

Music, Place and Public Space:
Street Music in Rundle Mall, South Australia.

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List of Abbreviations

Adelaide Festival (formerly Adelaide Festival of Arts): AFA

Adelaide Fringe: AF

Adelaide City Council: ACC

Adelaide City Archives: ACA

Adelaide Central Market: ACM

Adelaide Central Market Authority: ACMA

Festival season: FS

Pitch: An area used for performance by a street performer.

Note on the enclosed USB media

Please find audio/visual examples of street music performance in Rundle Mall on the enclosed USB media. The folder entitled 'Video-RundleMall_Feb_2016' contains digital recordings of street music performance, 'Stills-RundleMall_Feb_2016' contains still images taken during fieldwork and a selection from the ACA. The PDF file 'Bylaws' contains the bylaws and two amendments discussed during this study.

Abstract

This study investigates the development of street music in Rundle Mall, Adelaide, South Australia. 'Part 1: The past' draws on archival material and literature to provide historical context and background for the current street music scene in the mall. 'Part 2: The present' documents fieldwork undertaken in Rundle Mall in February 2016. The aim of the study is to provide an overview of how street music came to be in Rundle Mall and to provide a description and discussion of how the street music community functions in the mall in 2016. It also aims to better understand how street musicians use public space, how they relate to place and how the built environment affects street music. The research identifies that street music in Adelaide has occurred in three phases, the first from settlement in 1836 and peaking around 1900, the second dating from the beginning of the twentieth century until around the early 1950s and the third phase from 1978 and continuing at the time of the fieldwork in 2016. The study concludes that the street music community has in the past been, and is still, affected by changes to the public space, legislation, the state of the economy, technological advances and public opinion.

While there are existing studies on street performance, there are few which specifically address street *music* performance and of these, the majority address a specific aspect of street music rather than giving a history or broader contemporary overview of a street music community. No musicological studies were found to have been conducted in the field in Rundle Mall. This current study contributes overdue research on street music in Adelaide, and street music generally, by providing both a short history of street music in the city and a description of the street music community's 'living history' in 2016. The included digital video examples of street music performance in the mall contribute an archival resource. The submission comprises a 40,000 word text-based submission and enclosed USB media.

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

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Darren Slynn

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Introduction

This study is a broad investigation of street music in what was formerly Rundle Street west and is now Rundle Mall in the central area of the city of Adelaide, South Australia. [See Map 1.] Street music has existed in the area since the 1830s but surprisingly, there has been no scholarly musicological study investigating its nearly two hundred year history or the contemporary street music scene in the area. The aim of this current study is to better understand how street music came to be in the mall by researching its past and present in the area. The study highlights significant events and social, economic and technological factors that have helped to shape, and continue to affect, the street music community. It investigates how legislation impacted and impacts Adelaide's street music community and how street musicians negotiate the public space contained within Rundle Mall. The relevance of geographical place, or location, to street music and to street musicians and audiences is also discussed. It was found that street musicians and their audiences change the function of public space.

There is little research specific to street music performance, particularly in Australia. Research sources have been gathered from those that do exist and were relevant to this study. Sources on street performance generally and the social and economic history of Adelaide have also been used. Of fieldwork conducted on street performance in places other than Australia, Sally Harrison-Pepper's book *Drawing a Circle in the Square: Street performing in New York's Washington Square Park*¹ shares the thoughts and motivations of street performers and information about their selection of a performance area (a 'pitch'), audience gathering techniques, descriptions of the geometry and features of the environment and other factors affecting street performance in the park. Focused on Washington Square Park, a very different environment to the mall, Harrison-Pepper's work allows for comparisons between street performance within the two public spaces. Harrison-Pepper states in the work that "much of the history of street music is contained in the laws that prohibit it."² This initiated a closer investigation of street music legislation in Adelaide and the current study bases the three phases of street

1 Sally Harrison-Pepper, *Drawing a Circle in the Square: Street Performing in New York's Washington Square Park* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990).

2 Harrison-Pepper, p. 22.

music in Adelaide around three bylaws, or changes in bylaws; one passed in 1899, the next an amendment to a bylaw in 1930 and the last in 1978.

In her article 'Bagpipes and Busking: Selling Yourself, Selling the City',³ Sophie Patterson writes that there is an 'unwritten code' between busking bagpipers in Edinburgh. She discusses how the bagpipers have "organised themselves into a clearly defined sub-community."⁴ One bagpiper related that he imagined a network of clearly defined fixed points around the town which musicians and tourists flowed around.⁵ This idea can be applied to the mall: a series of performance areas, or pitches, through which the street musicians flow and the audience flows through and around. Part of the 'unwritten code' for the Edinburgh bagpipers was that a piper moves on after playing in one place for thirty minutes.⁶ Thirty minutes is the time limit in Rundle Mall, the difference being that in the mall such a move is a requirement of the bylaw while in Edinburgh it is not. In fact, in Edinburgh there is no civic authority bylaw or 'official' street music legislation.⁷ Perhaps the bagpipers have developed a code which, by intent or otherwise, avoids the requirement of an official bylaw by avoiding a repeat of disputes and disruptions within the street music community which may have happened in the past. Such disruptions can attract the attention of the civic authorities and do not reflect well on the street music community overall.

In Australia, Joanna Clyne spent a year conducting fieldwork in various Australian cities for her paper *Inside the circle: The spatial dynamics of contemporary street performance in Australia*⁸ which focused on street performers generally and not specifically musicians. Her aim was to identify "a unique use of space, which directly contravenes traditional human movement in the 'urbanscape'."⁹ Clyne's research focuses on street performers. Jugglers, acrobats, magicians and others have a very different presence in public space to street musicians. Non-street musicians generally rely on primarily on spoken word and/or physical movement as

3 Sophie Patterson, 'Bagpipes and Busking: Selling Yourself, Selling the City', *Ethnographic Encounters*, 1.1 (2012).

4 Patterson, p. 65.

5 Patterson, p. 65.

6 Patterson, p. 65.

7 Except during the Edinburgh Festival.

8 Joanna Clyne, 'Inside the Circle: The Spatial Dynamics of Contemporary Street Performance in Australia', *We Like Good Disco*, 22 (2011) <http://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/52906/clyne.pdf> [accessed 22 July 2015].

9 Clyne, p. 22.

their main forms of communication with their audience. In contrast, street musicians are usually not as mobile during performance and communicate primarily through music. As a result, street musicians have different considerations in regard to the public space than jugglers. As in Clyne's fieldwork, observation and film recording have been the primary fieldwork methods used in Part 2 of the current study, although unlike Clyne's work, no formal interviews were conducted.

Christopher Cox and Mirko Guaralda's article on street music and busking in Brisbane, 'Public Space for Street-Scape Theatrics: Guerrilla Spatial Tactics and Methods of Urban Hacking in Brisbane, Australia',¹⁰ while grounded in political theory, investigates how "... street performers see and understand the built form."¹¹ While this current study is not grounded in political theory, it does discuss the intersection of performer and built environment.

Australian academic Paul Watt's article 'Music, Lyrics and Cultural Tropes in Australian Popular Songs of the First World War: Two Case Studies'¹² investigates the circumstances that led to the creation of the songs 'Sing Us a Song of Australia' (1916) and 'For Auld Lang Syne: Australia Will be There' (1915) and the social and cultural reasons the two songs were popular. Watt's article is not directly related to street music, but it provides insight into the social and economic conditions which may have impacted public perceptions of and the identity of the street performer in Australia around the time of the First World War. It investigates music as a way of comprehending and expressing the experience of the war and this gives a clue to the way street musicians chose to express themselves and function on the streets of Adelaide in the years after the war. Watt hints at a possible connection when he writes that "responses to the war were expressed in art and popular music in vastly different proportions,"¹³ noting that after the war, while there were only a small number of art music compositions, there were hundreds of popular songs written, released, performed and published. It is certainly possible at least some of this material was performed on the street, more so when one considers that between

10 Christopher Cox and Mirko Guaralda, 'Public Space for Street-Scape Theatrics: Guerrilla Spatial Tactics and Methods of Urban Hacking in Brisbane, Australia', *Past Present and Future of Public Space – International Conference on Art, Architecture and Urban Design*, 2014 <<http://eprints.qut.edu.au.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/79901/>> [accessed 22 July 2015].

11 Cox and Guaralda, p. 1.

12 Paul Watt, 'Music, Lyrics and Cultural Tropes in Australian Popular Songs of the First World War: Two Case Studies', *Musicology Australia*, 36.1 (2014), 90–105 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/08145857.2014.896075>>.

13 Watt, p. 92.

the World Wars in 1930 the streets were filled with professional cinema musicians who could read sheet music.

Literature on the culture, society, and economics of Australia and South Australia provided a historical background. Wendy Lowenstein's book of oral histories *Weevils in the Flour: An oral record of the 1930s depression in Australia*¹⁴ gives insight into the period of the depression by investigating how Australians responded to a great disaster.¹⁵ There are a handful of references to street music and some accounts from those who had performed on the streets themselves, often out of necessity. The book provides clear and moving accounts of what was a hard life in the 1930s depression and makes the important point that, unlike a war, a depression does not start with a ceasefire and end with a falling bomb.¹⁶ Rather, there is a progression. This was reflected in Adelaide by, among other things, a gradual slide into economic depression during the 1920s. Many of those spoken with by Lowenstein told of being unemployed for ten years or more, some struggling from the end of the First World War until the beginning of the Second World War.¹⁷ While this current study includes no contemporary oral histories, Part 1 is informed by the oral histories contained in Lowenstein's illuminating collection from the depression years.

Specifically focused on Adelaide is historian Rob Linn's book *Those Turbulent Years: A history of the city of Adelaide, 1929 – 1979*.¹⁸ This book was a primary source of information about the "host of tumultuous cultural, social and physical changes"¹⁹ that occurred in Adelaide between 1929 and 1979 and gives insights into Adelaidians of the day, both those in positions of power and regular citizens, and how they helped to shape the city of Adelaide. The subject of street music appears several times in the book, particularly at the time of its return in Rundle Mall in 1978 when the "place of music in the life of the city streets ... was reinstated" after a long hiatus.²⁰ The book *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian history*,²¹ edited by Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk, informed the study by providing a

14 Wendy Lowenstein, *Weevils in the Flour: An Oral Record of the 1930s Depression in Australia*. (Fitzroy Vic: Scribe, 1981).

15 Manning Clarke in Wendy Lowenstein, p. xiii.

16 Wendy Lowenstein, p. 1.

17 Wendy Lowenstein, p. 1.

18 Rob. Linn, *Those Turbulent Years: A History of the City of Adelaide, 1929-1979*. (Adelaide, SAust: Adelaide City Council, 2006).

19 Rob. Linn, p. vii.

20 Rob. Linn, p. 243.

diverse range of perspectives on South Australian history, and the book *A Richness of the People*²² by Dudley Coleman and John Miles gave an overview of the development of Adelaide's manufacturing, commerce and economy. The first²³ volume of Elizabeth Kwan's two volume *Living in South Australia: A social history* investigates South Australia "before 1836 to 1914" and the second volume²⁴ "after 1914". Kwan's free-flowing approach gives a broad and unbiased account of Adelaide's history. The books are pictorial and textual 'scrap-books' of South Australian history which succeed in drawing together many threads by basing the research around the main themes of lifestyles and livelihoods, people and the landscape and town and country.

While a small amount of research has been conducted on street music in Australia none was found that focused on Rundle Mall with much of the existing research investigating a specific aspect of contemporary street music. In contrast, this current study provides an overview of the history and the current condition of street music performance in the mall. The study provides overdue musicological research on a musical sub-community in Adelaide which has previously been overlooked, despite its 180 year history and the continuing 'living history' on display in the mall in February 2016.

The framework for Part 1 of the study considers street music in Adelaide in three phases and identifies events and occurrences that have been significant to street music within each period. Each of these phases is marked by a street music or busking bylaw or amendments to a bylaw. These bylaws and their impact on the street music community inform discussion and analysis. In Part 1, the street music community is discussed against a backdrop of significant change and disruption over a period of 150 years. The opinions of the street musicians themselves are rare in the press and other literature during this time so the majority of information available about street music comes from non-street musicians via 'letters to the editor', newspaper articles and fragments of information found in other literature

21 *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, ed. by Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk (Kent Town, SAust: Wakefield Press, 2012).

22 Dudley Coleman and John Miles, *A Richness of the People* (Netley, South Australia: The Griffin Press, 1969).

23 Elizabeth Kwan, *Living in South Australia: A Social History* (Netley, South Australia: South Australian Government Printer, 1987), VOLUME 1: FROM BEFORE 1836 TO 1914.

24 Elizabeth Kwan, *Living in South Australia: A Social History* (Netley, South Australia: South Australian Government Printer, 1987), VOLUME 2: AFTER 1914.

sources. A great deal of information was also located in the Adelaide City Archives (ACA).

Part 2 is based on fieldwork in Rundle Mall conducted during February 2016. The street music community were observed first-hand rather than viewed 'from a distance' as in Part 1. As the street music legislation is the framework within which the musicians work, Part 2 takes into account how the community functions within it and how aspects of the bylaw and guidelines inform the performer's behaviour and attitudes. Part 2 positions street musicians in the public space and investigates their movement through and use of the built environment. The study hypothesises that the street music community, rather than being an entity located and fixed in one location, is an extended community. A street musician moves around a network of places and public spaces and is a part of an overarching community, regardless of their location or 'place' in the network at any given time. Both parts of the study consider the street music community en masse and street music performance generally rather than focusing solely on a specific street musician or any one aspect of street music.

Before proceeding, the key terms of this study require definition. The Adelaide City Council's 'Street Permit Policy' does not refer to 'public space' or simply 'place', but it does refer to a 'public place' as "any street corner, road, footpath or Park Land [capital letters the ACC] under the care of the Adelaide City Council ..." ²⁵ In this current study, 'place' refers to the geographical location and built environment of Rundle Mall, South Australia; 'public space' to the space contained within the built environment of the mall; and 'street music' to the music performed by street musicians busking (performing for money) within the public space. The performance area a musician selects within a public space is referred to as a 'pitch' and is usually designated by the placement of musical equipment or other props, i.e. instrument cases, amplifiers, CD displays, receptacles for donations. To comply with existing academic convention and avoid confusion, the terms 'street musician' and 'street music' will be used throughout this study. 'Part 1: The past' does consider 'street musicians', but the term is also inclusive of "beggar/buskers"; i.e. non-musician beggars with instruments, but not necessarily with music or

²⁵ ACC, 'Street Permit Policy: Street Permit Operating Guidelines', 2013, p. 7 <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/Policies-Papers/docs/POLICY-street-permit-guidelines-mar-2013.pdf>>.

performance skills. 'Part 2: The present' uses the terms 'street musicians' and 'street music', but technically, it concerns 'mall musicians' performing 'mall music'. Although there are some universals shared by all musical buskers in all locations, there are also differences caused largely by the venue, its location and the local laws. Consequently, while 'street music' and 'street musician' will be used in Part 2 of the study, they should be considered to be alternatives for 'mall music' and 'mall musician'.

Previous bylaws and permits dating from 1899 and 1930 were specific to 'street musicians'. The 1978 bylaw put street musicians under the umbrella of 'buskers'. The current bylaw refers to 'buskers', busking permits are issued and there is no reference to street music or street musicians in the street permit policy or on the permit. In this study 'street musicians' are considered to be a sub-group of the larger group 'buskers'. The 'festival season' referred to in this study is the period from around mid-February to mid-March each year. During this time there are three major arts and music festivals: the AFA, now the Adelaide Festival, the AF (Adelaide Fringe) and WOMADelaide, a four day event. The fieldwork research and findings are wholly qualitative. No formal interviews or surveys were conducted or recorded with street musicians or other mall users or retailers. Any conversation with musicians was short, informal, and centred primarily around motivations for busking, although some musicians were more forthcoming with their thoughts on other aspects of busking voluntarily and not in response to a question from the researcher. Ethics approval was received for this project.²⁶

The method used to compile a background of street music for Part 1 consisted of locating information related to street music in the ACA, libraries, online, newspapers and other literature sources. Much literature has been published about the history of South Australia and street music comes up in some of it, particularly in the context of economic depression. In the past, and the present, street music is largely invisible in the press, literature and to the council unless there is a problem, one of the main reasons Part 1 focuses on times of crisis and turmoil for Adelaide and its street music community.

²⁶ Ethics approval number H-2015-263. See Appendix 2.

Fieldwork was conducted in February 2016. February was selected for fieldwork as the Adelaide Fringe begins in the middle of February which marks the beginning of the arts 'festival season'. The first half of the month allows for observation of the 'local' street music community while the second half allows for observation during Adelaide's busy festival season. An observational journal was kept, all pitches observed in use were logged and video examples of street performance were recorded. Recordings aimed to capture the performer's choice of pitch in relation to the built environment, how pitch position changes the function of the space, and how the built environment and performing in the public space in Rundle Mall effect performance.

A Zoom H6 digital audio recorder and a Sony HDR AS200V digital action camera were used to record footage during fieldwork. Raw footage was edited, rendered, compressed to smaller video files and a collection of examples can be found on the enclosed USB media. Both digital recorders were hand-held and all footage and audio was captured by the author. While short, informal discussions were conducted with some performers, none were recorded with either performers or pedestrians. While the majority of the video recordings are of good quality, the aim of the examples is to show performer and audience positioning and relationships with the built environment as well as provide a sample of repertoire, instrumentation and performance style. Rather than attempting to capture a musician's best performance the object was to capture what was found in the mall as observed and as it happened, and to do so unobtrusively. The digital recordings are adequate for the purposes of this research and may be of archival value.

A recent mall redevelopment included the installation of a LED trapeze lighting system. Despite this, there is no thriving night life in the mall after hours as there is no hospitality or retail open after 5:30-6:00pm. As a consequence, no fieldwork was conducted after around 6:00pm.²⁷

The structure of the study is in two parts: 'Part 1: The past' and 'Part: 2: the present'. In Part 1, a background and history is established through investigation of the period from Adelaide's settlement in 1836 to 1978. Chapter One investigates the first phase of street music in Adelaide and gives a picture of the developing

²⁷ The one exception being a Friday night 'late night shopping' when retail stores are open until 9:00pm. There was one or two street musicians observed on the one Friday night the researcher was there.

city. The chapter concludes with the civic authorities passing legislation to gain control of a street music community over-populated by a lack of employment and driven by poverty. Chapter Two discusses the period from 1900 to 1930 and is divided into four sub-headings. The first of these, 2.1, looks briefly at the first years of the century. This is followed with a brief discussion in 2.2 of the fallout from the First World War and concludes as the city begins a slide into economic depression. 2.3 discusses the affect of the depression and 'the talkies' on street music in Adelaide, a tumultuous and significant period in street music's long history. The fourth sub-section, 2.4 discusses the bylaw and permit system of 1930; potent pieces of legislation which still resonate in 2016. Chapter Three looks at street music's gradual demise after the decision to stop issuing new permits in 1938 in combination with an improved economy and a shift in how the bylaw was policed. Chapter Four takes up the thread after a street music hiatus by discussing Adelaide's focus on the arts from around 1960, the first year of both the AFA and the AF. The Festival Theatre was built in the early 1970s and Rundle Mall opened a few years later. When buskers were invited to perform in the mall during the 1978 AFA the scene was set for a street music renaissance.

Part 2 begins with a map of Rundle Mall (Map 1). This section of the study focuses on fieldwork observation in Rundle Mall in February 2016. After a brief introduction Chapter Five discusses and analyses the fieldwork observations and it is divided into two sub-sections. 5.1 begins with an overview of street music performance which discusses repertoire, instrumentation and various aspects of performance. Sub-section 5.2 focuses on street musicians and the built environment. It begins by presenting a map of pitches used for street music performance (Map 2) and follows this with a discussion of aspects of pitch selection. There is a discussion of a section of the main mall map (Map 3) which indicates three performance 'zones' and a series of example pitches. There is also a map of the 'hot' and 'cold' areas in the mall (Map 4) which indicates clusters of pitches in three distinct areas in the east, the centre and west of the mall. The design of the mall is discussed in relation to street music performance and audience comfort and this relates to further discussion of street music's contribution to the character of the mall.

Chapter Six gives findings and conclusions. Appendix 1 lists all street musicians observed in the mall during February 2016. Appendix 2 shows the ethics approval,

Appendix 3 lists the video examples and Appendix 4 lists the still images found on the enclosed USB media. Lastly there is a bibliography.

PART 1: The past

Part 1 aims to give a background of street music in Adelaide from the 1830s to the 1970s. It uses archival, online and literature sources to give a background of street music during that time.²⁸ To do so, the period is split into three phases of street music in Adelaide. Chapter One, 'The early years: 1836 to 1900', discusses the first phase from settlement until the turn of the century and Chapter Two, 'Changing times: 1900 to 1930', focuses largely on the period around the depression in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The chapter's sub-headings consider architectural developments in the early twentieth century, the fallout from World War One and the effects of 'the talkies' - film sound - on street music. Chapter Three, 'Fade to black: 1938 to 1950', discusses the period after the depression. Perhaps due to a combination of an improving economy, more employment, street musicians' permits no longer being issued from 1938 and closer attention from the civic authorities, street music went into a hiatus from around the early 1950s. Chapter Four, 'A street music renaissance: 1960 to 1978' discusses a shift in Adelaide's focus towards the arts and performance. The period sees the first Adelaide Festival and Adelaide Fringe, the opening of the Adelaide Festival Centre and Rundle Mall. Adelaide's new 'arts focus' and facilities worked in favour of its street music community and Part 1 concludes with street music's officially sanctioned return to Adelaide in 1978.

1 The early years: 1836 to 1900

Despite an established Kurna population occupying the area in 1836, the British claimed the place known to the first peoples as Tarndanya, called it 'Adelaide' and colonised it. Migrants and refugees from many parts of the world have arrived in waves since then. The 1840s brought Irish migrants, the 1850s religious refugees and miners lured by a mining 'boom'. Chinese and German female domestic servants arrived in the 1870s, people from the Middle East arrived in the early 1900s, people from Greece in the 1920s, and more Germans in the 1930s. From the 1940s there were more Europeans, particularly due to the Assisted Migration Scheme which began after World War Two. In the 1970s, Chinese and South-East Asians made Australia home. Other ethnic groups which had a major influence on

²⁸ A fine-grained investigation of street music in Adelaide is beyond the scope of this study.

the cultural development and growth of Adelaide were Jewish, German/Prussian Lutherans and Middle Eastern settlers from Afghanistan and Lebanon.²⁹ This is by no means a comprehensive list, particularly considering the ethnic diversity of migration from the 1970s to 2016.

Several years prior to Adelaide's settlement, a plan was being developed in Britain for South Australia by 'The South Australia Company' which framed the new colony as one of free settlers rather than, as in other Australian states, a British penal colony. Adelaide was to be a sophisticated and liberal place, welcoming to all ethnicities and religions. Wakefield's plan was for land in South Australia to be sold to 'free settlers' and the money paid used to transport skilled and responsible labourers to Adelaide to work for land holders.³⁰ The offer of free passage and employment attracted many free settlers from England, Wales, Cornwall and Scotland; some escaping from religious persecution, others poverty. Public lectures were held in London to encourage labourers, mechanics and artisans. In 1836, seven years after the initial meetings, nineteen ships arrived in South Australia, the first at Kangaroo Island around twenty kilometres off the South Australian coast. By 1838 the new colony's population was approximately 6,000, which includes eighty-three South Australian-born infants. German settlers arrived two years later in 1838 and congregated around Klemzig, about seven kilometres from what is now Rundle Mall.³¹ It is unknown if these new arrivals on the periphery were included in the population of Adelaide at this time.

The recruitment of South Australia's first settlers had similarities to the post-World War Two Assisted Migration Scheme which began in the 1940s; in both cases potential migrants were encouraged by ideas of a better life, new possibilities and an escape from a poor situation, but there were significant differences. The first South Australian free settlers made a perilous and long journey to a fledgling part of Australia. There was minimal infrastructure and few or no amenities or permanent housing. The only running water was the River Torrens (Karrawirra Parri) and its assorted creeks and estuaries on the northern boundary of what is now the

29 McDougall and Vines, *The City of Adelaide: A Thematic History* (Norwood, Adelaide: McDougall & Vines, Conservation and Heritage Consultants, August 2006), p. 5
<<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/documents/PUBLICATION-city-of-adelaide-thematic-history.pdf>>.

30 Diane Cummings, 'Begin Your Emigration Journey - Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia'
<<http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/fh/passengerlists/2BeginningYourJourney-Index.htm>> [accessed 26 May 2016].

31 Cummings.

Adelaide CBD. The elements could be extreme with droughts, sometimes long, and floods common. On the other hand, the Assisted Migrants from the 1940s onwards were migrating to an established city in the relative safety of an ocean liner and with the guarantee of sanitary conditions, electricity and employment. The colonists and assisted migrants had very different experience of Adelaide, but the universal between the two groups, and all others, is that their music, musical cultures and instruments migrated with them.

A road linking Adelaide with Port Adelaide was completed in 1840 thereby opening a link between Adelaide and the world. Adelaide grew rapidly, no doubt due in part to the new corridor which allowed frequent musical updates from the influx of British and non-British settlers and seafarers. The street music community that did exist in Adelaide at this time may therefore have had representatives from a diverse range of musical cultures. Graham Jaunay in his paper discussing the 1841 census, Adelaide's oldest surviving detailed census, estimates that in just five years SA's population expanded to more than 15,400.³² Despite its growth, by 1843 the city was bankrupt³³ and the economy in recession.³⁴ The economy improved and the period between 1846 and 1884 was one of growth and mostly prosperity. During a major building boom between 1870 and 1880 the major retail streets began to take shape, notably Rundle Street's East End. These developments, which were clusters of enterprise, formed small villages within the city itself.³⁵ It is possible these clusters also became hubs for the sharing and performance of music in public space.

After the recession of the early 1840s Adelaide was a filthy quagmire with freely roaming livestock acting as its sewerage and waste disposal infrastructure. When legislation was passed to remove the beasts it made matters worse as the civic authority provided nothing to replace them. A correspondent to the *South Australian Register* in 1847 regarding the condition of Adelaide at the time explained that

32 Graham Jaunay, '1841 South Australian Census: What You Will and Won't Find' (Graham Jaunay, 2004), p. 1 <<https://www.jaunay.com/1841census.pdf>>.

33 Cummings.

34 McDougall and Vines, p. 14.

35 McDougall and Vines, p. 14.

... scarcely one attempt has been made to empty a cesspool or sweep a yard... As jackals, hyenas, vultures, pelicans et id genus omnes in some measure cleanse the large towns of the East, so goats and pigs were at one time the scavengers of Adelaide; imperfect operators it is true, but still better than none, and it is remarkable that our wise legislators should have banished these animals until they were prepared to substitute a better and more efficient corps.³⁶

The following writer recollects what conditions were like in 1848,

The general state of the city was filthy in the extreme; nor is it to be wondered at, when you consider the fact that deposits of every description, emanating from the ever-increasing population, had been allowed to remain and accumulate on the surface ever since the year 1836 - we literally lived on a dunghill of nearly thirteen years standing. Carcasses of horses and bullocks lay exposed, garnished with heaps of putrescent animal and vegetable matter of every description.³⁷

The insanitary conditions were not restricted to the city centre. Another writer offers an account of 1848 Norwood, a suburb a few kilometres from Adelaide.

... not only highly disgusting, but a menace to any one who was so unfortunate as to breathe its fetid air. Its miserable hovels cried in vain for the intervention of any pretence of municipal government between the rapacity of the landlord and the helpless dependency of the tenant.³⁸

Scores of families were living in two small rooms where the "... sick and healthy, not forgetting pigs, goats and poultry, [were] squeezed together, and quarrelling in heat, rum and dirt ..." ³⁹ In the middle of all this, "... a large number of infants are brought crying into the world." ⁴⁰ These were the living conditions for Adelaide's first street musicians and the "dunghill of nearly thirteen years standing" ⁴¹ their stage and workplace. Despite the appalling conditions, the settlers continued to develop new musical traditions. Brewster-Jones in his article 'Pioneers and Problems: South Australia's musical history' ⁴² refers to the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh settlers as "naturally musical," noting their folk songs and dances were part of the state's "musical entertainment at this time." ⁴³

36 'The Public Health.' *South Australian Register*, 4 Sep, 1847, *Trove*, p. 2 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48544722>> [accessed 28 May 2016].

37 'Insanitary Adelaide - Horrible Nuisances of the Early Days.', *The Observer*, 1921, *Trove*, p. 11 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article165647653>> [accessed 7 September 2016].

