the Boston Garden provided one restroom for every 1,391 fans, while Yankee Stadium in New York, with an initial capacity for 58,000 seats, offered one restroom for every 3,625 fans.

Notably, information about concession stands is conspicuously absent for urban multipurpose arenas at this time. Little information was available on the presence or offerings, if any, of in-facility concessions, suggesting this ubiquitous component of the contemporary multipurpose urban arena was not noteworthy during the period observed. Interestingly, the concession stand was not a prominent feature of baseball and football facilities either at this time (e.g., Seifried & Pastore, 2009b) but like those sports, the researchers found modern urban arenas supported concession or refreshment stands when their predecessors often did not. This was discovered through programmed openings (e.g., *Historical Book: Opening of Madison Square Garden*, 1925), as well as various news articles of the era that promoted their presence as part of invitations to the public to attend various events beyond hockey within each (i.e., reflexive modernization of the sportscape).

The modern arena further embraced technology and the importance of broadcast media coverage to the growth of sports such as hockey and basketball, but also in establishing remote access to the facility for fans unable to attend games. Shubert (2011) pointed to Maple Leaf Gardens and the Maple Leafs' principal owner, Conn Smythe, as willing to embrace technology to enhance fan experience at an event, while also reaching out to remote fans. As one example, a radio broadcast booth was suspended 56 feet above the ice in Toronto, which allowed Toronto Maple Leafs games to be broadcast to more than 2,000,000 listeners each week (Shubert, 2016). Smythe also provided a four-sided clock, making live attendees aware of the game's official time while also incorporating state-of-the-art sound that played music and announcements in the arena. Similarly, at MSG III, Tex Rickard secured a deal with the Radio Corporation of America to broadcast events via radio, thereby growing

the reputation of his facility, as well as the remote sport consumer population to create sport and team fan nations (Seifried & de Wilde, 2014).

The external design of the facilities also reflected the neighborhoods in which they were built. The facilities adopted box office marquees reminiscent of contemporary theaters in host cities (Shubert, 2016). Furthermore, the facilities incorporated multiple entrance points, including one main or grand entrance that afforded access to the entire facility and faster ingress and egress (Field, 2008). Shubert found the main entrance was typically placed on the busiest thoroughfare outside the facility. Locating the entrance on the busiest location outside the facility served two purposes. First, it offered an easily identifiable point of entry along established transportation routes. Second, it served as a cost-saving measure, where the more expensive facility core could be built on less costly plots of land within the city block, while a relatively inexpensive lobby was built on more expensive real estate with street access. This bit of savvy impacted the internal structure, as the grandstand wrapped around the oval shape of the hockey rink while compromising that shape to meet rectangular limits of a building constructed within the interior of a city block. Ultimately, the design of modern facilities, coupled with their capacity and access to affluent urban populations, emboldened their owners to pursue greater profits through the increasingly acceptable, popular, and successful sport of professional hockey.

Discussion/Conclusion

During the first third of the 20th century, industrialization spurred changes to the socioeconomic and demographic conditions within the U.S. and Canada. The changes brought on by industrialization included the emergence of an identifiable middle class, increased discretionary income, and consumer culture that created the opportunity for sport business entrepreneurs to form competitive, professional leagues with games and championships contested in temporary venues. Like their facilities, professional sport leagues, as well as their memberships, were transient in nature. In time, major indoor sports leagues achieved permanence through a combination of geography and construction technology. The largest, most modern cities came to dominate major professional hockey because the presence of wealth and population justified the construction of permanent, purpose-built facilities. In the decades between The First and Second World Wars, seven permanent, multipurpose, urban facilities emerged in major cities in the U.S. and Canada that fundamentally changed professional sport, entertainment, and sport consumer behavior.

The establishment of the NHL, league expansion, and the persistence of the Original Six franchises established the NHL as a modern professional league. The organization of the league within major urban markets, as well as rules governing admission to the league, linked the origin of the NHL to its contemporary status (Adelman, 1981). The design and construction of multipurpose arenas serves as a tangible example of the modernization of the league, as well as the broader American and Canadian societies. The construction of permanent multipurpose arenas specifically demonstrates an awareness of the risk presented by fire to the financial stability of teams and leagues. Similarly, the new financing schemas and awareness of service quality promoted the financial health of the Original Six. Finally, the incorporation of artificial ice technology, improved HVAC infrastructure, and various amenities (e.g., restrooms and concession or refreshment stands) allowed the league to expand further south and exist outside of environmental limitations, creating opportunities to increase revenues.

