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Sonic affects and the production of space: 'Music by handle' and the politics of street music in Victorian London

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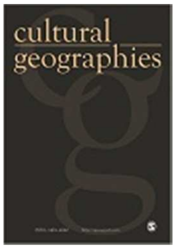

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Abstract

This paper examines the affective capacities of sound and its role in the on-going production of social spaces. More specifically, the paper seeks to understand the situated nature of sound's affectivity within particular social-political-material contexts or circumstances. This is developed through a discussion of an empirical case study related to the history of street music: the 'street music debates' of Victorian London. The interrelation here of the sounds street musicians made, the broader urban soundscape of the time, who played street music, and who it was that found themselves listening to this music, demonstrates clearly the situated affective capacities of street music. From this the paper advocates an understanding of the role of sound in the on-going production of social spaces based upon a reciprocal mediation between 'macropolitical' matters related to identity and other social formations and the 'micropolitics' of the affects that such sound and music bring to bear for those exposed to it.

Key words: Affect, Music, Noise, Sound, Street Music.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the affectivity of sound and its role in the on-going production of social spaces. Despite a longstanding interesting in geography in both sound and music, Revill has suggested recently that there has been a lack of engagement with the "processes and practices by which sound actually makes space".[1] Or as Bonn puts it, such work has been "less attuned to the ways in which music and sound can engender socialities and spatialities that are irreducible to, if crossed by, …prior [socio-spatial] relations – to music and sound as *initiatory* of socio-spatial relations".[2] In exploring such generative or transformative capacities of sound and its role in the on-going production of social spaces, this paper seeks to understand the situated nature of sound's affectivity within particular social-political-material contexts or circumstances.[3] It is frequently noted that sound holds an elusive and diffuse character.[4] While it may have a specific source, sound spreads through physical space, it permeates, it is hard to pin down. This 'ubiquity effect' often makes it difficult to identify the source of a sound.[5] Sounds, and at times their sources, are not always straightforwardly objects and so cannot necessarily be easily located in extension. At the same time, though, sound happens as an event within a specific locality. While its boundaries may be hard to draw, both in terms of its spatial distribution but also on the grounds of its variable perceptibility to different bodies, sound takes place somewhere, at some time, and at certain (in)audible frequencies. It is relational.[6]

In thinking about the affectivity of sound and its role in the on-going production of social spaces this paper will draw on and work through an empirical case study related to the history of street music: the 'street music debates' of Victorian London. Focusing on street music draws attention to some important facets of the situated affective capacities of sound that can have a bearing on its role in the on-going production of social spaces.[7] Street music happens within a specific social setting – the street – that clearly unfolds prior to and/or in the absence of the happening of such music. It is not that the sound of street music enters into a neutral vacuum and then miraculates a social space from that.[8] The spaces such sounds takes place within or intervene into are rarely a-social or a-historical. Rather such sound's taking place, and so its affectivity, both mediates and is mediated by: the specific site in which the sound happens and is experienced; the multiple body-subjects that produce and hear that sound; the social relations that exist or are enacted between these bodies; and, the temporality of the social-sonic event, which unfolds across various durations.[9] Or specifically in terms of street music, it is not that the street is silent and then becomes an 'acoustic territory' only in street music's taking place.[10] Rather, street music enters into and becomes a part of a perpetually unfolding social and sonic scene. The reception of that music, and so its affectivity, not only comes from the music itself or who plays it but also from the setting in which it takes place.[11] The sounds of music here are received differently at different times of day or week or year. It is also received differently in different places by different bodies depending on, for example, the 'tone'[12] of the existing/emergent social-spatial situation. The 'angle of arrival'[13] of listening bodies into that space, and so how they are disposed towards hearing those sounds, is also significant to the reception of such street music.

In pursuing this, the remainder of the paper will unfold as follows. Firstly, further contextualization within academic literatures in and beyond cultural geography on sound, affect, and noise will be provided and an understanding of the situated nature of sound's affectivity developed. From there the paper discusses the sources drawn upon here in discussing the history of street music. Next, the paper sets the 'sonic scene' upon which the 'street music debates' played out and provides some background to their emergence. The remaining three main sections focus on the co-implication of sound, its affects, and the context in and through which it was experienced in the case of the street music debates. These focus on: 1) how tensions around national identity and the rights to the use of public space amplified street music's disruptive affects; 2) class, taste and how street music came to be condemned as noise; and, 3) the embodied experience and 'nervous agitation' brought about by street music. The conclusion reflects on the role of sound in the production of social space in terms of the reciprocal mediation between such 'macropolitical' matters related to identity and other social formations and the 'micropolitics' of the affects that such sound and music brought to bear. Or in Protevi's terms, "the imbrications of the social and the somatic" which recognizes "how our bodies, minds, and social settings are intricately and intimately linked".[14]

2. Sounds, noise, and affects

Cultural geography has been interested in sound and music for some time. For example, early work here examined the relationships between folk music and specific regions, and considered how music as a cultural artifact was transmitted via oral traditions and the movements of people across space.[15] Equally, work has been done on the sonic character of specific environments in the development of understandings of specific regional soundscapes.[16] Such themes have been developed in research which has thought about music as a form of meaning-filled 'text' that plays an important role in the formation of identities, belongings, and so relationships with places.[17]

Over the past 10 years or so the epistemological range of work interested in sound and music has widened further. In particular, cultural geographers have become interested in what sound and music *do*.[18] Sound and music's capacity to affect the listener at an embodied level have been considered in terms of the role listening to music can play in shaping everyday experiences of domestic spaces[19], as well as more eventful spaces.[20] Further, the practicing of music itself – as opposed to just the 'product' – has been considered in terms of how the performance of music can produce specific space-times of experience and interaction.[21] As Morton suggests, the performance of music can produce "spaces of the now" that transform social situations and "constitute a sense of belonging and understanding for many people who participate in their making".[22] Such a practice-based approach has not solely focused on music, though. It has also translated into work on sound and soundscapes. Such work has, for example, considered the affectivity of specific (potentially designed or orchestrated) soundscapes.[23] This has been both in terms of the embodied experience of sound in the immediate present[24] and how sounds can produce particular embodied relationships with the past.[25]

Such practiced-focused research on sound and music has also come to understand sound through quite specific spatial imaginaries. As Feigenbaum and Kanngieser note: "Sound creates *atmospheres* through its pitches, tones, volumes, frequencies and rhythms, which penetrate and travel through material and immaterial matter across distances, filling spaces within and between bodies".[26] Geographers here have begun to examine how sound surrounds listening bodies in occupying a voluminous spatiality, which in turn can shape the ways in which spaces are experienced.[27] This may be obvious at times. A loud sound, for example, might draw the attention of the listener and inflect the tone or feel of that space. Such sound comes to pervasively surround the listening/experiencing body meaning that it is often "tactilely felt as much as it is heard". [28] Again, though, geographers have also been attentive to how sound as a background phenomena (perhaps the sound of music bleeding out from headphones) can equally be "forceful and affect the ways in which we inhabit…space".[29]

