John Theodore Muller (1873-1953)
Master Stone Carver to the University Of Queensland
A Biographical Sketch

by John W. East

(2015)

Source: Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL466 AL/P/37
Introduction

Old age is not necessarily a period of decline. While many artists produce their greatest work in youth or middle age, some save their best for last; they astound with a late flowering of creativity, building on a lifetime's work, but surpassing anything that has come before.

Such was the case with John Theodore Muller, a man who had been recognised as a very talented carver and modeller from his early days, and whose work had won him well deserved accolades. As an artist, however, he had not established a reputation of any significance until 1939 when, already past retirement age, he was contracted to execute stone carvings for the new campus of the University of Queensland at St Lucia.

Muller's work at the University soon attracted attention. Brisbane had seen nothing like it before, and in the final years of his life he became a local celebrity. His death, in 1953, was front-page news in Brisbane. Since then, admiration of his sculpture has only increased, partly as a result of the work of Rhyl Hinwood, his successor as sculptor to the University of Queensland.

And yet Muller's career has received little serious study. Perhaps this is because his personal papers were all destroyed in a house fire shortly before his death; it has been assumed that, without that material, it is impossible to properly assess Muller's career. This may well be true, but there is still a certain amount of information concerning Muller's life and work that can be reconstructed from available documents and records. That is the aim of the present study.

1873-1903: Europe

Johannes Theodor Müller was born on November 28, 1873, at the pretty little spa town of Schandau, which stands on the Elbe River, in what was then still the Kingdom of Saxony, although it had recently been incorporated into the German Empire. The locality is now known as Bad Schandau. Dresden, the historic capital of Saxony and a city with a rich cultural heritage, lies about 33km to the north-west.

His parents were Carl Gottlob Müller and Emma Alwine, née Gräfe. Muller later referred to his father as a "civil servant." The Schandau parish registers reveal that Müller senior was a border guard, apparently attached to the First Infantry Battalion of the Royal Saxon Army. Schandau was then, as now, close to the Czech border. Johannes Theodor was the fifth child

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1 Naturalisation file of Johannes Theodore Müller, Australian Archives, Canberra, Department of External Affairs, Correspondence files, series A1, item no. 1908/1588, hereafter referred to as "Naturalisation File." More detailed information obtained via email from Cornelia Jubelt, Lutheran Parish of Bad Schandau, November 14, 2014, hereafter referred to as "Schandau Parish Registers."

2 Marriage Certificate of Johannes Theodor Muller and Kate Rose, NSW Registration Number 65/1905; hereafter referred to as "Marriage Certificate."
in the family. As the Schandau parish registers do not record the birth of his two eldest siblings, it can be assumed that the family was not originally from that district. The registers tell us that his mother came from Dresden, and that some of the god-parents of the Müller children resided in Dresden. It is possible that his father also originated from that city.

Harold J. Summers, the Brisbane journalist and historian who interviewed Muller not long before the latter's death, and thus left us the most detailed contemporary account of the sculptor's life, suggests that Muller's father was not pleased that his son chose to become an "artisan in marble." It is likely that Muller trained in Dresden. Summers tells us that he subsequently worked briefly in London, but by 1901 had returned to Germany to work in Berlin. There Muller was attracted by an advertisement from an Australian company looking for skilled workers to design moulds for metal ceilings. He applied and was offered a three-year contract.

1903-1911: Sydney

If that account is correct, it is not clear why Muller began his journey to Australia in Liverpool, nor why the passenger list gives his occupation as "joiner." He boarded the S.S. *Runic* on February 12, 1903 and disembarked in Sydney on April 1.

It is certainly the case that Muller was then employed in the creation of moulds for metal ceilings. His employers were the very successful firm of Wunderlich Limited, established in 1887. This firm became "a key part of the Australian building industry for much of the 20th century," owing much of its success to "an emphasis on craft, and on skilled work and workmen." The modelling was done in clay. Plaster imprints were then taken to cast dies which were stamped into metal sheets.

For the Franco-British Exhibition held in London in 1908, Muller created a bust in hammered copper of Ernest Wunderlich (1859-1945), one of the founders of the firm. It was awarded a gold medal, and stood for many years in the firm’s boardroom. It is now in the collection of the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. It was company policy not to identify the staff members responsible for specific designs, so it is only because of a much later newspaper article that we are able to identify Muller as responsible for this work.

