Public Art Melbourne Biennial Lab: *What Happens Now?*

Queen Victoria Market | Research and Artist Resource Document

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Historical

Aboriginal Heritage

The City of Melbourne respectfully acknowledges the Traditional Owners of the Land.

For the Woiwurrung (Wurundjeri), Boonwurrung, Taungurong, Dja Dja Wurrung and the Wathaurung groups who form the Kulin Nation, Melbourne has always been an important meeting place for events of social, educational, sporting and cultural significance.

Today we are proud to say that Melbourne is a significant gathering place for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

The City of Melbourne respectfully acknowledges that there are sites of cultural heritage sensitivity in and around the Queen Victoria Market Precinct, and recognises the tangible and intangible connection of Aboriginal people to place. These connections include the Aboriginal section of the Old Melbourne Cemetery, as well as the burial site of two Tasmanian Aboriginal men, Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheener, the first people to be publically hanged by the Government in the District of Port Phillip, the colony to become known as Melbourne.

The significance of the land on which the Queen Victoria Market in Melbourne is located dates back 30,000-40,000 years and over 1,000 generations of continuous land use by the Aboriginal people before the arrival of Europeans.

The history and significance of hunting, gathering, and trading of food and supplies also dates back to the Traditional Owners: “From early ethnographic accounts and contemporary research, it is known that Aboriginal people of the Melbourne region hunted, fished, or trapped a wide variety of fauna. This dependence on local flora and fauna demanded extensive knowledge of variations in seasonal availability and ecology.” Furthermore, a great reliance was placed upon the procurement and processing of various plants.1

History of the site

The site of the Queen Victoria Market has encountered significant changes over its 40,000-year history.

“The Aborigines witnessed some momentous changes in the environment. As the world’s ice sheets melted thousands of years ago, the levels of the sea gradually rose, cutting off Tasmania from the mainland and creating Port Phillip Bay. Volcanoes north of Melbourne poured lava on to the site of the city, drastically altering the course of the Yarra River and giving Melbourne its characteristic flatness.”2

An 1837 hand-drawn map of colonial Melbourne by Robert Russell illustrates the market area to be situated near a hill, known colloquially as Burial Hill. The map depicts the landscape as a lightly wooded bushland of she-oaks, eucalyptus and wattle trees.3

A section of the market site (the area from Franklin Street, through the carpark to D Shed) was Melbourne’s first official cemetery, known as Old Melbourne Cemetery. It operated from 1837 to 1922.

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In 1857, the Lower Market precinct (bound by Elizabeth, Victoria, Queen and Therry Streets), was initially reserved as a fruit and vegetable market but the location was unpopular with the market gardeners. Instead, the market was used as a hay and livestock market until 1867.

In 1869, the land at the intersection of Elizabeth and Victoria Streets was developed into a meat market, initially trading a wholesale market, it became a retail meat market in 1874.

In 1877, the northern part of the cemetery and was allocated for the Queen Victoria Market. Six rows of sheds (A-F) were constructed, with sheds D-F covering parts of the cemetery formerly assigned to Society of Friends, Aboriginal and Jewish burials.

The Queen Victoria Market was officially opened on 20 March 1878.

By 1920, a retail trade had developed at the market after the growers had finished their wholesale trade at 8 am. The market was at capacity with many growers spilling their stalls to the surrounding streets selling produce from their carts.

Following controversy and public protest in 1921 and 1922, surrounding the reattribution of the cemetery site, the market expanded again by 1930. The remaining cemetery land was cleared to make room for new sheds and 60 brick stores built along Franklin Street. The stores had been constructed to accommodate the Western Market traders who relocated to the QVM site upon the closure of the Western Market.

By 1969, the wholesale division of the fruit and vegetable market was relocated to Footscray, thus leaving the QVM market to continue as a retail market.

In the early 1970s, the Council proposed a plan to develop the market precinct into a trade center, commercial office and hotel complex. However, the public strongly opposed to the plans and successfully petitioned for the QVM’s preservation. Consequently, the market site and its buildings were listed on the Historic Buildings Register.