Geographers have not been alone in thinking through such enveloping affective spatialities and capacities of sound and music.[30] There is now a growing 'Sound Studies' literature that considers the affective potential of sound and how "sound has an integral role in shaping the affective contours of our day-to-day lives".[31] In thinking through this, there are parallels in the sorts of spatiality attributed to sound. As Dyson notes, "Sound is the immersive medium par excellence. Three dimensional, interactive, and synaesthetic, perceived in the here and now of an embodied space, sound returns to the listener the very same qualities that media mediates: that feeling of being here now, of experiencing oneself as engulfed, enveloped, enmeshed, in short, immersed in an environment".[32]

As well as such an emphasis on the individual body experiencing sound as affective through this immersion, such Sound Studies literature has also connected this to collective experiences and affects.[33] This has led to the exploration of, for example, "how sound conditions and contours subjectivity by lending a dynamic materiality for *social negotiation*".[34] Such work has sought to show how sound is "intrinsically and unignorably relational: it emanates, propagates, communicates, vibrates, and agitates; it leaves a body and enters others; it binds and unhinges, harmonizes and traumatizes, it sends the body mobbing, the mind dreaming, the air oscillating".[35] The public and private come to be nested in and through these relations.[36] Emphasizing such characteristics of sound draws attention to how sound (and its experience) often plays out at a social/intersubjective level and produces collective affects felt between bodies. Sounds take place within or provide conditions for social exchanges in various spaces that bring with them their own specific auditory or acoustic politics.[37]

In some cases such social exchanges can be very positive and create what Bonn calls "aggregations of the affected".[38] Echoing Morton, Labelle claims "Sound operates by forming links, groupings, and conjunctions that accentuate individual identity as a relational project. The flows of surrounding sonority can be heard to weave an individual into a large social fabric, filling relations with local sound, sonic culture, auditory memories, and the noises that move between, contributing to the making of shared spaces".[39] This can lead to the production of convivial forms of social space. However, such affective relations can have a negative inflection in acting to 'disaggregate' through affect. The distinction or boundary between sound and noise is relational, simultaneously a product of a social-spatial context and a physiological affect.[40] Perhaps the most extreme examples of such a negative politics of sound affects come in the various forms of 'sonic warfare' described by Goodman.[41] It is important to remember, though, that such a negative politics of sound-affects also plays out in quite banal situations. As Labelle notes, the background sonic geography of the city can often be disruptive. This is demonstrated through, for example, noise abatement legislation and related endeavors to control and shape urban soundscapes by limiting sound's more easily measurable qualities – its volumes, temporalities, and so on – and through that its negative affects.[42]

Such developments in thinking about what sound and music do help us understand how sound functions in the world, how it comes to be experienced by those inhabiting specific spaces, and so ultimately its contribution to the on-going production of (un)convivial or (unin)habitable social spaces. It is important, therefore, to consider not just the sound itself that is produced when it comes to sound's affective capacities. Rather, the "socio-material processes and practices"[43] and contexts that sounds happens through, enters in relation with, and/or intervenes into also need to be taken into consideration. To help think through such an embodied and situated conception of sound, Bonn suggests that the taking place of sound and music can be understood through four interrelating 'planes' of social mediation. Firstly, there are the "social and corporeal interactions and intersubjectivities set in motion" between those who produce and hear these sounds. Secondly, there are the imagined comminutes or virtual collectives that come to identify around these sounds. Third, there are the stratified and hierarchical social formations that "traverse and refract" such sounds (for example, class, age, gender, race, and so on). Finally, there are the institutional formations that enable the production, reproduction, transformation, and I would add, silencing, of these sounds.[44] It becomes clear then that 'macropolitical' concerns over individual or collective identity, for example, can play a part in the micro-scale affective modulations that such music might bring about in the listening body. Who is playing the music, who it is that hears the music, what the music might mean to either party or group, what sounds are deemed socially acceptable at that time and in that place, amongst other things, can mediate the embodied reception of that music and so play a part in shaping the unfolding of social life in that space. The social and the somatic are not two separate and distinct registers of experience and should not be accorded any sort of *a priori* status over each other. Rather, "every politics is simultaneously a *macropolitics* and a *micropolitics"* as the macro and the micro function together, filter or mediating one another iteratively, "coexist and cross over into each other", both amplifying and suppressing the affective capacities of sound.[45]

In this, then, sounds both come to mean things – both in the moment and in light of their social history – and do things – again, both in the moment and based on the history and context of the body that hears it. And in many cases this hearing is collective given sound's pervasive and immersive character – it can envelop individuals *and* populations, and so shape how spaces are felt and contribute to their 'tone' as well as how bodies feel. It is important, to recognize the co-implication of such facets of sound in their social-spatial-affective specificity. Sound is done somewhere, at some time. It enters into and is mediated by a specific social-spatial context in light of something that has gone before, and is projected towards an uncertain outcome. This is, in turn, experienced in different ways by different people and/or collectives and, in that, figures in the on-going production of social spaces. To ground these points around the contextual-circumstantial nature of sonic affects and show this specificity in terms of their role in the on-going production of social spaces, the paper will now turn to the example of street music.

3. Writing about the history of street music

Writing about the history of street music and its roles in the on-going production of social spaces poses some challenges. Street musicians have been a near ubiquitous feature of the everyday life of many urban environments for centuries.[46] However, such performers have commonly maintained marginal positions within those societies/spaces. For example, during the Middle Ages "Minstrels…were thought of as lecherous and irresponsible fly-by-nights"[47] and associations between such performers and vagrancy recur through the history of street music. This has implications for both the reception of their music and the range and nature of the documentation of the history of these performers and their music. Historical records of street music and the musicians that played it are quite limited. In the exceptional cases where records are present, there are also some limitations to those sources in that they often provided partial[48] or overly negative accounts of street music and the musicians that played it. This actually means that, as Sally Harrison-Pepper notes, "Much of the history of street performance…is found in the laws that prohibit it"[49]. It is quite hard, therefore, to access a full and balanced account of the affecting/affective relationships between street music, its audiences, and the spaces it took place within.

With this in mind, this paper focuses on one particularly well-documented episode in this history of street music: the situation of street music in Victorian London. This case demonstrates quite clearly the role of street music in the on-going production of social spaces. The 'street music problem', as it was then called, emerged in light of the growing class of musical, medical, legal, and literary professionals – individuals with means and opportunities to voice their concerns, if not to escape them – for whom street music disrupted the quiet tenor of their home-working lives. This has left a range of interesting written sources grouped around the mid-19th Century. These have been shown in a number of commentaries to give an insight into the contentious situation of street musicians in the streets and squares of London at that time. [50]

In considering the street music problem this paper re-reads a range of sources from this time with the aim of better delineating the varied and situated affective capacities of such street music. One such key source re-examined here is *Street Music in the Metropolis*. [51] This was published by Michael T. Bass, a brewer from Burton and MP for Derby from 1848 until 1883[52]. In this, Bass collated letters he had been sent, official reports, materials from the press, and so on, and published the text specifically to coincide with debates over changes he had proposed to Parliament around the regulation of street music in the metropolis (see Section 4). The text itself is notable for the range of significant names that appear in it and for the way in which it clearly shows the distaste for street music held by one section of the public and its impact on how they experienced both public and private spaces in the metropolis. A further key source re-examined here is Charles Babbage's 'Chapter on Street Nuisances' from his autobiography *Passage in the Life of a Philosopher*.[53] The very fact that this well-known philosopher and mathematician devoted an entire chapter of his autobiography to this topic gives a sense of the potential significance he felt street music had to his professional activities. Finally, notable here also is the availability of sources from the time that provide comments from the performers themselves. In particular, Volume 3 of Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* includes reports from interviews with a range of street performers working in the metropolis around the time of the street music debates.[54]

In addition to re-reading these relatively well know sources, this paper also draws on supplementary original archival research. In particular, materials collected together on the VictorianLondon.org website[55] and other occasional texts from period newspapers are discussed to further understand the relationship between street music, its audiences, and the social spaces it was heard within and whose character it contributed to.