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3 *Courier-Mail*, November 17, 1951, 2.
4 Ibid.
5 National Archives (UK), Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department, Outwards Passenger Lists, BT27, Port: Liverpool.
6 Naturalisation File.
9 *Brisbane Courier*, January 13, 1927, 14
Modellers' Studio at the Wunderlich Factory, Redfern, in 1908\textsuperscript{10}

Muller's Bust of Ernest Wunderlich, ca. 1908\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10} Twenty Years of Manufacturing in Australia: Wunderlich's in 1908 (Sydney: Wunderlich Ltd., 1908), 6.
\textsuperscript{11} Bures, House of Wunderlich, 20. The bust is located in the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, 86/1110-1.
Summers tells us that Muller had not planned to stay long in Australia, seeing it as just an interlude before proceeding to America. These plans were disrupted by his marriage to an Australian woman, ten years his junior. Kate Rose, a teacher, was the daughter of Simon Rose (1833-1910), a grazier in the Bingara district in northern New South Wales, who was a son of John Rose (1793-1848), the first child born to the first family of free settlers in New South Wales. The marriage was celebrated at St John's Church of England, Darlinghurst, on January 2, 1905.

One has to wonder what the bride's old-established pastoral family thought of her marriage to a German artisan-cum-artist. The fact that the wedding was held in Sydney, and not near the bride's family home, may be significant. However her elder brother Frank was one of the witnesses at the ceremony, so it was certainly no elopement.

The newly married couple settled on the suburban fringe of Sydney at Terry Street, Petersham (now in the suburb of Tempe). A son, Max, was born in 1906, and a daughter, Louise, the following year.

In 1908 Muller took the significant step of applying for naturalisation as a British subject. With an Australian wife and two children, he clearly now saw himself as committed to his new homeland. He continued to use the German form of his given name throughout his life (especially for official purposes), but he began to use the English form also. For example, in the *Sands Sydney Suburban and Country Commercial Directory* for 1907 he is listed as "Muller, John, Terry St., Petersham."

1911-1938: Brisbane

Summers tells us that in 1911 Muller came to Brisbane and "branched out in his own business in South Brisbane, [then] returned to the company's employ …" The *Queensland Post Office Directory* for 1912/13 shows him living at Gladstone Road, Highgate Hill, and by the following year he had moved a short distance to Brighton Road. Both these addresses suggest that he may have had business premises in nearby South Brisbane. The nature of that business is uncertain, but the electoral rolls give his occupation as "designer and modeller," so he was still engaged in the same line of work, even if now self-employed.

After 1919 there are no records to indicate that he was still living at Highgate Hill, so it may be that the business venture was not a success. In early 1913 the Wunderlich firm had opened a large factory in Brisbane, located at Water Street, Fortitude Valley. It is certainly true, as

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12 *Courier-Mail*, November 17, 1951, 2.
14 Marriage Certificate.
15 Naturalisation File.
16 *Courier-Mail*, November 17, 1951, 2.
17 *Brisbane Courier*, May 9, 1913, 5.
Summers tells us, that Muller resumed some connection with his former employer, and this may explain why the electoral rolls show him living near the Wunderlich factory: in 1921 at 283 Boundary Street, and in 1925 at 448 Leichhardt Street (this address is now in St Paul's Terrace, near the corner of Love Street). The electoral rolls give his occupation as "modeller," suggesting that he had indeed returned to the employment of Wunderlich.

In 1927 he undertook a significant artistic work for Wunderlich. This was a bust of the late Chief Justice of Queensland, Thomas William McCawley (1881-1925). A journalist, commenting on the work, was very impressed with the sculptor, "a tall, spare man in a long white coat," and praised the bust for "such fidelity of likeness, such 'living' quality in the clay." The bust was cast in bronze and presented to the Arbitration Court, and it is currently located in one of the hearing rooms of the Industrial Court of Queensland. In the following year, a replica was made for Nudgee College, but this copy cannot now be located.

Muller is also credited with making a sketch model for the statue of the Scottish poet, Robert Burns, which stands in Centenary Place, Fortitude Valley. As this statue is normally

18 *Brisbane Courier*, January 13, 1927, 14.
19 *Brisbane Courier*, May 26, 1928, 21.
20 Email from Martin Kerby, Nudgee College, November 26, 2014.
21 Photograph: John East.
22 *Courier-Mail*, February 6, 1949, 5.
attributed to a British sculptor, Samuel William Ward Willis, and as it was cast in Belgium, the connection with Muller seems to be tenuous.