38 'Insanitary Adelaide - Horrible Nuisances of the Early Days.', p. 2.

39 'Insanitary Adelaide - Horrible Nuisances of the Early Days.', p. 11.

40 'Insanitary Adelaide - Horrible Nuisances of the Early Days.', p. 11.

41 'Insanitary Adelaide - Horrible Nuisances of the Early Days.', p. 11.

42 Hooper Brewster-Jones, *Pioneers and Problems: South Australia's Musical History*. (Melbourne: Australian Musical News, 1936).

43 Brewster-Jones, p. 2.

Barrel-organs were an early arrival on Adelaide's streets. In the editorial 'Original Sketch' under the heading 'Adelaide Street Music', the author 'Listener' recalls in 1921 the organ-grinders of the 1840s.

One cannot but with pleasure mark the astonishing rapidity with which street music has improved of late years and the cheerful contrast it now forms with the wretched specimens of human ability and perseverance, brought to bear in both construction and grinding of those ancient and hideous instruments, to wit, 'barrel organs'.⁴⁴

The editorial goes on to explain that the first barrel-organ was welcome and popular, but by the 1920s Adelaidians had been "educated, musically, to a higher standard,"⁴⁵ and a better quality of street music on better quality, and better sounding, instruments was replacing the barrel-organs; classical music performed by Italian string players could be heard in the streets by the 1920s.⁴⁶ That the barrel-organs were originally seen in a positive light and gave a connection with the life and country the settlers had left behind is supported to some degree by the following which appeared nearly seventy years earlier in *The Adelaide Observer* in 1853.

... we have recently witnessed in many instances a gradual assimilation of South Australia to the England of olden time, and among the rest we may welcome the homely strains of the hurdy-gurdy and the deadly-lively airs of the barrel-organ.⁴⁷

1853 may have signalled a turning point for the barrel-organ as it was a year of high inflation and there was also a severe drought the following year.⁴⁸ A poor economy means less employment and more street musicians. Barrel-organs require little more than the ability to crank consistently so were easiest to play, but some were reasonably expensive and could be large and difficult to manoeuvre around the streets. In the end, barrel-organs may simply have been too impractical for the Adelaide climate: extreme heat in summer and torrential rains in winter making transport difficult. They may also have become unprofitable and no longer worth the effort when faced with more and varied competition. Large numbers of barrel-organs in competition may have robbed them of their novelty value.

44 Listener, 'Original Sketch. Adelaide Street Music.', *Southern Argus* (Port Elliot, SA, 27 November 1884), p. 3 (p. 3).

45 Listener, p. 3.

46 Listener, p. 3.

47 'Early South Australia —Thursday, May 26, 1853.—', *Adelaide Observer* (SA, 13 June 1903), p. 34 (p. 34).

48 Barry Leadbetter, 'South Australian History Timeline' <<http://www.familyhistorysa.info/timeline.html>> [accessed 26 October 2015].

Despite the fluctuating economy, in 1859 a Mr Marshall opened a shop on Currie Street in the city selling “pianoforte, harmoniums, harps, violins, violas, violoncellos, bassoons, guitars, accordions, concertinas, flutinas, flutes, clarionets, flageolets, fifes, piccolos, drums, tambourines” and “every variety of brass instrument in modern use.”⁴⁹ Along with the arrival and sale of new instruments, some percentage of settlers would have migrated with instruments which found their way on to Adelaide’s streets. The street music culture British settlers brought with them would soon have been influenced by its new and very different environment and the migrant mix. This blend of British and non-British arrivals would have created a uniquely Adelaidian street music community and music.

In London there was “many a blind basket-weaver playing music in the streets 'cause they can't get work.”⁵⁰ This scene was not intended to be replicated on the streets of Adelaide as there were very different plans for the musical, social and cultural life of the city. An article in the *South Australian Register* in 1859 reports that

From the beginning, South Australians had a grand vision ... all who are acquainted with the 'manners and customs' of colonial society are aware that music is extensively studied [in South Australia] as a science and still more extensively practised as an art.⁵¹

As raised previously, the colonial vision was of Adelaide as a place of culture, art and learning; of free-settlers rather than convicts; a sophisticated cultural centre rather than a penal colony. The majority of Adelaide’s population in 1859 were not convicts, but neither were they gentry. In the 1850s they were occupied with creating a new life and building a new city: maintaining and expanding postal systems; dealing with immigration and emigration; constructing and maintaining roads and railways. While some sections of Adelaide saw the city as a centre of culture, were studying music as a science and building churches to house sacred music, hotels and pubs were becoming hubs in a secular music network. A network of hotels had been spreading since settlement as reflected by the early

49 ‘The Factories of South Australia - No. 7 - Musical Instrument Makers.’, *South Australian Register* (Adelaide, SA, 2 December 1859), p. 3.

50 Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: A Cyclopædia of the Condition and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Those That Cannot Work, and Those That Will Not* (Cosimo, Inc., 2009), p. 397. This major work, published in serial form during the 1840s and in three volumes in 1851, investigates and describes many aspects of employment and unemployment in 1840s London.

51 ‘The Factories of South Australia - No. 7 - Musical Instrument Makers.’

introduction of rules controlling its sale and possibly consumption only a year after Adelaide's settlement.

Hotel licensing quickly followed the Act for the regulation of liquor in June 1837. Adelaide has always been called 'the city of churches' but it would have been more accurate to call it 'a city of pubs' ...⁵²

A formal or 'art' music culture may have evolved in Adelaide by 1859 based around the sacred and classical music canons. It is probable a culture of secular and original music was also evolving in Adelaide's public spaces and places around this time. Music schools and music shops were opening and while formal music-related events in Adelaide were reported in the press, street music existed on the periphery and was rarely mentioned unless it was creating problems.

There was another drought between 1864 and 1865. This was followed in 1866 by over two hundred deaths from typhoid fever with 240 from diphtheria in 1867.⁵³ This bleak period was followed by a major growth period in 1865 due to inter-colonial investment then by profitable agricultural seasons in the decade between 1870-80. This period saw building construction and major development in the East End of Rundle Street, Hutt Street and several other streets.⁵⁴

Barrel-organs may have been welcome at one time, but three decades after the arrival of the first settlers, and presumably the first barrel-organs, the following was printed in 1867 in the *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*.

We perceive that the Hon. Mr. Strangways has written to the Corporation of Adelaide on the subject of the organ grinding nuisance, and we can only express a hope that he will be successful in 'putting it down.' Every man of business ... must have felt how great is the pest of this most inharmonious and untimely grinding, and doubtless many a poor clerk and book-keeper, interrupted by the horrid discord, has felt inclined to do anything rather than 'pity the poor blind.'⁵⁵

The 'homely strains' of the barrel-organ which had previously reminded one of an 'England of olden times' had become an 'inharmonious' nuisance'. The

52 McDougal & Vines, *The City of Adelaide: A Thematic History*, August 2006, p. 31
<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/acc/Council/docs/city_of_adelaide_thematic_history.pdf> [accessed 4 November 2015].

53 T Griffin and M McCaskill, '1890: Depression and Experiment | Atlas of South Australia'
<<http://www.atlas.sa.gov.au/resources/atlas-of-south-australia-1986/the-course-of-settlement/1890-depression-and-experiment>> [accessed 27 October 2015].

54 McDougal and Vines, p. 14.

55 'Blind Musicians - *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (Adelaide, SA: 1858 - 1867) - 28 Dec 1867', *Trove*, p. 2 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article91260428>> [accessed 27 May 2016].

Chronicle article goes on to state that all would be well if the organ-grinders performed in distant alleys, but this would defeat the purpose of busking as distant alleys would supply a small or no audience and therefore few donations, donations usually being the point of busking. The correspondent goes on to give more clarity with some specifics.

We have seen four 'organs' grinding simultaneously ... with four attendant urchins stopping and dodging passers-by to 'pity the poor blind.' Our own feeling has been rather to pity the poor residents and passengers out on business, who are destined to have their ears bored by the unearthly noises of the grinders, and by the never-ending solicitations of their ragged satellites. The subject is one that the Corporation ought to deal with as a nuisance, for a nuisance it is. Taking another view of the matter. Could not something better be done for the poor blind than to buy them bad 'organs', and launch them into business as professional beggars? The poor creatures must have long since learned to hate the sound of 'music', as the flower girl had learnt to 'hate the smell of roses'.⁵⁶

The first part of the quotation above is clearly a complaint, but then there is the following question: "Could not something better be done for the poor blind than to buy them bad 'organs', and launch them into business as professional beggars?" There was no evidence found of any charity or other entity conducting a program to buy barrel-organs for beggars nor of blind beggars being encouraged to go into the busking business as 'professional beggars'.

In 1875 the following appeared in the *South Australian Register* under the heading 'The Organs in Rundle Street'.

It is at times impossible to transact business, especially in matters of figures, to say nothing of the nuisance caused by the boy or boys who solicit by thrusting a dirty greasy box into the face almost of every person passing, and then by way of a change take a roll on the pavement or in the gutter until called to duty by ... a cuff or two in the bargain from the 'Po[o]r Blind Mac.'^{57 58}

The 'blind' busker 'Poor Blind Mac' and his young minions were possibly the same group reported eight years earlier. They fit the description and the style of the letter of complaint is also familiar. If this is the same group it is surprising they had avoided the authorities for nearly a decade, despite complaints from the public. Or perhaps they were considered a public nuisance by only a few vocal citizens and business people. The councillors had much to contend with; developing legislation

⁵⁶ 'Blind Musicians - *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (Adelaide, SA)'.

⁵⁷ One would expect 'Por Blind Mac' to translate as 'Poor Blind Mac', who, surprisingly as he claimed to be blind, managed an accurate "cuff or two" for his youthful minions.

⁵⁸ 'The Organ Grinders in Rundle Street. To the Editor.', *South Australian Register* (Adelaide, SA, 10 July 1875), p. 5 (p. 5).

for the growing colony would have been an ongoing process of learning and improvising on the job. There may have been more urgent matters to deal with than street music legislation as there is no indication of any plans for it from the civic authorities prior to the 1890s, although there were many calls for legislation in the press and letters to the ACC.

A horse-drawn tram system was introduced between Adelaide, North Adelaide and Kensington Park in 1878. This would have benefited street musicians by giving them access to new locations and audiences. Musicians could use the trams to get to formal, pre-arranged musical engagements when and if required. The 1870s were a 'boom' time of growth and change for Adelaide before progress stalled and dissipated over the next two decades. The over-zealous expansion of the 1870s brought stagnation in the 1880s followed by an economic depression late in the decade and into the 1890s. The situation was compounded by

... droughts, falling prices in the wool industry and the collapse of the Commercial Bank (identified with rural industries and pastoral pursuits), made worse by the withdrawal of British capital and the onset of industrial unrest through strikes. Collapse of land and building societies soon followed. Then in the early 1890s following the failure of a number of British banks' investments in Argentina, other banks in Adelaide suspended payments.⁵⁹

There was evidence of soil exhaustion, 440 deaths from tuberculosis, 140 more from typhoid fever in 1881-82 respectively and approximately the same number for each proceeding year of the 1880s.⁶⁰ As the economy worsened some of the citizenry headed to the streets to busk while others voiced their opinions about street music and musicians in the press. In response to a letter from "one of a thousand ... unchristian-like persons..."⁶¹ who had focused their wrath on blind buskers generally and on a female street musician and her four children in particular, a letter to the editor from 'One Who Has Feelings For Another' (OWHFFA) appeared in *The Evening Journal* in January 1880 under the heading 'Street Pauperism'.⁶² The woman and her family - husband, wife and nine children - came to Adelaide from Melbourne to find work at "some places of amusement."⁶³

⁵⁹ McDougal & Vines, p. 19.

⁶⁰ T Griffin and M McCaskill, '1890: Depression and Experiment | Atlas of South Australia' <<http://www.atlas.sa.gov.au/resources/atlas-of-south-australia-1986/the-course-of-settlement/1890-depression-and-experiment>> [accessed 27 October 2015].

⁶¹ One Who Feels For Another, 'Street Pauperism - To the Editor - *Evening Journal* (Adelaide, SA: 1869 - 1912) - 26 Jan 1880', *Trove*, p. 2 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article197735591>> [accessed 3 June 2016].

⁶² One Who Feels For Another, p. 2.

⁶³ One Who Feels For Another, p. 2.

They failed to find work and the father of the family was "... weak and of delicate health and not able to work, consequently the family was soon broke." ⁶⁴ OWHFFA writes that "they became so reduced as to be in want of food."

The woman seeing no prospect says, "We will turn out in the streets and see what we can do;" and they found it answered their purpose to a certain extent and relieved them for a time, which will not be for long, as the novelty [of street music] will die out, and then in a small place like Adelaide it will not pay, and they, like others, will have to retire. ⁶⁵

The novelty of street music seems not to have diminished in the nearly 150 years since this letter was written and busking is still paying. Both were observed to be the case during fieldwork in 2016. It is argued that a 'small place like Adelaide' might not be able to pay buskers. In reality, the size of the city does not matter as much as the health of its economy and the attitude of its citizens, two things street musicians rely on for an income.

In 1890, most Adelaidians were as poor as the buskers, but there is evidence they gave what they could. ⁶⁶ OWHFFA confirms in their letter that there were many struggling Adelaidians who had not resorted to busking/begging.

I am sorry to say that there are many others that are hard-up in our fair city who have not got the nerve nor the ability to do as these people are doing to get a living. ⁶⁷

In the previous excerpts from 'Street Pauperism' performance is considered to be a last resort for the mother and children and a sign of failure. When there were few jobs, most buskers were not professional or proficient musicians, had no desire to perform in public on the street, and many felt humiliated and ashamed. While OWHFFA felt outrage at the injustice shown to the destitute woman and her children, they also felt outrage about other sections of the street music community for different reasons, in particular the hard-up 'others' who had the nerve, the ability, and the work ethic to make busking financially viable. For OWHFFA, the issue with street music was

... the strong able-bodied foreigners who come to our shore and [organ] grind from morning up to 11 o'clock at night ... the fiddlers and harp-players, who are also strong able-bodied men, who parade the streets from 9 in the morning till all hours at night,

64 One Who Feels For Another, p. 2.

65 One Who Feels For Another, p. 2.

66 See page 30, ref. 99.

67 One Who Feels For Another, p. 2. By accounts of the time it could be thought that in the hard times necessity and nerve were all that were required, musical ability optional.

begging at every shop for a penny or more if they can get it, as well as from the people who happen to pass by; these also are foreigners ...⁶⁸

While OWHFFA felt empathy for a mother and her children with a sick husband and father they felt differently about 'foreigners' who had come to 'our' shore and were busking.⁶⁹ Considering the ethnic diversity of the city's population by the 1880s, it is doubtful OWHFFA's concerns about buskers based on their non-Anglo appearance, ethnicity, heritage and/or musical material and style were universal. OWHFFA's opinion was that able-bodied 'foreigners' performing in the streets were unacceptable while blind, infirm and poverty-stricken families busking were acceptable. OWHFFA also states that these foreigners "parade the streets from 9 in the morning till all hours at night."⁷⁰ Through the 1870s there was formal employment available and as a result, Adelaidians would have had money. Therefore, the 1870s was possibly a profitable time for a genuinely talented musician.

Judging by the following editorial from 1892, formal music performance in public space appears to have been plentiful, of good quality, popular and its organisation was becoming more sophisticated.

On the night before and the night of the past full moon the public had ample opportunity of listening to much good and some really first-class music. On the first evening two bands were performing at Glenelg; [on] the banks of the Torrens the Deutscher Quartet Verein discoursed excellent music most harmoniously ... On the second evening the Military Band held an open air promenade concert in the Exhibition Grounds ... while the Concordia Band gave a gratuitous performance on the Middle Lake. The rotunda will shortly be erected [in Elder Park], when probably regular weekly or bi-weekly concerts will be held, and prove an attraction to draw citizens out of heated houses and not sweetly smelling streets.⁷¹

While in the late nineteenth century open air concerts were conducted in the relative comfort of parks and rotundas, foul smelling streets were the reality for street musicians at a time when industrialisation was steadily crowding out residential housing in the centre of Adelaide. Street musicians may have performed

68 One Who Feels For Another, p. 2.

69 This attitude was distinctly Anglo-centric. The British chose to overlook the fact that, technically, they were also 'foreigners', 'others' who simply arrived and claimed an occupied country. In reality, the British had as much right to ownership of Australia as any other intruder: none.

70 One Who Feels For Another, p.2.

71 Delta, 'Adelaide Gossip - Adelaide, February 7. - Port Augusta Dispatch and Flinders' *The Advertiser* (SA: 1880 - 1884) - 10 Feb 1882', *Trove*, p. 3 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article195908168>> [accessed 27 May 2016].

on the periphery of these formally organised outdoor events, gathering audiences and donations from people arriving or departing.

A letter to *The Register* on 19 September 1889 confirms that the organ-grinding had continued and asks “Is there no law which can be put in force to prevent [organ-grinding] or make the performer ‘move on’?”⁷² The letter claimed that favourite pitches for “the stationary itinerary” were the corner of Stephens Place and Rundle Street, Gawler Place and Charles Street.⁷³ Perhaps partly or directly as a response to continued complaints about the organ-grinding, in 1891 the ACC drafted a bylaw titled ‘Draft of bylaw ‘Re’ playing music in the street.’⁷⁴ [See page 1 of the PDF file ‘Bylaws’ on the enclosed USB media.] The draft bylaw has no bylaw number and is aimed at “... prohibiting and regulating the playing of music in the streets.” It states that street musicians must obtain written permission from the Corporation of the City of Adelaide to play a musical instrument in the streets (the police band “when accompanied by the police in procession” or any military band with “men of any company or regiment on the march” being exceptions). No evidence of this draft being developed any further or a bylaw being passed was located in the year 1891 or any other until 1930.

In an editorial in Broken Hill’s *Barrier Miner* newspaper⁷⁵ the ACC was reported to have passed a bylaw relating to street music in 1899. The editorial does not discuss in what way, or if, the new bylaw is related to the 1891 draft bylaw. The editorial states that Adelaide’s civic authorities had decided to “... prohibit street musicians performing in the busiest part of King William, Hindley, and Rundle Streets ... for profit,” with the exception of the Salvation Army Band. The new bylaw differs from the 1891 draft; for instance, no streets were named in the draft, instead referring to “any street within the city of Adelaide,” while the *Barrier Miner* report on the newer bylaw names streets specifically. Assuming legislation was passed in 1899, prior to that it may have been a case of the police and civic authorities adapting and applying related, but not specific, laws or corporation bylaws originally intended to deal with other things. Nothing was located in the ACA to suggest a street

72 Revel, Bey, ‘Organ Grinders - To the Editor - *South Australian Register* (Adelaide, SA: 1839 - 1900) - 19 Sep 1889’, *Trove* <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article54594973>> [accessed 29 May 2016].

73 Revel, p. 3.

74 Town Clerk, ‘Draft of by-law “Re” playing Music in the Streets’ (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, Incorporated (ACC), 1891), Adelaide City Archive.

75 ‘South Australia.’, *Barrier Miner* (*Broken Hill, NSW: 1888 - 1954*) (Broken Hill, NSW, 8 June 1899), p. 2.

musicians' permit or licensing system was introduced at or around 1900 or that any set of guidelines were produced, but that does not rule out their possible existence. Only the *Barrier Miner* editorial and the 1891 bylaw draft have been located from which to draw conclusions.

1890 saw the introduction of gas and electricity. Reinforced concrete replaced basic workshops and factories with substantial industrial buildings.⁷⁶ New technologies were the foundations for the rapid modernisation of Adelaide in the early twentieth century.⁷⁷ Electricity would change street music in Adelaide in subtle and significant ways. The arrival of electric street lights in September 1899 may have created new pitch opportunities, but on the other hand, the increased noise levels created by gas and electric powered engines, machines and industry may have made other pitches no longer viable.

⁷⁶ McDougall and Vines, p. 14.

⁷⁷ Coleman and Miles, p. 52.

2 Changing times: 1900 to 1930

In the first third of the twentieth century street musicians in Adelaide navigated many changes, some to their environment caused by a range of rapidly emerging technologies: reinforced concrete, electricity, radios, gramophones, more motorised traffic, the 'talkies'. Other disruptions were caused by an economic depression and World War One. The built environment of Rundle Street was changing and street musicians would need to adapt to the conditions. Economically, booms and busts persisted throughout World War One followed by a depression with roots in the early 1920s. In 1930 the Corporation of the City of Adelaide introduced street musician's permits and a bylaw. The 1930 bylaw was introduced to control street musicians' behaviour, not to prevent busking altogether, particularly during a depression. The authorities were aware that there was almost no other employment available so policing of the new regulations was initially relaxed and used primarily to clear the streets of the worst of the repeat offenders and 'problem' performers. When the economy began to improve, policing of the 1930 bylaw and permits was tightened, eventually triggering a hiatus for street music in Adelaide.

2.1 The first years of the twentieth-century

Having shown its benefits in industrial buildings in the 1890s, reinforced concrete came into its own in the early-twentieth century with a new breed of Australian born architects engaged to modernise Rundle Street.⁷⁸ Concrete and glass reflect sound readily and their introduction to the built environment in Rundle Street would have changed the sound environment in the space significantly, creating more new challenges for street musicians. The built environment was now becoming a more significant factor in a musician's choice of pitch. Performing in a more open Rundle Street with single and double storey wooden structures was a different proposition to performing in a space enclosed by adjoined, high-rise concrete and glass buildings alongside streets filled with cars and people. In the early twentieth century street musicians contended with increasing street noise –

78 McDougal & Vines, *The City of Adelaide: A Thematic History*, August 2006, p. 41 <http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/acc/Council/docs/city_of_adelaide_thematic_history.pdf> [accessed 4 November 2015]. This could be considered the genesis of the contemporary retail strip which is now Rundle Mall..

pedestrians, workers, machinery, traffic – from the source and reflected from the built environment.

1901 was the year of Australia's Federation which gave birth to Australia's Constitution and the establishment of the Commonwealth Government of Australia. The focus of the commonwealth and state governments remained, as it had in pre-Federation, on the building of infrastructure: transport, communications, roads.⁷⁹ Electric lighting was spreading throughout the city and a motor vehicle registration system was established. By 1910 there were 1350 registered cars and a larger number of motor cycles.⁸⁰ The impact of the sudden increase in motorised transport and its associated drawbacks, particularly noise, over the relatively short period of a decade would have radically altered circumstances for street musicians. Adelaidians had never experienced, were totally unprepared for and unaware of the impending consequences of the noise levels that came with modernisation. Previously 'busker-friendly' areas, particularly near intersections and corners, would have become increasingly loud sites of traffic congestion and vehicle fumes. This period from 1900 may have been one of regular 'pitch shifting' for street musicians due to the rising noise levels and regular changes to the built environment.

2.2 Post-World War One

A telephone link was established between Melbourne and Adelaide in July 1914 and World War One began less than two weeks later. Australia offered twenty thousand troops to the war effort meaning Adelaide's population at this time consisted largely of women, the disabled and the infirm. Silent films had been popular in Adelaide in the early part of the twentieth-century, but during and after World War One was their golden era and a lucrative time for its orchestra musicians. After the opening of four new cinemas in 1912 the ACC announced that there was "a 'boom' in picture theatres."⁸¹ Lavish cinemas screened silent movies and held other entertainments. The orchestras were intrinsic to the cinemas'

79 Andrew Parkin, 'Government | Adelaidia' <<http://adelaidia.sa.gov.au/subjects/government>> [accessed 22 October 2015].

80 Jon G Chittleborough, 'Motor Vehicles', SA History Hub, History SA <<http://sahistoryhub.com.au/subjects/motor-vehicles>> [accessed 1 June 2016].

81 McDougall and Vines, p. 100.

activities and successes with some of the orchestra musicians becoming as popular as the motion picture stars (and requesting similar fees).⁸²

By 1920 there were 19,166 registered motor vehicles, by 1928 this had approximately quadrupled to nearly 80,000; one for every 7.27 Adelaidians⁸³ and complaints regarding noise and air pollution were many.⁸⁴ Although there may have been difficulties finding suitable pitches amid the growing chaos, adaptability is a pre-requisite for the street musician and by the time of the 1930 permit system there *may* have been at least 170 registered, permit-holding buskers. The exact number is unclear, something of an anomaly and discussed in the section '2.4 Bylaws and permits: 1930'.

Adelaide was heading into a depression by the 1920s and the street music community was again expanding. When self-proclaimed street musician Fredrick Carr appeared in court in 1925 charged with refusing to move on when requested by a police officer, he did so carrying "an obviously home-made instrument, of which the chief component parts were a cigar box and a broom handle, with a bow generously bound up with string and black horsehair,"⁸⁵ and kept the court spectators amused when he "occasionally twanged the strings of the instrument"⁸⁶ to kill time. This instrument may reflect Carr's financial status or that his skills as a musician were secondary, the instrument a prop to support his patter and physical routines. There are a number of similar court cases documented and the charge of causing an obstruction appears straightforward, but Carr argued that the obstruction was caused by the audience, not the performer or the pitch. When asked how he wished to plead, Carr replied that it was a matter of opinion so he was not going to plead either way. As for not moving when asked, Carr *had* moved when first asked, but only a few yards, his audience promptly moving with him. When asked to move a second time, Carr replied "No, I will not move on. Move the others first," meaning his audience and a motorcycle and side-car that were in the street at the time.⁸⁷ Carr was found guilty as charged.

82 Rob. Linn, p. 49.

83 Rob. Linn, p. 15.

84 Rob. Linn, p. 15. The City of Adelaide's doctor reported that during these years "nerve troubles and deafness had increased considerably and specialists had attributed a great deal of the cause to noise in modern cities".

85 'A Street Musician - A Home-Made Stradivarius' - *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1889 - 1931) - 21 Jan 1925', *Trove*, p. 11 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article43266091>> [accessed 4 June 2016].

86 'A Street Musician - A Home-Made Stradivarius', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA, 21 January 1925), p. 11.

87 'A Street Musician - A Home-Made Stradivarius', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA, 21 January 1925), p. 11.

Carr, a popular performer with the skills and confidence to gather and hold an audience and make something of a livelihood as the economy worsened, was requested to cease his employment and move on.⁸⁸ The judge overlooked, or was willing to ignore, the fact that Carr was self-employed and actively attempting to keep himself out of poverty by providing entertainment for other poor and destitute Adelaidians. It is conceivable that street musicians would have had limited space to operate in the 1930s and even a relatively small crowd may have caused an obstruction, so a good performer would create a problem quickly. By punishing Carr, the ACC simply created another empty stomach (or criminal) and deprived him of any chance of an income. The only way many performers could pay a fine was to go back on the streets and busk, but as they were prohibited from busking there would be consequent charges, often ending in incarceration. The audience causing an obstruction becomes a street musician's problem by default. On the other hand, if public space is designed to accommodate such audience 'obstructions', a public nuisance becomes a positive asset for the community. The enthusiastic crowd that had gathered to witness Carr's performance may provide evidence that street performance was appreciated by at least some members of the community and perhaps lifted community spirits in difficult times.⁸⁹

The modernisation of Rundle Street and sections of Hindley Street continued with a mid-1920s building boom after World War One. This structural face-lift brought the city its first high rise buildings, or 'skyscrapers', and electric trams, steam trains and motorised vehicles serviced the area. It is possible street musicians gravitated to Rundle Street west, despite any noise or traffic problems that may have entailed, as changes to the built environment had firmly established it as Adelaide's retail centre. Consequently, the area attracted large crowds of shoppers with money, and that surely would have attracted the attention of street musicians. Another possibility is that as it had become so busy in Rundle Street West - remembering it was a wide street with standard width walkways either side and not a mall until 1976 - it was difficult to be heard or find a pitch, therefore musicians drifted into

⁸⁸ As is the case now, many street performers moved long distances frequently, some having a 'home base' and travelling to where the audiences and money were. Carr claims to have travelled 2500 miles through Victoria to get to South Australia. He also claims that Adelaide is the only place he had been spoken to by the authorities. He asked the ACC for a permit, but it is unknown whether they were in existence at that time (it is known they would exist six years later). In other words, Carr had done as much as he could to remain within the law as it then stood. Nonetheless, he was given a fine, having stated during the hearing he would need to play on the streets to pay one.

⁸⁹ Interesting to note that Carr states under oath that he suspects the City Council to be behind his charge rather than the police.

territory nearby and off the main street. Construction work stagnated in 1929 due to the Wall Street crash combined with circumstances in South Australia and Australia. More people resorted to the streets and the physical presence of many performers filling the public space soon caused problems.