The paper will look to these sources, and the 'street music debates' generally, as an entry point into understanding a particular set of effects, perhaps best captured by a particular 'name of history'[56]: the 'Babbage effect', that took place in the production of social spaces at this time. These sources do not directly allow for the experiencing of the soundscapes of this time[57] or the description of how such music's affects were *actually* felt.[58] That said, they do provide a range of evocative, detailed, and charged *descriptions* of the affects this music brought about. These were often couched in terms of negative affects on the listeners' 'nerves' but also their 'capacities' to work and where articulated in relation to various social concerns of the time. A clear sense of the embodied impact of such music upon certain sections of the metropolis's population, the intensity of the distaste and disruption this produced, how this came to be mediated through various politics of individual and collective identity and legislative provisions, and so the sorts of unconvivial and/or inhospitable atmospheres within these social spaces that were produced as a result, come through in these impassioned accounts. Such historical-textual sources, then, present "active and affective interventions" that bare witness to past affects, shifts in nervous tensions and energies brought about by certain sounds, and so provide insights into the history of the relationships between street music and the social spaces of the Victorian Metropolis.[59]

4. Street music and the Victorian soundscape

The 18th and 19th Centuries saw dramatic changes in the soundscapes of the United Kingdom.[60] The Industrial Revolution in particular led to significant changes in the soundscapes of urban environments. This had major implications in transforming what was heard and how this was listened to.[61] For example, the increased necessity for factory-based work drew large numbers of people into urban areas and the related growth in urban populations led to cramped (and often) unpleasantly noisy living conditions. As Picker notes, the streets were filled with the sounds of "clanging bells, cracking whips, clattering carriages, clamoring hawkers and cabmen, roaring crowds, barking dogs", amongst other things.[62] The nature of the work undertaken in the factories itself also produced a great deal of noise. The running of steam engines and hydraulic presses, amongst other things, produced an incessant din that could overwhelm the uninitiated observer and potentially deafen the factory worker.[63] Referring to London's soundscape in particular, this 'din' was condemned by many. For example, one commentator at the time declared a new ailment of the modern age – 'Londonitis' – that described the negative impact of such constant and loud noises upon the populations' nerves.[64] Frustrated by such distracting noise, and particularly the cluck of his neighbors' chickens, the author Thomas Carlyle famously attempted to build a 'soundproof study' to insulate himself from such noises and so allow him peace and quiet in his home.[65] This was, then, very much "a period of unprecedented amplification, unheard of loudness…an age 'alive with sound'".[66]

For some such noise might have been a sign or symbol of industrious progress and with that the expanding vitality of life in the metropolis.[67] It meant, for example, significantly expanded access to various forms of entertainment through the development of technologies that allowed for the mechanical reproduction of sound and music.[68] However, as the responses mentioned above suggest, for others this presented a very different situation. For example, Schafer has argued that this brought about a fundamental loss in the sonic ecology of both the city and the country. Schafer argues "The Industrial Revolution introduced a multitude of new sounds with unhappy consequences for many of the natural and human sounds which they tended to obscure".[69] For others, it was more that there was simply a *change* in the nature of human noise practices and 'ways of listening' during this time. In fact, Thompson suggests that many of the long-present 'organic' noises of this time (of people and animals) remained key sources of annoyance and complaint amongst the population, and perhaps more so that the noises of industry.[70] Either way, for a range of individuals it was claimed that living amid such changing soundscapes – soundscapes replete with the sound of people, animals, and machines, all in increasing volume and proximity – risked their productivity, mental wellbeing, and even physiological health.

Emerging from amid such concerns about the changing soundscape of the time, and with a particular focus on the sounds and noise of working-class leisure and trade, was a discourse which sought to make sound a terrain of governance.[71] A number of measures were taken to control these soundscapes, mostly through the identification of particularly troublesome sounds or sources of sound and the implementation of legislation to restrict their occurrence. For example, the so-called 'cries of London' (heard from street traders) were an early target of such efforts to govern the city's soundscape.[72] During the 1850s and 1860s in particular, though, it was increasingly suggested that the noise made by street performers had become an extreme and pressing problem. From that it was to become the task of affected members of the public to "demonstrate what great obstacles are opposed by street music to the progress of art, science, and literature, and what torments are inflicted on the studious, the sensitive, and the afflicted".[73]

Complaints against street music reached their head with the street music debates in parliament across 1863 and 64. Here, street music was to encounter head-on the sorts of 'institutional formations' that Bonn talks about.[74] Specifically, an *Act for the better regulation of street music in the metropolis* was brought to parliament that proposed to repeal a section of the *Act for further improving the Police in and near the Metropolis,* and so limit the impacts street music had on/in the streets of the city. This Act identified various problems with the existing legislation that limited various members of the population's ability to act effectively against such sounds and their sources. These problems related to, for example, who could complain (only the householder), where it applied to (only 'thoroughfares'), and what evidence what required (it had to be witnessed by a constable). Of particular relevance here, though, was the reference in the legislation for there to be 'reasonable cause' for the complaint. Illness was specifically mentioned here as constituting such a reasonable cause. However, the ambiguity over what else could be deemed reasonable effectively meant the legislation could not be enforced. This issue had been compounded by instructions given to police constables late in 1859 which stated that they should only remove street musicians where illness was the issue and that they should not remove them for other reasons without first reporting to their sergeant or station. The Street Music Act was passed in amended form in 1864 and proposed that any householder or person acting on their behalf could complain and so demand that a musician leave their neighbourhood "on account of the Interruption of the ordinary Occupation of Pursuits of any Inmate of such House".[75]

While the revised Act was a lot clearer in terms of the grounds upon which complaints could be made and who could complain, the degree to which it made a great deal of difference to the soundscapes of the Metropolis at this time is questionable. Street music was to be a feature of the soundscape of the Metropolis for some time to come. Not only that, but also this persecution and very public ridicule of street musicians actually ended up romanticising their presence and contribution for some commentators who came to speak up in their defence.[76]

A number of themes come through in the various texts that appeared around the time of the street music debates that show quite clearly "how particular characteristics of sonic phenomena engage with particular spatial dynamics" and social contexts.[77] The issues covered therein can be understood collectively in terms of the particularly *intrusive* nature of street music and those musicians who played it. In looking into these debates and this intrusiveness in more detail, the remainder of the discussion here will unfold in three parts. The next section will consider how the disruption caused by street music to the 'tone' of public (and private) spaces was refracted through specific portrayals of these problematic and out of place performers themselves. This is focused particularly on tensions around national identity that permeated those discussions and the various imagined communities (and exclusions) that existed around this. The following section will show further how the various relational-affective capacities of the sounds that were heard were traversed by such portrayals and the judgements they were based upon. This will be illustrated through a reflection on the tensions that existed here between different classes and their specific tastes, and so how the experience of sound as noise was again mediated by such hierarchical 'social formations'.[78] The subsequent section will look most specifically to the capacity of street music to trouble the bodies of those who listened, and so how it agitated the 'nerves' of some of those forced to listen to it while in their homes. This will focus principally on the case of Charles Babbage and both his characterization of the sounds he heard and the impact they had upon his capacities to act. Together, these three discussions show the ways in which the multi-layered identity politics of the time and the properties of the sounds produced themselves worked in concert and/or mediated each other in contributing towards the production of various affects and dispositions for various constituents of the population, and so rather unconvivial or uninhabitable social spaces in the city.