It was around this time (and perhaps even earlier) that Muller returned to masonry work. It is said that he worked on the completion of the Treasury Building. This project involved the erection of the final stage of the building, at the corner of George and Queen Streets, and extending some distance back along both of those streets. Construction work lasted from 1923 to 1928, but we do not know precisely when Muller was active, nor which parts of the structure he executed.

![Treasury Building](image)

**Treasury Building**
Detail of masonry work on Queen Street frontage, near George Street Corner

It is also reported that Muller worked on the erection of the Masonic Temple in Ann Street. This project lasted from 1928 to 1930, but again we have no details of Muller's involvement. A later guidebook to Brisbane sculpture says of this building that "the local artisans responsible for its splendid stonework are unidentified."
Fortunately, Muller's involvement in the construction of the Brisbane City Hall is better documented. The main period of construction ran from 1924 to 1928, and we know (from subsequent legal proceedings) that Muller and his partner Frederick Percival Pilling were well paid as sub-contractors at some stage during this project. A photograph from 1926 shows Muller working on one of the lion's heads which decorate the first-floor balconies of the building.

![Masonic Temple, Ann Street, Brisbane](image)

**Muller Carving a Lion's Head for the Brisbane City Hall, 1926**

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27 Photograph: Queensland Tourism.
28 *Brisbane Courier*, October 11, 1932, 15.
29 *Brisbane Courier*, July 20, 1926, 15.
However Muller's role would become more prominent in late 1929, when the Brisbane sculptor Daphne Mayo (1895-1982) began work on the large tympanum which crowns the central portico of the building. Mayo had several assistants, of whom Muller was the chief, and their job was to rough-out the figures for Mayo to complete. This huge sculptural work took about a year to execute. One of the junior assistants reported, many years later, that Muller "resented being the assistant rather than the sculptor," his chagrin possibly increased by the fact that he too had apparently submitted a design for the tympanum.

Muller Working as Assistant to Daphne Mayo on the Brisbane City Hall Tympanum, 1930

The late 1920s seem to have been a successful time for Muller. Around 1929 he and his wife moved to a house at 37 Queens Road, Hamilton, a pleasantly elevated site, with rear views over the Brisbane River. They would remain here for the rest of their lives. Muller's taxable income for the financial year 1929/30 was £1,555. To put this in context, the average weekly wage for a full-time adult male worker in Queensland in 1929 was slightly over £5, so Muller was clearly earning a very comfortable income.

31 Daphne Mayo Papers, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL119, box 3, folder 7.
32 Queensland Electoral Roll, Electorate of Toombul, supplement for October 1929.
33 Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, no. 23 (1930): 375.
However Muller only declared £874 of taxable income for that year, and when the Income Tax Department began to investigate, they identified a general discrepancy of approximately £3,000 extending over a period of five years. Muller was fined £80, and a further penalty of almost £175 was imposed. He was prosecuted jointly with another stone carver, Frederick Percival Pilling. The two men had been business partners, sub-contracting for work on the construction of the Brisbane City Hall.  

After 1930, with the onset of the Great Depression, building activity in Australia declined sharply. Muller does not seem to have been involved in any large projects for much of this decade, although it is hard to believe that he spent the Depression years completely idle. After 1932, the Queensland State Labor Government initiated a series of large public construction projects designed to provide employment and stimulate the building industry. One of these projects would eventually provide Muller with sufficient work to occupy him for the rest of his lifetime.

![19-1127]

Muller's Initials
From the McCawley bust of 1927

1939-1953: University of Queensland

Construction of the new campus for the University of Queensland at St Lucia began in March 1938. In February 1939 the University Works Board decided to use Helidon freestone for the facing of the buildings. The architect's design called for extensive sculptural adornment, including a series of friezes along the cornices of the Main Building and around the top of the central tower.