There are contested histories regarding who “the founder” of Melbourne was. It is widely considered that it was John Batman who found a settlement in 1885. Batman sailed up the Yarra to a rocky waterfall (where Queens Bridge now stands). It was there where Batman wrote in his diary: “This will be the place for the a village.”—The village that is now Melbourne. He then returned to Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land). John Pascoe Fawkner’s party arrived in Port Phillip shortly after and settled in the same area. However, it is also understood that the first European to explore the Yarra River was Charles Grimes in January 1803. Rowing up the Yarra, he passed a reef near today's Queen Street. The rocks separated the tidal salt water from the Yarra’s fresh drinking water. The Grimes party reported that this made the Yarra “the most eligible place for a settlement.”

Melbourne Site Tours: There are walking tours of Melbourne and the QVM, including Koorie Heritage Trust Tours,5 and Walking Tours of Melbourne.6

Old Melbourne Cemetery

From 1837 to 1922, the southern side of the existing market site (bound by Peel, Queen and Franklin Streets) was a cemetery known as Old Melbourne Cemetery. Photographs and paintings of the cemetery during that time show the cemetery grounds to be a verdant forested area marked with tombstones and surrounded by a chain fence.7

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5 Bernard Barrett, History of Early Melbourne, City of Melbourne, Queen Victoria Market Archives. p. 2.
7 A chain fence was erected in 1884.
Maps of the cemetery outline the demarcation of the eight religious denominations buried at the site. In 1877, the Queen Victoria Market took over the section of the cemetery site that was allocated to Aboriginal and Quaker burials and a portion of the Jewish burial ground.8

In 1918, the Old Melbourne Cemetery Preservation League was formed to protest against the conversion of the remainder of the cemetery into a public market.

The original burial records kept by the Cemetery were destroyed by a fire in 1864. However today, it is estimated that 6,500 bodies remain buried at the Old Melbourne Cemetery site. In the 1920s, there were exhumations of approximately 1000 bodies were transferred to Fawkner Crematorium and Melbourne General Cemetery to accommodate the market expansion.9 The cemetery was closed permanently by 1922.10 The last burial occurred in 1917.

Research has revealed that sheds K and L were built on supports and footings that were approximately seven feet deep. The question remains whether burial sites were impacted by construction.11

Two Aboriginal Tasmanians, Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner, were the first people to be publically executed in Melbourne. They were hanged on the corner of Bowen & Franklin Streets (Behind the City Baths) on January 20, 1842. Their execution was the biggest story of the day in the newspapers. It is understood that Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner were buried on the site of the Queen Victoria Market between sheds E and F. Artist’s Brook Andrew, and Trent Walter have been commissioned by the City of Melbourne to develop a public artwork commemorating Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner titled Standing by Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner. The artwork will be situated on a small reserve at the intersection of Victoria and Franklin Streets.12 The City Gallery recently held an exhibition Executed in Franklin Street from 26 November 2015 – 1 February 2016 to commemorate Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner as freedom fighters.13

Cultural migratory patterns

Immigrants, predominately from China and Southern Europe, have been instrumental to the diversity and sustainability of the produce available at the QVM and also within market gardening and consumption across Australia.

In the 1860s, 25,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Victoria to predominately work the goldfields. Following the gold rush, many Chinese families turned to market gardening and sales—a trade in which many were very successful due to their sustained efforts to work long hours and offer competitive pricing. There were several market gardens established along Merri Creek, under the Hawthorn Railway Bridge, and in Brighton. After the 1920s, the number of Chinese market gardeners decreased as The White Australia policy stopped new Chinese arrivals and many returned to China.14

Post WW2, immigrants from Southern Europe transformed the produce market industry. Alike the Chinese, they became the leading growers and traders at the market. Furthermore, increasing immigration resulted in demand for new varieties of fruit, vegetables, meats and cheeses. Fruit and vegetables were fundamental to the European diet whereas the Anglo-Australian diet consisted of predominately bread and meat.15 Over time, we can see a

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15 Ellen McCaughey and Mary Hoban, The Victoria Market, 1984, p. 45.
fascinating pattern develop that correlates the varieties of produce sold at the market and the migratory patterns of Melbourne.

“The secret to the market’s charm lies in his endless cross-fertilization. Seeing Greek women jostling for sizzling bratwurst rolls, Egyptians tasting Spanish olives, University students mulling over the ingredients for falafel and shish kebab, and a Ceylonese gentleman telling me how to cook crab in chili sauce.”