5. Disturbing music made by disturbing musicians

During the time of the street music debates a range of types of street music could be heard in the metropolis. Comments where made, for example, about German brass bands, fiddlers, hurdy-gurdy players, amongst others. A particular figure of discontent in the street music debates, though, was the Italian organ grinder. In fact, "The Italian organ grinders came to be seen as the repulsive source of virtually all noise in the city" and it was suggested by many that "their eradication [was] the task of every 'Friend of Tranquillity'".[79] Such street musicians were deemed to be the lowest of the low. This was based on the quality of their contribution to this soundscape, but also in on their background, lifestyle, and the questionable ways in which they were seen to conduct their performances. The sounds and activities of this class of street musician were by far and away the most commonly mentioned and bemoaned amid the street music debates.

Writing in the *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* in 1852, Mamby-Smith provides an instructive description of the sound of the grinding of organs. This was made up of:

> "The piercing notes of a score of shrill fifes, the squall of as many clarions, the hoarse bray of a legion of tin trumpets, the angry and fitful snort of a brigade of rugged bassoons, the unintermitting rattle of a dozen or more deafening drums, the clang of bells firing in peals, the boom of gongs, with the sepulchral roar of some unknown contrivance for bass, so deep that you almost count the vibrations of each note…".[80]

The questionable harmony, the piercing tone, the frequencies, and the repetition in this organ ground music were identified as fundamental issues for those who came to hear it. Such discordant mechanically reproduced sounds were particularly affective when it came to the impact they had upon the listener and the sorts of disposition that emerged towards those that played the music. And worse, many of those who came to hear it had little option but to hear it. The capacity of sound to pass through obstacles, "its property of penetration and ubiquity", meant that it spilled over from public spaces into the domestic spaces of the more respectable population, meaning there was literately nowhere to 'hide'.[81] The sounds of organ grinders imposed itself upon unreceptive members of the population and in spaces where it was not welcome.

It is evident from the street music debates, though, how "The mounting calls…for all street musicians to be silenced or somehow swept away from respectable neighbourhoods showed just how easily the issue of offensive sounds could be transformed into a rather nasty form of social discrimination, even a kind of ethnic cleansing".[82] Throughout *Street Music and the Metropolis* reference is made to the Italian organ grinders being 'Savoyard fiends' or 'blackguards' that smelled of a combination of garlic and goat-skin. They were also thought to live in overcrowded, filthy conditions in the less-then salubrious neighbourhood of Saffron Hill. Some of the specific language used here is instructive, particularly in the way that it dehumanized these performers. It was suggested, for example, that these street musicians 'infest' the streets having brought a 'certain vice from Italy', or their number meant that the streets 'swarm' with vagabonds. Using terms like 'swarm' and 'infest' that would normally be used in reference to insects or other creatures clearly set these performers apart from the more respectable inhabitants of the city and construct them as being 'out of place' in such spaces.

Such portrayals were reinforced by various illustrations that appeared at the time. Most prominently, these appeared in the pages of *Punch*. The illustrator John Leech drew many of these in light of his own troubles with street music and the way in which this was perceived to negatively impact upon his already faltering health.[83] These illustrations presented the grinders as variously dirty and sub-human. For example, Figure 1 draws upon Darwinian evolution in the way it portrays sub-human characteristics in the organ grinder through mirroring his posture with that of the monkey. Further, Figure 2 show streets that 'swarmed' with ill-kept performers, connecting to a general xenophobia directed towards these foreign invaders of the country, the streets, and the tranquillity of the Englishman's home. Such concentration and characteristics were highlighted in an attempt to show how much these street musicians were contributing to the production of inhospitable public spaces with their activities.

Figure 1: Darwinism and the foreign organ grinder

Caption: The posture and pose of the organ grinder mirrors the monkey's to show connection between them (Source: Punch's Almanac for 1862, p. xix)

Figure 2: Streets swarming with grinders

Caption: Organ grinders were portrayed as filthy, unkempt, and physically limited, but also as overrunning the metropolis's streets (Source: Punch 45 (1863) p. 53).

Based on the noise they made and their questionable character, it was argued that these immigrant performers should have lesser rights than the 'respectable' population to have a say over the content of the city's soundscape and be suppressed more effectively given their foreignness. As they performed in the 'Queen's highways' it was argued that such spaces should be open to citizens and not these foreigners. Some argued they were more "surely subjects of the Queen, more than the Italian organ-grinder is" and that "it is not liberty but tyranny, if he [the organ grinder] is permitted to ply his vocation so as to make us desist from ours".[84] There was very much a perceived distinction between who was in place, belonged, and had rights to being in and make use of the city's spaces, and who were 'out of place', didn't belong, and so has few or no rights to do such things.

Although set in motion as a result of the disturbance street music caused, these social spaces came to be constructed and portrayed with very specific visions for public life and who belonged and who did not belong within that. Returning to Bonn, the disturbance street music brought about was 'refracted' through and amplified by such imagined social distinction and differentiation from such foreign performers, meaning that their music was felt all the more strongly for those complaining given their self-proclaimed superior standing in society.[85] The affects such street music brought about cannot be straightforwardly unpicked from the feelings held by those who heard it towards those who played it. Each was mediated by, and amplified by, the other.

6. Class, taste and noise

Thinking further about the way the affects of street music came to be mediated through social formations, class-based social relations prove to be a quite significant if complicated area of debate for the way street music affected different listeners and through that produced various social relations and social spaces at this time. In this, such sound's situated/contextual affectivity emerges again as significant.

In the first instance, looking through the pages of Bass's collection it is striking who it was that was actually complaining. Contributors here included doctors, lawyers, music tutors, composers, ministers, and members of other professions that in some way required home-based working, mental rather than physical labours, and so claimed the need for quiet to carry out their duties. Letters also appear from some very notable figures of the time. This included Charles Babbage, John Leech, Charles Dickens, and even the Harpist to the Queen. This raises something of a tension in Bass's case, though. Bass suggests early on in *Street Music and the Metropolis* that he received letters from all classes expressing thanks to him for taking up this issue and seeking to address it. However, on the very next page, he makes specific reference to the letters in his collection coming from members of the 'learned professions' and from 'literary and scientific men'. The representativeness of his selection of letters as portraying the opinions of the population of London in general is, then, very up for debate.