To tender for work on this major new project, Muller formed a partnership with Frederick McGowan, a Sydney stonemason who had worked on the completion of St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney, an earlier project of Jack F. Hennessy, the architect of the new university. The partnership also included one of the Pilling family, presumably Frederick Pilling, with whom

34 Brisbane Courier, October 11, 1932, 15; ibid., November 8, 1932, 11.
35 Photograph: John East.
36 For more detail on the architectural history of the Great Court complex, see: John W. East, ”No Mean Plans: Designing the Great Court at the University of Queensland” (2014), http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/
37 Sydney Morning Herald, July 9, 1954, 10.
Muller had worked on the Brisbane City Hall. Pilling did not remain in the partnership for long, possibly because of poor health: he died in Dubbo in 1942. (Frederick Pilling's younger brother, Clarence Grundy Pilling, also worked as a stone carver on the St Lucia campus.) McGowan continued in partnership with Muller until construction was suspended early in 1942; he died in Sydney later that year.

In April 1939 the University Works Board accepted a tender from McGowan, Muller & Pilling of £6,531 for stone carvings on the Main Building. In about August 1940 McGowan and Muller submitted a tender for stone carving of the "Union Quarters" (the easternmost portion of the Main Building) at £241, the Chemistry Building at £855, and the Geology Building and cloisters at £735. The University Works Board accepted this tender in November, but with the interesting rider that they would ask the architects to consider Daphne Mayo for future work. In October 1941 the Board accepted a further quote of £296 from McGowan and Muller for carving on the Main Building. In February 1942, as a result of wartime restrictions on non-essential building work, all contracts relating to the project were suspended.

During this first phase of the building work at St Lucia, Muller and McGowan spent almost three years producing stone carvings. It should be noted that Muller was already 65 years of age when he began working on this project. By early 1941 some of the friezes on the main northern frontage around the Arts Entrance and the tower had been completed. By May 1941 carving of the capitals in the cloister had commenced.

It was also during this first phase that Muller began work on what would become the most admired group of the Great Court sculptures, namely the grotesques. (These are often referred to as "gargoyles," but a gargoyle is strictly speaking a water spout, carved with a human or animal form.). In November 1939 the architects wrote to the University Senate, sending a plan of "proposed corbels on Quadrangle elevations of Main Building, Library, Chemistry, Geology and Physics." The architects intended to have these carved in life-size heads and were requesting photographs in full face and profile of members of the University "who have been closely associated with it since its inception."

However the University authorities felt it inappropriate to include representation of living persons in the sculptures. This perhaps explains why Muller developed the idea of sculpting anonymous grotesques. Their very anonymity has always been part of their appeal, and they have fascinated observers since they first appeared. A newspaper report in February 1941

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38 Bureau of Industry, University Works Board, Minutes, 11 April 1939, Queensland State Archives, item ID 538216.
39 Ibid., 29 August 1940.
40 Ibid., 5 November 1940.
41 Ibid., 29 October 1941.
42 Ibid., 18 February 1942.
43 Courier-Mail, January 24, 1941, 4.
44 Building (Sydney), June 24, 1941, 16.
45 Minutes of Senate Vacation Committee, 19 December 1939, UQ Archives, S2, 1940 volume.
includes a photograph of one of the grotesques near the Law entrance, now believed to have been modelled on one of the crane drivers working on the site. One of the architects explained that these figures were being used "to alleviate the severe simplicity of the outer walls."  

Grotesque Based on A.H. Robinson, Crane Driver

Robinson and Muller shared a taste for beer!

It should be understood that Muller and McGowan were working to designs provided by the architects. Leo Drinan, the Queensland manager of Hennessy, Hennessy and Co., is thought to have been responsible for many of the designs. The architects received additional artists' fees to cover the cost of producing these designs. For example, in 1940 the University Works Board agreed to the architects' claim for 250 guineas for "the preparation of drawings of special decorative friezes and panels and sculptures, depicting historical and other subjects for the use of stone carvers and modellers." 

However the grotesques were another matter. A contemporary magazine article, based on information supplied by the architects, makes it clear that

46 Sunday Mail (Brisbane), February 16, 1941, 7.
47 Story Papers, UQ Archives, S533, item 31.
In fashioning these, the sculptor was given complete freedom to execute satirical and
cynical representations of petty human foibles and idiosyncracies, to create examples
of restrained grotesquery and whimsicality in stone as his artistry and fancy dictated. 48

Nonetheless Muller was required to first model the grotesques in clay, and then obtain
approval from the consulting architect to the project, R.P. Cummings of the University's
Architecture Department. 49

With the suspension of work at St Lucia early in 1942, and the general curtailment of all
building activity not directed to the war effort, it is likely that Muller enjoyed a period of
enforced retirement during the following years. His only known project from this period is a
small terracotta niche statue of Saint Martin, which he modelled to a design by a local artist,
William Bustard. It was erected in 1945 on a gable of St Martin's Hospital, overlooking Ann
Street, adjacent to St John's Cathedral. 50 It still stands there, largely invisible to passers-by.