**Cartels**

In 1960, a Royal Commission was established to investigate an alleged price-fixing cartel amongst the fruit and vegetable wholesale merchants.

There were also linked reports of extortion by merchant groups against Italian immigrant growers in regional Victoria’s growing districts. Dubbed the “Black Hand,” this extortion activity was said to have operated since the 1940s. In 1964, the news reporter Alan Dower wrote, “I exposed the activities of ‘The Toad’ and warned that its terror had stretched as far as Werribee, Shepparton and Queensland.” “The Toad” was the name given to Tony Barbaro, a Mafia boss convicted of the murder of Ethyl Rachel Walker at the QVM in 1936.

In 1963 and 1964 there were shootings of three O Shed market gardeners. Owen McKenna reported that there was a notecard in circulation on which Calabrians in Shed O were sorted out from Sicilians, Central Italians and other nationalities. “Against each name was a tick (for Calabria), a cross (for Sicily) or a circle (central Italy).” Police raided the market one morning in January 1964 and seized many weapons. A headline in the Melbourne Truth newspaper read: “Secret Raid to Stop Terror Gang.”

**Market Stall Holders**

Struan and Pam Chitty started their rabbit business at the market in the early 1900s. Today, the Chitty Family is still trading as fishmongers in the Meat Hall.

Symon Stores began selling in the general market section in 1885 with the family business lasting more the 100 years. Sydney Symon first established a stall selling haberdashery. Soon after, he expanded to stock work wear and clothing and later moved to a store on the corner of F Shed and Queen Street where the family business sold footwear up until the 1980s.

Natale Italiano: In the early 1920s there were no fresh cheeses available for purchase in the market. Italiano thus took the opportunity and set up a cheese making facility on Peel Street, North Melbourne. Each trading morning, he would load his freshly made cheese in a sack and set out for the day to sell his produce. Italiano’s first stop was the Victoria Market, and from there he would walk to Fitzroy and Richmond along Victoria Parade. Years later, he established Perfect Cheese’s first factory in Queensberry Street, North Melbourne.

**Sir Douglas Nicholls**

At the age of 21, Nicholls hitchhiked to Melbourne from country NSW. He arrived with just a bag of clothes and first made his home at the Queen Victoria Markets. There he worked for the fruit and vegetable stallholders by day and slept under the trestle tables on fruit boxes at night. Nicholls became a professional football player in the late 1920s and a Pastor and activist for Melbourne’s Aboriginal community. In his later years, he became the Governor of South Australia in 1976. Nicholls was also the first Aboriginal person to be knighted.

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17 Owen McKenna, *The Australian* (Weekend), November 10-11, 1979, p. 11.
Flagstaff Gardens

Flagstaff Gardens was Melbourne first burial ground before the establishment of the Old Melbourne Cemetery in 1937. Flagstaff Gardens was colloquially known as Burial Hill or Flagstaff Hill.

“Flagstaff Gardens once had special significance for the people of Melbourne. It was a place of hope and a place of sorrow. Early colonists could sight incoming ships from this high point, which brought tangible links with the old country; and known as Burial Hill, it was also the city's first burial ground. This latter role is reflected well in the Gothic architecture of the memorial, for as if wrested from an English church it is a reminder that this final resting place for an estimated six early settlers is a long way from 'home'.”

“The 1837 hand-drawn map of colonial Melbourne (by Robert Russell) shows the location of “Burial Hill” set in a “Lightly Wooded” landscape of she-oaks, eucalypts and wattle trees. As the settlement grew the surrounding landscape was soon cleared, and the trees felled to supply timber and firewood. The former burial ground became Flagstaff Hill in 1840, with a flagstaff or flagpole, a signal station and a community notice board, and then later it was the site of a magnetic observatory and meteorological station.”

“In January 1838, you'd be loafing against the trunk of a she-oak near the foot of Batman's Hill, looking across to the government camp and with a fair view of the whole western end of the township. To your right swells Batman's Hill, a grassy flat spreads out to Burial Hill on your left-hand side, and a vast swamp (called the Lagoon or Batman's Swamp) stretches away behind you. The wood of the she-oaks that grace the summit and flanks of Batman's Hill is not much favoured by the settlers for fuel and building timber.”