For some in the collection, though, such lines of questioning were to be easily dismissed. For example, a number of letter writers included in Bass's collection suggest themselves to be speaking on behalf of those lower classes who had confided in them their concerns. It was suggested that, "if the inhabitants were polled, the vast majority, rich and poor, would vote against organs, whatever they might say about the kinds of music".[86] Here it was not a case of class-based differences in taste being the issue, but that the music itself was played at all. However, other comments from the time suggest that class-based differences in taste were part of the problem, though that did not give grounds for alternative solutions. Many of the letters sent to Bass suggest that it was in fact the support given to street music by poorer members of society that meant the problem persisted. Echoing the sort of distinctions drawn against foreign performers, some of the bluntest statements showing such class-based tensions around the support of street music/musicians were posed in terms of what (and by implication, who) was more important: was it the entertainment of such lower classes of society, and so those individuals, or was it the industriousness of society's intellectuals? For example, one letter commented that: "The abolition of street music is most earnestly desired by a large body of the inhabitants of London. Its retention is desired probably by a still larger section, but one really of *comparatively little importance*".[87] Here the former are connected to the authors, the artists, and so on that laboured for the public good. The latter were seen to be made up of "household servants, and others, whose wishes cannot surely be of any importance when weighed against" those of the classes just mentioned.[88] [89]

Amongst such debate, again, clear distinctions were articulated in terms of whom had the right to dictate the character of the metropolis's streets, specifically in terms of how they should sound. Any situation or suggestion to the contrary only came to amplify the problem for those who perceived themselves or their activities to be of greater importance than those of the street musicians or their supportive audiences.

References to differences in taste and class-based differences in worth, enjoyment, and support here draw particular attention to the relational nature of the disturbances brought about by this street music. It was noted at the time, if on occasion, that street music could make a positive contribution to the urban soundscape and so bring about positive affects for those who heard it. As Mamby-Smith recounted, "Perhaps the pleasantest of all the out-door accessories of a London life are the strains of fugitive music which one hears in the quiet by-streets or suburban highways – strains born of the skill of some of our wandering artists, who, with flute, violin, harp, or brazen tube of various shape and designation, make the brick-walls of the busy city responsive with the echoes of harmony". [90] Such quality music could leave the listener "entranced" and with that "forgetful, not merely of all the troubles of existence, but of existence itself, until the last strain has ceased, and silence aroused us to the matter-of-fact world of business". [91] However, Mamby-Smith was also quick to comment upon the 'organ grinders' who he deemed to distinguish themselves from such 'artists' in being "incarnate nuisances who fill the air with discordant and fragmentary mutilations and distortions of heaven-born melody, to the distraction of educated ears and the perversion of the popular taste", with their "'Music by handle'". [92] The greatest challenge to the campaign against street music, though, was that "a large part of the community applauds and rewards those musical performances which cause to other persons annoyance, and perhaps misery".[93]

Interestingly, the organ grinders themselves were aware, to some degree, of the varied tastes of their audiences. Some organ grinders from the time commented on the need to have a repertoire that would engage various classes within the city streets.[94] This did not necessarily solve the problem, though. Moving away from London for a moment, the character of organ ground music and its impact upon listeners disposition towards the music played were clearly noted by Tito Ricordi in 1858 in raising concerns within the context of an international congress on copy-right law. Ricordi commented that:

> "It often happens that the finest thoughts of certain operas that have not yet been performed in a city receive publicity in advance by some means of travelling musicians and street organs [i.e. barrel organs]: usually they are reproduced with all sorts of cuts, with horribly alterations of harmony and inflections, with arrangements

> that are so bad, that not only does the music lose its lyrical, dramatic, and vocal characteristic, but also the melodies themselves undergo the strangest metamorphoses. – The first impression of this music on the public has all the impression of monotony, of discordance, of vulgarity; the public is sated and disgusted with it in advance; to the point that, when it comes later on to hear the original performance, what is new seems old to it, the beautiful seems ugly, spontaneity is now just a triviality".[95]

It was the case then that even when 'good music' was being played in the streets, for certain sections of the population these organs managed to transform such music into undesirable and disturbing noise, noise that could have lasting effects on those subjected to it. It wasn't so much an issue of what was played in the streets, but rather *how* it was played, that affected some listeners the most.

Such opposing positions on street music and its status as entertainment or noise draw attention to how difficult it is to define sound as noise clearly or objectively. While some of this status could be attributed to the specific qualities of the sound produced by street musicians in terms of a relationship between signal and interference[96] or its harmony – in terms of the sorts of discordance Ricordi decried, for example – not all will have judged such features to be all that problematic to their ability to appreciate what they heard. Volume could have played a significant part here in how they were affected in that for many "anything amplified to a deafening volume…is noise no matter how 'pure' its tone or 'classic' its pedigree".[97] From that, the attribution of the label or status 'noise' comes not just the sound itself, but where and how it is heard. Street music's status here as noise (or not) was constituted relationally. Sound out of place, no matter how pure, can come to be felt as noise.[98] The choice over whether to listen or not, or having sound imposed upon an individual or group, can be as affective if not more so than the specific character of that sound. In the case of the street music debates, the fact that the 'rude majority' did not confine their tastes for organ ground music to their homes but instead chose to enjoy it in the public spaces of the city at volumes that meant it pervaded the surrounding area and so was 'imposed' upon their neighbours who might have been less well disposed to these performances. As such, it was not that this music was inherently noise; rather such status emerged (or didn't emerge) in light of how it affected the specific listener(s) based upon their past experiences, current activities, visions for proper and improper conduct, situation relative to that sound, ability to remove themselves from that situation, amongst other things.

7. The 'Babbage Effect'

In thinking about the street music problem as it unfolded the public and private spaces of the Victorian Metropolis it is evident, then, that 'concerns' were raised about the street music itself as well as street musicians and their audiences. In concert, these concerns came to mediate and even amplify each other, and so the disturbance felt when street music was heard. The portrayal of the performers and audiences discussed over the past two sections was articulated precisely in response to and added weight to the principle issue of concern here: the physiological disturbance cause by street *music*. Having focused on the way that sounds and their impacts were mediated through various social relations, this section will focus most specifically on the embodied experience of those sounds and the sorts of "*corporeal* interactions and intersubjectivities set in motion" by it.[99] It will not forget, though, the sorts of mediation just discussed which are still relevant here.

In thinking about the particularly affective nature of the sounds produced by street musicians, Charles Babbage's comments from the time stand out based on both their extent and veracity. A certain group of effects coalesced around Babbage and his responses to street music, and so could be thought of as something like a 'Babbage effect' that others also came to experience or with whose effect they identified (or not).[100]

Echoing common Victorian proclivities, a key part of Babbage's *Chapter on Street Nuisances* was its taxonomic scrutiny of street music and is sources. Babbage listed all of the "Instruments of torture permitted by the Government to be in daily and nightly use in the streets of London".[101] These included: organs, brass bands, fiddles, harps, harpsichords, hurdy-gurdies, flageolets, drums, bagpipes, accordions, halfpenny whistles, tom-toms, and trumpets. Beyond this, Babbage also articulated certain common associations between instruments and the performer themselves: organs were attributed to the Italians, brass bands to the Germans, tom-toms to the so-called 'Natives of India', fiddles to the English, and so on. There was some hierarchical organization to such description and categorization, with the Italians being at the bottom, as mentioned previously.