![Niche Statue of Saint Martin](image)

**Niche Statue of Saint Martin**
St Martin's Hospital, Ann Street, Brisbane

From 1942 to 1944, the incomplete buildings at St Lucia served as the Advanced Land
Headquarters of the Allied Defence Forces. The Army vacated the site late in 1944 and
returned it to the University, but nothing could be done to resume building work with the war

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48 *Building and Engineering* (Sydney), December 24, 1951, 27
51 Photograph: John East.
still in progress. Even when the war came to an end in August 1945, there were much higher priorities for national reconstruction than the new university campus, and building work there resumed very slowly.

However Muller, now aged 71, was ready and able to resume stone carving, and the stone was already in place. As early as March 1945 he and a small number of specialist stonemasons were back at work at St Lucia. Muller no longer tendered for jobs, but simply worked as a paid employee of the contractors, P.J. Lowther & Sons.52

Photographs of Muller at Work at St Lucia53

In these post-war years he continued working on the friezes. Among these was the frieze on the west side of the Tower, depicting the service of the Australian forces in Africa and Southeast Asia during the Second World War.

Frieze Depicting Federation Ceremonies of 1st January 1901

This was one of the friezes carved by Muller after the war

52 Labourers’ record book of Arthur Thurlow, photocopy in Hinwood Papers, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL553, box 12, folder 7.
53 Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL466 AL/P/36 and UQFL477 PIC 522.
The remarkable "dinosaur frieze" over the entrance to the Geology (Richards) Building also dates from this time. In later life, Professor Dorothy Hill recalled that working on the design of this frieze was "one of the more memorable features of Departmental life" in the Geology Department in the immediate post-war years.\(^5^4\)

The life-size figures which flank the Arts and Law entrances on the main frontage, and also those outside the Chemistry (Steele) Building, were also carved (or completed) after the war. Likewise the stone traceries in the windows of the Tower on the courtyard side, whose fate will be discussed later. And of course Muller executed many smaller works in the arches around the main entrances on the courtyard side, as well as many coats-of-arms for the cloister capitals.

Many years later one of the foremen who worked on the construction of the Great Court remembered Muller in these terms:

He was an expert at his job … He used to shake like mad, but when he was carving, he was steady as a rock. He worked fast and once he got going, he could finish a gargoyle in a couple of days … His assistant stonemasons would rough [the grotesques] out on stone, cutting off the edges for him. Then Muller would go at it with a pneumatic drill. Only he could capture the expressions of the faces … He was a bit temperamental sometimes, but we knew how to handle him.\(^5^5\)

In 1951 Muller was forced to interrupt his work for some months because of ill health.\(^5^6\) However by November of that year he was back at work,\(^5^7\) but in April 1952, aged 78, illness finally put an end to his working life.\(^5^8\)

On July 5, 1952, Muller's house at Queens Road, Hamilton was largely destroyed by a fire which began in an adjoining property. His wife, then suffering from a heart condition, had to be carried to safety.\(^5^9\) Muller himself was in hospital at the time. All of Muller's papers and documents were destroyed, including records of his work at the University of Queensland and elsewhere.\(^6^0\)

Muller died on March 15, 1953.\(^6^1\) His wife did not long survive him, dying on July 26.

\(^5^4\) Dorothy Hill, *The First Fifty Years of the Department of Geology of the University of Queensland*, Papers of the Department of Geology, University of Queensland, vol. 10, no. 1 (St Lucia: The Department, 1981), 35-6.
\(^5^5\) *Sunday Mail Color Magazine* (Brisbane), December 2, 1973, 5.
\(^5^6\) *Sunday Mail* (Brisbane), September 16, 1951, 2.
\(^5^7\) *Courier-Mail*, November 17, 1951, 2.
\(^5^8\) *Courier-Mail*, March 16, 1953, 1.
\(^5^9\) *Sunday Mail* (Brisbane), July 6, 1952, 3.
\(^6^0\) Louise Muller to Prof. George Davies, September 10, 1979, UQ Archives, UQA S279 file 100.
\(^6^1\) *Courier-Mail*, March 16, 1953, 1.
In purely financial terms, Muller's career had been a successful one. Apart from the house at Hamilton, which he owned jointly with his wife, he left property to the value of £3,934, at a time when the average weekly full-time wage for an adult male in Queensland was less than £14. His wife left personal property to the value of £3,271, plus the family home and two additional rental properties, worth in total £5,327.