The increase in the population and noise level of the street music community was not the main issue causing depression and anxiety. By the 1920s, the din of modernity was causing public outcry and complaints to the press. "Noise is a poison"⁹⁰ warned Mr G. D. Meudell, a share-broker of Melbourne who had convened a meeting of those interested in his campaign against noise. Whether as a result of the meeting or authored by Meudell alone, a poetic 'anti-noise manifesto' appeared in *The Mail* newspaper in 1928 under the title 'Song Against Noise'.⁹¹ Excerpts follow. The first stanza gives a range of modern, at least for the era, sounds.

Loco whistles, roosters crowing,
And the horns of motors blowing.
Sets of radio loud-speaking
And those lorry brake-bands squeaking.

The effects of all this on the individual?

Doubtless, too, your sleep is scrappy, and you've spent some nights unhappy,
So with this poor Melbourne chappie you can truly sympathise.
Life is not a quiet matter, but a dreadful roar and clatter,
Bad enough the brain to tatter, when it doesn't harmonise.

Then a call to arms to become an anti-noiser who frowns on any form of loud noise.

If you look for silent joy, sir, you should be an anti-noiser,
Frowning on the town clock striking,
Also speed fiends motor biking;
Stop the next door piano banging
And the row of tram gongs clanging.

Finishing with a comparison of old and new noise sources, it is concluded that the old noises, even the unpleasant ones, are preferable to the new.

Gramophones at times are narking,
But a watchdog's frenzied barking,
Or a sawmill can be kinder,
Than the tramway's night rail grinder.⁹²

90 Seebee, 'Topics of the Moment - Song Against Noise - *The Mail* (Adelaide, SA: 1912 - 1954) - 31 Mar 1928', *Trove*, p. 2 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article58547951>> [accessed 2 June 2016].

91 Seebee, p. 2.

92 Seebee, p. 2. It is possible this, and another 'manifesto' which was published on page 2 of Adelaide's *The Mail* newspaper on 31 March 1928 and possibly others like it, were penned by Mr G. D. Meudell

In 1930, the Melbourne newspaper *The Australasian* observed that budget changes had a marked effect on 'amusements' in Adelaide. "A popular picture theatre had an audience of 60, and an unfortunate circus ... only saw 17 ticket holders on the opening night. And the streets are lined with musicians, good, bad, and indifferent."⁹³ Theatres and cinemas may have been suffering, but it was clear free entertainment on the streets was booming and it was clear that any legislation that did exist was inadequate in a changed city, or it was not being enforced with any rigour, either intentionally or otherwise.

Many Rundle Street retailers complained about street musicians, one of them Napier Birk of Charles Birk's department store. He understood the musicians plight, even allowed them to play outside his store, until a number of bands began doing so *at the same time*. Perhaps this evidences a lack of suitable pitches for larger ensembles or simply that Birk's was a lucrative location and musicians were desperate. Napier Birk made a request to the authorities which is perhaps the basis for the current guideline which stipulates a minimum distance of fifty metres between performers: Birk requested that performers be at least one hundred metres apart.⁹⁴

The late 1920s and early 1930s brought an excess of street musicians and beggars. There were eccentrics like 'Dirty Dick' who played 'braw Scotch airs' all times of day and night; some buskers were criminals; some were wanted by the authorities. Despite being previously convicted of larceny, drunkenness, insulting language and having lost four fingers from his left hand, one applicant requested a permit as a banjo player.⁹⁵ Some Adelaidians suggested buskers from outside South Australia should be prohibited. In December 1930 the manager of Union Theatres was compelled to complain about street singers in a letter to the ACC.

We wish to enter an emphatic protest against street singers. The street musicians are bad enough, but for weeks now we have been compelled to ask police to move singers,

himself, a known self-styled anti-noise campaigner at the time. Whether these songs/poems were the result of a meeting of like-minds or the product of Meudell's alone is unknown.

93 'Adelaide - *The Australasian* (Melbourne, Vic: 1864 - 1946) - 2 Aug 1930', *Trove*, p. 11 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article141802740>> [accessed 5 June 2016].

94 Rob. Linn, p. 53.

95 Rob. Linn, p. 53. Admittedly, there is the possibility the applicant was genuine and left-handed, plucking with the left thumb, or they achieved some level of success employing their own unique style, à la Django Reinhardt.

as they stand in front of our theatre, and make such an unearthly row that it interferes with our talkies.⁹⁶

The problem was not street musicians loitering and playing music outside the cinema, it was that they could be heard *inside* the cinema and interfered with film dialogue. Firstly, this gives an indication of the volume being generated by the street musicians – and possibly other street activity - outside the cinema and secondly, it indicates that people were on the street during film screenings and therefore buskers were performing to audiences other than those entering and exiting the cinema before and after screenings. The protesting theatre manager admitted to at one time having had some understanding of the buskers' predicament until one day observing three of them sing for fifteen minutes before following them into the Oriental Hotel where they ordered drinks. This incident extinguished the theatre manager's sympathy for buskers.⁹⁷

Some rare accounts from the street musicians themselves came around the time of the depression in an article in *The Mail* of 3 June 1930 entitled "Not Well Paid. Street Musicians: Toiling for crust"⁹⁸ Though it is brief, the article gives the street musicians an opportunity to share their side of the story in the public domain and dispel some of the misinformation the public had come to believe about them. Talk amongst dissenters was that street musicians made "big fortunes." On the contrary, one street musician stated that, "On most days the reward is a few coppers, these coming from sympathetic women. It is difficult to get anything from men, but I dare say they are, in many cases, in the same plight as ourselves."⁹⁹ It was the height of the depression and indeed, the majority of Adelaidians *were* in the same predicament. The article's author goes on to explain that "These 'buskers', as they are known, find the task not only irksome, but extremely humiliating," resonating with similar feelings to those expressed by others forced to the streets during periods of economic hardship. Many buskers would have been aware that they were mediocre performers at best. It is understandable that a person in poverty with no real performance talent and few choices other than to masquerade as a musician may have found busking considerably more humiliating than someone

96 Rob. Linn, p. 54.

97 Rob. Linn, p. 54.

98 'Not Well Paid Street Musicians "Toiling for a Crust"', *The Mail* (Adelaide, SA, 4 October 1930), p. 3 (p. 3).

99 'Not Well Paid Street Musicians "Toiling for a Crust"', p. 3.

who was a trained musician and/or experienced street performer, musically proficient and accustomed to public performance.

Once a permit system was introduced, the ACC's rejection of a permit application or cancellation of an existing permit could rule out even busking as an option for a meagre income. The representative for a group of unsuccessful applicants lamented, "when there is nothing else for us to do we are willing to humiliate ourselves and sing in the street to try and make a living, but so far we have not been able to receive permission."¹⁰⁰ That these applicants were disappointed they could not get a permit to humiliate themselves in public reflects desperate times. Those with permits continued to "entertain Adelaidians and frustrate storekeepers" for the next decade.¹⁰¹

The article 'Toiling for a crust' evidences that by 1930 there were no jobs for the able bodied or anybody else and that busking was not the occupation of choice for the majority of musicians on the street at that time. The following are the thoughts of a street musician in 1930:

Playing from early in the morning until late in the afternoon is enough to sicken anybody of music ... People say that we look able bodied and healthy, but you can bet we would not be doing this if there were other jobs. It is hateful. But we have others to think of beside ourselves, and the few odd pennies come as a veritable godsend these times.¹⁰²

There was occasional encouragement in the form of appreciative notes from nearby businesses, for instance the following: "To the band – Good tone; keep it up, boys. With budget troubles we want some cheering up," and another, "First cornet very good; band generally excellent."¹⁰³ The positive encouragements demonstrate that, while some members of the public may have stereotyped buskers as undesirables and beggars, there were others who felt differently.

Any new legislation needed to achieve a fine balance. It would need to consider the public nuisance created by genuine beggars masquerading as street musicians and genuine musicians who had become unemployed through no fault of their own. This meant the new bylaw would need to be flexible and take into account both a wide range of public opinions and the high unemployment rate. The available

¹⁰⁰ Rob. Linn, p. 54.

¹⁰¹ Rob. Linn, p. 54.

¹⁰² 'Not Well Paid Street Musicians "Toiling for a Crust"', p. 3.

¹⁰³ 'Not Well Paid Street Musicians "Toiling for a Crust"', p. 3.

charities and social services were barely coping with the widespread poverty and the disabled.¹⁰⁴ The ACC did not intend for any new legislation to cause further hardship, but it was imperative they did something.

2.3 The Depression and the 'talkies'

While theatres and cinemas were profitable locations for street musicians to pitch, the 'talkies' or 'talking pictures' created serious problems for cinema orchestra musicians, eventually superseding them, and many gave their debut busking performance during the depression. The dynamics of the relationship between the beggars and buskers already on the street and the new arrivals from the cinemas is unknown, but this would have presumably been a period of adjustment. A clue that these orchestra instrumentalists had migrated to the streets comes in 1930 when the town inspector, W.B. Good, reported an incident where "the band and the music were quite nice."¹⁰⁵ The band was a full brass band, the sound of which, considering the architecture of Rundle Street by this time, may have reverberated wildly, disturbing retailers, businesses and offices in the vicinity. Poverty stricken street musicians (particularly beggar/buskers) do not appear en masse, organised, and with brass band instruments. Times were harsh, though, and this group of instrumentalists may have been off-duty members of a military brass band or the Salvation Army Band. Many professional cinema musicians were not trained for anything else, not that there was much else available during the depression even if they had been. A returned soldier, presumably a former orchestra musician pre-World War One, had sold all but the instruments required to earn him a small income on the street as there was no longer work for professional musicians in the cinemas.¹⁰⁶

Before the talkies, large cinema orchestras were extremely popular and work for capable musicians was plentiful, perhaps plentiful enough to employ those in Adelaide capable of doing the job. Though they had existed for some time, silent movies reached the zenith of their popularity in Adelaide immediately after World War One and the Wondergraph Orchestra, named after the cinema that employed it, was one of the most popular in Adelaide.

¹⁰⁴ Perhaps explaining why there was a good percentage of blind performers of dubious talent on the streets.

They had little option. The limited number of food rations available provided barely enough to go around.

¹⁰⁵ Rob. Linn, p. 51. The problem was the two hefty collectors accosting pedestrians in the street..

¹⁰⁶ Rob. Linn, p. 51.

The conductor of the Wondergraph Orchestra ... has established unquestionably the finest picture orchestra in the Commonwealth, and the bright and musicianly playing of his splendid band is one of the most attractive features of Wondergraph programmes.¹⁰⁷

The cinema orchestras were required to play a wide range of material as part of their regular duties and supported famous artists passing through Adelaide.¹⁰⁸ The conductor of the Wondergraph Orchestra, William Cade, was also leader and sometimes conductor of the South Australian Symphony Orchestra in the 1920s and early 1930s. He then became the first conductor of the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra between the years 1936 – 1948.¹⁰⁹ Considering this, it could be presumed that the Wondergraph Orchestra were a proficient and professional ensemble, some of whom would soon be performing on the streets. A letter from 'Carmen' in *The News* in 1927 expressed her appreciation of "the delightful selection rendered by the [Wondergraph] orchestra."

... especially the works of Schubert, such as his famous "Unfinished Symphony" and his "Serenade." There is no doubt that if these excellent musical programmes are continued the management will be amply repaid by increased patronage.¹¹⁰

Reports of the cinema orchestras of the time give an indication of the quality of musicianship which would have been found on Adelaide's streets when their musicians were made redundant. At the beginning of the 1920s, silent movies were 'booming' and their popularity was at an all-time high. In less than a decade the new 'talking pictures' were spreading throughout the country; the Fox-Movietone truck toured Australia in 1929¹¹¹ while in the same year Hoyts Cinemas took their 'Hoyts Talking Pictures Road Show' to country areas with an all-American selection of films featuring *News of the World* and "music and dancing by famous international stars."¹¹²

107 'Wondergraph Music - A Fine Orchestra - *The Register* (Adelaide, SA: 1901 - 1929) - 28 May 1920', *Trove*, p. 6 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article62715092>> [accessed 16 June 2016].

108 'Wondergraph Music - A Fine Orchestra', p. 6.

109 The author would like to thank Dr. Jula Szuster for dates and details regarding William Cade and the Wondergraph Orchestra, the South Australian and the Adelaide Symphony Orchestras. Also p. 50.

110 Carmen, 'What Our Readers Think - to the Editor. Wondergraph Orchestra - *News* (Adelaide, SA: 1923 - 1954) - 6 Jan 1927', *Trove*, p. 8 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article129204787>> [accessed 16 June 2016].

111 'Future Talkies. New Developments, Adelaide Experts Work', *The Mail* (Adelaide, SA, 9 November 1929), p. 3 (p. 3).

112 Australian Screen, 'Hoyts Cinemas: Talkies for Country Areas', *Australianscreen*, 2016 <<http://aso.gov.au/titles/ads/hoyts-cinemas-talkies/clip1/>> [accessed 13 June 2016].

This excerpt from an article in *The Mail* outlines the employment benefits of the talkies.

The departments for production of equipment, and the installation and maintenance, are in themselves great organisations. To meet their demands a new industry has been born in the last year or two ... ¹¹³

There is no doubt 'talking pictures' created new areas of employment in the film industry and created new employment opportunities in Australia, but it ended employment opportunities for cinema musicians and orchestras. There was no career path from the cinema orchestra pit to the film recording sound stage for the professional musician in Adelaide in 1930. Nearly all cinemas were 'wired for sound' by 1931, live musicians almost completely phased out around the same time or soon after. A small number of musicians moved to radio and other musical engagements, but "many immensely talented instrumentalists became unemployed." ¹¹⁴ As the new sub-group of unemployed musicians were trained, professional musicians - something that may have given them an advantage over other buskers – and as there were no other employment alternatives, the obvious destination for redundant cinema musicians was the streets.

Professional cinema musicians arriving on the streets during the depression was obviously a negative for the existing street musicians, but it created a unique situation for 'hard-up' non-busking Adelaidians who may not have been able to afford to enjoy the music of these professionals inside a cinema. They could now enjoy the music of some of those same musicians *outside* the cinema free of charge or for whatever they could offer. This may not seem significant looking back from the early twenty-first century, but it should be remembered that this was occurring at the height of an economic depression, before television and digital devices, and at a time where live music played a much larger role in everyday life and held a different significance for people. They were bleak times where anything uplifting was welcome and street music helped many Adelaidians escape their unpleasant reality. It is to be hoped that the influx of trained musicians raised the overall level of musicianship among the street music community as by 1930 "the streets of Adelaide's CBD were

¹¹³ 'Future Talkies. New Developments, Adelaide Experts Work'.

¹¹⁴ Rob. Linn, p. 49.

throbbing with the sound of music.”¹¹⁵ The author hypothesises that the peak number for the street music population was not reached until the final cinema musicians became unemployed sometime post-1930. Regardless of the quality of the music, it was the diminishing quantity of musicians and the improving economy that eventually cued stricter enforcement of the legislation.

The differences between the new group of cinema musicians and many of the existing street musicians may have caused a power shift within the street music community. Firstly, the makeshift and/or poor quality instruments and amateurish or non-existent musical skills of many of the original buskers, while they were adequate in competition with others on par, were now in competition with professional and proficient cinema musicians. Most of these professionals would probably have been playing instruments ranging from reasonable to very good quality. On the other hand, experienced performers in the original group of buskers may have had an advantage over their fresh competition: ‘street smarts’. The professional cinema musicians had no experience performing in the conditions on the street. The experienced buskers, though, knew the streets, the best pitches, how to gather and hold a crowd and, most importantly, how to give a finale that encouraged donations (‘tips’). Good performance skills went some way towards making up for a lack of musical talent so perhaps those with experience who knew how to ‘work a crowd’ on the streets did as well as they ever had. The cinema musicians arrived directly from the orchestra pit with musical proficiency, but with possibly no experience of busking as a profession or performing in a crowded and noisy street environment. Prior to the talkies, the buskers would have been observed by professional musicians on their way to or from work at the cinema. Now they were performing alongside those same buskers on the street. This could be equated with a street musician suddenly finding themselves in the orchestra pit with no idea about the protocol or skill-set required. In the cinema musicians’ favour was the quality of their playing; simply standing and playing may have been enough to earn a living, or at least generate some income.

By the late 1920s and early 1930s the large street music community in Adelaide consisted of usually poor citizens of varying musical abilities and professional cinema musicians. Judging by the activity they generated in the press and among ACC council staff and police, this combined group was causing some considerable

¹¹⁵ Rob. Linn, p. 49.

disruption. The authorities originally used their new legislation to filter out problematic buskers or 'unfit persons' rather than to clear the streets of buskers entirely, but their approach would change variously between the 1930s and the 1950s. During World War Two, the attitude towards able-bodied buskers fit for regular employment was that they should be contributing to the war effort in some way, not playing music on the streets. After World War Two in the mid-1940s when the economy began to improve the ACC became more aggressive, the attitude at this time being that busking and buskers were not required as there was an alternative available: regular employment. This attitude was based on the incorrect assumption that all street musicians felt humiliated and did not want to be performing on the street. This does not appear to be the reality as there were a number of buskers who remained on the street and, as the economy continued to improve, the streets may have offered a talented street musician the opportunity to generate an healthy income.

Adelaidians, retailers, businesses and the civic authorities were becoming concerned with the situation, but opinions remained divided. One writer reflected the feelings of many when they wrote that the 'city fathers' (the ACC) should consider the dire straits of street performers.¹¹⁶ Some retailers and other citizens were not so sympathetic and simply wanted them gone. The street musicians themselves claimed there were around forty musicians (note that this is musicians only and excludes other types of performers) who depended on busking as their only way of earning an income.¹¹⁷

2.4 Bylaws and permits: 1930

The increase in noise brought about by a new range of loud machines, engines and devices was an inevitable part of what was considered to be progress in the new century. Before the 1930 bylaw, life would have been ad hoc and possibly risky for street musicians and the introduction of any new street music bylaw and permit system in 1930 would have a significant and possibly beneficial impact. The ACC had to consider an irate public; disgruntled businesses and retailers; retailers wanting to make noise themselves by demonstrating electrical goods and musical instruments; the increasingly worsening din of industry, machinery and transport;

¹¹⁶ Rob. Linn, p. 50.

¹¹⁷ Rob. Linn, p. 50.

and the social welfare of the street musicians, their families, and that many of them had no other (legal) way to earn an income.

The ACC received a letter dated 19 May 1930 from the South Australian Music Trades Association, obviously aware of impending action, stating that “A sub-committee representing the Music and Radio Trades of Rundle Street would like to interview the Lord Mayor in reference to the proposed by-law respecting the elimination of noises.”¹¹⁸ It was not just street musicians that would be affected by a noise legislation overhaul. The chance to make an income busking on Adelaide’s streets was one of the few things the ACC could offer citizens during the depression so a new system would need to ensure this opportunity remained available while being flexible enough for the ACC to be able to apply varying amounts of pressure to control it as and when required.

In 1930, due to the overwhelming amount of negative correspondence and the obvious necessity due to the large number of buskers, the ACC began to pursue a formal and detailed legislation regarding street music and street noise generally, firstly requesting a copy of Melbourne City Council’s bylaw number 198 from their town clerk.¹¹⁹ This document is the foundation for the first draft of the ACC’s 1930 street music bylaw. A letter was written to the ACC solicitor in February of 1930 advising that

At a meeting of the Parliamentary By-Laws Committee yesterday the question of street noises was discussed, and I am instructed to request that you will draft a By-Law for the abatement of noises in the city, so that it may be submitted to the committee for its consideration.¹²⁰

After much consideration, the ACC amended one of their own existing bylaws, ‘By-law No. IX: In Respect of Good Rule and Government’.¹²¹ [See page 2 of the PDF file ‘Bylaws’ on the enclosed USB media for 1930 amendments.] While this bylaw does not evidence that there had been permits previously, it does show that some legislation relevant to street musicians had been formally passed prior to the 1930 bylaw, namely ‘By-law IX’, dated 31 July 1905. Of the two amendments, point 28

118 A.J. Chapman, ‘South Australian Music Trades Association Letter to the ACC’, 19 May 1930, Adelaide City Archive.

119 ACC Town Clerk to Melbourne City Council Town Clerk, 21 January 1930, Adelaide City Archive.

120 ACC Town Clerk, ‘Letter to City Solicitors’, 25 February 1930, Adelaide City Archive.

121 ACC, ‘By-Law No. IX: In Respect of Good Rule and Government.’, 23 October 1930, Adelaide City Archive.

concerns noise generally and point 29 was aimed at street music specifically. In short, the new amendments were an update which prohibited singing, preaching, haranguing, loud or violent outcries, noise, disturbances or sound in any street, foot-way or public place, but street music was permitted on the proviso that the musician had an ACC street musician's permit issued by the town clerk. [See the 'Stills' folder, file '14_Permit-AESomerville-Trombone-1940' on the enclosed USB media for example permit.] The town clerk wrote the hours of validity and any other stipulations they thought appropriate on the permit itself and recorded the newly issued permit in the street musicians' permit register, copies of which were distributed to council inspectors and police. The amendments to Bylaw IX ¹²² were passed and gazetted by eighteen of the nineteen members of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Adelaide on 6 October 1930. Unfortunately for the City Inspector and Licensing Officer, his correspondence to the town clerk arrived after this date.

Although the City Inspector was "not instructed to give any suggestions" ¹²³ regarding the new amendments, he had many. He believed one particular man should not be allowed a permit because he could not sing, instead moaning 'in a foreign tongue'; permits should not be issued for young men with no instrument, but only to married men with families to support; no notices should be displayed like 'I am blind' or 'always been out of work'; ¹²⁴ banjos should be prohibited entirely; and no permits should be "issued at all excepting to an approved musical combination capable of really rendering music." ¹²⁵ In brighter economic times, the ACC's attitude became more closely aligned with the City Inspector's, but in the 1930s these suggestions ignored the realities of the depression and are included here to indicate the thinking of some sections of the general population and civic authorities at that time. The gazetted amendments were clear and fair, but the revised permit system application process was almost the ACC's master-stroke, but for one flaw: most were valid indefinitely, the ACC only choosing to add expiration dates to a few. Why they did this is unknown.

¹²² ACC, 'By-Law No. IX: In Respect of Good Rule and Government.'

¹²³ Adelaide City Inspector and Licensing Officer, 'Memo from the City Inspector and Licensing Officer to the ACC Town Clerk', 15 November 1930, Adelaide City Archive.

¹²⁴ See files 07 and 13 in folder 'Stills' on enclosed USB media for example signs circa 1930. Located in the ACA and presumably confiscated from buskers in the 1930s.

¹²⁵ Adelaide City Inspector and Licensing Officer.

There were already a large number of buskers operating in Adelaide in 1930 when the new bylaw and permit system were introduced, some appearing to have gotten permission to busk previously and perhaps using some form of written permit. Perhaps they had permission or permits linked to the original 'By-law IX' to which the 1930 amendments were being applied or to the 1899 bylaw. As a press report from 1899 was all that was located during research of the 1899 bylaw, the exact details of it are unknown. The only evidence of a street music bylaw being considered around that time is a draft of a bylaw from nine years earlier. The evidence does show, though, that once permits were introduced in 1930, all street musicians working in Adelaide were expected to be on the street musicians' register and have a valid permit to display when requested.

In February 1931, three months after the bylaw changes had been gazetted, the ACC put the new system into action and began to filter out some of what were perceived to be the less desirable street musicians. The town clerk sent a letter to the city inspector requesting he task one of his officers to give "special attention" to street musicians, particularly to "whether any of them could be considered a nuisance and would warrant their permits being withdrawn."¹²⁶ So began a concerted effort to whittle down the street music community to only those who had been through the permit application process and held new, valid permits (and abided by its conditions). The application process - which may involve an audition - would have deterred some, certainly those with a criminal record or no musical or performance skills. If there were those with older permits or permissions it is difficult to ascertain from the existing documentation if any of them were transferred to the new 1930 street musicians' register, but it is possible.

In response to a shopkeeper's request in 1934 to use a radio outside his shop so passers-by could hear the test cricket, the ACC town clerk replied that there was no provision in the ACC bylaw for such a permit. The town clerk replied that the matter was covered "in the Traffic By-Law,"¹²⁷ and then quotes the relevant section in full.

No person shall in or upon any street or on or over any foot-way or in or upon any premises adjacent thereto cause or permit or suffer any sound or noise to be omitted from any wireless set, loud speaker, gramophone, or piano player so as to attract together a number of persons in any street or so as to obstruct traffic or so as to be

¹²⁶ ACC Town Clerk letter to City Inspector, 'Street Musicians.', 19 February 1931, Adelaide City Archive.

¹²⁷ ACC Town Clerk to G.G. Talbot, 21 June 1934, Adelaide City Archive.

calculated to cause inconvenience or annoyance to any person being in or upon any premises adjacent to such street or foot-way as aforesaid.¹²⁸

The issue was that people listening to the shopkeeper's wireless radio may form a crowd which would *cause an obstruction*. The wireless itself does not seem to be the problem, just as Fredrick Carr had believed he and his music had not been the problem; it was the audience that causing the obstruction. The suite of bylaws developed by the ACC by 1934 was comprehensive and appeared to have closed all loopholes in an effort to avoid the congregation of crowds in public space. An improving economy worked in favour of the genuinely talented street musicians as any reduction in the number of non-musician busker/beggars gave them a better chance of being heard and appreciated and earning more money.

Regular employment was becoming available by 1934 and some Adelaidians felt that busking was not required, overlooking any benefits it may have for the community. By the 1950s, over a century of street music in Adelaide had been all but silenced. While no evidence was located to support a flourishing street music community after the early 1950s, no doubt there was some street music population, probably small.

As mentioned previously, there was a problem with the new 1930 permit system: there was no expiry date. Apart from two permits in the street musicians' register that the ACC had chosen to write an expiry date next to,¹²⁹ when the economy improved and jobs became available the ACC could not cut the street musician population by no longer renewing permits as no renewal was required. The ACC issued the permits with the caveat that they could be withdrawn at any time without reason, and this fact was printed on the permits. As it turned out, most buskers would leave the street of their own accord as things improved economically and the ACC was then left to wrangle with the remaining few who, if the observations during fieldwork in 2016 give any comparison, were possibly making as much or more than in regular employment, were financially independent and preferred busking to a '9 to 5' job.

¹²⁸ ACC Town Clerk to Talbot.

¹²⁹ The reason for this is unknown and is based on the 'Street Musicians' Register' of 1931 which lists 180 issued permits, but only three have expiry dates hand written in the right hand column.

3 Fade to black: 1938 to 1950

According to Rob Linn in his book *Those Turbulent Years: A history of the City of Adelaide, 1929-1979*, by 1934 only eight new street musicians' permits had been added to the 120 originally issued in 1930.¹³⁰ That would equate to 128 being the number of street musicians in Adelaide and on first sight the list of 'Permits issued to street musicians' dated October 1931 appears to contradict these numbers as it documents seventy-seven permits issued. The anomaly is resolved by the fact that some permits were issued to groups of musicians rather than individuals (i.e. one permit was registered for a five-piece band). The entries on that list are numbered from one to seventy-three consecutively with four entries separated from the others and numbered 194 to 197 consecutively. These permits are 'in lieu of' or 'duplicates of' permits that had appeared in the list previously, had been surrendered, then the holder of the previous number had applied for a new permit and been given a new number. Why there is a leap in permit numbers from seventy-three to 197 is unknown, as are any details about the permits with the missing numbers between seventy-three and 197.

A.E. Somerville's permit number in the permit holder's register of 1931 is number three. [See '14_Permit-AESomerville-Trombone-1940' in the 'Stills' folder on the enclosed USB media.] Their re-issued permit from 1940 has 'duplicate of 186' written in the top-left corner, but in the top right corner of the new permit is 237, the actual number of Somerville's new permit. Is it to be presumed that, rather than two hundred permit holders, there were nearly 240 registered street musicians in Adelaide by 1940? Unlikely, as the ACC stopped issuing permits altogether in 1938, two years previously, and it is unusual if they renewed Somerville's permit in 1940. There was also no evidence located that the ACC began issuing street musicians' permits again at any time after 1938 until a new bylaw and permits were introduced in 1978 to accommodate busking in Rundle Mall. Somerville had been performing on the streets of Adelaide for several decades and had become part of the culture and character of the city. One might presume Somerville's business was busking and they were law abiding; perhaps because of this the ACC had granted a special dispensation by renewing the permit. Perhaps Somerville handed his permit in or had it withdrawn, reapplied for a permit

¹³⁰ Rob. Linn, p. 54.

at a later date and was issued a permit with a different number. Reissuing permits under the same number was rare, though, and when a permit was surrendered or otherwise forfeited, that permit number was usually not used again. The next permit was issued on the next numbered permit in the printed permit docket booklet, whether that permit was being reissued to a previous permit holder or being issued to a new applicant. If a street musician died or otherwise vacated the streets, their permit number went with them. Any new applicant would receive the next permit in the booklet. Consequently, the numbers on the permits or the uppermost number reached on any permit (Somerville's 237, for instance) can provide no accurate information about how many buskers may or may not have been present in Adelaide. While Somerville's permit number is in the two hundreds, the real number of buskers registered in 1940 was probably lower than this, perhaps by up to a half as many. It could be that the numbering to seventy-seven on the 1931 list is closer to the real number of registered buskers at any time during the depression or the 1930s.