Such analytic aspects of Babbage's response noted, a central theme in Babbage's account relates to what the music played on these various instruments by various individuals or groups *did*, to the physiological affect that street music could have on those forced to listen to it. Babbage argued that:

> "Those who possess an impaired bodily frame, and whose misery might be alleviated by good music at proper intervals, are absolutely driven to distraction by the vile and discordant music of the streets waking them, at all hours in the midst of that temporary repose so necessary for confirmed invalids".[102]

Babbage's comments here echo quite closely Deleuze and Parnet's discussion of the two-sided nature of affect. In this they suggest that affects can work two ways, that "sometimes they weaken us in so far as they diminish our power to act and decompose our relationships…[and] sometimes they make us stronger in so far as they increase our power and make us enter into a vast or superior individual".[103] Like Mamby-Smith, Babbage thought 'good music' might positively affect the ill or infirm. However, for him, street music rarely if ever was felt to be good. Babbage's concerns were not, however, purely philanthropic. Babbage himself claimed that his own capacities to act had been diminished in light of his experiences of street music. He claimed that: "On a careful retrospect of the last dozen years of my life, I have arrived at the conclusion that…one-fourth part of my working power has been destroyed by the nuisance against which I have protested". Echoing the discussion of class from the Section 6, Baggage also suggested "Twenty-five per cent is rather too large an additional income-tax upon the brain of the intellectual workers of this country, to be levied by permission of the Government, and squandered upon its most worthless classes".[104] This clearly shows the physical impact of the music on the body listening and how this was mediated through and exacerbated further by macropolitical concerns over identity and his conceptions of the 'worth' of various members of the population. Babbage clearly notes how his capacities to act, to perform certain tasks were quantitatively diminished as a result of the disruptive effect of the street music and his desire to protest as a result.

It is interesting to note that the musicians and broader public who were supportive of street music were by no means passive or quiet in the face of Babbage's actions. There were, in Babbage's words, a number of 'wilful disturbers of his quiet'.[105] Echoing Labelle's comments about the two-sided role of sound or noise in the production of community[106] and Bonn's on the ability of music to bring about specific types of social relation and imagined communities[107], while many voices in the street music debates resonate with Babbage's complaints against street music, these complaints also also mobilized segments of the community in defence of the street music, or rather, in opposition to Babbage's reaction to it. This 'mob' took various steps to show their disagreement with his actions ranging from displaying placards in shop windows near his home, to posting him threats, to breaking his windows, to throwing dead cats into his garden. Equally, during his attempts to have a street musician stopped by the police, a large crowd would often form and follow him to the police station, shouting abuse at him as they went. Other residents in Babbage's area often invited musicians to play in front of his windows so as to deliberately disturb him. Further, those supportive of street musicians also sought to use sound as a weapon toward Babbage themselves, with a small number going "to the expense of purchasing worn out or damaged instruments, which they are incapable of playing, but on which they produce discordant noise for the purpose of annoying".[108] Here street music and its affects brought about a radical change in the social dynamics of these public spaces. It both aggregated and dis-aggregated various sections of the population, producing both community and confrontation.[109]

As mentioned earlier, Babbage was not alone in noting the negative affects potentially brought about by street music. While Babbage's response may be considered somewhat extreme in terms of the lengths (and financial cost) he went to in complaining against the street musicians, he was not the only one to report a rather strong, debilitating reaction. For example, George Augustus Sala noted around this time that:

> "quiet as I am, I become at Eleven o'Clock in the Morning on every day of the week save Sunday a raving, ranting maniac – a dangerous lunatic, panting with insane desires to do, not only myself, but other people, a mischief, and possessed, less by hallucination than by rabies. For so sure as the clock of St. Martin's strikes eleven, so sure does my quiet street become a pandemonium of discordant sounds. My teeth are on edge to think of them".[110]

Taking a step back from the specific content of some of these comments, an overarching theme amongst those complaining about the way they were affected physically by such sounds seemed to relate to their disposition towards the arrival of such sounds in the first place. Such affects were often discussed in terms of how it affected their 'nerves' or them having a particularly fragile or strained 'nervous disposition', a common if illusive malady that fell within mainstream medical discourse in Victorian England.[111] As one author in Bass's collection noted:

> "To those like myself, in such health as over-worked citizens can be, with the nerves in constant tension, a 'reasonable cause' [for requesting the music cease], is tomfoolery. I go home from the City, the brain overwrought, feverish, and fatigued, and I require rest and change of occupation – reading, writing, and music – and these are impossible with the horrible street music from all sides – the very atmosphere impregnated with that thrice cursed droning noise – that abomination of London which makes me ill, which positively shortens my life from the nervous fever it engenders".[112]

In the context of the sorts of sensory changes taking place in society during the 19th century discussed in Section 4, Georg Simmel's discussion in *The Metropolis and Mental Life* becomes particularly interesting here.[113] In this Simmel reflected on the effects of this increasingly and constantly stimulating nature of city life on the emotional life of individuals. From that, Simmel suggested that to cope with this, the individual needed to make adaptations to their comportment. This meant adopting a 'blasé outlook', a distanced or indifferent disposition, whereby the individual's nerves adjusted themselves so as to 'renounce response' to the intense experiences they undergo in the spaces of the metropolis. This again draws attention to the relational nature of such affective relations in that it is not just the thing perceived (i.e. the sound or noise) that is significant but also the 'angle of arrival' of the body that enters into that perceptual relation (i.e. that listens to it).[114]

Although Simmel was writing roughly 40 years after the conclusion of the street music debates, and so within a different sonic setting, there are some interesting parallels here regarding the experience of organ ground music and the dispositions those subjected to these sounds adopted. In developing such an extreme aversion to the music played, and in making such a repeated conscious, even obsessive, response to it, it appears that Babbage and others failed to develop such a blasé persona. We could argue though that this failure resulted in part from the fact that these middle-class residents had nowhere to retreat from the over-stimulation of the metropolis's streets; such inhabitants of the city had no possibility to develop any literal distance from which they could relax their nerves or allow such tensions to dissipate – a common 'cure' proposed for nervous illnesses.[115] This became especially problematic when certain individuals became the specific 'target' of a street musician's performance. Either, as Pickers notes, "In assaulting the hearth, the … organ grinding denied [them]…the pursuit of 'rest' so essential to the life of proper gentlemen" or worse, for those without an office, it presented a risk for both their work *and* leisure spaces.[116] Either way, not only did they face the constant stimulation of the metropolitan environment, the sonic aspects of the stimuli also impeded into their homes, into "the very recesses of the '*Englishman's* castle'".[117]