Multipurpose arenas were constructed to attract wealthy clientele, due to their improved number and offering of amenities. Where previous indoor arenas subsisted on the gate receipts of lower-class fans and individuals of dubious character, modern arenas were positioned alongside theaters and cinemas as respectable multipurpose entertainment venues. Designed by trained, professional architects, the modern arena was located in or near entertainment districts with easy access to transportation lines. Furthermore, its external design, including grand entrances and attractive marquees, emulated the theaters whose legitimacy it hoped to adopt. Internally, the facility presented intentional characteristics meant to seat and satisfy customers from each economic class, enhance the overall experience of attending an event through improved amenities, such as more abundant restrooms, rudimentary HVAC systems, speakers and game clocks, refreshment stands, and provided space for radio broadcasts.

Unlike previous eras of construction, the modern arena was built from steel and concrete. The use of these construction materials presented various facility stakeholders with a sense of safety and security. Permanent construction materials reduced the threat of fire for the facility's long-term viability. Steel and concrete building materials also enabled the modern indoor facility to emerge on a size and scale never seen in urban multipurpose arenas. Modern arenas seated 13,206 spectators spread across an upper and lower deck of seats. The incorporation of new construction technology, and the building of facilities to accommodate larger numbers of fans and amenities, resulted in previously unseen costs for the modern multipurpose arena, with the seven facilities averaging \$3,371,428.57 (\$51,062,647.89 in 2020).

The present project explored and documented the history of multipurpose indoor facility construction during the 1920s and 1930s. Given the period and number of facilities examined, future research projects regarding the facilities of the NHL and, later, the NBA, should be undertaken. The adoption of new technologies, especially the ability to make ice artificially, created the opportunity for hockey to be played throughout the year and in locations that otherwise could not offer the sport. The role of historical research, particularly applied history (Seifried et al., 2017), is informative for sport managers in this regard, as demographic and economic shifts create possible opportunities for new cities to host major franchises. From the early years of the NHL, a correlation between having a modern arena and franchise persistence created an expectation from the league that a state-of-the-art facility be in place or formally planned before league owners would approve franchise expansion or relocation. As further evidence, new facilities have been built to attract expansion or relocation of franchises in places such as Quebec City, QC (Videotron Centre) and Kansas City, MO (T-Mobile Center). Examining the relationship between a modern facility and the awarding of franchises in cities such as Las Vegas, NV (T-Mobile Arena) and Seattle, WA (Climate Pledge Arena) would be informative for both sport scholars, as well as contemporary practitioners and community stakeholders.

The examination of specific facilities serves as a second area of future research that should be undertaken. Case studies of the development, design, financing, and construction of urban multipurpose facilities should be viewed as valuable undertakings for their scholarly and pedagogical utility (Stake, 1978). Limited scholarly work has been completed on specific multipurpose indoor facilities. The work of Seifried and de Wilde (2014) concerning Madison Square Garden III, Field (2002, 2007, 2008) on Maple Leaf Gardens, and Shubert (2011) on the Montreal Forum demonstrate this type of research is valued within sport scholarship. Overall, individual facility development histories are a rich and attractive source of scholarly work with possible outlets in sport

management, sport history, and state history journals.

Finally, the individual agency demonstrated by league, team, and facility owners also warrants future research. For example, Tex Rickard operated in the legitimate business world while also working with less scrupulous individuals to grow his sport business and MSG III (Seifried & de Wilde, 2014). Furthermore, the role of known bootlegger and organized crime figure Bill Dwyer and his ownership of the NHL's New York Americans and Pittsburgh Pirates has been mentioned in several hockey histories (e.g., Ross, 2008; Wong, 2005). Furthermore, James E. Norris and his franchise and multiple facility ownership may provide interesting insights into sport management in the Original Six era. Lastly, Frank Calder's leadership of the league and owner responses to external threats would be valuable to those interested in studying organizational leadership.

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