On the first page of the 1931 register, handwritten in the right hand column, permit number thirteen has 'surrendered: See no. 73'. The permit was for a band whose personnel had changed so a new permit and number were issued. On the other hand, permit number eighteen has next to it 'surrendered: see duplicate 18', and there are two number eighteens, the second with an extra musician added to the permit. What is not marked is that a new permit and number was created for the same band at sometime after that and appears at the end of the list as permit number 195 and is marked 'Duplicate and in lieu of Permit no. 18'. The end result is the same band having three entries in the register. It is unclear why the ACC decided on using a variety of methods to record permit changes, but perhaps after trialling one method they simply decided to trial another. Unfortunately, this created a register where the same performer could be recorded once, twice or several times, depending on their circumstances, and each time receive a different number, or perhaps the same one. Having expiry dates on all permits rather than a couple may have helped to overcome some of the confusion, but it may have worsened it. There are only two permits in the 1931 register with expiry dates: entries seventy-one and seventy-two are marked 'Available to 25/9/31' and 'Available to 21/9/31' respectively. It is unknown why these two have been singled out.

Considering all this, the author concludes that calculating an accurate number of registered street musicians in Adelaide during the 1930s and 1940s would be impossible. For the ACC, it may not have been the number on the permit that was important, but that a street musician could present a valid permit if requested. The street musicians' register was an accurate number of how many permit dockets had been issued, but not of *active* permit holders. If the ACC wanted to know how many permit holders were active and 'on the street' at any given time they could simply send inspectors or police out to check permits and do a head count, but there was no way to know if permits issued and recorded in the register were still active. There was also no way of knowing the exact number of registered buskers without some considerable analysis of the street musicians' register. As permits did not expire the ACC could not conveniently erase them from the register if they did not receive an application for renewal by the permit's expiry date. Permits would have become dormant through inactivity, some musicians may have surrendered them then reapplied and received a new permit and number, buskers may have taken up other employment then returned to busking. The ACC may have found it challenging to keep the register up to date which might explain their changing methodology. The ACC may have had issues keeping on top of administration related to the new bylaw amendments at the same time as dealing with the impacts of the depression generally. Relaying the information in the street musicians' register to the city inspector and the police and keeping all parties up-to-date added further complexity to the undertaking.

While music filled the streets during the depression, it is questionable whether it would have been possible to distinguish the output of one musician from another against the aural backdrop of gramophones, radios, pianos, wind instruments, traffic and general street noise. Linn reports, and the street musicians' register corroborates it, that instruments in use at the time were "as diverse as mandolins, banjos, harps, flutes, steel guitars, flageolets, cornets, mouth organs, euphoniums, saxophones, trumpets and tin whistles, as well as the human voice."¹³¹ While at the new permit system's inception the authorities took a more relaxed approach, by the mid-1930s the economy was improving and the ACC's *modus operandi* altered. With formal, and importantly, flexible guidelines, the civic authorities had a

¹³¹ Rob. Linn, p. 54.

powerful tool to control the streets. Quality control came in the form of the new permit system's audition process and may have been one of the reasons there were only eight new permits issued in four years, if that was the case. The audition process may have worked in favour of genuine musicians. The process meant that the town clerk had some influence over Adelaide's street music and street musicians may have made themselves aware of what the town clerk considered to be music fit for the streets and the ears of Adelaidians. The town clerk's musical taste may have alienated musicians who did not perform in an appropriate style. The necessity of a permit application and the possibility of a formal audition process meant busking in Adelaide was no longer as simple as placing a hat for tips in Rundle Street and strumming an instrument.¹³²

The new permits allowed the civic authorities to keep track of registered performers and, to some degree, their activities. A permit application required the applicant's name, address, criminal history, and additionally, there was the possibility of an audition. These requirements gave legitimate permit-holding street musicians a better chance of generating an income and hopefully made the experience of street music more pleasurable for Adelaidians. The ACC was perhaps 'adjusting the pressure' in the early years of the 1930s, testing the power and flexibility of the new system. It could be used to control busker numbers aggressively or leniently, as circumstances dictated, by adjusting how severely it was policed *without the need to change the actual legislation or its wording*.

By the late 1930s the economy had improved and the authorities began to deal with Adelaide's slum dwellings and insanitary living conditions. The 'Housing Improvement Act' of 1940 was intended to

... provide for the improvement of sub-standard housing conditions, to provide for housing of persons of limited means, to regulate the rentals of sub-standard dwelling houses in the metropolitan area and in certain other parts of the State ...¹³³

¹³² Although, taking into account the ACC's approach to the situation in the years of poverty and rations, the need for an audition may have been decided on a case by case basis. One factor in the granting of a permit may have been the applicants level of poverty rather than their level of musical proficiency. From the archival evidence it appears the the ACC had a great deal of understanding and sympathy for the financial hardship facing Adelaide's street performers and, knowing the profound effect a permit refusal may have, found their task a difficult one.

¹³³ Government of South Australia, 'Housing Improvement Act 1940' (Government of South Australia, 1940) <<https://www.legislation.sa.gov.au/lz/c/a/housing%20improvement%20act%201940/current/1940.56.un.pdf>> [accessed 8 September 2016].

As part of the clean up of the city, in 1938 the ACC ceased issuing permits altogether, arguing able-bodied men should be in “useful employment.”¹³⁴ In a short time, employment for most of them would involve World War Two. While “the skills and characters of these street musicians had given Adelaide a brief time of entertainment, a momentary respite from the pressures of unemployment and poverty,”¹³⁵ in the opinion of the ACC, buskers were no longer required. The ACC made two assumptions: firstly, that the general public was not interested in having music in the streets and secondly, and related to the first point, that ‘professional’ street musicians who were engaged in ‘useful employment’, or self-employed musicians, did not want to be there. As poverty drained from the streets of Adelaide’s CBD, so did street music.

Linn writes that during the early to mid-1930s

The degree of abasement and self-deprecation through which the musicians were forced to pass so that they could lower their own expectations and bring the concert hall stage to the asphalt of the street can only be surmised. It was a matter of survival.¹³⁶

It may be hypothesised, then, that those who remained on the streets busking in the late 1930s and during the 1940s were not under duress, were confident in their musical skills and earning capacity and considered busking a profession. There was regular employment available during the late 1930s and early 1940s so it is possible the remaining buskers were earning enough or more money on the street than they would, or had been, in ‘regular’ employment. It may be that they enjoyed working as street musicians more than they did working in formal employment, or they were disabled, infirm and had few other options. Frank Hooper writes in the article ‘Music in the Streets of Adelaide’ in 1938 that “these wandering orchestras have brought a little of the gaiety of Continental cities to our streets. For this we may well be grateful.”¹³⁷ The fusion of trained cinema musicians with street musicians and beggar/buskers and others on Adelaide’s streets appears to have created a unique meeting of musical worlds during the depression, but perhaps something similar was also happening

134 Rob. Linn, p. 56.

135 Rob. Linn, p. 56.

136 Rob. Linn, p. 56.

137 Frank Hooper, ‘Music in the Streets of Adelaide - *The Mail* (Adelaide, SA: 1912 - 1954) - 7 May 1938’, *Trove* <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55844636>> [accessed 26 May 2016] By the 1970s, bringing this ‘continental gaiety’ back to Adelaide’s streets would be on the agenda of the then premier Don Dunstan. .

elsewhere. It is beyond the scope of this project, but the sudden unemployment of many of the world's cinema musicians due to the talkies may have been a disruption reflected in street music communities globally around this time.

By the early 1940s many street musicians had found other employment and few remained. Some still applied for permits and there was a complaint from one disgruntled musician, an invalid from the First World War, asking why Italian accordionists and able-bodied men should receive better treatment than he (one assumes the war veteran's application was rejected as the ACC had ceased issuing permits in 1938). A relative of the button-organ had also returned, but from a different part of Europe: the piano accordion from, or connected in the veteran's mind to, Italy. ¹³⁸

Thirty-nine percent of housing in Adelaide was still considered sub-standard according to the government's 'Housing Improvement Act 1940'. ¹³⁹ The document found that many dwellings were old, damp, dim, badly ventilated and in a state of decay, many of them verminous. None were considered fit for repair and it was recommended they be demolished. A musician without a permit could no longer apply for one and, it could be assumed, many would soon be homeless as well as in poverty. The west and south of the city were the worst; narrow and congested streets, their tiny allotments and small yards filled with chickens and other livestock, industry and its related effluent and by-products juxtaposed with residential housing. ¹⁴⁰

The end of the depression saw increased employment opportunities and there were few performers by the late 1930s. ¹⁴¹ By 1943 there were "... urgent manpower needs" ¹⁴² due to the war effort and able-bodied individuals were expected to fill the shortfall rather than cause a disturbance in the street. ¹⁴³ The City Inspector was most pleased at this absence of buskers and when

¹³⁸ Rob. Linn, p. 111.

¹³⁹ Government of South Australia, 'Housing Improvement Act 1940'.

¹⁴⁰ Rob. Linn, pp. 93–94.

¹⁴¹ Rob. Linn, p. 112.

¹⁴² R. (Acting City Inspector) Hughes, 'Street Musicians', 8 January 1943, Adelaide City Archive, SPF158F:01.

¹⁴³ The belief seems to have persisted that performing in the street was somehow an easy way out when the reality was that most found busking extremely intimidating, humiliating. As as there were no jobs, it was their only alternative.

writing to the Town Clerk about a remaining, permit-holding street musician, was moved to add that

... the large number of itinerant 'musicians' who had obtained permits to play instruments in the streets during the depression years had adopted a more regular means of obtaining a living and found it unnecessary to play in the streets. It must surely be agreed that the appearance of the City streets has not deteriorated through their absence, and their continued absence will be appreciated by many. ¹⁴⁴

The advice to the ACC from City Inspector, R. Hughes - who appears to have been on a personal mission to eradicate street musicians during and before this time – was to retrospectively cancel permits issued around the time of the depression on the grounds that there was now regular employment so there was no longer a need for them. ¹⁴⁵ This would probably have obliterated a good portion of Adelaide's street music community overnight and the ACC obviously saw no reason to take the inspector's advice as they did not follow it. They could simply withdraw permits without reason at their discretion, but this would seem particularly unjust. It was one thing to stop issuing new permits, but what to do about the old, still valid ones? If permit renewals had been incorporated in the first instance, the ACC could have stopped renewing permits and deleted them from the register after their expiry date had passed.

¹⁴⁶

Any improvements seen in Adelaide, economically or otherwise, were thwarted by World War Two which lasted from 1939 - 1945. By 1943, butter and household linen were rationed, meat in 1944. By 1945 the war was over, but the damage had been done and unemployment and sickness benefits were introduced. The end of the war brought relief, but there were social and economic aftershocks and lasting consequences. Returned soldiers were damaged by their experience of the war and confused by the changes at home on their return. The authorities considered the best course of action was to return to these returned servicemen their pre-war jobs which the women had been doing in their absence. Consequently, many women lost full or part-time work. Unfortunately, some ex-servicemen were so damaged by

¹⁴⁴ City Inspector, 'RE A.E. Somerville', 1 November 1943, Adelaide City Archive.

¹⁴⁵ City Inspector, 'RE A.E. Somerville'.

¹⁴⁶ Interesting to ponder whether, as the permit system changed, previously valid permits, if they existed, were at any stage cancelled as part of the process of amending the legislation. If not, there may be octogenarians who still possess valid busking permits from the 1930s.

their experiences during the war that they were unemployed and unemployable, and by 1946 the divorce rate had doubled in twelve months.¹⁴⁷

The buskers Bastian and Nichols, a sometime duo, appear to be a good example of successful street musicians who had no desire to leave the streets and were suffering little hardship as a result of their decision. The duo repeatedly thwarted the ACC's attempts to get them into regular employment. In a response to a 1943 report on the two, the ACC recommended their permits be withdrawn. Bastian claimed he possessed a permit which had been issued a decade earlier in 1933¹⁴⁸ (again illustrating the problem with the absence of an expiry date on permits). Unsurprisingly, these two buskers attracted the attention of the city inspector who did not approve of performers finding "the life of begging more congenial than working, especially as there is plenty of money about."¹⁴⁹ This says two things. Firstly, the inspector did not consider performing music in the street to be 'working', even in affluent times when a good performer would have generated a considerable amount of money. Secondly, the statement that there is 'plenty of money about' may explain exactly why Bastian and Nicholls preferred to busk rather than work in a factory or elsewhere. The City Inspector confirmed that the two usually attracted crowds¹⁵⁰ so it could be assumed that in an affluent Adelaide they were making a living. He also confirmed that *they had had regular work previously* and what the inspector takes umbrage with is that Bastian and Nichols had resigned from their previous jobs, preferring to busk.¹⁵¹ The two musicians had no complaints, were not asking anything of the authorities, were happy busking and were suffering no hardship, whatever amount they were earning. There was no other complaint found about them from any other complainant at this time apart from the City Inspector. Although it would not become as severe as the city inspector's, the ACC's attitude to street musicians would also become more conservative over time.

147 'Chronology 1890s on ASO - Australia's Audio and Visual Heritage Online'

<<http://aso.gov.au/chronology/1890s/>> [accessed 15 August 2015].

148 ACC Inspector James B. Walsh to Superintendent Church, 'Section 32 By Law 9', 5 January 1943. In response to a police report.

149 ACC City Inspector.

150 ACC City Inspector.

151 It should be remembered that in the 1930s, as in 2016, it may have been common for street musicians to be offered work at private functions. A combination of busking and formal musical engagements may have offered a wage equitable to that of a factory or labouring job.

While a symphony orchestra had been established in Adelaide in 1936 and was still in existence in 1948, most of the members had “other financial strings to their bows” at this time and, according to Brewster-Jones, this would create an issue were another depression to arrive.¹⁵² He encourages the financial support of Adelaide’s orchestras and musicians through patronage during good financial times, believing that

... it becomes a civic responsibility to help in the support of that class of music-giving which will satisfy best our cultural and spiritual needs. The symphony orchestra and chamber music combinations, such as the string quartet, do this most successfully.¹⁵³

Brewster-Jones suggests that a fully funded symphony orchestra should be the goal with musicians on three year contracts.¹⁵⁴ Going by what can be surmised from the article, Adelaide’s orchestra musicians were not on any contract at the time. Brewster-Jones pointed out that

... an orchestra subsidised by [the] A.B.C. [Australian Broadcasting Corporation], Government, municipal, and private donations will have a degree of permanency, but who can say what another depression will bring in its trail? Some of our best bandsmen were busking in the streets during the last one, and it is to be feared that in such another eventuality music will be considered a luxury which should be forfeited. Certainly let us pay for it while we may, and let us not be niggardly in the payment.¹⁵⁵

While there was talk of providing financial stability and guaranteeing permanency for the symphony orchestra, professional street musicians - some possibly ex-cinema musicians with the proficiency to occupy an orchestra seat – may have been earning a good income on the street. Professional buskers would almost certainly have existed at any time there were Adelaidians with money.

It is around the late 1940s that information concerning street music in Adelaide becomes scant. After the death of Percival Lines in the early 1950s, the regular correspondence and editorials in the press concerning street music begins to fade and Line’s death could be seen, at least symbolically, to mark the end of the second phase of street music in Adelaide. The following appeared in the *Border Watch* newspaper in September 1952.¹⁵⁶

152 H. Brewster Jones, ‘If We’re to Have a State Orchestra... - News (Adelaide, SA: 1923 - 1954) - 31 Aug 1948’, *Trove* <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article129907482>> [accessed 27 June 2016].

153 Brewster Jones, p. 2.

154 Brewster Jones, p. 2.

155 Brewster Jones, p. 2.

156 ‘Adelaide’s Last Street Musician Dies - *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier, SA: 1861 - 1954) - 11 Sep 1952’, *Trove*, p. 11 <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article80767780>> [accessed 4 June 2016].

Adelaide's Last Street Musician Dies

One of Adelaide's best known figures, and the last of the city's street musicians, Percival William Lines, 76, died in the Royal Adelaide Hospital this week. Up to the time of his death he ... travelled each day to Adelaide to take up his stand with his accordion in front of the E.S. & A. Bank in King William Street.¹⁵⁷

Lines was born in the 1870s. It is possible he may have busked throughout the depression of the 1890s, the modernisation of the early twentieth-century and the Great Depression in the 1920s - 1930s. Percival Lines¹⁵⁸ may not have been Adelaide's last street musician, but he may have been one of its longest practising ones and also the last to hold a 1930s permit, possibly dying with it. Lines' death signals a hiatus for street music in Adelaide due in part to the stricter policing of the legislation and better economic times, but not its death. There were also the growing issues of reduced pitch possibilities, population growth and traffic noise. Any increase in the number of street musicians was out of the question, and had been for some time, as by 1952 permits had not been issued for fourteen years.

Rundle Mall's original architect Ian Hannaford and the transport minister's press secretary at the time of the mall's opening, Russell Stiggants, confirmed that street musicians were present, though not in great numbers, in 1972 when plans for Rundle Mall were in their early stages. What happened to the street music community between 1950-1972 is largely undocumented in this study and elsewhere and further oral history research may prove fruitful in ascertaining what occurred during the period. The increasing number of motor vehicles, the widening of streets after World War Two, and the rise in the volume of general street noise may also have suppressed street musicians during these years. As Shafer astutely observes, "it was not the result of legislative refinement but the invention of the automobile that muffled the voices of the street cries."¹⁵⁹ In the case of Adelaide, it may have been the result of both and an improved economy which muted street musicians and brought to a close the second phase of street music in the city. By the early 1970s a third significant phase of street music would be under way, this

¹⁵⁷ 'Adelaide's Last Street Musician Dies', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier, SA, 11 September 1952), p. 11 (p. 11).

¹⁵⁸ See file '20_Percy_Lines.jpg' in folder 'Stills' on enclosed USB media for further details about the life of Percival Lines in a press clipping from the 1950s.

¹⁵⁹ R.M. Schafer in Paolo Prato, 'Music in the Streets: The Example of Washington Square Park in New York City', *Popular Music*, 4 (1984), 151-163 (p. 152) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143000006206>>.

time in a very different built environment and with a more positive and encouraging attitude from the public and authorities.

4 A street music renaissance: 1960 to 1978

By the 1960s Adelaide's economy had made a full recovery and Adelaidians now had the money and time to engage in cultural and artistic pursuits. The Adelaide Festival of the Arts (AFA) and the Adelaide Fringe Festival (AF) were first held in 1960 and this began a bi-yearly, later to become annual, celebration of the arts in South Australia. The street music community was to become an unofficial part of this 'festival season' over the years, eventually linking Adelaide's street music community with a global one and presenting Adelaide as a viable destination for interstate and international street musicians. These travelling performers brought further diversity to the musical culture of Rundle Mall and Adelaide which may have left an impression beyond each festival season. In hindsight, the re-emergence of Adelaide's street music community in 1978 seems an inevitable and natural progression as conditions were ideal: there was Adelaide's sustained focus on the arts from 1960, the Festival Theatre's opening in 1973, then Rundle Mall's opening soon after in 1976. Adelaidians would not have been accustomed to having many street musicians in their city, particularly in the one place, their recently opened mall. The festivals brought arts and entertainment to the streets - particularly in Rundle Mall during the 1970s - and Adelaidians were experiencing the positive benefits of street performance with a fresh attitude.

Street music's renaissance came when, after the ACC invited buskers to perform in the mall during the 1978 festival season, the resulting public demand for their permanent return was overwhelming.¹⁶⁰ Due to the success and popularity of the street performers' cameo in the mall during the 1978 festivals, the performers urged the ACC to allow them to busk beyond the festival season. The public showed their support by submitting a petition to the ACC containing 1,475 signatures. The Rundle Mall Committee and the ACC would not budge, basing their reluctance on thirty-six complaints against buskers they had received by October 1978, one councillor stating that the buskers were a great problem in the mall. Interestingly, all thirty-six complaints were from council inspectors and retailers

¹⁶⁰ Rob. Linn, p. 243.

with none lodged by a member of the general public.¹⁶¹ Far outnumbering complaints were the “telephone calls and correspondence supporting the street performers”¹⁶² being received by the ACC. On 23 October 1978 the ACC decided in favour of street music in the mall at all times of the year with the caveat that a workable bylaw be in place and permits issued prior to a note being played. As Rob Linn states, “the place of music in the life of the City streets and Mall was reinstated after an absence of some thirty-five years.”¹⁶³ So began a third phase of street music in Adelaide which has continued to the time of this study in 2016.

The retailers actively lobbied to keep buskers off the streets in the 1970s as they had in the early part of the twentieth century. They argued that buskers would be bad for business, just as they had argued the mall would be bad for business when the idea for it was originally suggested. While the combination of ‘Rundle Street Mall’, as it was originally known, and the festival season created the ideal conditions for a street music renaissance in Adelaide, it would have been impossible without the ACC, a civic authority, inviting buskers to perform in the mall. That they did so offers a significant insight into the mood of the time. That mood was inspired in part and encouraged fully by a former South Australian Premier who left an indelible impression on Adelaide’s character, culture and South Australia’s identity more broadly -- Don Dunstan.

South Australian Premier Don Dunstan, as he was in the early 1970s, asked the ACC to investigate the possibility of a mall in the western section of Rundle Street and provide the state government with recommendations. The recommendations arrived nearly a year later and this tardiness set the pattern for negotiations.¹⁶⁴ There was slow progress for several years until Dunstan, unhappy with the endless and unnecessary delays and stalling by the retailers and the ACC, threatened to block each end of Rundle Street West with large steel drums filled with concrete and that would be Adelaide’s new mall, advising the Minister of Transport at the time, Geoff Virgo, to let the press know of his intentions. Negotiations ran

161 Rob. Linn, p. 243. It should be noted that the retailers prior to and in 1978 were never in favour of buskers and would do what they could to prevent their return. They were also against the mall and did what they could to stall its progress in the early 1970s, believing both would be bad for business.

162 Rob. Linn, p. 243.

163 Rob. Linn, p. 243.

164 Rob. Linn, p. 239.

smoothly from that point, disagreements were quickly and finally resolved, and work on the mall went ahead with no further delays.¹⁶⁵

When Rundle Mall's original architect Ian Hannaford was interviewed about Rundle Mall on the radio on 1 September 2016, the day of the mall's fortieth anniversary,¹⁶⁶ he answered two questions pertaining to buskers at the time of the mall's inception and construction: Did buskers exist in the early 1970s during the planning, design and consultation phases of the process and if so, were they considered and consulted? His answer to the former was yes and to the latter that street musicians were considered, but not consulted. Hannaford did not elaborate on how they were considered, but did add that he personally had a "great deal of empathy" for the buskers.¹⁶⁷ As they were considered, it appears the final decision was to exclude buskers from performing in the mall, at least initially. On the other hand, it may have also been that their consideration had some influence, however indirect or minor, on the shaping of the mall's built environment to suit busking at some time in the future. The mall's final design did accommodate formal street performance, but not specifically busking. The possibility that busking may return to the space at some time in the future, though, may have influenced the final design.

Hannaford did not elaborate on why he felt empathy for the street musicians. Two possibilities were that they were either impoverished and/or not well received by the public. Another is that the retailers, long against busking, made their lives difficult. Hannaford also stated that although buskers were present, they were not very organised and if they would have been they would *probably* have been consulted.¹⁶⁸ There was no official representative of the buskers at any formal consultation, but Hannaford thinks one of the reasons for the mall's success was that everyone *else* got to have a say.¹⁶⁹

165 'Ian Hannaford', *Afternoons*, 891 ABC Radio Adelaide (Adelaide, SA, Australia, 2016) and 'Russell Stiggants', *Drive*, 891 ABC Radio Adelaide (Adelaide, SA, Australia: 1/9/2016)..

166 'Ian Hannaford'.

167 'Ian Hannaford'.

168 'Ian Hannaford'.

169 'Ian Hannaford'.

A design was finalised, Rundle Mall constructed and opened by Dunstan on 1 September 1976 in front of more than ten thousand people.¹⁷⁰ Government press secretary Russell Stiggants recalls Dunstan grinning broadly throughout proceedings, perhaps with a sense of satisfaction after winning a nearly four year battle with the traders, but does not remember seeing many of those traders in attendance at the opening.¹⁷¹ Dunstan had a grand vision for Rundle Mall and expected it to generate cultural change in the centre of the city, declaring at the opening that it was the “first step in giving more of the city back to the people.”¹⁷² He went on to tell the massive crowd assembled at the opening that, “While Rundle Street is still Adelaide's main commercial centre, the Mall will make it an attraction well beyond shopping hours: The Mall will be a 24 hour event.” The mall was not then, is not in 2016, and has at no time in the interim been the 24 hour event Dunstan had hoped for. It has, though, enlivened the city in the daylight hours and become a place where people can socialise, eat, drink, enjoy music and public art in the heart of the city. Dunstan believed the retail centre should be about more than money; it should be “a meeting place, a strolling place, an art gallery, an entertainment centre and much more.”¹⁷³ Well-travelled, Dunstan was inspired not by European malls, but by the Mediterranean atmosphere created by eating, drinking and gathering together to socialise in the streets. Dunstan envisioned Adelaide as ‘the Athens of the south’. Others considered the mall and South Australia as ‘the social laboratory of Australia’.¹⁷⁴ While Dunstan was popular with many South Australians,¹⁷⁵ not all South Australians, Australians, or other state and

170 Depending on who is recounting the event. Some details of it are as if folklore. Accounts of the crowd number on the day vary, as does the location of the podium and Dunstan when he gave the opening speech, among other details. Some accounts have Dunstan opening the mall from a balcony. The photograph clearly shows him doing the deed from a bandstand in Gawler Place where the fountain was originally located, unless it is not Dunstan in the photograph. All of this would have no doubt appealed to Dunstan’s sense of theatre.

171 ‘Russell Stiggants’. The Fringe Committee of the Adelaide Festival of Arts recognised the mall’s potential as a showcase for theatre and music acts early on and wrote to the ACC in July 1975, a year before the Rundle Mall was opened, to express their interest in using it for local theatre groups to perform short excerpts of their plays during the festival. This presented fresh competition for street musicians when they got there in 1978 and was a change from busking earlier in the century. The competition remains with the Adelaide Fringe setting up stages in the mall each year during the festival season.

172 ‘Opening of Rundle Mall’ (Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library. Identifier: DUN/Speeches/2938, 2014), p. 2 <<http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/handle/2328/27918>> [accessed 6 November 2015].

173 ‘Opening of Rundle Mall’, p. 2.

174 ‘Russell Stiggants’.

175 And remains so forty decades later in 2016, giving some indication of the long-lasting impact he has had on the city and its residents. Festival Theatres’ second, smaller theatre still bears the name ‘The Dunstan Playhouse’.

federal politicians were convinced by Dunstan or by what they considered to be his radical ideas.¹⁷⁶

Adelaide was embracing the new artistic and cultural era and the Adelaide Festival of Arts proved so successful in its first decade that it was outgrowing Adelaide's venues. The state premier prior to Dunstan, premier Steele Hall, had looked to resolve the issue and concluded that the natural place for the Festival of Arts would be at the cultural heart of the city; the banks of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri on the site where the city baths once stood near Elder Park.¹⁷⁷ The same riverbank that had been a meeting place for the Kurna people at the time of settlement in 1836 and the settlers ever since. Sometime after Steele Hall's proposal of Elder Park as a site for the Festival of Arts, Adelaide's mayor at the time Robert Porter - with the support of arts advocate Don Dunstan and perhaps encouraged by the ongoing success of the festival - launched a public appeal to raise money to build an arts centre.¹⁷⁸ The venue was intended to house the AFA and to identify Adelaide as a viable destination to the arts community. Adelaidians responded enthusiastically and generously. The appeal target was reached within a week and oversubscribed soon after, the surplus money used to furnish the new theatres with world-class artworks.¹⁷⁹ The Festival Theatre was built at the site suggested by Steele Hall (after a good degree of indecision and a false start at the location where Adelaide's historic 'Carclew' currently stands) and became the centrepiece of the 1974 AFA with many outdoor events taking place in Elder Park on the banks of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri adjacent to the theatre. While there were family days and other events during the AFA of 1974, which may have offered opportunities for busking, no evidence was found of street musicians at early festival events in the 1960s. Despite this, it is feasible that there may have been street musicians around the periphery of events.