8. Conclusion

The discussion of street music here has provided a clear example of the sort of role music and sound can play in the on-going production of social space, both in terms of how social spaces are felt and perceived by those that inhabit them, but also in terms of their character and conviviality (or lack thereof). In many ways, this has also shown how "we have always known about the intimate relationship between sound and affectivity, even if we haven't expressed it in quite the same language".[118] However, this case study has specifically shown how the affectivity of the sound of street music did not just emerge from that sound itself. Rather, it emerged relationally through its encounters with a variety of bodies. This was, at the same time, also mediated by a whole rage of social relations, discourses, and formations. Specific understandings and discourses of the time considered here came to be associated with, and contributed to, the reception of street music and so the on going production of social spaces here. These representations and discourses were performative in that they intervened into the unfolding of the reality of these urban soundscapes and their affects; they acted to organize various bodies' capacities to affect and be affected and so disposed them in a variety of ways towards the music that was heard.[119]

In affecting the listening body street music affected how life unfolded in social spaces, shaping social interactions as well as the embodied dispositions to those inhabiting these spaces. This was manifest in things as minor as a shift in an embodied disposition or mood of a listener (an agitation of their 'nerves'), to manifest physical acts and interaction (like giving money or a resident confronting a performer), to collective displays (such as the formation of mobs), to outright acts of violence and dissent (including the hurling of dead cats). This did not play out against a neutral background, but rather came to be implicated in the specific time and place of the happening of that sound – one where concerns for the increasingly over-stimulating nature of life in the metropolis were growing in scope and fervour, specifically in light of the emergence of a home-working, educated middle-class. Such contexts for listening present "a social field, itself multiple, which through its practices constitutes a field or population of subjects with varied affective and cognitive traits".[120]

This contextual happening of these sounds was mediated through a whole range of specific relations. Such affectivity was expressed in terms of how the sounds of the organ grinders, amongst others, impacted upon 'the nerves' of those forced to listen to it. Nervous conditions were both a product of medical discourses of that time but at the same time were clearly experienced as physiological affects coming from the social-spatial context that body inhabited at the point of experience. Further, rather than being a distinct register of social life, discourses around identity came to mediate such sonically induced nervous agitation, reinforcing and at times amplifying the intensity of the affects felt in light of the grinding of organs. In their combination, and in concert with other discourses such as those around class and taste, street music here had a significant physiological impact upon the listener and so produced what was felt to be an inhospitable noisy spatiality both in the city streets, but also, at times, in the homes of those forced to listen. This in turn had implications for how hospitable the streets came to feel for the performers, also. The affects, and so spaces, this music brought about were very much situational and came to be mediated by specific social and material circumstances.

In thinking about how sound happens and its role in the on-going production of social spaces, then, it is important to consider the situated nature of the taking place of sounds within, and their mediation through, various social-material-political contexts or circumstances. Intersubjective relations between sources of sound and/or listeners, temporary aggregations (and disaggregations) of affected listeners, hierarchical social relations and identity politics, and various institutional formations all can play a part in the reception and so affectivity of such sounds.

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Notes

[1] G. Revill, 'How is space made in sound? Spatial mediation, critical phenomenology and the political agency of sound', *Progress in Human Geography*, 2015, Early Online, though see

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M. Gallagher, 'Field Recording and the Sounding of Spaces', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33, 2015, pp. 560-576.

[2] G, Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space: transformations of public and private experience' in G Bonn, (ed) *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p23.

[3] P. Simpson, 'Ecologies of Experience: Materiality, Sociality, and the Embodied Experience of (Street) Performing', *Environment and Planning A* 45(1), 2013, pp. 180-196; D. McCormack, 'Atmospheric things and circumstantial excursions', *Cultural Geographies* 21(4), 2014, pp. 605-626.

[4] See D. Toop, *Sinister Resonance: The Mediumship of the Listener* (London: Continuum, 2010).

[5] J-F. Augoyard, and H. Torgue, (eds) *Sonic Experience: A Guide to Everyday Sounds* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

[6] B. LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories: Sound Culture and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

[7] P. Simpson, 'Street Performance and the City: Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday', *Space and Culture*, 14(4), 2011, pp. 415-430; P. Simpson, 'A soundtrack to the everyday: Street music and the production of convivial 'healthy' public places' in G. Andrews, P. Kingsbury, & R. Kearns, (eds) *Soundscapes of wellbeing in popular music.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014); P. Simpson, 'Falling on Deaf Ears: a post-phenomenology of sonorous presence', *Environment and Planning A*, 41(11), 2009, pp. 2556-2575.

[8] Gallagher, 'Field Recording'.

[9] Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space'.

[10] LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories.*

[11] S. J. Tanenbaum, *Underground Harmonies: Music and politics in the subways of New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

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[14] J. Protevi, *Political Affect: Connection the Social and the Somatic* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2009), p. xi.

[15] P.H. Nash, 'Music Regions and Regional Music', *The Deccan Geographer*, 6 (July-December), 1968, pp. 1-24. Also see G. Carney, 'Music Geography', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 18(1), 1998, pp. 1-10.

[16] J.D. Porteous, & J.F. Mastin, 'Soundscape', *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 2(3), 1985, pp169-186; also see D. Matless, 'Sonic Geography in a nature region', *Social and Cultural Geography,* 6(5), 2005, pp. 745-766.

[17] For examples, see S. Cohen, 'Sounding out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 20(4), 1995, pp. 434-446; L. Kong, 'Music and Cultural Politics: Ideology and Resistance in Singapore', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 20(4), 1995, pp. 447-459; A. Leyshon, D. Matless, & G. Revill, 'The place of music', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20(4), 1995, pp. 423-433.

[18] B. Anderson, F. Morton, & G. Revell, 'Practices of Music and Sound', *Social and Cultural Geography,* 6(5), 2005, pp. 639-644.

[19] B. Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions.* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2014).

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[23] M. Gallagher, & J. Prior, 'Sonic Geographies: Exploring Phonographic Methods', *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(2), 2013, pp. 267-284.

[24] A. Kanngieser, 'A Sonic Geography of Voice: Towards an Affective Politics'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(3), 2012, pp. 336-353; Simpson, 'Falling on deaf ears'.

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[26] A. Feigenbaum, & A. Kanngieser, 'For a politics of atmospheric governance', *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 5(1), 2015, pp. 80-84. (p82, emphasis added).

[27] See P. Adey, L. Brayer, D. Masson, P. Murphy, P. Simpson, & N. Tixier, ''Pour votre tranquillité': ambiance, atmosphere, and surveillance', *Geoforum* 49, 2013, pp. 299-309; Anderson, *Encountering Affect*; J. Ash, 'Rethinking Affective Atmospheres: technology, perturbation and space times of the non-human', *Geoforum*, 49, 2013, pp. 20-28; T. Edensor, 'Illuminated atmospheres: anticipating and reproducing the flow of affective experience in Blackpool', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, 2012, pp. 1103-1122; D. McCormack, *Refrains for Moving Bodies: Experience and Experiment in Affective Spaces* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2014).

[28] Feigenbaum & Kanngieser, 'For a politics of atmospheric governance', p82.

[29] D. Bissell, 'Passenger mobilities: affective atmospheres and the sociality of public transport', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28(2), 2010, 270–289 (p272).

[30] On this, also see Revill, 'How is space made in sound?'

[31] M., Thompson, & I. Biddle, 'Introduction' in M. Thompson, & I. Biddle, (eds) *Sound, Music, Affect: Theorizing Sonic Experience* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p11.