Dead Old Gum Tree

A tall dead gum tree once stood surrounded by bushland in the middle of the Old Cemetery—which is now the QVM car park. The tree was a landmark that guided bushwalkers through the surrounding hills and valleys. An article Melbourne: Its Infancy and Growth, in The Argus newspaper, Saturday, August 2, 1884, describes the tree and its connection to country:

“One… remarkable feature in this burial ground is an ancient tree, as dead as anything there. The legend is that this tree was dead 40 years ago, and that, in the earlier days, when it stood in what was bush, it used to be a useful landmark for persons who ventured into the wilds around it.”

Elizabeth Street Creek

QVM is situated on one of Melbourne's key north-south streets, Elizabeth Street. Buried below Elizabeth Street lies a waterway that was once known as Williams Creek. The creek regularly flooded, causing a nuisance to early settlers. Eventually, bitumen streets and tram tracks were laid to concealed it. Today it is the city’s main stormwater drain known as the Elizabeth Street Catchment.

The creek flowed from the University of Melbourne, Parkville down Bouverie Street, and Elizabeth Street, and flowed into the Yarra River—also known as River Birrarung, Berrern, Bay-ray-rung, Birarang, and Wongete. Another waterway flowed along the top end of Elizabeth Street, where it met with Bouverie Street to form a

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23 Text from an information board on the corner of William and La Trobe Streets entrance to Flagstaff Gardens, Melbourne.
swamp where Victoria, Elizabeth and Bouverie Streets now intersect. The creek was also described as a “river of mists and shadows.”

“One hundred and seventy-five years ago, the swampy northern bank of the river ‘Birrarung’, was buried beneath a grid of streets by English colonisers to create the city of Melbourne. Public and private zones were spatially divided, speaking at once of hierarchies of power and wealth but also of a commitment to unhindered movement. Streets that followed the folds of valleys regularly flooded, creating inconvenience to early settlers. As time has passed, seasonal tributaries have been progressively buried deeper underground to create stable, dry surfaces. Emily Potter argues that there is an ‘ever-widening gulf between … our place myths – and what is environmentally and socially sustainable.’ In searching for ‘firm ground’ (literally and figuratively) we deny the essential instability of our occupation of this land.”

Architectural Significance

Architecture

The architecture of the Queen Victoria Market demonstrates a largely utilitarian style adopted for historic market places. The buildings are nineteenth and early twentieth-century market buildings.

Meat Hall

The original Meat Hall, which was utilitarian in style, was called the New Meat Market and built in 1869. In 1884, a new ornamental façade and a row of shops along Victoria Street were constructed. The 1869 building is characteristic of the traditional British architecture adhered to by the Melbourne’s founding architects. However, the designer of the façade, William Salway, was part of a younger generation of architects who turned toward the more ornate Mannerist style of Italy and France. The mannerist style of the facade is said to have reflected the financial boom Melbourne was experiencing at the time. The Meat Hall’s Colonial exterior was conserved while the inside of the building has, over the years, been refitted with refrigerated showcases and interiors. In 1877, five sheds were built alongside the Meat Market.

The Wall

As part of the new market, a wall was constructed in 1878 to separate the market from the cemetery. The Old Melbourne Cemetery Wall forms the back of F Shed and is still visible from J Shed.

Currently, few people are aware of the significance of this wall and the role it once played during the time when the Old Melbourne Cemetery and Queen Victoria Market co-existed side by side.

The Melbourne Grid

The Queen Victoria Market is situated on the northern boundary of Melbourne’s CBD grid.

“In 1850, an anonymous critic of the town’s lay-out wrote that the surveyors credo seemed to have been: ‘The site must be made to suit the plan-not the plan to suit the site.’ They went on:

\[ We \ have \ planned \ our \ metropolis \ as \ we \ should \ plan \ a \ coal \ pit. \]

26 See the Elizabeth Street waterway and catchment map here: http://cbdnews.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Elizabeth-St-catchment.jpg
27 Robyn Annear, Bearbrass: Imagining Early Melbourne, 2005, p. xi.
30 Ellen McCaughey and Mary Hoban, The Victoria Market, 1984, p. 18.
Pope's couplet, slightly modified, exactly describes Melbourne—

Street answers street, each alley has its brother

And half the city just reflects the other.”\(^{32}\)

**National Heritage**

In July 2015, the City of Melbourne applied for National Heritage listing with the Australian Heritage Council. The application for National Heritage is considered to be the necessary first step to World Heritage listing for the Queen Victoria Market. It is anticipated that such an acknowledgment will provide appropriate recognition and protection of the Queen Victoria Market as a Melbourne icon.