From the beginning, the AFA has been a programmed festival. The Adelaide Festival consists mainly of formal, ticketed events, venues where buskers may be found

¹⁷⁶ Dunstan was ahead of his time. He got the mall built and opened but forty years later it has still not fulfilled its potential to be the sophisticated Mediterranean 24/7 cultural, arts, music and retail hub Dunstan had hoped for. This vision for the mall appears to have been sadly overlooked and largely forgotten by the ACC in the past and present. Ironic, as no further than one or two hundred metres from either end of the mall one can find restaurants, hotels, cafes, outdoor dining, etc. open long after business hours.

¹⁷⁷ 'History - Adelaide Festival Centre', *Adelaide Festival Centre*

<<http://www.adelaidefestivalcentre.com.au/about-us/history/>> [accessed 12 June 2016].

¹⁷⁸ 'History - Adelaide Festival Centre'.

¹⁷⁹ 'History - Adelaide Festival Centre'.

before and after performances. On the other hand, the Adelaide Fringe (AF) and the performances and performers involved have been more informal by nature. It is claimed that the AF has never been curated. Consequently, the diversity of performances during the AF has seen performers and performances focus less on conventional theatre spaces and more on *any* available spaces, indoors or out, sometimes through necessity and others by design. As an example of the diversity of venues, in 2015 the Adelaide Fringe programmed over nine hundred events "... staged in pop-up venues in parks, warehouses, lane-ways and empty buildings as well as established venues such as theatres, hotels, art galleries and town halls."¹⁸⁰ Commencing each year with a street parade featuring events and street performances, the AF has had a focus on the streets and public spaces in and around Adelaide. Although buskers are not an official part of either the AF or AFA, the increased volume of foot traffic in Rundle Mall and elsewhere during the festival season is a catalyst for an influx of interstate and international street performers.¹⁸¹ Street music's reappearance during the 1978 festival season established an unofficial but firm connection between the two which continues in 2016.

Over time, the local street musicians were joined during the festival season by visiting musicians from overseas and interstate. Some of the skills and styles of the 'touring' musicians may transfer to local performers through observation, and vice versa; local musicians would surely have been curious to know what these newcomers were doing, particularly if the visitors were outperforming them financially. It may have taken some years of adjustment before there was an amicable arrangement between locals and visiting buskers during festival time, before some kind of 'unwritten code' was developed. The number of visiting street musicians during the festival may have grown gradually over time; a few visiting musicians in the beginning, more the next year, until the 2016 festival season when foot traffic in the mall and the size of the street music community approximately tripled in size from the beginning to the end of the fieldwork. The locals spoken with during fieldwork in 2016 had no issue with the visiting street musicians. One local performer remarked that they did not make much difference as, although there were more musicians to compete with, there were more potential audience

¹⁸⁰ 'Adelaide Fringe - History' <<https://www.adelaidefringe.com.au/history>> [accessed 13 June 2016].

¹⁸¹ One musician from Victoria who toured internationally complained that the pitch he had been using for years in a laneway in the east end of Rundle Street was no longer available as it was occupied by a pop-up cafe.

members to compete for. There were often many more mall users than would ordinarily be in the mall, and therefore local musicians did as well, if not better, than they would have outside of festival time. The conclusion is that during festival season the introduction of the visiting musicians was, if not of benefit to the locals, not detrimental either. It may have only taken a few festivals for local performers to understand that the visiting musicians during festival time were good for business.

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This section has provided an overview of the street music community and the effects that social and cultural change have had on it. Two depressions marked two phases of street music and a healthy economy and persuasion by the ACC ended the second phase. The street music community dissipated then largely disappeared from the press until the transformation of Rundle Street west into Rundle Mall and a third phase of street music began in 1978. The period between 1900 and 1972 saw big and small changes in the lifestyles of Adelaidians as a result of the city's growth and changing technologies, environments and public space. These changes had their consequential affect on street music, the size of its community and the lifestyles of its practitioners. The findings show that in boom times there was a relatively small, manageable, tolerable, and possibly more musically talented street music community which the authorities and the public had few to no issues with. At these times, street music turned from problem to public entertainment. In 'bust' times, like during an economic depression, musicians are joined by beggar/buskers and beggars with no other options and the population of the street music community increases, as do the complaints from the public and retailers.

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PART 2: The present



Map 1: Rundle Mall, surrounding laneways and main roads.

182 Map 1 image © OpenStreetMap contributors. <https://www.openstreetmap.org/search?query=rundle%20mall#map=18/-34.92284/138.60260>. Data available under the Open Database License, cartography licensed as CC BY-SA. (See: <https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>).

Rundle Mall is highlighted by a line running horizontally along the centre of Map 1 on the previous page. King William Street is at the bottom of the map in the west. Not on the map are a hospital approximately four hundred metres from the eastern end of the mall, a police station approximately three hundred metres from the west and a fire station four or five blocks away. There are bus routes along Pultney, King William and Grenfell Streets and North Terrace and a tram line on King William Street which has a stop at the Adelaide Railway Station four hundred metres to the north-west before continuing out of the city. The public transport network connects Rundle Mall with most of Adelaide's inner and outer suburbs.

Setting the scene: Rundle Mall, 2016

Visually, the scene in Rundle Mall in 2016 is obviously very different to how it may have appeared during its various phases as Rundle Street west. As for the society, culture and economy existing there and in Adelaide more generally, what is different? There are large numbers of unemployed, poor, and over six thousand homeless in Adelaide,¹⁸³ numbers which may, per capita, rival those in some periods of the first half of the twentieth century. In 2016 the majority of the poor, including poor genuine musicians, are not forced to beg as buskers in Rundle Mall. In the early 1900s, the homeless and poverty stricken were busking and begging in the various parts of the city and visible to all. In 2016, the pedestrian-only Rundle Mall has become the focus for buskers, despite the fact a busking permit allows street musicians to play almost anywhere in the city. During the depression in the late 1920s and early 1930s, many buskers could look forward to a prosperous future when employment had returned and busking would not be a necessity. In 2016, technology is one of the main reasons for vanishing employment opportunities and there is not the same optimism future employment will eventuate. In 2016, the majority of buskers observed were 'professionals' and busked by choice, not necessity.

Part II discusses and analyses fieldwork conducted in Rundle Mall during February 2016. February was chosen as it gives both an example of the local street music community during the first half of the month and the impact on that community of

¹⁸³ Homelessness Australia, 'Homelessness Statistics' <<http://www.homelessnessaustralia.org.au/index.php/about-homelessness/homeless-statistics>> [accessed 10 December 2016].

a steady influx of travelling street musicians and mall users visiting for Adelaide's annual arts festival season in the second half. Three large-scale arts events take place in Adelaide during the second half of February and into March which attract thousands of local, interstate and international visitors and performers, temporarily altering the character, culture, dynamic and demographic of the mall. The Adelaide Festival (of Arts, the AFA) and the Adelaide Fringe (AF) both commenced in 1960 and are now part of an 'international arts network' of events and festivals visited by touring street musicians. WOMAD, with its first year in Adelaide in 1992, is the Adelaide leg of the global WOMAD (World Of Music And Dance) festival circuit and is a four day music festival held in Botanic Park, fifteen minutes walk from Rundle Mall. Of the two older, locally generated events, the AF commences each year around mid-February and continues for a full month into March while the AFA begins later and is around two weeks duration. The Adelaide leg of WOMAD, now commonly known as WOMADelaide, takes place over a four day long weekend at the beginning of March. All three are annual events.

The AFA appoints an artistic director (in 2017 there are two co-directors) who curate the festival programme. The program normally consists of music, dance, theatre, visual art and literature. The AF staff administer the AF, but claim to never have curated it. By nature, the AF is a more informal affair than the AFA. The programme encompasses a wide range of theatre styles and visual arts. The AF also has a strong focus on comedy and a growing focus on 'cultural events', generally aligned with food and drink. It utilises a wider range of venues throughout the city centre and wider Adelaide. The AFA programme is based mainly around the Adelaide Festival Centre and theatres in Adelaide. As well as using interior spaces the AF transforms large, outdoor public spaces into outdoor private event spaces. Within these are constructed smaller performance spaces; i.e. tents and temporary structures. AF artists not booked within one of these 'official' and larger AF venues use whatever venue they can find at the busiest time of year for the arts and theatre in Adelaide. WOMAD is a large, outdoor music event which turns Bonython Park, public space at all other times of the year, into a private space with six or seven stages and various other areas within the larger space. All performances are programmed by WOMAD.

The majority of AFA performances take place in what is private space at the Festival Theatre and other indoor venues. Many AF events and all of WOMAD take place in outdoor public space, but 'pop-up' structures create temporary private properties within it, changing the character of the place. The AF's temporary structures in public space were not restricted to parklands. Their pop-up structures in the public space of Rundle Mall during the festival season were a further consideration for the street music community.

While there was a gradual increase in foot traffic and street musician numbers from the beginning of the month, the flow accelerated after the middle of February 2016 until there were large numbers of visitors and performers from interstate and overseas present in the mall most days of the last week of fieldwork. Being the main thoroughfare between the east and west end entertainment areas as well as being a major retail centre and popular public space, most visitors to Adelaide during the festival season would use Rundle Mall at some time.

It was found that the street music community in the mall is in a state of flux and therefore fieldwork observations reported here, particularly the list of buskers, should be considered a 'snapshot' of the community in February 2016 only, not a depiction of how it may be now or was a week after fieldwork had ended.¹⁸⁴ The street music community had no 'permanent state' as the personnel changed often and unpredictably as did pitches and conditions in the mall generally from day to day. The street music community before and during the festival season was observed to be open to change at any time and this unpredictability could be considered a constant. Street musicians are flexible and sometimes transient; while a geographical location remains the same, i.e. the location of Rundle Mall does not change, the street music community and the built environment within it are dynamic and changeable.

Some visiting musicians in the second half of February were following a national and international 'festival circuit'.¹⁸⁵ Some of these performers were familiar with

¹⁸⁴ None of the performers observed during fieldwork and logged in the street musician table in this study were observed in the mall less than two weeks after fieldwork had ended. A few have been observed in the twelve months since then.

¹⁸⁵ While the 'festival circuit' is referred to by buskers, the destinations on this circuit are at the performer's discretion. While there are some larger, internationally known festivals, there are hundreds of smaller ones around the globe. Word of mouth amongst the busking community is quite probably how information is transferred about other locations and events as there appears to be no 'official' busking circuit.

each other from previous street music locations, some were Australian while others were not. It is wrong to assume that the majority of travelling festival circuit street musicians are nomadic and of no fixed address. Those spoken with had a permanent home and found busking enjoyable, but treated it as a business and as employment. For many travelling street musicians, busking may be their only means of getting to the next town, the next festival, or eventually home. They may also have more immediate financial concerns like food and accommodation. These travelling musicians form a mobile and ad hoc street music community. The street music community is dynamic and flows through the mall rather than being 'resident' in the mall and the community in the mall is a sub-community of a larger one. Who will be where and when is unpredictable, not just on a local level, but on a national and global level. Musicians move around the public space of the mall, but may also move to, from and around public spaces elsewhere.

Street music could be considered 'placeless', or it could be considered as having two levels, one local and one global. A location may be incidental to the musician, adjudicated only in terms of suitability for street performance, but it may have strong connections for a resident of a city with street music providing them links to place. A visitor to Rundle Mall may connect street music to their experience and memory of a *place*, Rundle Mall, while a street musician may think of street music performance being connected with a number of locations; *places*. Street music performance itself is not dependent on a specific city. Public space in Rundle Mall acts as a container for the activity of street musicians. Whether a street musician performs in the mall, in other parts of Adelaide or Australia, or on the other side of the world, they are part of both a local street music community and a larger global one. Same performer, same material, same performance methods. The only difference is the location. The performer remains the same while their pitch may change; whether they move fifty metres or 25,000kms. As street musicians, they remain dual-citizens of a local and global street music community.

Legislation in 2016 sees the terms 'street music' and 'street musicians' replaced by 'busking' and 'buskers'. Street musicians are considered by the ACC to be part of the larger group 'buskers' and are covered under busking bylaws and busking permits in 2016. 'Street musician' is no longer specified anywhere in the bylaw or on the permit. In other respects, the contemporary bylaw reflects the 1930 version,

some aspects of the two appearing to be directly linked. There are two major differences between the 1930 bylaw and that of 2016. The first is to do with economics, culture and image and the second is to do with the policing of the bylaws. The 1930 bylaw, and the suspected bylaw of 1899, were created to deal with the overwhelming number of desperate street musicians before, during and after depressions. They came about as an attempt by the ACC to wrestle back some control and order on the streets. In 1930, legislation needed to be developed quickly to deal with an urgent problem.

The second major difference is in the policing and the enforcement of the regulations. There were times in the 1930s and 1940s when the ACC were extremely proactive in taking control of the public space in the mall, firstly by filtering out the worst of the troublesome performers from around 1931, and then by putting a halt to the issuing of new permits in 1938. Finally, they actively encouraged any buskers left by the mid-1940s to find other employment. The City Inspector and team, in conjunction with the police and council, had worked on the streets to keep abreast of the situation, particularly in the 'clean up' shortly after the system's introduction in 1931 and after the depression when the economy had improved. In contrast, during fieldwork in 2016, half of which was at the busiest time of year in Rundle Mall, one ACC inspector was encountered during the entire month and the police appeared to ignore street musicians altogether. Perhaps there are agreements between the ACC and the police regarding who polices what and when in regards to street musicians in ACC spaces like Rundle Mall.

Some of the points in the current 'Busking Operating Guidelines'¹⁸⁶ [See page three of the 'Bylaws' PDF file on enclosed USB.] will now be discussed. The bylaw and guidelines will then be discussed more generally. The ACC's 'Street Permit Policy',¹⁸⁷ 'Street Permit Operating Guidelines'¹⁸⁸ and 'Busking Operating Guidelines'¹⁸⁹ were the documents related to street music legislation in Rundle Mall at the time of the fieldwork in 2016. The 'Busking Operating Guidelines' are dated 2012, the document was reviewed in 2014 and, according to the document, is to be reviewed every two years, "or as circumstances change to ensure relevance and

¹⁸⁶ ACC, 'Busking Operating Guidelines', 2012 <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/Policies-Papers/docs/POLICY-street-permit-guidelines-mar-2013.pdf>>.

¹⁸⁷ ACC, 'Busking Operating Guidelines'.

¹⁸⁸ ACC, 'Busking Operating Guidelines'.

¹⁸⁹ ACC, 'Busking Operating Guidelines'.

effectiveness.”¹⁹⁰ A bi-yearly review adds the flexibility to accommodate changing conditions over longer periods. The ACC has added the caveat that, as well as bi-yearly, the policy can also be reviewed “as circumstances change.” This allows for flexibility to react to events in the shorter term, but also gives the ACC the ability to change the conditions of the bylaws - or even prohibit busking altogether – at their own discretion and without notice. The 1930s bylaw system was flexible in that it could be applied at different ‘pressures’, strictly or more leniently. There was no evidence located of a bi-yearly review. The amendments to the street music legislation relevant to this new phase of street music in Adelaide since the mid-1970s, all of which have in some way contributed to making the 2016 busking legislation what it is, are beyond the scope of this project, but there have been many. Perhaps due to the system’s flexibility to change with the times, via these redrafts and adjustments ‘on-the-fly’, there has never been the need to start afresh with new bylaws after 1978. The result of the numerous amendments to, and fine-tuning of, the legislation over the years is that in 2016 the policy and busking guidelines provide a clearly defined framework for street music performance.

The ‘Busking Operating Guidelines’¹⁹¹ begin with the following.

Council encourages and supports busking activities in the City where it promotes a sense of vibrancy and activation, and does not have adverse impacts on local traders and residents.¹⁹²

There were no adverse impacts on traders or residents observed during fieldwork as a result of street music, but what does conceivably have an adverse impact on street music – and Adelaide’s traders, culture and national and international image – is closing the city’s major mall for fifteen hours a day on six days of the week and twelve hours on Fridays (shops stay open until 9pm on Fridays), particularly at one of the busiest times of year in Adelaide: the festival season in February and March. With retail shops closed after 5:00pm, Rundle Mall after hours offers an ideal venue for the hospitality industry, street music, arts and dining. Unfortunately, this potential is not explored and the mall is a daytime place only. An after-five transformation from retail centre to something like Dunstan’s ‘Athens of the south’ would activate the space; transform its after-hours function from thoroughfare to

190 ACC, p. 3.

191 ACC, ‘Busking Operating Guidelines’.

192 ACC, ‘Busking Operating Guidelines’.

community space; and be a positive for Adelaide's economy and culture. This would also increase the earning potential of Adelaide's street musicians and other buskers. It was observed that street music does provide vibrancy and activate the public space. It creates "transitory community"¹⁹³ and facilitates "moments of contact between strangers ... producing a more convivial form of public space."¹⁹⁴ Busking activates the public space when it has the opportunity, but outside of '9 to 5' business hours the mall is deactivated by the absence of community. During festival season any vibrancy, entertainment and activation in the mall after dark is created by the people passing through it, not stopping in it. There is after-5pm hospitality and entertainment on offer on Hindley Street in the west, hospitality and one of the major Adelaide Fringe venues at the end of Rundle Street in the east, and the half a kilometre of closed shops in Rundle Mall acting as a conduit between the two. There is nothing to hold people in the mall after-hours and therefore no street music at this time apart from the odd performer alone in a shop doorway. While there are more people in the mall at night during festival season than at other times of the year, they are not using it to sit, relax and listen to street music. They are using it to travel east or west.

The following is the ACC's definition of busking.

Busking is a term used usually for a musical performance in a public place where the public can enjoy the entertainment and should they wish, provide a monetary donation to the performer.¹⁹⁵

This loosely agrees with the definition put forward earlier in this thesis, that busking is a term used for *any* performance in a public space, not just a musical one, where the public can donate money if they choose, and that street musicians are a sub-group of the group 'buskers': musicians who choose to busk.

Busking will be managed through the issuing of permits.¹⁹⁶

This has been the case since formal legislation in the 1930s and perhaps earlier. It is the details of permits that have changed over the years.

193 Tanenbaum in Paul Simpson, 'Street Performance and the City Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday', *Space and Culture*, 14.4 (2011), 415–30 (p. 423)

<<https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331211412270>>.

194 Simpson, 'Street Performance and the City Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday', p. 423.

195 ACC, 'Busking Operating Guidelines'.

196 ACC, 'Busking Operating Guidelines'.

Performances or acts that provide a sense of entertainment and enjoyment can be considered busking, as long as the busker complies with the conditions set out in these guidelines.

The bylaw does not advise who adjudicates the 'sense of entertainment and enjoyment' a particular act might provide, but presumably it would be a representative of the ACC in response to a complaint. The contemporary 'Busking Operating Guidelines'¹⁹⁷ outline penalties for non-compliance, complaint procedures and the protocols for how the ACC responds to complaints. There are three penalties listed under the heading '11. Penalties' which relate to non-compliance with the guidelines and/or the directions of "an Authorised Officer or Police Officer." In order of severity, the penalties are '11.1 the revocation of a performer's busking permit'; '11.2 refusal to issue further permits for a duration decided by the Program Manager, City Safety and Customer Service'; and lastly, '11.3 the issuing of an expiation notice': in other words, an 'on-the-spot' fine.¹⁹⁸

It should be noted that while this study is specific to Rundle Mall, the ACC's 'Busking Operating Guidelines' are not. The ACC website states that busking is "not permitted in front of prominent buildings, eg: Town Hall, Parliament House, Government House etc."¹⁹⁹ or anywhere that might be specified on the permit. One would presume busking is therefore permitted anywhere else in Adelaide, including the mall. The Adelaide Central Market hosts its own buskers (discussed later). Adelaide Railway Station has formal performances inside, the majority of musicians observed performing there also observed performing in Rundle Mall. The guidelines advise that a permit must be displayed in a "prominent position so it can be seen at all times while performing." No permits were observed being displayed by performers during fieldwork. They also state that a performer must be fifty metres "from any other busker, event or promotion." This was relatively easy to achieve prior to the festival season, but not when performer and mall user numbers increased and the AF erected structures in the mall in mid-February. During festival season, finding a good pitch became harder and the AF structures only worsened the situation for street performers: the AF stage structure in Gawler Place negated one of the prime pitch locations; the AF ticket office blocked a lane-way; and the AF

197 'ACC-Busking-Guidelines-3-July-2012.pdf'

<<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/acc/Council/docs/ACC-Busking-Guidelines-3-July-2012.pdf>> [accessed 14 July 2015].

198 ACC, 'Busking Operating Guidelines', p. 13.

199 'Busking - City of Adelaide' <<http://www.cityofadelaide.com.au/city-business/business-responsibilities/permits-licences-for-business/busking/>> [accessed 14 May 2015].

Street Theatre Stage and AF cinema disrupted foot traffic and pitch locations at the eastern end of the mall. With a large number of street musicians it was inevitable that they would encroach on the fifty metre minimum at some time if they were to make any money, and were observed doing so. Although the guidelines advise performers not to use mall furniture as part of their act, two performers were observed doing so. There were two guidelines - performances must be no longer than thirty minutes and keep noise limited to a level where it can be heard no more than fifty metres away – which were broken regularly, particularly during the festival season in the second part of February 2016. The volume went up when ‘touring’ street musicians arrived. One reason for this may be that the general ‘mall noise’ increased considerably due to the increase in the number of mall users and other buskers, so all musicians were required to increase their regular volume to be heard. Alternatively, ‘louder’ may have been the visiting musician’s ‘normal’ volume and this was simply louder than the local musicians.

Further details of the related state and federal government documents that inform the busking guidelines give a better understanding of the ACC's thinking in regard to street music and public space. The busking guidelines come under the umbrella of the ACC's ‘Street Permit Operating Guidelines’ which in turn come under the ‘Street Permit Policy’. The latter document takes ‘key elements’ related to street permit policy from a number of sources: one at national government level,²⁰⁰ two at state government level²⁰¹ and an ACC document at local level: ‘The City of Adelaide Strategic Plan 2012-2016’.²⁰² The busking guidelines are a mix of the key elements contained in these documents fused with remnants of the previous bylaws and possibly informed by experiences of the past. The closest link to the 1930 legislation is the permit system. It has remained fundamentally unchanged since its inception in 1930, the main difference being that permits now have expiry

200 Australia and others, *Our Cities, Our Future: A National Urban Policy for a Productive, Sustainable and Liveable Future* (Canberra: Department of Infrastructure and Transport, 2011) <https://infrastructure.gov.au/infrastructure/pab/files/Our_Cities_National_Urban_Policy_Paper_2011.pdf>.

201 Government of South Australia, ‘South Australia’s Strategic Plan’, Target 1: Urban Spaces. <<http://saplan.org.au/targets/1-urban-spaces>> [accessed 23 August 2016] and Government of South Australia, ‘30 Year Plan for Greater Adelaide - DPTI - Department of Planning, Transport and Infrastructure South Australia’ <http://dpti.sa.gov.au/planning/30_year_plan_for_greater_adelaide> [accessed 23 August 2016].

202 ACC, ‘The City of Adelaide Strategic Plan 2012-2016’, 2012, p. 20 <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/Policies-Papers/docs/STRATEGY-strategic-plan-july-2012-16.pdf>> [accessed 1 August 2015].

dates and do not generally involve specific conditions customised by an ACC representative.²⁰³

The 'Street Permit Policy' uses the following key points from the Australian federal government's *The Commonwealth National Urban Policy 2011: Our Cities, Our Future*.²⁰⁴

- Improve the planning and management of our cities (6. Governance)
- Improve the quality of the public domain (11. Support community wellbeing)

This second point is from the Australian Government Initiatives and states that the public domain can provide

... environmental amenities such as shade, greenery, aesthetically pleasing buildings and infrastructure, quality public art, and a sense of safety and security ... the public domain provides much of the character and amenity of a place.²⁰⁵

A major omission from the government's check-list of things a public space can provide is any explicit mention of busking, street music, or music at all. One would be hopeful that street music and busking come under the umbrella of 'quality public art' otherwise it would be a surprising and unfortunate oversight as it is clear that street music 'improves the quality of the public domain', at least in the case of Rundle Mall. There is public art, some pieces having been located somewhere in the mall for decades, the facades and some other fixtures of some of the buildings date from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the infrastructure is pleasing enough and Rundle Mall fits most other criteria set out in point eleven of the Australian Government's policy 'Support community wellbeing'. There is shade from young trees and, from what was observed and experienced by the researcher, there was a sense of safety and security in the mall. The ACC believes safety and security have been enhanced by the recent redevelopment which moved all facilities from the centre to the sides of the mall, giving an unobstructed view and clear access by foot and vehicle along its full length. Police travelling in pairs and groups, particularly during the festival season, also reinforced some sense of safety and security.

²⁰³ Although the street permit policy states that the ACC may add conditions if they choose to.

²⁰⁴ Australia and others, p. 72 and 79.

²⁰⁵ Australia and others, p. 57.

'Target 1, Urban Spaces' is a key element from the Government of South Australia's website and document, *South Australia's Strategic Plan*.²⁰⁶ The target is to "increase the use of public spaces by the community."²⁰⁷ This is one of one hundred such targets, none of the other ninety-nine considered by the ACC to be relevant to the formulation of the Street Permit Policy. Other targets in the document could quite easily be linked with the role of busking in Adelaide, most notably 'Cultural vibrancy – arts activities' and 'Tourism industry'. The 'primary goal' of 'Target 1: Urban Spaces' is for well designed towns which generate "... great experiences and a sense of belonging."²⁰⁸ The key measure of progress for this target on the web page is the mean number of times a respondent visited a specific public space within a year. Target 1's bar graph on the page shows a baseline with data from 2012 derived from an 'SASP' household survey. Unfortunately, it is impossible to gauge fluctuations over time using this graph as there is no further data for the years 2014-16. It is explained that the survey "... has not been completed since the baseline year" and that "reporting measures for this target are currently under review."²⁰⁹ Hopefully, the review will eventually reach completion and consistent reporting from respondents and the SA government on this key measure, perhaps with some dialogue on the positive or negative impacts on the relevant legislations which reference the indicator, can be achieved in the future.

Under the heading 'Strategic Context' in 'Busking Operating Guidelines', the 'City of Adelaide Strategic Plan, 2012-2016'²¹⁰ is listed as the framework for the guidelines, specifically 'Outcome 4, Liveable City'. Despite this being the main strategic driver of the busking guidelines, there is no direct mention of entertainment of any kind in 'Outcome 4' as it is essentially about making the city an inviting and safe place for residents. According to 'Outcome 4', what makes a liveable city is "people of all ages, cultures and means form[ing] strong communities and actively participat[ing] in the life of the city" and making sure "neighbourhoods, streets and public spaces are safe, welcoming and promote social interaction."²¹¹ Street music encourages these things and is perhaps seen by civic authorities as a means to an end rather

²⁰⁶ Government of South Australia, 'South Australia's Strategic Plan'.

²⁰⁷ Government of South Australia, 'South Australia's Strategic Plan'.

²⁰⁸ Government of South Australia, 'South Australia's Strategic Plan'.

²⁰⁹ Government of South Australia, 'South Australia's Strategic Plan'.

²¹⁰ ACC, 'Strategic Plan - Adelaide City Council', 2012 <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/your-council/strategic-corporate-planning/strategic-plan/>> [accessed 30 July 2015].

²¹¹ ACC, 'Strategic Plan - Adelaide City Council', p. 20.

than an end in itself, one of a suite of things which help to activate public space and create a feeling of safety, security and community.

The 'Busking Operating Guidelines' state that in implementing the guidelines there are specific legislative requirements to abide by. It lists the relevant documents as the 'Local Government Act, 1999'²¹² and 'Council By-Laws', but gives no details about the applicable points or sections within them. One might assume the relevant sections in the Local Government Act to be 'Chapter 11 – Land', 'Chapter 12 – Regulatory functions' (esp. Part 1 – Bylaws), 'Chapter 13 – Review of local government acts, decisions and operations', and perhaps also informed by 'Schedule 8 – Provisions relating to specific land'.²¹³ As for the reference to council bylaws under the heading 'Legislative requirements', there are many ACC bylaws covering all manner of council matters. The majority of these bylaws have nothing directly to do with street music or busking.