Shortly after Muller's death, an obituary appeared in the *University of Queensland Gazette*. It was written by Frederick Walter Robinson (1888-1971), Associate Professor of English, a

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62 Will of John (also known as Johannes) Theodore Muller, Queensland State Archives, item ID 747113, no.561.
64 Will of Kate Muller, Queensland State Archives, item ID 747234, no.1211; *Courier-Mail*, January 7, 1954, 10.
65 *Building and Engineering* (Sydney), December 24, 1951, 20.
man who had been associated with the University since 1923 and who had played an active role in the development of the St Lucia campus. Robinson had a passion for heraldry, which gave him an additional interest in Muller's work. Robinson's obituary, which is the finest first-hand description of Muller as man and craftsman, is quoted in full below.

The unity and dignity of all human work well done has been brought home to many University students and teachers at St. Lucia through friendly contact with the men who are building there a worthy home for learning in Queensland. John Theodore Muller especially made us realise this—the carver and sculptor in chief of the many figures and patterns cut in the stone of the new buildings. He was a noticeable figure, with his height, his strong features, prominent nose, keen eyes and upright dignity. With his old straw hat and white or off-white overalls, he was as likely to be seen 20, 30, 40 or more feet up, on a scaffold, working unconcernedly with his tools, as on the ground doing likewise. And getting up to those scaffolds on shaky ladders was not altogether easy, even for a man half the age of Muller.

John Muller was well trained in carving and stone work in Germany and abroad. In most cases the designs for the historical panels, aboriginal scenes, figures, coats of arms, bas-relief patterns of Australian plant and animal life were furnished by the architects. The making of the cartoons of the exact size of the intended carvings, however, was Muller's; the actual cutting of the scene or figure, with any modifications of the designs during cutting, was also his work. For some of the free figures—Dalton and Lavoisier on the Chemistry building—he had only photographs to work from. The execution of this work was skilful and in many cases most pleasing. One likes particularly the bas-relief panels and roundels of Australian details—animal, fruit, flower and leaf, and aboriginal heads. With their bold execution and craftsmanship, moreover, the coats of arms of the Universities of the world on the capitals of the cloister pillars will never fail to add dignity and meaning to the building fabric.

But the best, because most individual sculpture to be found on the St. Lucia buildings is to be found in the "grotesques" (gargoyles some call them, but they are not strictly that) which were left entirely to John Muller's fancy and skill to design and execute. These are on the courtyard side of the main buildings and they represent—who knows? Muller had his humour and his reticences, and apart from the merely fanciful heads the possible identity behind others is lost. Not entirely, however; one can see Professor Stable and Professor Alcock at the Library end of the building; one of the workers at St. Lucia (with a good story attached) is at the other; while in between one may guess at a possible Colin Clark, a Vice-Chancellor J. D. Story, or even a Sir Aubrey Smith of Hollywood! One head, however, is missing—that of the master craftsman, John Muller, himself. The University Buildings and Grounds Committee unanimously asked him to put himself among the immortals, either as a grotesque or as a correct portrait. The mediaeval master-mason, they told him, did such things. But
Muller smiled shyly, or wickedly, it was hard to say which, and never found time to begin this task.

Nevertheless, he and his fellows have made the walls of St. Lucia speak in eloquent silence of many things suggestive of thought, human significances, and playful fancy. In his long span of 80 years Muller seemed to make one rhythm of his life and of his work. Fittingly then his memory will live in the very stone of the buildings he adorned.66

Grotesque Possibly Representing Vice-Chancellor J.D. Story

Story was for decades chairman of the University's Finance Committee. Perhaps he is checking figures in a ledger?

Post Mortem

The art of one generation is kitsch to the next. So it proved with much of the decorative detail which architects and skilled tradesmen lavished on the Great Court buildings: it seemed old fashioned and ugly to the following generation, and eminently dispensable. The stone traceries of the Tower windows are a case in point.