**Queen Victoria Market Redevelopment 2016**

In October 2013, the City of Melbourne announced its plan to preserve and renew the Queen Victoria Market, creating an expanded market precinct. The City of Melbourne’s aim is to maintain the Queen Victoria Market’s heritage and atmosphere while allowing the market precinct to evolve to meet contemporary needs of traders, customers and the growing city. Following trader and community consultation, the *Queen Victoria Market Precinct Renewal Master Plan* was adopted by Council last July.\(^{33}\) An implementation plan will be released mid-2016.

**Market Activity**

**Meeting Place**

In the 1880s, the market attracted the marginalised of society. The Market represented an alternative Melbourne, it was a place characterized by its sounds, mess and smell. It was a meeting ground and an unstructured social place. Unlike other city locations, such as the parks and squares where rules of behavior and conduct applied, the market was known as a place of encounter, as a space between order and disorder. The disadvantaged, the poor, and the drunken called on the market on trading mornings. In 1891 the North Melbourne Advertiser noted the “vagrants in Victoria Street.”\(^{34}\) These early morning vagrants were also known as “suburban swagmen.”\(^{35}\)

**Market Operations and Zones of Activity**

The QVM precinct functions according to different market zones. The market is not only active on trading days, but activity also occurs over a 24-hour period, every day of the week.

The typical trading day has three distinct phases:

1. Preparation and set-up, which typically commences in the very early hours of the morning;
2. Trading, ranging from 5.00am to 6.00pm; and
3. Pack-up, which can usually continue until late into the night.

Although the market dominates the programming of the site, various areas of the market operate at different times over the course of 7 days and nights.

The existing zones are:

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\(^{33}\) A link to the Master Plan can be found here: http://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/SiteCollectionDocuments/qvm-precinct-renewal-master-plan.pdf

\(^{34}\) North Melbourne Advertiser, March 20, 1891.

\(^{35}\) North Melbourne Courier, 6 December 1912.
Winter Night Market: Jul-Aug, Wed 5-10pm
Summer Night Market: Nov-Mar, Wed 5-10pm
Market shed aisles: Tue & Thu 6am-2pm, Fri 6am-5pm, Sat 6am-3pm, Sun 9am-4pm
Day market: Tue & Thu 6am-2pm, Fri 6am-5pm, Sat 6am-3pm, Sun 9am-4pm
Car park: Mon-Fri 6am-7pm, Sat-Sun 6am-6pm

*For further information and a detailed breakdown of a typical trading day, non-trading days, night markets, and details of other available spaces, see Section 4.4.4, A Typical Day at the Market, Draft Strategic Brief: Queen Victoria Market Precinct Renewal, February 2015, pages 100-106.

**Market Soundscapes and Spruiking**

"It takes time, and a number of visits to the market before the eye and the ear become attuned to appreciate the technique of the vendor and the varied approach of the purchaser. The most successful vendors use plenty of sound effects and movement, and they never let up. One man dons a series of paper party hats. Some, hoarse voices notwithstanding, can do as much with a simple phrase like ‘Snake Valley peas’ as Sebastian Bach could do with a theme."36

Spruiking has become a tradition in the market. In an attempt to convince shoppers of their bargain prices, sellers stand in front of their displays or from behind their stands, calling out the special prices of the day. The sense of urgency and intensity in the spruikers sounding voice seems to increase on Saturdays and Sundays, particularly towards the end of the trading day, when most stalls are offering discounted prices in an attempt to move produce before trading draws to a close. *For a selection of sound recordings of market spruikers, see The sultry sounds of Queen Victoria Market, on The Last Appetite Blog.*37

**Wholesale Markets and Regional Growers**

The Queen Victoria Market has functioned as a retail market since the late 1960s. The stallholders source produce from various wholesale markets and suppliers across Victoria—such as the Fruit and Vegetable Market (that has recently relocated to Epping), the Seafood Market, Flower Market, and meat markets.