There are a number of other busking locations in Adelaide apart from Rundle Mall and some of these will now be discussed. The Adelaide Central Market (ACM) hosts its own 'buskers', although the restrictions placed on them mean that technically they are not buskers but free entertainment for the ACM. While the Adelaide Central Market 'buskers' are not allowed to roam or perform when and where they wish, they are buskers in as much as there is no guarantee of money at the end of the day. Performers apply for a busking permit online by providing their name, act name, online examples of their work and a description of their act. When an act has been approved by the ACM, the performer is to contact the Adelaide Central Market Authority (ACMA) with their chosen time and pitch from one of the three pitches and one of the time slots defined by the ACMA. Performers are allowed two time slots a month, one on a Friday, one on a Saturday, and permits are valid for six months. When a performer receives a permit their pitch(es) and times are booked twice a month for the next six months. This provides the ACMA with a rolling schedule of entertainment at no cost. Whether the ACM is a profitable location for musicians is unknown. Also unknown is the duration of the two time slots per month. The ACM conditions are limiting, but for a busker looking to make a regular income, perhaps worth it if a guaranteed and profitable fortnightly pitch. While the

²¹² Office of Parliamentary Counsel, 'Local Government Act, 1999' (Office of Parliamentary Counsel), South Australia <<https://www.legislation.sa.gov.au/LZ/C/A/LOCAL%20GOVERNMENT%20ACT%201999.aspx>> [accessed 26 August 2016].

²¹³ Counsel.

conditions are restrictive in comparison to Rundle Mall, they are perhaps appropriate considering the space; a busy undercover market.

There are 'special conditions for a busking permit' when applying to work on the Norwood Parade, a few kilometres from Rundle Mall. The conditions are straightforward enough, although there is one particularly archaic point of interest which may be linked to the original bylaw of the late 1890s or that of 1930. Perhaps it is related to a previous incident specific to Norwood's public space. Whatever the reason, the playing of drums, percussion and *bagpipes* is not permitted on Norwood Parade. The ACC busking permit has no such specification, although the prohibition of bagpipes was proposed at a meeting of the ACC in 1987 concerning amendments to the permit policy.²¹⁴ These proposed amendments were significant as many remain, some almost verbatim, in the current ACC permit policy. The ACC regulations have no restrictions on instrumentation in 2016. The contemporary bylaw does, though, have a restriction on noise levels and the reason for this may be to rule out not only bagpipes by default, but some other naturally louder instruments.

Paul Simpson writes that

... while cities are "increasingly expected to have a 'buzz', to be creative, and to generally bring forth powers of invention and intuition", there have also been moves to ensure an "affective engineering" of such spaces which produces a public space with a certain "buzz" (Thrift, 2004; p. 58), a "buzz" that street performers do not necessarily fit into.²¹⁵

The street music community has not been forced to fit any 'buzz' imposed by the ACC or any other entity, although it has been shaped in part by the restrictions of the guidelines. If anything, street music has created its own buzz in the mall as the mall was not designed specifically as an entertainment area. It is a retail centre where busking is permitted. Street music is also not 'sponsored' or funded by any entity; the buskers are there of their own accord, although over the years the built environment and the legislation has evolved to better accommodate and encourage street music rather than discourage it. Place, public space and the street music community have evolved together. Buskers have been of some consideration

²¹⁴ City of Adelaide Notice Paper for the Meeting of the City Council. '6. Rundle Mall Busking Permit Systems' 25 August 1986. ACA.

²¹⁵ Paul Simpson, 'Street Performance and the City: Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday', *Space and Culture*, 2011, 1206331211412270 (p. 2).

in the design and purpose of the mall from the start, according to the mall's original architect Ian Hannaford, and it has evolved become an ideal venue for street performance. The buzz has been generated by the culture that exists in the mall, therefore it is generated by the culture of street performers and mall users. The street music legislation does not impose any stylistic limitations and musical diversity in the mall is an attraction.

The ACC did not 'install' street musicians in the mall in the hope of creating a buzz and promoting the area. On the contrary, the ACC - and the retailers - were intending to allow busking permanently when buskers were first invited to perform in the mall during the 1978 festival. The buzz created by the buskers and their audiences during the festival forced the ACC to reconsider. Street musicians were reinstated as they *were* the buzz and the ACC was overwhelmed with responses to their appearance. Street musicians have been performing somewhere in or near Rundle Street for nearly two hundred years so the mall and the contemporary ACC simply promote and provide a venue for a pre-existing community rather than attempt to impose anything artificial, except perhaps for a legislation, and even that has been steadily relaxed over time. Rundle Mall's permit holding street music community was observed to operate on a day-to-day basis within the structure of the legislation with little to no interference from civic authorities on any level. It is unclear how or if permits are checked in situ as this procedure was not observed taking place at any time during fieldwork.

5 Fieldwork

[Please find audio/visual examples of street music performance in Rundle Mall on the enclosed USB media. The folder entitled 'Video-RundleMall_Feb_2016' contains digital recordings of street music performance, 'Stills-RundleMall_Feb_2016' contains still images taken during fieldwork and a selection from the ACA and the PDF file 'Bylaws' contains the three bylaws discussed during this study.]

Rundle Mall is a 520 metre strip enclosed to the north and south by sound-reflective glass and concrete shop-fronts. There are some arcades and entrance/exit areas attached to the mall north and south and a number of laneways and streets. The mall is open ended becoming Hindley Street to the west and Rundle Street to the east ²¹⁶ and where the mall is now located was previously a section of Rundle Street (west) before it became a paved pedestrian-only mall in 1976. The built environment of Rundle Mall has several functions. During business hours it is a retail area, a main thoroughfare, a public space for relaxing, socialising, eating and drinking, and an entertainment and public art precinct. After business hours it is a thoroughfare used to travel east or west.

Fieldwork was conducted during February 2016 by the author. ²¹⁷ Solo fieldwork over this short period has obvious limitations, but it was possible to gain a 'snapshot' of the street music community through observation. No formal interviews were conducted with musicians. Consent was required from musicians to allow the researcher to record their performance and before or after the recording of this, informal conversations did occasionally occur. While the researcher did not encourage conversation at these times, some musicians were voluntarily forthcoming with their views on busking and in this case, the researcher attempted to direct the conversation to the street musician's motivations for busking. The researcher observed and documented pitches used by performers, details of pitches and performance spaces, details of musical performance, the built

²¹⁶ The Adelaide CBD is set out in a north-south, east-west grid enclosed by North, South, East and West Terraces.

²¹⁷ For examples of street music performance in Rundle Mall see the video files numbered 01 to 45 in the folder 'Video' on the enclosed USB. These can be viewed in combination with number 00, a list of examples and the annotations for the video examples. There are also still images in the 'Stills' folder with a list and annotations numbered 00.

environment, and how the street music community functioned in the public space. (A table of all buskers observed during fieldwork can be found as 'Appendix 2'.)

The the researcher appeared to be ignored by street musicians while performing, and usually when they were not. Rundle Mall is a busy thoroughfare and shopping precinct on most days, more so during festival time in an Adelaide summer, so during performances there were usually many other people with cameras. The only difference between the researcher and other camera operators was the researcher's audio recording device which has a fluffy wind filter over a small microphone. The researcher was required to approach street musicians for their consent to participate in the study and to supply them with the required information about the project prior to recording them. Without this introduction, the street performer would have had no reason to single out the researcher from other audience members with cameras. The introduction would have 'marked' the researcher as apart from these. As the researcher found during brief discussion with some of the performers when obtaining their consent to participate in the research, recording attracts the attention of some performers more so than others, for various reasons. The sight of a camera *and* a separate high-quality microphone may have made some more curious, but from observation, during performance most performers were working and not taking any notice of the researcher above any other mall user. No performer was observed to be 'playing to the camera', at least this was not apparent to the researcher. It could be concluded that when a performer had gathered a larger audience, the researcher was unnoticed and 'lost in the crowd'. When audiences were smaller, the researcher was more likely to be identified. Regardless of audience size, any recognition by street musicians of the researcher was observed to be rare during performance and appeared to be momentary when it did occur. The real impact of the researcher on performers or their performances could only be ascertained by consultation with the buskers themselves on the subject and this did not occur during fieldwork.

Observation began from the researcher's arrival in the mall each day and continued until they departed. Performances were recorded from many locations; as part of an audience, from a distance, from various angles. Performers were usually not recorded with the researcher located directly in front of them. The aim was not to capture the performer's best angle or performance. The researcher attempted to

capture performances as any other audience member might see, and hear, them and how they fitted into and effected the surrounding environment. When there was a larger audience the researcher would locate themselves in close proximity, as part of the audience. When a performer had a small or no audience the researcher generally located themselves at a distance rather than in close proximity.

This section begins with a discussion of street music performance and the street music community followed by a map of pitches observed in use by street musicians and a discussion of these pitches in relation to the mall's built environment. The section finishes with a further discussion of street musicians in relation to the built environment of Rundle Mall.

While there was some public opposition to the mall redevelopment, the changes to the built environment are a positive for street music as they create an open space for performance in the centre of the mall for its full length. The ACC redevelopment website ²¹⁸ states that fifty-nine benches and five podiums (large tiered seats) were installed and forty-four semi-mature Chinese elm trees were planted. A large canopy is erected over the junction of Gawler Place and Rundle Mall on the northern side, a primary pitch area for street music when it is not used for official events or other entertainment, the AF stage erected there during the festival season being an example of the latter. The seating, all facilities, artwork and trees are to the sides on the north and south of the mall, four or five metres from its centre, and the trees are planted alongside each other in groups of three or four down each side north and south. As the guidelines require buskers to perform within two metres either side of the centre of the mall, the new design means there is a four metre strip down the centre of the mall offering a multitude of potential performance pitches.

5.1 Street music performance in Rundle Mall

The researcher's expectation was that by conducting fieldwork during February it would be possible to observe how the pre-festival season 'local' street music community functioned before observing changes resulting from the influx of people and performers for the festival season around mid-February. This was a

²¹⁸ 'Rundle Mall Redevelopment - Adelaide City Council' <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/planning-development/city-planning/major-projects/rundle-mall-master-plan/>> [accessed 2 October 2016].

rather 'black and white' expectation with the two periods being distinct. The reality was a gradual and continual build-up of people and performers which accelerated around mid-February towards a peak around the last week of the month. The month did not split into two convenient and distinct sections. The street music community had some constants, regular faces and pitches, but most consistent during the month of fieldwork was the street music community's inherent inconsistency. It was never assured that a particular performer would be in a specific location at a specific time or in the mall at all. Each street musician worked to their own schedule and that may change from one day, or hour, to the next. From the perspective of the researcher, fieldwork methods were required to be adapted 'on the fly' in an attempt to follow the changing conditions while keeping focused on the aims of the fieldwork. There were many variables and changes each day, sometimes subtle, sometimes obvious. Familiar faces were present from day to day, but they would not necessarily be using the same pitches as they had the previous day, or had used on any other day. Instability increased as more performers joined the community, but rather than any major change occurring in the structure of the community, subtle adjustments occurred within the community to accommodate the new arrivals and circumstances.

As February progressed the local street musicians were joined by new faces, some of them professionals who remained for the rest of the month and altered the character of the public space and the street music community over that time. Others appeared occasionally and a few once or twice. February saw a process of 'place changing' where street music performance, arts and entertainment changed the regular function of many areas in the mall.

Buskers are scarce in the morning and evening rush hours. After the morning rush of workers, Rundle Mall settles into functioning mainly as a retail strip populated by shoppers. There is rarely any busking before 10:30am and from then the number of buskers and mall users steadily increases towards lunchtime. While the number of shoppers increased from around 10:00am to a peak during lunchtime and then started to drop off around 3:00pm, it is the period between 11:30am to about 1:30pm when most people are present in the mall and this is the busiest and most profitable time for buskers. It is at lunchtime that many of the people who were going somewhere in the morning rush are reappearing to have lunch, shop and

relax in the mall. The combination of a peak time for shoppers, visitors and tourists and a lunch break for workers made lunchtime understandably the best time to busk. During festival time the influx of visitors did not change this pattern radically, but it did extend the viable, profitable peak hours and enlarge the numbers undertaking the routine. The daily cycle from 10:00am to the end of business around 5:30pm remained the same, but as the month progressed, the number of people participating in it increased. With the FS came alterations in the routine of street musicians, changes in the street music community's personnel, a shift in the demographic of the mall and regular changes in the dynamic of the public space.

It was observed that logistically and in comparative terms, performing in Rundle Mall is easier to arrange and execute than a formal engagement. The street musician in Adelaide need only read and comply with the ACC busking guidelines, obtain a permit, choose a pitch, set up their equipment and begin performing. There is not the sometimes lengthy pre-production associated with some formal 'gigs', namely negotiating a fee, a time, organising advertising and other promotion, venue and equipment checks, sound-checks and – sometimes the hardest part – finding and confirming a gig in the first instance. A street musician has their equipment with them at all times and their stage is where they choose to pitch. Unlike many formal engagements, though, there is no set fee or guarantee of any money. On the other hand, there is the possibility of making more money than might be made at other formal musical work. Several street musicians stated that they had been offered work external to the mall as a result of their performances in the mall. Considering this, Rundle Mall could be seen as a large audition space and several musicians confirmed that they used the mall as just that, the possibility of being offered formal, paid work external to the mall their main motivation for busking.

It could be argued that street music performance involves an unusually high level of unpredictability in comparison to other music performance. Clyne writes that

Street performance does not subscribe to the same physical theatrical conventions as indoor theatre. Once the physical parameters of the theatre building are removed, performance begins to be shaped and moulded by other factors, such as incidental spaces and sounds which cannot be controlled or moderated.²¹⁹

219 Clyne, p. 2.

The absence of a bricks and mortar theatre building creates a situation where it is up to the performer to decide the location and details of the performance space. The audience may be standing and free-form or seated; there are no stipulations and there are no officially allocated audience spaces. The entire mall is an audience space, an outdoor auditorium.

For a street musician there is no allocated, formal raised or floor level 'stage' structure or area separating the performer and their audience, only the informal one created by the performer and convention. There is no motor traffic noise for the musicians to contend with in Rundle Mall, but the general mall noise can be considerable and is beyond the performer's control. What is possibly a greater problem than general mall noise is the lack of control the performer can have over their sound due to the built environment's unpredictable effects. The weather is also a factor and breezes, zephyrs and gusts can make an otherwise promising pitch untenable, the sound reflecting around the built environment and/or making viewing unpleasant so no audience gathers or can be held. Performing towards angled plate glass or concrete in combination with a breeze can send sound reflections in unintended directions, not always to positive effect. An incidental space nearby or further afield can swallow sound and mute music and frequencies. On the other hand, a pitch well chosen can have desirable effects; it can amplify sound or project it further down the mall to the ears of unseen listeners. It can also create natural and pleasant reverberation (other pitches can create too much and unpleasant reverberation). Whether these things were considered by the buskers in Rundle Mall during fieldwork is unknown.

The busking guidelines limit groups to a maximum of five. The largest group observed during fieldwork was a group of four on only one occasion. There was a guitar duo who performed regularly, but by far the most common configuration was a solo instrumentalist, usually a guitarist, with an amplifier and, as most guitarists also sang, a microphone. Some performers added other instruments to this basic configuration, one claiming to play seven instruments and observed playing four. There was one part-time duo observed several times towards the end of fieldwork, the guitarist from this duo also observed performing solo many times earlier in the month. The reason for an absence of duos or groups may be that their earnings are shared while the solo performer is self-reliant, self-sufficient and

retains all tips and takings from the sale of merchandise. That it is possible to take this solo entrepreneurial approach to street music is perhaps one of its attractions.

There were a few acoustic musicians who used no electrical or digital equipment, no amplifier or microphone. This has the potential for an intimate performance in a silent mall, but the reality is that an acoustic performer is competing with the ambient noise of a multi-functional public space; the mall is primarily a thoroughfare and a retail centre where street music happens to occur. As acoustic music could only rise above the mall noise in the quieter and 'cooler' areas of the mall, the 'unplugged' musician did not generally attract much attention and usually played in less populated areas.²²⁰ Cox and Guaralda's research on street music in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia found that "amplified busking ... achieves a sound projection of up to four times the radius of an acoustic busker. This is important for buskers in the city as competing with ambient noise without amplification is difficult ..." ²²¹ In certain locations in the mall and at certain times, the music of an acoustic instrument would be absorbed by and indistinguishable from the general mall noise. While performing acoustically makes competing with the ambient noise difficult in the busy, 'hot' areas of Rundle Mall, all but one of the acoustic musicians observed pitched in the east end of the mall in areas where there was low ambient noise and few people. The acoustic musicians spoken with during fieldwork pitched in these 'cooler' areas intentionally, actively avoiding the noisy areas, and their motivations were performance practise rather than attracting large crowds or profits.

In the case of a ticketed, formal performance, an audience member arranges to be in a specific location to witness a specific performance by a specific performer days, weeks or months in advance. After they purchase a ticket for the performance there is usually an amount of time to anticipate the event and before the event happens the attendee may have expectations about what they will witness at the event (usually these expectations are the reasons for buying the ticket in the first instance). A mall user may experience unfamiliar street musicians performing unfamiliar music in unexpected locations. There is no ticket or lengthy 'anticipation gap' with street music; from the time a performer's music is heard, the listener is an

²²⁰ More intimate, acoustic performances were observed to be better suited to the cooler, quieter areas during fieldwork in Rundle Mall.

²²¹ Cox and Guaralda, p. 7.

audience participant by default. Many mall users do know that street musicians will be present so anticipation may be generated by the unknown possibilities and the inherent unpredictability, both part of the street music experience. Street music is a shared, spontaneous experience in a performance environment where neither performer or audience know exactly what will occur next.²²² Washington Square Park busker Peter Shub states “I don’t know what to expect and the audience doesn’t know what to expect.”²²³ He also remarks that in commercial theatre one has to compromise, but on the street “you can do what you want and see if it works,” perhaps a reason some performers choose to test material, practice, and shape and refine their performance skills and style on the street.

While a formal performance may not go as a performer expects or had planned, there are usually some certainties pre-performance. Sherri Telenko in her article ‘Taking it to the Streets’,²²⁴ while not referring specifically to street musicians, writes that the best performers have a set show and that successful busking is a formula: firstly, generate interest and crowd gather; secondly, keep the audience involved; and lastly a big finish.²²⁵ Joanna Clyne describes a similar performance plan called the ‘diminuendo configuration’. Her study focused on living sculptures and circle show performers, but from observation the basic principles, with variations, apply to street musicians.²²⁶ The ‘diminuendo configuration’ begins with preparation and crowd gathering before moving into the body of the show. Then comes a ‘bottling speech’, a finale, and a money collection routine to end the performance. For the street musicians observed during fieldwork, the bottling speech and money collection routine may not happen in quite the same way as described in Clyne’s diminuendo configuration, or at all, and the finale comes in the form of the performer’s ‘best song(s)’. To finish their act, some performers confirmed that they finish with their best song, their act working from their good to their best material. This performance plan is much the same as that used by musicians from a wide range of musical styles. Generally, the street musician’s bottling speech, if there was one, came before the last song, or ‘finale’. Bottling speeches ranged from a subtle and informal interaction between audience and

²²² Peter Shub in Harrison-Pepper, p. 10.

²²³ Peter Shub in Harrison-Pepper, p. 10.

²²⁴ Sherri Telenko, ‘Taking It to the Streets’, *Performing Arts & Entertainment in Canada*, 32.4 (2000), 27.

²²⁵ Telenko, p. 36.

²²⁶ Clyne, p. 4.

performer to announce it was the last song, to a more traditional and obvious 'spruik' for final donations.

Some performers did none of this and simply thanked the audience after their final song and packed up their equipment with no further comment. Others had no verbal communication with the audience at all before, during or after the performance. The 'gathering' section of street music performance in the mall during fieldwork was usually observed to be when the performer attracts attention when setting up their equipment prior to performance. There was almost no formal or spoken audience gathering observed; usually, but not always, a performer would simply introduce themselves and begin their first song. There was some incidental and informal interaction with curious onlookers pre-show, some of whom instigated conversation with musicians before, and in some instances during and after, a performance. Touring street performers were observed to put particular effort into engaging with people while they were setting up prior to performance (and also actively engaging with other street musicians when not performing). If there was pre-performance audience banter, it was general conversation and interaction with by-standers as a prelude to the performance rather than a formal speech or lengthy introduction over a microphone, although that also occurred on occasion. No performers were observed delaying the beginning of their performance due to the lack of an audience which indicates that audience gathering was not a consideration for all street musicians. Several non-musician buskers were observed who did not begin their performances until they had gathered and were holding an audience. The gathering process, in one or two instances, lasted longer than the performance.

The mall has many locations which are ideally configured for street performance. The busker's main concerns are selecting an appropriate pitch, setting up their equipment, performing and trying not to lose whatever audience they managed to gather. Some musicians used their skills and judgement to decide where to pitch within the built environment to best suit their performance style and repertoire and to accommodate an audience. It has been stated that most musicians used a loose version of the diminuendo configuration. Some performers, particularly the visiting and 'professional' musicians, followed Clyne's diminuendo configuration almost exactly, including the bottling speech. One performer described their

performance plan as identical to the diminuendo configuration (though it is unknown whether they had prior knowledge of it or Clyne). The 'gathering' section of the performance plan can be made redundant in Rundle Mall by the choice of pitch and time of day. A well considered pitch near the centre of the mall during lunchtime almost guarantees an audience as the area is heavily populated with or without entertainment. Naturally, it is then the responsibility of the performer to hold that audience in the area. It was observed that if two or three people stopped to watch and listen, others joined them and soon, depending on the performer, a more substantial audience would form. The same applied to tipping. When a musician received their first tip others soon followed, sometimes in quick succession.

Rundle Mall is not an overly wide open space like a park or square. It is a thin strip the width of a regular two way street with walkways on each side. Consequently there is both a mobile and a stationary audience wedged into the thin strip during business hours. It is only possible to go east or west for any distance as north and south are retail shops. It was observed that many performers received most of their donations from mobile mall users who did not remain stationary to observe the performance at any time. A paved area in Rundle Mall with seating, shade and a pleasant atmosphere does not provide a 'captive audience' exactly, but it does provide a place for one to gather. When one does, due to the width of Rundle Mall, audience members are reasonably close together. The built environment and geometry of the mall can help to capture and hold an audience, but much relies on the performer's pitch selection. The open space in parks and squares places less restrictions on its users in terms of movement, but would also present their own natural audience gathering points specific to place.

Formal music engagements occur at a pre-determined time, venue and performance area within that venue. There is usually some guarantee and expectation of an audience and that any pre-arranged equipment will be present. In the case of informal street music in Rundle Mall, it is the musician's obligation to obtain a permit (permission to play 'the gig') and provide refreshments, equipment and any other necessities. There is no ticket-holding audience and few if any mall users are there to see a specific busker, or buskers at all. While there were no surveys or formal interviews conducted with street musicians or non-musician mall users

during fieldwork, it could be reasonably assumed that the researcher would be one of very few, if not the only, non-street musician mall users in the mall specifically to observe street music. For most, street music is a feature of the mall rather than the main attraction or purpose of a visit to Rundle Mall. In the case of a scheduled musical event, the majority of people attending are there to experience the performance of a particular musician(s). Most importantly, *those attending are audience members by intention*. The agreement between audience and musician(s) at most formal performances is that there will be a performance at a specific location and time by specific individuals. Street musicians only have a known location; their pitch within that location and details of their audience or its size, or if there will be an audience, are unknowns. Potential street music audience participants are generally unaware when, where, how or if they will become active audience participants.

A traditional and stereotypical image of buskers may give the impression that their sole motivation for busking is money. Although Part 1 evidences that this is the case when the economy is struggling, fieldwork found that while the economy was not exactly thriving in 2016, money was only one of a suite of things that motivate street musicians. While money is important for most, things like performance practise, sharing their music with others, gaining exposure and the chance of the 'big break', and a sense of community are also strong motivators in contemporary times, outweighing or on equal footing with money as a motivator for many. Not all performers have the need for the money so consider any monetary gain as incidental and secondary. Their interest in busking may be to try out new material and they do not judge their success or failure by the amount of money they make. A few performers were observed not using a receptacle for tips, a sign that their motivation was not money. One street musician stated that they had originally started busking for the money, but after busking for awhile and not making any they 'retired'. Despite the fact there was almost no money in it for this busker, the firm connections that had been made with members of the busking community he had become a part of in Rundle Mall were motivation enough to bring him out of retirement and back to the mall to busk again. He stated that he missed the camaraderie of the street music community and the friends he had made. For this performer, 'busking' may be an inappropriate description of what he does as money is incidental and of little to no concern. The first time he was observed during

fieldwork he received few tips and did not manage to hold an audience. Nonetheless, a few days later, unperturbed by the lack of response, he was observed performing again. Importantly, he was also observed in enthusiastic and friendly conversation with three or four other buskers, perhaps the real reward of the exercise for this performer. The performer's main motivations were the relationships formed, and those which may potentially be formed, with other members of the street music community, both locals and visitors. Sharing his music with others may or may not currently be a motivator as so few others were observed to be willing to share it with him.

Other performers spoken with mentioned that the relationships established and the sense of community was, if not exactly a motivation, certainly a consideration. It was unanimously agreed by those spoken with that a positive relationship with other members of the community was essential. One musician spoken with expressed that he strongly believed the main motivation of all street musicians was money, stating that if any busker told the researcher money was not their main motivation, "... they are lying!" Money may be a motivator for most street musicians, but money as the *main* motivator is by no means universal. If there was no other pleasure in the activity apart from money, performing street music would soon become a hollow occupation. As evidenced by the experience of a busker in the depression mentioned in Part 1, being forced to perform in the streets day and night through necessity is "enough to sicken anybody of music ..." ²²⁷ There were many performers of original music observed in 2016 a motivation for them was sharing their compositions. This sense of sharing art with the community and perhaps becoming a part of that community in the process - and perhaps the community becoming part of the musician's process - was important to many street musicians spoken with.

The possibility of 'the big break' and fame were motivations for a number of street musicians. Some street musicians spoken with asked the researcher if the audio/visual material being recorded would be posted on YouTube, most hoping this would be the case. Some were happy to hear this would not be the case due to previous bad experiences; unknown recordists posting performances without permission and with poor sound reproduction being one concern. The posting of a

²²⁷ 'Not Well Paid Street Musicians "Toiling for a Crust"', p. 3.

rendition of a song that the street musician considered was a bad or not their best performance was also a concern.

From the beginning of the project and during the planning stages the author had been interested in the existence of 'unwritten laws' which apply to street music. Were there unofficial rules, if you will, agreed between buskers, but without formal discussion or signed agreements and not directly related to the ACC's busking guidelines? The guidelines outline what street musicians can and can not do in ACC controlled public space according to the ACC, but what did street musicians consider to be acceptable behaviour from themselves and their peers? How were altercations within the community - which may not be obvious to the non-street musician observer - resolved or avoided? The consensus among all performers spoken with about a universal agreement or 'unwritten laws' was that they were highly self-motivated to cooperate not only with other street musicians, but with all people sharing the public space: retailers, pedestrians, civic authorities and others. The theory is that if everyone is happy, no one complains, and that is good for the street music community as there is then nothing to bring street music or musicians to the attention of the civic authorities. One busker told the researcher that buskers did what they could to "keep the authorities out of it" as they can be "a bit hard-assed" about things. ²²⁸

The fifty metre minimum distance between performers and the thirty minute pitch limit go some way towards avoiding disputes over pitches. ²²⁹ That buskers must move if asked to by authorities creates security and safety for retailers. Most street musicians were observed to be doing their utmost to avoid creating any problems. Only once was a street musician observed being approached by authorities or retailers for any reason and this was when an ACC inspector approached a street musician. They were perceived to be slightly too loud on the first day of the Adelaide Fringe. In reality, it was a day when the majority of street performers were 'too loud', certainly louder than they had been previously, so it was unusual that one performer should be singled out on this day. Apart from this one incident, city inspectors played no part in the day to day activities of street musicians in the mall and were not observed apart from on this one occasion. Police perhaps offered a visual deterrent and their role may have been implicit. On many occasions police

²²⁸ Anonymous busker. Rundle Mall, Adelaide, February 2016.