66 University of Queensland Gazette, no. 25 (June 1953): 10.
It had originally been planned to install a carillon of bells in the Tower of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building. For this reason, the Tower was designed with large vertical openings which were initially filled with openwork stone panels. These panels were to be elaborately carved, but Muller had time to complete only the panels on the courtyard side before his death. A contemporary magazine article describes these panels:

The pierced panels are carved in ascending groups of native birds and animals … At the base are to be found the kangaroo, emu and a centrally-placed lyre-bird. Above, among an orderly profusion of eucalypt blossoms in conventionalised form, are groups of koalas and opossums, parrots, galahs and crested cockatoos.\(^{67}\)

With the rapid expansion of the University in the post-war years, it became increasingly obvious that the Tower was a potentially useful space for additional teaching and office accommodation. A special committee was set up to investigate the matter and in July 1952 it reported that the Main Building was already fully occupied, and so the only way of obtaining additional accommodation was to utilise the upper floors of the Tower. It also noted that "the Architects for the University buildings seemed unwilling to consider the removal of the stone fretwork," but nonetheless concluded that "the appearance of the tower would be enhanced, rather than any artificial beauty being lost, if windows were substituted for the fretwork."\(^{68}\)

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67 *Building and Engineering* (Sydney), December 24, 1951, 20.
68 Special Committee to Advise on the Question of Substituting Windows for the Stone Fretwork, Report, 4 July 1952, Buildings and Grounds Committee Papers, UQ Archives, UQA S15.
69 *Building and Engineering* (Sydney), December 24, 1951, 28.
Although the Buildings and Grounds Committee endorsed these conclusions, the architects were vehemently opposed to the plan. Leo Drinan (who had probably designed the panels) insisted that

These motifs include the principal forms of flora and fauna that are so characteristically Australian, and which, with other carvings used elsewhere on the new University buildings, set these latter apart as a group of structures unique among the Universities of the world.  

When the matter came before the University Senate in November, it was referred back to the Buildings and Grounds Committee for further consideration. However the Accommodation Sub-committee of the Buildings and Grounds Committee remained firm:

The Sub-Committee noted the Architects' remarks about the favourable comments by overseas visitors regarding the detail on the stone panels in the tower, which it is proposed to remove; but that they have not been present to hear many unfavourable comments regarding the block-like, lifeless appearance of the top half of the tower when viewed from a quarter of a mile or farther away …

The Senate finally approved the proposal in November 1953. Even the intervention of the Premier of Queensland could not save the panels, and in May 1956 the Department of Architecture occupied its new premises in the Tower (with windowless lecture rooms). Mercifully Muller did not live to see the destruction of one of his largest carvings.

As F.W. Robinson mentioned in his obituary of Muller, the University's Buildings and Grounds Committee had in 1950 suggested that Muller make himself the subject of one of the grotesques. Almost thirty years later his daughter recalled that he had made two plaster models of his head for this purpose, one of which the University authorities collected soon after his death, but nothing came of the project. The University's failure to appoint a sculptor to continue Muller's work speaks eloquently of the official disinterest in the Great Court sculptures.

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70 Hennnessy, Hennessy & Co. to J. Holt, Co-ordinator General's Department, 31 October 1952, copy in Building Accommodation (St. Lucia)—Main Building, UQ Archives, UQA S130.
71 Senate Minutes, 6 November 1952, UQ Archives, UQA S2.
72 Buildings and Grounds Committee, Accommodation Sub-committee, Minutes, 31 March 1953, UQ Archives, UQA S15.
73 Senate Minutes, 5 November 1953, UQ Archives, UQA S2.
74 Under-Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department to Vice-Chancellor, University of Queensland, 3 September 1954, Chief Secretary's Batch Files, New University at St Lucia, part 3, Queensland State Archives, item ID 538213; copy in Third Report (1954) of the Buildings and Grounds Committee, Senate Papers, UQ Archives, UQA S2.
75 R. P. Cummings, "Department of Architecture, St. Lucia," University of Queensland Gazette, no. 36 (December 1956): 2.
76 Buildings and Grounds Committee, Minutes, 18 September 1950, UQ Archives, UQA S15.
77 Louise Muller to Prof. George Davies, September 10, 1979, UQ Archives, UQA S279 file 100.
But the kitsch of one generation is art to the next. In 1976 Rhyl Hinwood was appointed to resume sculptural work in the Great Court. As a schoolgirl she had watched Muller carving the column capitals in the Great Court. She was commissioned to produce a total of eight grotesques, and her work was so widely admired that she would continue working on sculptural adornments to the Great Court for many years to come. There is little doubt that Hinwood's fine work has revived public interest in Muller. In 1981 Hinwood executed the long promised grotesque of Muller. She based this upon a maquette which Muller had prepared, but whereas Muller had represented himself wearing a trilby hat and necktie, Hinwood carved him in his familiar straw hat and dustcoat. The Muller grotesque is located near the Law Entrance.