"Drowsily, half-awake, how often in my boyhood I stirred, in the warm security of my bed, to listen to clop-clop, clop-clop, accompanied by a low continuous rumbling on the road outside. Voices of the night. The patient, plodding walk of a working horse and a wagon’s wheels rolling along iron rails. The rails, long since removed, were laid down along the edge of the main roads between the city and its market gardens—then eight to fifteen miles out."

**Meeting Points and Spaces of Difference**

Several spaces within the market punctuate the repetition of the market stalls and shed design. These anomalies of design are currently underutilised and thus present opportunities for activity, incursion, and investigation. Some of these spaces are, the intersection of Peel and Victoria Streets, Meat Hall entrance, Victoria Square, Dairy Hall entrance, String Bean Alley, M Shed, Franklin Street walkway, the laneways surrounding the Deli.

**Trading Styles**

Stall traders have, over time, collectively adopted different styles of market trading. For the traders in the sheds, the daily ritual of setting up and packing down is a result of the lack of onsite fixed storage.

Apart from a small number of lock-up stores (Victoria Street, F Shed, String Bean Alley containers), for the most part, the Market’s general merchandise offer is delivered by a large number of market traders located throughout C, D, E, J, K and L Sheds. The traders mostly rely on mobile box storage units to store stock and demarcate their stall areas.

The second style of trading in the Upper Market is evident amongst the fruit and vegetable market section of Sheds A and B. The onerous setting up and packing down process required means that the Upper Market does not trade for large parts of each day/week.39

Meat Hall

The average size of a shop in the Meat and Fish Hall is 30m2. This small size is primarily due to the historic design of the Meat Hall, which dates to 1869. Due to the small size of the shops, limited available space means that the breaking down of meat carcasses is carried out overnight in the public walkway when the market is closed.

Authenticity

Since the Market’s founding, it has undergone many changes and has been subjected to pressures of upholding the tradition of a marketplace while also responding to modern-day challenges and retail competition.

Retail competition comes in many forms, with the dominating force of supermarkets better placed to adapt to the increasingly time-poor lifestyles and changing desires of consumers. The competition for leisure time is also highly contested. Produce sellers must contend with an increasingly difficult trading environment, however, the emergence of the farmer’s market, consumer interest in organics and recognition of the many and varied benefits of ‘buying local’ are factors that point to a renewed interest in the notion of market shopping.

Council Governance

The City of Melbourne was founded to administrate and operate the City’s markets. The council was initially established in 1841 as the Market Commission. The market commissioner, who was later replaced by town councillors, managed all the early Melbourne markets, including Queen Victoria Market, Western and Eastern Markets, and the hay and corn markets.

Market Offer

The categories and the ratios of product mix by number of stalls in the day market: Clothing 23%, Fresh Food 23%, followed by Fashion Accessories 9%, Homewares 8% and others.40

39 City of Melbourne, Queen Victoria Market, Precinct Renewal, Strategic Brief, Melbourne, February, 2015, p. 37.
40 City of Melbourne, Queen Victoria Market, Precinct Renewal, Strategic Brief, Melbourne, February, 2015, p. 81.
Hawkers

In the early days from 1900 to 1915, the Market was the central arbour for the hawkers and barrowmen who radiated outward from the market selling fruit and vegetables to consumers in the city and beyond. The hawker’s stalls were popular with the city workmen along Collins Streets and Princes Bridge. Eventually, the hawkers were eliminated and replaced with permanent street stands, and the Queen Victoria Market charged rent to stallholders. A small number of these stands are still present today.

Before the official city markets—Queen Victoria, Eastern and Western markets—were established, Fawkner’s and Batman’s parties had developed market gardens near Spencer Street. By 1839, the gardeners were wheeling their carts to the footway in front of the Post Office in Elizabeth Street to sell their produce.

Meat Market Company North Melbourne

The Metropolitan Meat Market opened in North Melbourne shortly after the Meat Hall opened at the QVM in 1869. Wholesale stallholders quickly became dissatisfied with the facilities and rent rates of the Meat Hall and preferred to move to the new premises in North Melbourne. Thus, the Meat Hall within the QVM became a retail market shortly after.