²²⁹ See also Simpson, 'Street Performance and the City: Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday', p. 424.

officers were observed to completely ignore street musicians who were playing extremely loudly and were clearly visible in their vicinity. Police addressing buskers in any way was not observed, street musicians seemingly exempt from police attention. The guidelines give the ACC as the contact for complaints, not SAPOL (South Australian Police). It is possible that the ACC notifies the police only if and when they are required.

The range of instruments observed in the mall in 2016 was smaller than the range eighty years earlier, the musicianship ranged from beginner to professional and the musical material ranged from original compositions to 'covers'. Guitarist/singers playing covers were the most common street musicians observed and all played very similar repertoires; contemporary pop, late twentieth century cover songs and 'classics from the 50s and 60s' (as one busker described their material). The majority of this material possibly came from one or several of the 'busker's fake books' that have been in print for decades.²³⁰ Leonard Cohen's 'Hallelujah' was almost universal in the repertoires of these guitarist/singers and John Lennon's 'Imagine' and 'Let It Be' were also popular. The singer/guitarists spoken with who were performing cover songs were in the mall primarily to make money and for the chance of an offer of work external to the mall. The majority selected popular and older songs suitable to their instrumentation and/or abilities, generic material which generally involved few chords and would be readily recognisable by most mall users. Cover songs performed by street musicians were not intended to be facsimiles of the original; rather, the song's arrangement was re-jigged to suit the musician's skills and instrumentation. The only cover material that was similar to the originals was performed by a singer who used recorded backing tracks. Whether original or cover, it was observed that an unusual, unfamiliar or novel rendition or performance style was most popular with mall users, particularly in combination with unusual, unfamiliar or novel instrumentation.

Apart from guitarist/singers performing covers, there were two or three performers who sang covers over recorded backing tracks, but many musicians performed original material, much of it semi-improvised over set ideas. Simpson points out that because of the many variables faced by street musicians – i.e. unexpected events and noises during their act – they need to have flexibility in

²³⁰ See following link for example: <http://www.bookdepository.com/Buskers-Fake-Book-1001-All-Time-Hit-Songs-Wise-Publications/9780711925762?ref=grid-view>.

their performance plan and the ability to improvise when required.²³¹ The less formal arrangements of original music performed by many of the solo original musicians were ideal for street performance because the flexibility and openness of their material allowed the arrangements to be altered in performance. There were a few guitarist/singers performing original material with lyrics, but the majority were instrumentalists. There was a didjeridu player who accompanied himself by hitting the side of the didjeridu with clap sticks and playing a tambourine with his foot and hand drums with the other hand. The material was all original and the performer had a large number of CDs available for sale. To this street musician, busking was an occupation and they performed in the mall almost daily, always in the same two or three pitches at the busier times, and they were always well received. A Chapman stick player performed two or three times before the larger crowds arrived and he was gone. Both of these performers, and other performers of original work, would have been capable of rearranging their material as necessary or as desired; not always so easily done when performing well known cover songs about which audiences normally have some expectations.

Street music repertoires of the period looked at in Part 1 are largely unknown, but it is known that the instruments were acoustic and no amplification was used by street musicians until the late twentieth century sometime post-1978. The arrival of amplification and the advances in technology have made an impact on street music performance, as described by Bennett and Rogers in their article 'Street Music, Technology and the Urban Soundscape'.

... through the diversification of street music and the steady uptake of new music performance technologies, street musicians are forging different forms of presence in contemporary urban settings, their music becoming an inextricable aspect of the contemporary urban soundscape.²³²

Acoustic instruments were present in the mall in 2016, but most were now linked with new technologies. Most were 'electrified' and using amplifiers and effects units and vocalists used microphones. There are also differences between the past and 2016 in both instrumental performance techniques and instrument design. Some instruments are much the same as they were a

²³¹ Simpson, 'Street Performance and the City: Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday', p. 420.

²³² Andy Bennett and Ian Rogers, 'Street Music, Technology and the Urban Soundscape', *Continuum*, 28.4 (2014), 454–64 (p. 454) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2014.893991>>.

century ago, like acoustic guitars and violins. Others are a radical departure in design and construction, like the Chapman stick, electric guitars and the new body shapes and designs of electric/acoustic guitars (an acoustic guitar with a pick-up, equaliser, volume and usually a tuner, all on the body of the guitar). Yet other instruments are 'homemade' and unique, like the percussion 'kit' observed during fieldwork which consisted of empty plastic containers, metal rods and other 'found' objects. Amplifiers, effects and a range of input and output options are a common part of the street musicians 'kit'. Most are readily available, easily portable, and operate on twelve volt power supplies, i.e. a car battery. An instrument that would not have been found in earlier times is the electric or digital keyboard, although analogue keyboards have been present in the mall on members of the acoustic accordion family for decades (with two examples of the accordion family observed in the mall in 2016).²³³

A digital device used in a number of musical settings was the digital loop machine, or 'looper', prevalent later in February 2016, but not so common earlier in the month which may link the device primarily with visiting interstate and international musicians. The looper was observed being used with guitar, voice, and other instruments. The looping device samples live audio input and 'loops' the sample allowing the musician to create and control multi-layered accompaniments which are then used as backing for other musical material and further musical development in performance. Working with a looper requires a different approach to instrumental performance and live music composition. A four bar loop of one instrument can be recorded and the looped sample overlaid with a different instrument or voice. A guitar can be used to 'layer' short sections note by note rather than strumming for the three minutes of a song. One trombone note can be inserted into a four bar loop and that may be the only note the trombone plays for the duration of the song.

While loop machines could be considered to be recorded backing and tracks *can* be pre-recorded and played back during performance, during fieldwork the device was only observed to be used to record live tracks in situ as part of the performance. The loops and song structures, while most seemed to be based on

²³³ The acoustic piano is not included here because, while pianos have been present in Adelaide since the first arrivals, it is doubtful they were used in the street in early times. There is every chance they may have been heard in the street, though, from houses, pubs, churches and other establishments.

pre-composed 'riffs', motifs or themes, were not identical at each performance and the arrangement of tracks within songs also differed. Loops were manipulated as part of the performance to vary the musical dynamics of a piece and to create impromptu arrangements. In the twenty-first century, apart from the skill required to play an acoustic instrument, some street musicians have also developed the skills to 'play the technology', whether that be the looper or one of the many other digital effects which currently exist.

Most instrumental performance techniques remained more traditional and the majority of guitars were still strummed, but there were also 'tappers' in 2016. It is unknown whether they existed pre-1978 so guitar tapping will be used as an example of a modern technique on a traditional instrument. The guitar lies flat on the player's lap and both hands are used 'piano-style' to press the strings down on the fretboard and tap and strum the strings over the fretboard and at the body of the instrument. The body of the guitar is also used percussively with the hands. In 2016, the traditional acoustic guitar has become a 'multi-instrument' which can be used for multi-track recording, playback, percussion, and to accompany itself digitally in situ.

In the past street musicians carried an acoustic instrument and not much more. In 2016, as a result of acoustic instruments being joined by modern technology, a trolley is now common to transport a generator or a car battery, an amplifier, microphone(s) and stand(s), CDs and merchandise, music stands and other sundries. Among those sundries may be digital effects processors and tuners, loop machines, adapters and cables, food, drink and anything else the street musician may require.

5.2 Street musicians in the built environment

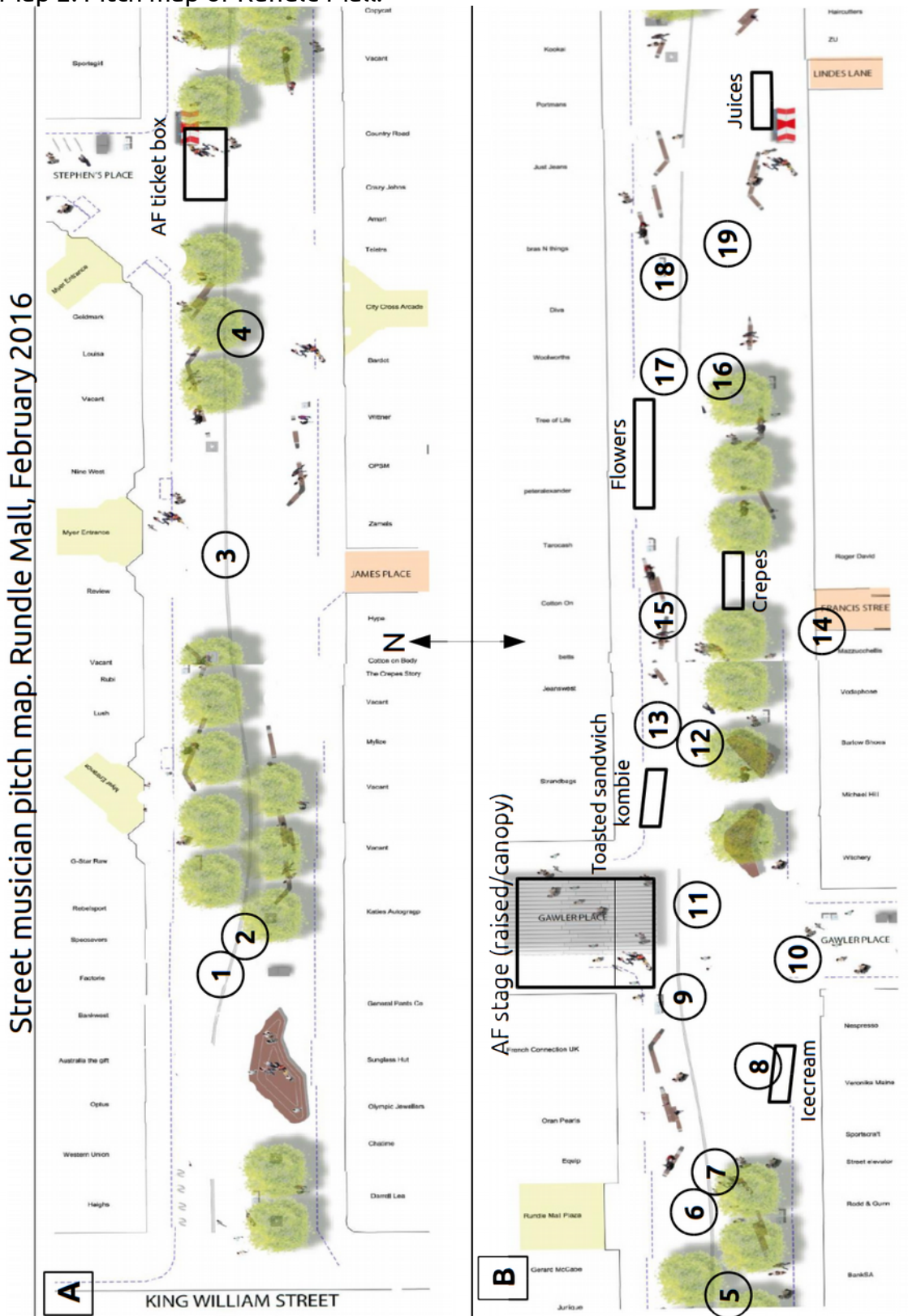
Map 2 on pages 92 and 93 presents the mall divided into four sections. The map has been marked with all pitches observed in use during fieldwork and with map section 'A' beginning at the left from the west, or King William Street end of the mall. This map should be considered to represent an example of pitches used during February 2016 rather than an exact record of all pitches and their

locations.²³⁴ The aim of the fieldwork maps on pages 92-93 is to record the musicians present in the mall and all pitches observed only. This approach gives a broad overview of the street music community in the public space rather than focusing on the specifics of any one individual street musician. It is important to note that the same pitch may be used by many different musicians at different times. While musicians must be mobile at least every thirty minutes, pitches are static and musicians move through them.

Pitches were logged as they were observed and numbers are for reference only and not related to the order in which they were logged. The AF ticket box, the stage in Gawler Place, the AF stage area and the AF cinema area were constructed and used during the second half of the month only. The cinema was erected on Friday afternoons and only used on Friday nights (creating an obstruction for buskers during Friday afternoons only as there were no street musicians at night in that area).

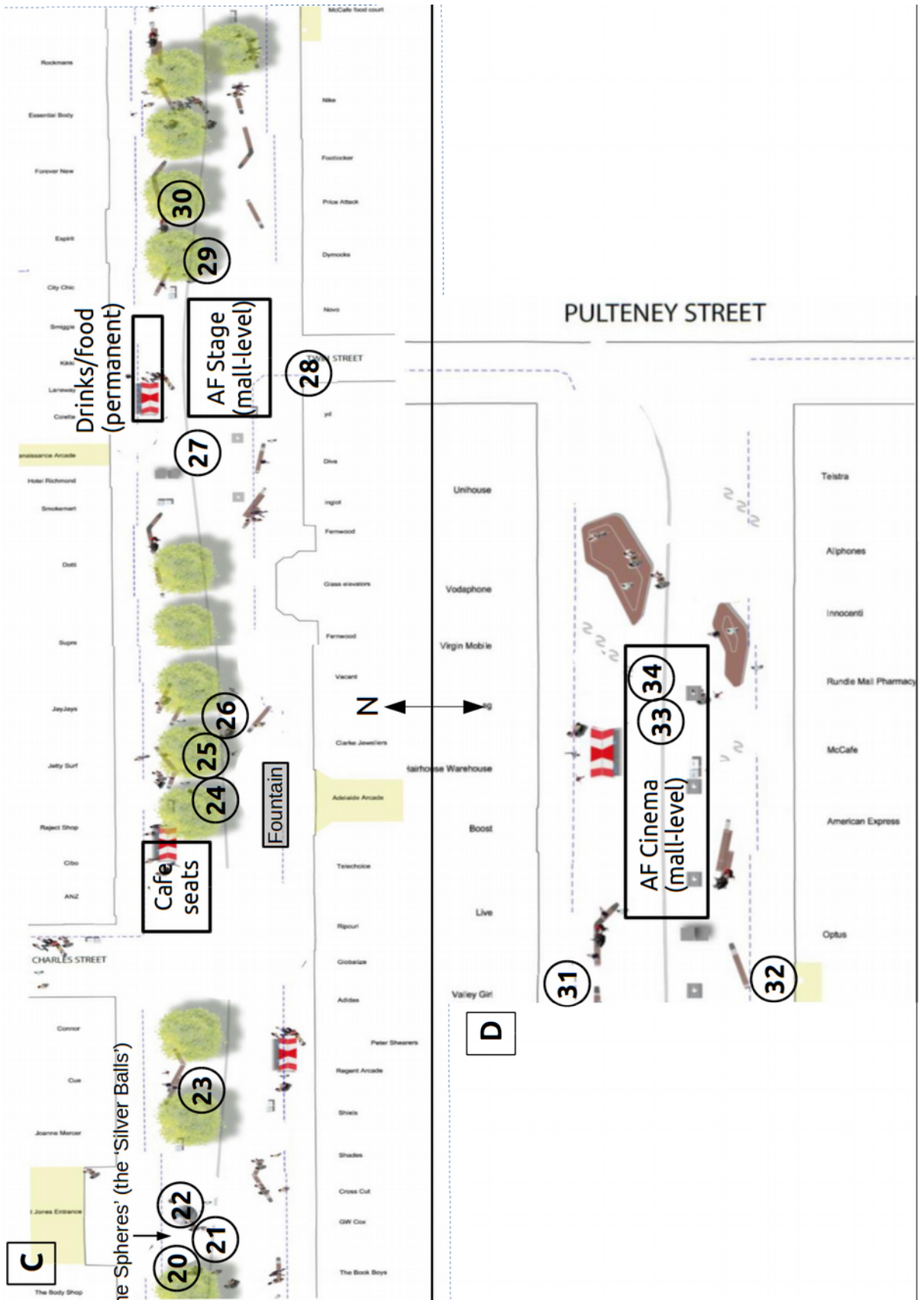
²³⁴Based on this experience, accurate tracking of street musicians and pitches in public space could be achieved in future research using GPS technology. This would produce a wealth of data for compilation and analysis post-fieldwork which may highlight relationships between performer and built environment.

Map 2: Pitch map of Rundle Mall.



235 'Map 2: Pitch map of Rundle Mall.' Map of Rundle Mall courtesy of the Rundle Mall Management Authority. Web link: <http://rundlemall.com/about/rundle-mall-management-authority/> Pitch positions and numbering overlay by author.

Map 2 (cont.)



In Map 2, the pitch map of the mall, the 'A' section - the western end of the mall - and the 'D' section in the east are the main entrances and exits. They do not work well as 'holding' areas, but function more as thoroughfares for people crossing at the traffic lights and otherwise entering the mall. When the lights change there is a wave of foot traffic into these areas which slows and dissipates as it moves closer towards the centre of the mall. The mall can be accessed using lane-ways and streets connecting it to North Terrace and Grenfell Street, but the main 'entrances', like funnels into the container of the mall, are at its western and eastern ends and people in those areas are generally mobile.

Pitches were in clusters, their density increasing towards the centre of the mall where it was most heavily populated. Moving from west to east, the 'hot' part of the mall begins around pitch 7 on map section 'B' and ends around pitch 23 at the beginning of map section 'C'. A short distance after pitch 23 there is a small cluster (24, 25, 26) opposite a fountain. Any pitch in this location is not ideal as the fountain is located directly opposite in the obvious viewing area which makes gathering and holding an audience difficult. The fountain also produces noticeable noise. There is another small cluster of four pitches (27 - 30) to the right of section 'C' near and around the AF Stage and the cafe (marked 'Drinks/food' on the map). Eastward beyond Twin Street at pitch 28, street musicians are faced with something of a 'dead zone' for several reasons. Firstly, presumably due to a combination of the climate and the built environment, even on a warm or hot day there can be an unpleasant breeze after Twin Street which makes the area cool and affects sound. Secondly, the largest proportion of empty shops is at this end of the mall. As a result, there are no shop doors open and few stationary mall users which leads to increased sound reflection in the area as there is little to absorb sound. Lastly, heading east from pitch 31 and 32 on map section 'D', one enters into the pedestrian funnel which functions as an exit or entrance, as discussed previously. The four pitches in section 'D', which could not really be considered a cluster, particularly due to their infrequent usage, consists of pitch 31 facing south and 32 facing north, meaning a performer in either pitch has their back to an empty shop and their music is reflected back at them from across the mall or absorbed momentarily by commuters exiting or entering the mall. Pitches 33 and 34 were used occasionally, but later in the day, performers there found themselves facing west into the setting sun.

The most successful pitches observed caused no obstructions or annoyance to other mall users and used the mall to enhance performance. To achieve this, the pitch did not change the function of an area where that area's function is integral to the broader smooth functioning of the mall. Because of its geometry, the mall is a compressed ecosystem with subtle interconnections; a street musician's pitch changes the function of the immediate area, but that areas altered function may also alter the function of other areas within the mall.

In *Drawing a Circle in the Square*²³⁶ Harrison-Pepper uses New York's Washington Square Park to demonstrate how street performance differs in different locations. She describes Washington Square Park as a "noisy, active, urban square"²³⁷ while Central Park is a "... serene, pastoral environment for leisure activities."²³⁸ The park is not constricted by the straight lines of the square and gives a sense of openness rather than containment. Consequently, street music performance may be thought to work with and reflect the built environment; the park participants were looking for relaxation, those in the square for a more 'radical' experience.²³⁹ Could this be because the shape of a square is more confronting? A square is angles and direct lines of sight are plentiful. In a park a person has more options. The shape of a public space is important as it directly affects the way street music is transmitted and received. Harrison-Pepper has written that, "... street music is ... thoroughly situated within the urban environment" and as such it was observed during fieldwork that the built environment of Rundle Mall does affect street music and street music does affect what happens within the built environment, and over time has also affected the design of the built environment. Rather than Harrison-Pepper's two examples of open and spacious, round or square public spaces, Rundle Mall is different again; a thin, open-ended ribbon or strip. The street entertainment is incidental and not the main focus as it might be in a park or a square which both have minimal or no retail. Rundle Mall is enclosed on the north and south by multi-storey buildings which creates a harder environment aurally and visually than does a natural setting. Rundle Mall is an environment that would probably be unlikely to retain people for long without retail, business or some other attraction. Rundle Mall is not a park or square where the majority of those

236 Harrison-Pepper, p. 41.

237 Harrison-Pepper, p. 41.

238 Harrison-Pepper, p. 41.

239 Harrison-Pepper, p. 41.

present are there by choice specifically to relax, socialise, and enjoy the scenery and entertainment.

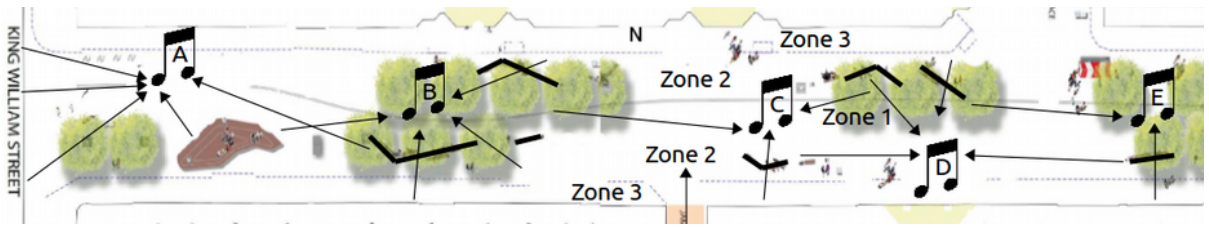
The importance of the performance location has been established at the beginning of the chapter. The author hypothesises that pitch selection may be more crucial in the Rundle Mall than in a park or square as pitch selection in the mall has more impact, positive or negative, on the performance experience of both the street musician and their audience and on the function of the area in the vicinity of the pitch. Consideration of the built environment and how it might alter the performer's sound is, in the author's opinion, essential to taking full advantage of the acoustics of Rundle Mall and maximising the impact of performance in public space.

Paul Simpson points out that chance events in a street music performance space have the potential to enact

... a significant alteration in the everyday patterns of use and spatial practices of that space. For a short time the usual order of that space ... [is] temporarily suspended and disrupted ... ²⁴⁰

Street music changes the way a space functions and, for the duration of a mall user's and performer's engagement, an area in public space can become solely a performance space, its other functions unimportant, or rather temporarily suspended as audience and performer share liminal space. Rundle Mall functions as many things depending on how the mall user chooses to use it: it is a retail centre, a thoroughfare, a conduit to many smaller undercover malls and arcades, a venue for musicians. It is an area to relax, meet people, listen to street music, view public art. The function of an area of the mall may rely on an individual and what is important to them at any given moment. A mall user's unexpected entry into a performance space can temporarily suspend their original intentions, changing what is important at that time, and in doing so, change the perception of the function of the mall for participants.

240 Simpson, 'Street Performance and the City Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday', p. 421.



Map 3: Section of Rundle Mall and example of performance zones.

Map courtesy of Rundle Mall Management Authority. Overlaid details in black by author.

Map 3 is a section of Rundle Mall with pitch zones (Zone 1,2, and 3) and five example pitches (musical notes marked A-E). The arrows show possible audience lines of sight to performers and the dark black lines are seating. The brown area at the left, western end is a tiered seating area. (Note: At the time of the fieldwork, trees in illustration were neither as big, as covered in foliage or as close together as depicted. They were thin limbed with a small amount of foliage and there was space for performance under many of them.)²⁴¹ Pitch A and D in the west of map 3 perform to passing foot traffic. Pitches B, C and E are better as they are directly opposite seating and close to the centre of the mall (Zone 1). People are required to walk around pitch C and E therefore street musicians have a good chance of being noticed and gathering and holding an audience. The proximity of pitches B, C and E to the seating discourages foot traffic from passing between the performer and their seated audience (and additional standing audience members tend to gravitate around the seated audience members). The example shows the mall split into three performance zones. Zone 3 includes the two walkways along the shopfronts north and south which are marked on the maps with dotted lines. These areas would have been the walkway when the mall was Rundle Street. In this zone, the performer has their back to an empty shop front or wall on the north or south side of the mall. Zone 2 (A and B), the 'facilities strip', includes the line of trees, seats, bins, water fountains and other facilities which extend for most of the length of the mall. Referring to the guidelines, Zone 3 and most of Zone 2 are not viable performance areas as they are not "within two metres of the centre line of the mall."²⁴² Zone 1 and possibly a small part of Zone 2 are the only legitimate sections of the mall for busking. Zones 1 and 2 offer most exposure and, due to the arrangement of mall furniture and facilities, Zone 1 provided the best opportunity to attract and hold an audience. The placement of mall furniture and trees created

²⁴¹ Original mall plan illustration courtesy of the Rundle Mall Management Authority, 2016. Pitch and other details overlaid by author.

²⁴² 'ACC-Busking-Guidelines-3-July-2012.pdf'.

performance spaces which offered comfortable, shaded areas and encouraged people to relax and engage with street music.

Selecting a pitch near populated seating is a start for a street musician, but avoiding depopulating the area with the performance once an audience is found or gathered in any location requires performance skills and musical talent. Most if not all mall users are not there for the street music and they are under no obligation to endure poor or annoying performances or performers, particularly when performers are situated in inconvenient locations. Performing towards the west or east in Zone 1 allows sound to travel much further than from Zone 2 or 3 where performers are facing north or south and their sound is either absorbed by the passing foot traffic or reflected back at them. Please note that it is viable to perform west to east at certain points in the centre-most edge of Zone 2. Towards the east end of Rundle Mall were a number of vacant shops and some areas of empty wall-space. As these shops are at the east end of the mall soon after the traffic lights, mall users enter or exit the mall and pass through the area to get to open shops further to the west. A musician performing against an empty shop or wall-space does so in Zone 3. This alters and disrupts the function of an area which is generally accepted as a walkway for the full length of the mall. Performers along these walkway areas could be considered an obstruction rather than entertainment.

Zone 1 facing west or east towards the centre allows sound to travel unobstructed by buildings, at least directly ahead and behind, and it is therefore largely immune to the unpredictable reflections of the built environment's hard surfaces. As the sound is travelling down the mall there is a better chance the reflections created by the built environment will be in the performer's favour and help to propel the sound. The performer is also clearly visible to oncoming foot traffic when in Zone 1 so mall users have time to consider whether they will or will not engage as opposed to a situation where a performer in Zone 2 plays into an arcade entrance, almost forcing themselves on mall users and placing them in an uncomfortable position. Some street musicians were observed performing in Zone 2 with their backs to the centre of the mall and playing directly into the large entrance/exit areas of undercover private spaces. This practice does not appear to generate more money and possibly has the opposite effect as it *does* appear to annoy shoppers,

particularly those exiting the area, many observed to be avoiding the performer altogether and moving on quickly. There is no audience holding area in these spaces. Any audience that stopped to observe would be obstructing the foot traffic entering or exiting. This means the musicians perform to 'moving targets' if they pitch facing a large entranceway and, regardless of their talents, they have no way of gathering and holding an audience as there is nowhere to hold one due to the built environment and its function in that part of the mall. The street musician performs from a public space that is part of the mall to private property that is not part of the mall.

The performer in Zone 2 across the walkway and into an arcade 'traps' the unprepared mall user when they are in the process of exiting or entering an undercover and enclosed private space functioning differently to the open, public space of the mall. If shoppers are confronted by a street musician when exiting a business or shopping centre it restricts their freedom of movement and of choice. From the mall side behind the musician, where a mall user may be more prepared to appreciate a performance, it is only possible to view the performers from behind or from either side.

When the performer in Zone 2 is turned around 180 degrees to face north or south across the centre of the mall, rather than into an entrance with their backs to it, they may be performing to foot traffic travelling west or east along the mall if there is no seating in Zone 2 on the opposite side to the musician. This situation is obviously not ideal as the sound is being absorbed and affected by the passing foot traffic or bounced back at the performer. While this is not necessarily annoying to pedestrians and shoppers, it can be a surprise discovering a performer hidden behind a tree or other object. As their music has no projection east or west down the mall it can only be heard from close range, so there is often minimal aural warning of the street musician's presence until the mall user is in very close proximity.

A further note on the sound reflecting surfaces of the built environment in Rundle Mall as they play an important and active part in street performance in Rundle Mall. Whether these sound reflections were a consideration for the street musicians in the mall is unknown as it was not discussed, but from observation, the interplay

between street music, mall noise and the built environment has the potential to disrupt, or enhance, a street musician's performance and the ambience of the mall. The louder the music, the more ambiguous the sound reflections can become. The built environment can act as an excellent natural fold-back monitor or it can create problems like feedback.