[32] F. Dyson, *Sounding New Media: Immersion and Embodiment in the Arts and Culture.* (London: University of California Press, 2009), p4. See P. Simpson, 'Spaces of Affect' in P.C. Adams, J. Craine, & J. Dittmer, (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Media Geography* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2014, pp. 329-345).

[33] Anderson, *Encountering Affect.*

[34] LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories,* p xix (emphasis added)

[35] B. Labelle, *Background Noise: Perspectives on Sound Art* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), p ix.

[36] Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space'.

[37] LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories.*

[38] Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space', p35.

[39] LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories*, p xxi.

[40] G. Hainge, *Noise Matters: Towards an Ontology of Noise* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

[41] S. Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect and the Ecology of Fear* (Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2010), p. xiii. Also see, Anderson, *Encountering Affect* and Feigenbaum & Kanngieser, 'For a politics of atmospheric governance'.

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[44] Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space', p32.

[45] G. Deleuze, & F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Contiuum, 1992), p213. Also see D. McCormack, 'Diagramming Practice and Performance', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23(1), 2005, pp. 119-147 and

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P. Simpson, 'Chronic Everyday Life: Rhythmanalysing Street Performance', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 9(7), 2008, pp. 807-829.

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[62] Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes*, p42.

[63] Hendy, *Noise.*

[64] Hendy, *Noise.*

[65] Hendy, *Noise.*

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[67] LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories.*

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[69] Schafer, *The Soundscape*, p71.

[70] Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity.*

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[71] Also see Matless, 'Sonic geography' for a discussion of rural based leisure noise issues and responses to them. For a discussion of the further development of noise regulation towards the end of the 19th century and on into the 20th in the US context, see Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity*.

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[77] Revill, How is space made in sound?, p3.

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[80] C. Mamby-Smith, 'Music-grinders of the Metropolis', *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, No. 430, 1852, p1-3.

[81] J-L. Nancy, *Listening* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), p13.

[82] Hendy, *Noise*, p236.

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[91] Mamby-Smith, 'Music-grinders', p1-3.

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[99] Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space', p23 (emphasis added).

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[101] Babbage, 'Passages', p 4.

[102] Babbage, 'Passages', p6.

[103] G. Deleuze, & C. Parnet, *Dialogues* (London: Continuum, 2004), p45.

[104] Babbage, 'Passages', p11.

[105] Babbage, 'Passages', p17.

[106] LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories*.

[107] Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space'

[108] Babbage, 'Passages', p17.

[109] Bonn, 'Introduction – music, sound and space'

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[117] Babbage, 'Passages', p25.
[118] Thompson & Biddle, 'Introduction', p11.
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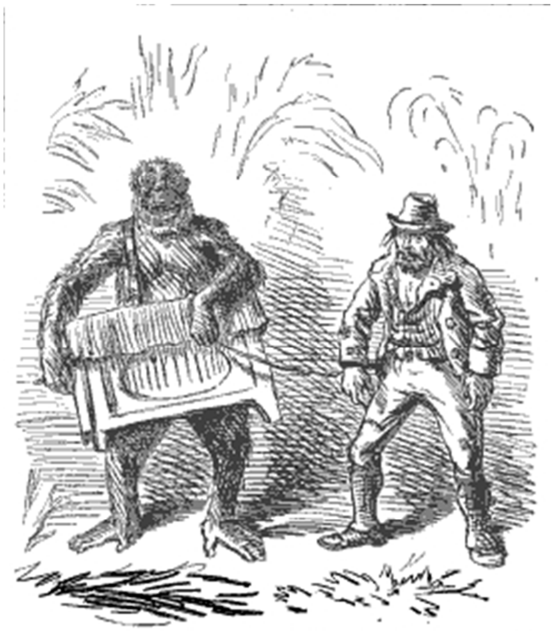
[120] Protevi, *Political Affect*, p3.



ONE GOOD TURN DESERVES ANOTHER.

The lazy Organ Grinders have had it all their own way with the Monkeys—Now then—Change about!

Figure 1: Darwinism and the foreign organ grinder

Caption: The posture and pose of the organ grinder mirrors the monkey’s to show connection between them (Source: Punch’s Almanac for 1862, p. xix)

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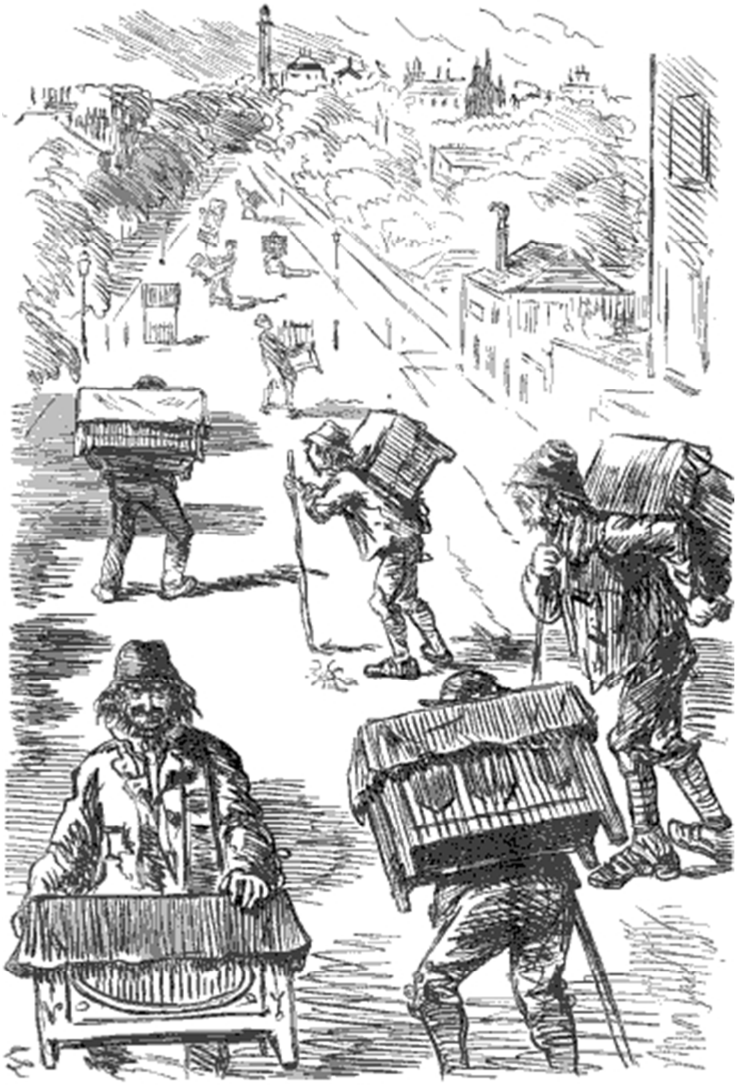
FAUST AND THE ORGAN-FIENDS.



SKETCH FROM A STUDY WINDOW.

Figure 2: Streets swarming with grinders

Caption: Organ grinders were portrayed as filthy, unkempt, and physically limited, but also as overrunning the metropolis’s streets (Source: Punch 45 (1863) p. 53).