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41 Ellen McCaughhey and Mary Hoban, *The Victoria Market*, 1984, pp. 41-42.
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Maps and plans

a. Current Queen Victoria Market map


b. Historical plans

State Library of Victoria Catalogue results, Robert Russel Drawings and Pictures (1837):


Sands & McDougall's Melbourne directory map, 1868 [cartographic material].


c. Cemetery Plans and Denominational Plan

Plan of the Old Melbourne Cemetery [cartographic material], State Library of Victoria, Isaac Selby 1859-1956, Melbourne: Old Pioneers' Memorial Fund, 1924


d. Future Market Precinct Map


e. Aerial photographs

QVM 1960's


http://www.theage.com.au/content/dam/images/g/i/n/6/n/a/image.related.articleLeadwide.620x349.gin5xx.png/1438219947150.jpg

f. Other images

A group of Old Colonists taken at the unveiling of a memorial to John Batman in the Old Melbourne Cemetery ...

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Tony Birch, *Father’s Day*, 2009


Sophie Cunningham, *Melbourne*, 2011


Chris Healy, *Forgetting Aborigines*, 2008

Fergus Hume, *The Mystery of the Hanson Cab*, 1886


Furnley Maurice, *The Victoria Market Recollected in Tranquility*, 1933

Tony Moore, *Dancing with Empty Pockets*, 2012


Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in our Hearts*, 1988


Christos Tsiolkas, *Loaded*, 2011

Michelle de Kretser, *The Lost Dog*, 2008

H.W. Wheelwright, *Bush Wanderings of a Naturalist*, 1861


Arnold Zable, *Scraps of Heaven*, 2004
Artistic references

Historical artworks:

Yosl Bergner, *Victoria Market*, 1938


Valeria CORRELL *Victoria Market*, c. 1945


Frank Crozier, *Old Melbourne Cemetery*

http://collection.castlemainegallery.com/304-old-melbourne-cemetery/

Vic O’CONNOR, *After Market*, 1944


*A human, democratic art: three realist artists 1944–1947*, Jennifer Phipps:


http://search.slv.vic.gov.au

Temporary artworks and projects:

Kit Webster, *Enigmatica*, Nite Art, 2014, Shed K at the Queen Victoria Market


*Synesthesia*, The Hub, Queen Victoria Markets, Melbourne Music Week, 2014

http://www.pbsfm.org.au/node/39962

Next Wave 2012, *Fresh Produce*, Queen Victoria Market,


*AS IF: Public Art Walks* - with Gina Kalabishis

http://womensartregister40years.info/public-art-walk-oct-11

Invisible Cities

http://invisiblecities.com.au

Permanent artworks:

Bernice McPherson, architect Craig Perry, *Dairy Hall Window*,

http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM02070b.htm
J.W. Brown, *John Batman Memorial*,

http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM02087b.htm

Mark Stoner, *Passage*, Bluestone sculpture, 1994, Queen Victoria Market, corner of Therry and Queen Streets

http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM02102b.htm

Pauline Fraser, *Wind Contrivance*, Bronze, red gum and Harcourt granite sculpture, 1995, Queen Victoria Market, Therry Street

http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM02128b.htm
Links to further research and information

QVM website
http://www.qvm.com.au/about/history

QVM Self-Guided Tour: Heritage Trail

Participate Melbourne (CoM)

Queen Victoria Market Precinct Renewal

City of Melbourne, Elizabeth Street Catchment Plan

Public Record Office: Old Melbourne Cemetery

Federation Story

State Library of Victoria resources

http://trove.nla.gov.au

Barbara Savill, 1987 History Victoria.org

QVM YouTube channel
https://www.youtube.com/user/QueenVicMarket/videos

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https://www.youtube.com/user/MelbourneCityCouncil

Markets of Melbourne
http://marketsofmelbourne.com.au

Walking Maps
Boon Wurrung Foundation
http://www.boonwurrung.org

Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Incorporated
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Time-lapse video

Radio Flatterband, Melbourne - Queen Victoria Market
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QwQhirS1exQ

QVM Time Lapse, Adam Jobbins
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=spZ5PPiiTbM

Melbourne City & Queen Victoria Market Time-lapse, Phil Rutherford
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZnL1AN-ICjE

Getty Images: Queen Victoria Market time-lapse of shoppers and produce stalls in Melbourne.

Our River Has Had Four Names “Batman”…”Freshwater” …”Bay-ray-rung”…”YARRA” by Taggerty, The Argus, August 18, 1945