Map 4 shows the pitches observed during fieldwork in relation to 'hot' and 'cold' areas of the mall. Hot areas around the centre of the mall contained the majority of pitches and were conducive to street music while 'cold' areas to the east and west had less activity and therefore less street music. Individual pitches were used by multiple performers at different times with the space in front of Rundle Place and the public artwork *The Spheres*²⁴³ among the most heavily used.²⁴⁴ The requirements for performers to move at least fifty metres from their previous pitch after thirty minutes and to only use pitches once a day avoided the problem of a handful of performers monopolising the best pitches and any consequent disputes that may have resulted from this practice.



Map 4: 'Hot' and 'cold' busking areas in Rundle Mall.

[Open Street Maps. See 'Map 1' for reference.]

243 Bert Flugelman, *The Spheres*, Installed in the mall in 1977. For more detail see <http://adelaideia.sa.gov.au/things/spheres>.

244 During the latter part of February performers were often observed queuing to perform at these locations.

Much can be learned about a performer's experience, background, and intention by their choice of pitch. Confident performers seeking donations - and this includes all touring musicians - were observed in hotter pitches in clusters in the centre third of the mall. [See map 4.] Those seeking tips and/or exposure tended to be in the clusters towards the east and west of the centre third. Less confident performers or those looking for practise in public to whom donations were usually secondary were observed in the cooler areas east and west, although these areas were also occasionally used by more experienced street musicians, particularly during the busier half of February.

6 Conclusions

Specific events and periods have been identified in previous chapters, but the common factors affecting the street music community in both the past and present are public attitudes, the health of the economy, technology, street music bylaws and how civic authorities choose to enforce those bylaws. Bylaws concerning street music have come about for two reasons in the past. The bylaws in 1899 and 1930 were a result of an economic depression increasing the size of the street music community, creating overcrowding, harassment of pedestrians and a drop in the overall standard of street performance. In both instances, street music became a public nuisance and following consistent complaints to the civic authorities and the press from the public, retailers and businesses, bylaws were introduced. It was under very different circumstances that busking returned to Rundle Mall by public demand in the mid-1970s. At that time, the ACC had few options but to pass new legislation when they received an overwhelming and positive reaction to buskers in the mall from Adelaidians rather than calls to remove a public nuisance. The economy was good, there was employment available, attitudes had changed since the mid-twentieth century, and Rundle Mall presented the ideal venue. The ACC gave permission for busking, with the caveat that no busking would take place until a new bylaw had been passed. This was perhaps informed by problems of the past and the 1930s bylaw. Whether the latter was the case is unknown, but there are certainly similarities and links between the 1930 and 2016 bylaws, despite them arising for different reasons.

While legislation and public opinion has affected and shaped the street music community, the street music community and public opinion has also served to shape legislation. Street music and legislation have had a reactive relationship; changes in one affect changes in the other. A bylaw that works for the civic authorities, street musicians, Adelaidians and retailers has been difficult to achieve, but in 2016, an equilibrium appears to have been reached. Street music legislation in Adelaide has been shaped by socio-economic factors and public opinion, not by Adelaide's civic authorities imposing unreasonable bylaws unrelated to the reality of the situation on the streets, despite the fact that there have been those who have been against street music since Adelaide's the 1800s.

While many of the street musicians in the mall during fieldwork were probably unaware of the history of street music in the area or how the legislation had evolved, those spoken with were aware of who was controlling the space and the guidelines under which they were required to operate. Consequently, many street musicians stated that avoiding the authorities was paramount. Fieldwork observation showed that unless the attention of the authorities is aroused by a complaint the street music community in the mall is unhindered by the ACC. One council inspector was observed once and police ignored street musicians. A secondary question of this study relates to unwritten and implicit rules and laws generated by the street musicians themselves, implicit agreements between the buskers which make strict policing unnecessary. Street musicians confirmed during fieldwork that the first rule of street music is to avoid doing anything that will attract the attention of civic authorities. This means not giving any mall user, retailer or anyone else a reason to complain to the ACC. A way of achieving this was to get along with everyone, especially other buskers, as it was possible an individual may be working with the same buskers frequently in the same or another city. One performer confirmed that these implicit agreements were common and are not specific to location, although the author hypothesises that there may be variations on the basic points in different locations, according to the place and its circumstances.

An understanding of the impact of the built environment on street music performance and its influence on a performer's location and audience position has emerged from this study. In the depression there was a choice between performing in the street or starvation and the suitability of the built environment may not have been a major concern. In 2016 the built environment offers ideal locations for street music and for audiences to enjoy it while leaving ample space for foot traffic *if* a performer chooses an appropriate pitch. The built environment has the potential to enhance or mar a performance depending on where the performer chooses to pitch within it.

The built environment consists of a set of stationary objects. Street musicians are dynamic; their position within the built environment changes every thirty minutes and where a street musician chooses to pitch may reveal something about their motivations. Most musicians in the east or west or in a quieter spot elsewhere

tended to be practising, building confidence and performance skills, and money was not the main objective. Musicians in the lunch time 'heat' near the centre of the mall during festival season tended to be professional street musicians who, while motivated by other things, were motivated primarily by money and possibly the chance to perform to the larger crowds and gain broader exposure. Audiences are larger towards the centre of the mall and earnings can be lucrative, at least during the festival season. Although most street musicians were motivated by money, all had other reasons and motivations quite apart from it; sharing music with others, a chance of the 'big break', practice in public, and testing material among them.

A sense of liminality in the public space within Rundle Mall is encouraged by the affect of the built environment on the sound world. On entering the mall the bitumen under foot changes to pavers which changes the sound of walking, the sound of traffic fades as one is enclosed by glass and concrete to the north and south as they move closer to the centre of the mall and the 'hot' areas. The built environment has the effect of reflecting all sounds and containing them within the area. Sound can only go east, west or up. To the north or south there is no escape for the sound, the only options reflection and absorption. The further towards the centre of the mall one travels, the further away from the street noise and into the sound world of the mall. The absence of street noise vacates aural space for the sound world of the mall, including its street music.

The steady reduction in the population of street musicians from the mid to late 1930s due to the availability of regular employment as the economy improved solved a problem for the ACC. By the late-1940s there were a handful of performers remaining and the ACC decided, for reasons of their own, to focus on removing them. It appears they saw no purpose or cultural or artistic benefit in busking once there was regular, well-paid employment available. This was the one occasion when the ACC interfered unnecessarily with street music, encouraged by minimal complaint, but again, they did not change or remove the bylaw in the process. The ACC changed the way they policed street music by how they applied the existing bylaw while overlooking that in affluent times, a talented street musician has the potential to earn more than they would in other available employment, or at least enough to survive without hardship. A street musician could be considered to be a self-employed entrepreneur. This may have been the

reason some of the remaining musicians were reluctant to leave the streets and a couple are documented as resigning from regular employment to go back to busking. It could be argued that when the ACC began trying to persuade buskers to stop busking and take up alternative employment that they were restricting the personal freedoms of the buskers and were not acting within the spirit of their own ACC busking guidelines. The two buskers previously mentioned had not broken any rules and were popular so they were obviously making a contribution to the city and were of some benefit to the community. There was no legitimate or legal reason for the ACC to prohibit buskers who held valid permits from working on the streets of Adelaide at the time.

From brief discussions with street musicians and observations in 2016, it is clear that the street music community in Rundle Mall, and some aspects of its culture, are not dependent on location. The street music community is in flux; personnel move on or arrive, the length of their absence or stay unknown perhaps even to them, there are changes to the built environment which may change that areas function. Itinerant street musicians are 'passing through'; temporary members of the street music sub-community in Rundle Mall. They could also be considered 'multi-community', influenced and influencing in transit, as they are members of other national and international street music sub-communities when they are not in the Rundle Mall. Street music in Rundle Mall was a social interaction involving the exchange of culture and music.

It was observed that the AF structures – the stage in Gawler Place, the ticket box at Stephen Place, and the cinema and ground level stages in the eastern end of the mall near Twin Street – changed the normal function of the mall and were disruptive to the street music community and other mall users. For street musicians, the Gawler Place stage was most disruptive and for mall users, it was the structures at the east end. The structures interfered with an intrinsic aspect of the character of the mall and Adelaide by delivering overall low quality performances on the Gawler Place and Twin Street stages where there would otherwise have been space for international and local street performers to gain exposure. Performances on the Gawler Place stage made street music impossible in one of the prime busking areas at the busiest time of the day. The stage in Twin Street

disrupted the flow of foot traffic which indirectly affected other mall users, including street musicians, and the function of other areas of the mall.

Street music is a feature of the mall and Adelaide throughout the year and receives international exposure during the festival season. For this reason, perhaps Rundle Mall should be celebrated throughout this period as a world-class example of a well functioning public performance space where the *public* is free to perform. It is Adelaide's hub for local, national and international street musicians and buskers during the festival season and would be improved by relocating the AF structures, with the possible exception of a relocated ticket box, to locations external to the mall. One of the guidelines for street musicians in Adelaide is that street performances should not promote another show. That is the sole purpose of the AF Gawler Place stage and one ponders why the AF is exempt from the ACC guidelines.

Adelaide Lord Mayor Martin Haese stated at the fortieth anniversary of Rundle Mall that "the mall will remain popular as long as it continues to evolve."²⁴⁵ Forty years on from its opening and the mall is still far from resembling Premier Don Dunstan's original vision of an 'Athens of the south'. The only time it comes close is during the festival season and the change this makes to the street music community and general life of the mall is obvious and significant. Even during the festival season there is nothing open after 5:00pm and the mall functions mainly as a thoroughfare until the following day. Relocating some of the 'pop-up' venues and eateries present in lane-ways and streets which are off the mall and elsewhere on to the mall itself would encourage a further cultural shift in the public space and perhaps open the doors for a new phase of street music culture in Adelaide: an after-hours Rundle Mall street music community. Introducing hospitality to the mall after business hours during the warmer months in Adelaide may prove such a success that, like street music in 1978, public demand would see it introduced to the mall for some of spring and all summer which would provide street musicians and others with new employment opportunities.

In the author's opinion, a longer study focused on the street musicians only and involving oral histories is warranted. A more fine-grained study of the lifestyles of street musicians and performers would provide further understanding of street

²⁴⁵ Adelaide Lord Mayor Martin Haese. Rundle Mall's fortieth anniversary on ABC 891, Radio Adelaide, 1 Sept 2016.

music's past and future as indicators of social, economic and cultural change. Considering there are busking locations in every state in Australia, a direct comparison of them and the views of transient and local street musicians about what draws them to one location over another may also prove fruitful.

Beyond the scope of this study is that street music is good for music in culture generally. It is also good for the music and entertainment industries. Street music is excellent performance practice and prepares a performer for most future performance situations. The skills learned when busking can produce highly proficient professional performers. The large majority of street musicians observed in 2016 are musicians, not beggars with an instrument, but not all are 'career' street musicians. Many street musicians perform music in other capacities while some may not perform music publicly apart from busking. Some may not be professional musicians but 'hobbyists', only busking once in a while. A gauge of how many street musicians go on to make a career in the broader music industry, how many remain hobbyists and how many are 'professional' street musicians generating their sole income from busking would give a realistic picture of the interaction, flow and interchange between street music and other areas of the music industry. It would also provide a better understanding of the role of street music in the music industry generally.

While non-busking mall users were not the main focus of this project it was observed that they fell into a number of categories: mobile, stationary, waiting, shopping, browsing, participating in street music performance and more. Regardless of the category, being present in the mall and hearing a street musician transforms the casual mall user into a participant in the performance by default, even if they are focused on doing something else. Although not discussed in any depth in this study, further research may help to understand what role audiences have in influencing and shaping street music performance in the mall. It is interesting to note that, for the majority of musicians, most tips did not come from those who had been sitting enjoying the music. They came from people walking by or emerging from a shop or arcade.

Harrison-Pepper gives a selection of the instrumentation one might find on Fifth Avenue, NYC in 1973: steel drums, flutes, folk singers, a Bach trio, violins,

saxophones, a woodwind trio performing a diverse range of 20th century popular music.²⁴⁶ Guitars were by far the most prevalent instrument observed during fieldwork. A range of traditional 'standard' songs and more contemporary popular and original music were prevalent as was technology: looping devices, amplifiers, digital effects, microphones, electric guitars and digital music players. It was observed that the largest audiences gathered for musicians who were not performing 'familiar' cover material but original material and were not using 'standard' instruments generally found in the mall (read 'guitar'). Unique percussion instruments, hand drums, music and instrumentation with elements of 'otherness'; these things piqued the curiosity of mall users. A guitarist playing and singing a standard cover song may be entertaining for a mall user the first time, but when the next busker fifty metres away is a guitarist/vocalist playing the same song, street music quickly loses its novelty. For regular Rundle Mall users, busking guitarists performing familiar covers may attract minimal attention. Curiosity is aroused by the sound of an unfamiliar melody or musical style played on an unfamiliar instrument. A regular Rundle Mall user may see the same musician in jeans and a T-shirt playing an acoustic guitar on most days and not pay much attention, but they are instantly drawn to a musician convincingly and proficiently making original music with an array of discarded plastic and metal or a group of musicians from another country and culture in traditional dress and making music with shakers and one-stringed instruments.

Street music can attract visitors and other musicians to a place and, in some cases, encourage them to prolong their visit. A visitor to the mall has no idea who might be performing, in what part of the public space they will be performing or when. Perhaps this 'sense of the unknown' is part of the attraction of street music performance in a public space for both audience and musician. The unknowns of who, what or where generate anticipation for users of a public space as does the unpredictability of what may happen during a street music performance. While Adelaidians relate to Rundle Mall as the place where street music happens in Adelaide, and street music gives the area character and promotes a sense of place for locals, for an itinerant street musician, the mall may be one of many places. It may be adjudged against different criteria than those used by a non-busking musician. The geographical location, or 'place', may not be of particular relevance

²⁴⁶ Harrison-Pepper, p. 41.

for a transient street musician as they travel through several or many places and public spaces over time. The street music community visible in the public space contained by the built environment of a place, in this case Rundle Mall, is a fraction of a wider national and international street music community which is not dependent on a specific place for its existence. Street music is not dependent on Rundle Mall for its existence, as Rundle Mall is not dependent on street music, but the existence of a street music community in the public space helps bring activity, a sense of security and develops culture in the space.

In February 2016, a summer month and during Adelaide's arts festival season, both the mall and street music were thriving in Rundle Mall and, from observation at least, it appears Adelaide's street music community is a healthy, vibrant and active one. Rundle Mall is not such a lucrative or busy location outside of the festival season and a comparison of this current study with another conducted outside of festival time, during the winter months for instance, may present a more rounded and realistic picture of Adelaide's contemporary street music scene.

Appendix 1: Table of Buskers.

The following table lists all street musicians observed during fieldwork. Performers are anonymous. The table has notes on instrumentation, rendition, repertoire and other features. Street musicians tagged 'pre-FS' under the 'Notes' column were present prior to 12 February and most remained after then. 'Pre-FS' does not indicate or presume that these musicians were necessarily Adelaide residents, which is unknown, only that they were present before February 12, most on a regular basis. Likewise, some festival season musicians (FS) who arrived post-February 12 may have been local residents rather than visiting street performers. The majority of street musicians were guitarists or guitarist/singers, many performing original material.

Find digital video examples on the enclosed USB media of some of the performers listed.

#	Street musician	Instrumentation/ repertoire	Notes
1	Bongos, chants	Bongos, voice; original.	Pre-FS. Observed once.
2	Beard Guitar	'Mrs Robinson', 'Hallelujah', 'God Only Knows', busker's standards.	Pre-FS. Claimed that if any busker told me they weren't doing it for the money "they were lying." Busking a livelihood and rent to this performer (and others).
3	Didjeridu	Didjeridu, hand drums, tambourine, various percussion; original.	Pre-FS, present entire month. Wide selection of CDs for sale. Disappeared for awhile at busy time.
4	Lead Guitar	Guitar solos over backing tapes; up-tempo 12-bar rock/blues.	Pre-FS. Stated he loves what he does.
5	Qld Guitar	Guitar/voice; original. Sparse, few chords, emotive vocal delivery.	FS. From Queensland.
6	Accordion 1	Accordion; quiet, not amplified, 'Hava Nagila' and improvised meanderings.	Pre-FS. Quieter spots and considered busking practice in public. Observed performing 'off the mall' in Hindmarsh Square once.
7	Japanese Guitar	Guit/voice, standards/traditional. John Lennon/Beatles: 'Stand by me', 'Hallelujah',	FS, from Japan. Displayed sign stating he was 'Travelling around the world from Japan'. Towards the end of February joined by vocalist singing Western music standards (Hallelujah) and some songs in Japanese.

8	Hat Guitar	Solo guitar, sometimes with slide, original. Appears to be improvisation over set themes.	Pre-FS. Present all month.
9	Chapman	Solo Chapman stick, original.	Pre-FS. Range of CDs available.
10	Subdued Keyboard	Electric piano/voice, solo meanderings on standards.	Observed once during fieldwork; very quiet, unobtrusive performance.
11	Tux Violin	Violin over recorded backing tracks; classical, pop, older jazz standards.	FS. Elaborate technical setup. Seven CDs available, between 12-14 tracks per CD. Assistant handed out numbered list of songs on CDs and audience requests. The number of the song being performed is shown on a small LCD screen.
12	Pete Pic	Guitar, all styles. From 'Classical Gas' to classical, popular, blues.	FS. From Perth, travels internationally, visits Adelaide for festivals. Complained a pop-up restaurant in Rundle Street east was on a pitch he'd been using for years.
13	Big Drum	Guitar/voice, bass drum. Only ever observed doing a medley of 'Get Lucky' by Daft Punk and 'Thunderstruck' by AC/DC.	Pre-FS and observed in Adelaide previously. Was in the mall for about a week during February 2016.
14	Blues	Bass drum, harmonica, guitar, voice, solo; original blues, a few covers,.	FS. Tried busking in Tamworth, enjoyed so now Adelaide. Loud performance made plenty of money.
15	Blonde Tapper	Solo guitar flat on lap, tapping fingerboard with fingertips; original.	FS. Range of CDs. Professional approach but didn't draw much attention.
16	MC Me	Keyboard, loops, guitar, voice; original.	FS.
17	Beat-boxer1	Beat-boxer/rapper. Loops, guitar, trombone, keyboard; original.	FS. Too loud, repetitive.
18	Stick Guitar	Wide range of styles from classical to variations of popular.	FS. Guitar on long spike. Novelty of this and smart dress may have helped gather crowd. Similar repertoire to Pete Pic (some material the same).
19	Singer - Backing	Vocals over recorded music.	Pre-FS. Looking for the 'big break'. Secluded pitches.
20	Accordion 2	Accordion. sea shanties-like, older traditional music.	Material that sounded like a variation of what may have been played in colonial times. Observed once. Very popular.
21	Guit/voice/ Loops 1	Guitar, voice, loops. Busking standards.	Pre-FS.
22	Original electric	Guitar, voice. Original.	Only observed twice, first time was in the same pitch for over two hours. Introspective and failed to hold a crowd although in prominent spot.
23	Flamenco Duo	Two guitars playing a flamenco style over recorded backing.	Pre-FS. Also perform professionally around Adelaide. In the mall often.

24	Young Guitar	Guitar. Solo, original.	Observed once.
25	Jazz Guitar	Guitar; improvising on jazz standards and blues changes.	Pre-FS. BA in Jazz guitar. In the shadows under a tree and only observed twice during festival time. Needed some extra money.
26	Con Singer	Vocals over backing tracks; popular styles from classical to 'top 40'.	Pre-FS. Female. Trained at con. Observed twice. Very popular. Extra money.
27	'Four Blokes'	One singing lead, three singing backup, two with guitars, one with shakers; covers.	Pre-FS. Observed once.
28	Tap Guitar	Guitar flat on lap, tapping fingerboard with fingertips; original.	FS. Only observed a couple of times. Very proficient and made a lot of money in not long, the result of a prime pitch in Gawler Place, good sound, musical talent and originality.
29	Keys	Sequences and live keyboard; original, semi-improvised progressive rock.	Pre-FS. Performs in mall often, generally not in good pitches.
30	Found percussion	Percussion using upturned industrial plastic tubs and metal rods, hitting the tubs, dropping the metal rods for percussive effects; original.	FS. Proficient, energetic, popular, profitable and a pitch in Gawler Place (facing north towards the AF stage and only observed in use once during fieldwork).
31	Teen Spirit	Guitar and bass; 'Teen Spirit' by Nirvana.	Pre-FS. Observed twice. Unfortunate pitches both times.
32	Looking for Fame	Guitar, voice; original.	Looking for exposure and hoping for a break.
33	Two Vocalists	Vocals over recorded backing tracks.	Woman and man taking turns singing songs solo over backing tracks. Different repertoires, but both contemporary 'top 40', '80s, 90s, 00s popular hits.
34	Quiet Guitar	Guitar, vocals.	Bad pitch and inaudible from very far. Sitting on seat at Rundle Place at 2pm which is where an audience would be. Using mall furniture as part of act.
35	Gothic	Acoustic guitar, original.	Lilting original ballad-like material. Largely ignored.
36	Guitar/voice / Loops 2	Guitar, vocals, loops. 'Happy' by Ferrell Williams.	FS. Friendly with another itinerant Blonde Tapper. Constructs backing tracks by creating loops in situ.
37	Folk Violin	Violin, recorded backing. 'Folk' tunes; jigs, reels.	Observed once.
38	Lane Violin	Violin, recorded backing. Classical.	Down Charles Street, not in the mall itself but audible from there.
39	James Place	Guitar/Vocals.	About 50 metres off the mall down James Place.
<p><i>The following performers were noted only, did not wish to participate or were excluded from research for ethical reasons (too young).</i></p>			

Sibling Violinists.	A simple classical piece.	Under six years old and too young to be included. Two brothers accompanied by mother.
Violinist	Solo violin. Classical and (sounded like) improvised long, slow notes/pieces. Backing and solo.	Female. The only musician who did not wish to participate or be filmed.
Trad Girl	A $\frac{3}{4}$ sized koto?; traditional.	Too young to be included. Sitting on north-west corner of Stephens Place dressed in traditional Japanese(?) outfit, playing what looked like a small koto-like instrument.
New Buskers 1 and 2	Noted only.	No details.
Three @ Rush Hour	Noted only.	No details. Three buskers arrived at 5:00pm as fieldwork ended for day.
New Guy.		No details recorded other than pitch created an obstruction.
New Face		Documented as 'new face', but noted as caused an obstruction by performing northern side of fountain near seating. Inconvenient, problematic pitch for performer and other mall users.

Appendix 2. Ethics approval.



RESEARCH BRANCH
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CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

19 November 2015

Associate Professor A Coaldrake
School: Elder Conservatorium of Music

Dear Associate Professor Coaldrake

ETHICS APPROVAL No: H-2015-263

PROJECT TITLE: Reflected in the Silver Balls: A historiography and contemporary 'snapshot' of street music in Rundle Mall in Adelaide, South Australia

The ethics application for the above project has been reviewed by the Low Risk Human Research Ethics Review Group (Faculty of Arts and Faculty of the Professions) and is deemed to meet the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)* involving no more than low risk for research participants. You are authorised to commence your research on **19 Nov 2015**.

Ethics approval is granted for three years and is subject to satisfactory annual reporting. The form titled *Annual Report on Project Status* is to be used when reporting annual progress and project completion and can be downloaded at <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/ethics/human/guidelines/reporting>. Prior to expiry, ethics approval may be extended for a further period.

Participants in the study are to be given a copy of the Information Sheet and the signed Consent Form to retain. It is also a condition of approval that you **immediately report** anything which might warrant review of ethical approval including:

- serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants,
- previously unforeseen events which might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project,
- proposed changes to the protocol; and
- the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

Please refer to the following ethics approval document for any additional conditions that may apply to this project.

Yours sincerely

PROFESSOR RACHEL A. ANKENY
Co-Convenor
Low Risk Human Research Ethics Review Group
(Faculty of Arts and Faculty of the Professions)



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Applicant: Associate Professor A Coaldrake
School: Elder Conservatorium of Music
Project Title: Reflected in the Silver Balls: A historiography and contemporary 'snapshot' of street music in Rundle Mall in Adelaide, South Australia

The University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee
Low Risk Human Research Ethics Review Group (Faculty of Arts and Faculty of the Professions)

ETHICS APPROVAL No: H-2015-263 **App. No.:** 0000021018

APPROVED for the period: 19 Nov 2015 to 30 Nov 2018

Thank you for your responses dated 9.11.2015 and 19.11.2015 to the matters raised.

This study is being conducted by Darren Slynn, Masters by Research student.

PROFESSOR RACHEL A. ANKENY
Co-Convenor
Low Risk Human Research Ethics Review Group
(Faculty of Arts and Faculty of the Professions)

Appendix 3: List of video examples.

00_Video-List_Annotations

01_04022016-HatGuit-MoneyNoStop-RundleMallWest.m4v

02_04022016-ConSinger-DonationThenAnother-RundleMall.m4v

03_04022016-ConSinger-RundleMall.m4v

04_04022016-GuitarVox_UnderTree_RundleMall.m4v

05_04022016-TeenSpirit-RundleMall-Final.m4v

06_05022016-Guitar_Jazz-RundlePlaceTrees.m4v

07_05022016-GuitarVox_JamesPlace_OffMall.m4v

08_09022016-BigDrum-GetLucky-POV-RundlePlace.m4v

09_09022016-BigDrum-Walkup-RundlePlace.m4v

10_09022016-HatGuit-Walkoff-RundleMall.m4v

11_09022016-DidgeFromDistance_RundleMall.m4v

12_09022016-Didge-FromEntrance-RundleMall.m4v

13_09022016-FlamencoDuo-TownHallBells-RundleMall.m4v

14_09022016-GuitarVox_EmptyShop_RundleMall.m4v

15_11022016-Accordion-AgainstWall-RundleMallEast.m4v

16_11022016-Didge_GuitVox-Midway-RundleMall.m4v

17_11022016-Didge-POV_Tips-RundleMall.m4v

18_11022016-Keys-JJs-ManTalks-RundleMall.m4v

19_11022016-Keys-POV-SeatsBehind-RundleMall.m4v

20_11022016-YoungGuit-GawlerPlace-RundleMall.m4v

21_12022016-GuitVox-BadSpot.m4v

22_12022016-PPic-POV-SilverBalls.m4v

23_12022016-QldGuit-RundleMall.m4v

24_12022016-StickGuit-SilverBalls-RundleMall.m4v

25_12022016-TapGuit-GawlerPlace.m4v

26_15022016-LeadGuit-SoundExample_Walkby.m4v

27_15022016-StickGuit-SilverBalls.m4v

28_15022016-TuxViolin-RundleMall.m4v

29_17022016-4PerformerWalk-RundleMall.m4v

30_17022016-BeatBoxer1-SilverBalls.m4v

31_17022016-GuitVoxToJapaneseGuit-RundleMall.m4v

32_17022016-HatGuit-RundleMallEast.m4v

33_17022016-PPic-FromDistance.m4v
34_20022016-CanMan-GawlerPlace.m4v
35_20022016-MC_Me-Part1-RundlePlace.m4v
36_20022016-MC_Me-Part2-RundlePlace.m4v
37_20022016-Singer_backingtrack-RundleMall.m4v
38_20022016-TapGuit-LargeCrowd-RundleMall.m4v
39_26022016-BluesThenHandPercussion-RundleMall.m4v
40_27022016-Blues_MultiInst-RundleMall.m4v
41_27022016-GuitVox_Duo-RundleMallEast.m4v
42_27022016-GuitVox-FastCar-RundleMall.m4v
43_27022016-Vox_Backing-RundleMall.m4v
44_28022016-BlondeTapper-RundleMall.m4v
45_28022016-GuitVoxLoops-SilverBalls-RundleMall.m4v

Appendix 4: List of still images.

00_Stills-List_Annotations
01_AFBoundingBoxBlockingMyerExit.png
02_AFBoundingBoxBlockingMyerExit.png
03_AFStageEmpty.png
04_AFStage_Gawler_InUse_Full.png
05_AFStageTheatreWEndsStage.png
06_AmericanPie-GawlerPlaceStage-WideShot.png
07_BadHealthSign-Circa1930s.jpg
08_BastianNicholls-CityInspector1943.jpg
09_Equipment_AfricanGuys.png
10_JapanGuitAndFriend.png
11_MallMeetingByBalls.png
12_NoBarrelOrgan-TownClerk-1954.jpg
13_NoWorkSign-Circa1930s.jpg
14_Permit-AESomerville-Trombone-1940.jpg
15_QuietKeys-260216.png
16_SwappingWaitingForOtherToFinish-260216.png
17_TexCarsonBusinessCard-Circa1930s.jpg
18_TuxViolinSetup-Rear.png
19_VQuietGuitVox-RundlePlace-BadSpot-040216.png

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