Rhyl Hinwood with her Muller Grotesque and the Original Maquette

80 Ibid.
In 1979, following the freestone cladding of the Michie Building and the construction of the cloister between the Michie and Goddard Buildings, the Great Court complex was finally complete, more than forty years after construction had begun. On August 4 a ceremony was held in the Great Court itself to mark this milestone.\footnote{University News (University of Queensland), no. 134 (August 15, 1979): 1.} An exhibition relating to the history of the Great Court was mounted in the foyer on the first floor of the Forgan Smith Building, and a twenty-nine page \textit{Guide to the Great Court} was published by the University. These were all significant steps in fostering public interest in the buildings and the sculptural work. As Hinwood continued to produce new sculptures, a much enlarged version of the \textit{Guide} was published in 1992.

In 1990 the National Trust of Queensland added the Great Court to its register of places worthy of preservation as part of the national heritage.\footnote{University News (University of Queensland), no. 335 (November 14, 1990): 15.} Some years later the Queensland Heritage Council proposed that the Great Court be added to the Queensland Heritage Register, and this listing was confirmed in 2002. Experts now consider the Great Court to contain "the greatest extent of architectural sculpture in Queensland."\footnote{Lisanne Gibson and Joanna Besley, \textit{Monumental Queensland: Signposts on a Cultural Landscape} (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2004), 207.} Much of this is the work of Muller, and his reputation has grown over the years in tandem with the increasing appreciation of the heritage value of these buildings.

But reputations are fickle and often contested. On May 3, 1981, the Brisbane \textit{Sunday Mail} published a photo of Muller working with Daphne Mayo on the tympanum of the Brisbane City Hall, and the caption described Muller as a "monumental mason." His daughter wrote to the newspaper protesting that her father was "not a monumental mason but a sculptor, modeller and stone carver."\footnote{Sunday Mail (Brisbane), May 24, 1981, 17.} Clearly she wished her father to be remembered not merely as an artisan, but as an artist in his own right.

How did Muller see himself? The following descriptions, presumably supplied by Muller, appear on surviving documents:

- 1905 (marriage certificate): sculptor
- 1908 (naturalisation file): sculptor
- 1913 (electoral roll): designer and modeller
- 1921 (electoral roll): modeller
- 1929 (electoral roll): carver
- 1932 (legal proceedings): stone carver
- 1952 (will): sculptor

This suggests that Muller himself was uncertain as to where he stood on the continuum between artisan and artist, but there is little doubt that he saw himself as more than just a
mason. One of the University academics who had known Muller later recalled him as "a modest man [who] regarded himself as a stonemason, not a sculptor," but the recollected modesty may have been feigned.

In his obituary of Muller, F.W. Robinson was careful to stress that much of Muller's work on the Great Court involved more than the mechanical execution of designs supplied by the architects; the grotesques, in particular, were entirely of his own creation. The compilers of the Guide to the Great Court were likewise at pains to emphasise that "the sizing and modification of the designs during cutting were the work of Muller and his associates." Nonetheless the fact remains that Muller, as far as we know, did not design any large-scale sculptural works, with the exception of his reported submission of a design for the tympanum of the Brisbane City Hall. He was a superb stone carver, but his reputation as a sculptor has hitherto rested on the thirty-two grotesques mounted on the internal walls of the Great Court. In the course of the present study, the only other significant works designed by Muller which have been identified are the busts of Ernest Wunderlich (ca. 1908) and T.W. McCawley (1927). It is certainly possible that further works by Muller will come to light, but this is still a small body of work on which to found any significant reputation.

But however we assess Muller's career, his name will forever be linked to the Great Court at St Lucia. As long as those buildings stand, the work of John Theodore Muller will be admired by thousands of visitors, staff and students every year. As a contemporary observer put it, "he has carved his own monument."

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The author is very grateful for assistance received from Rhyl Hinwood, Judith McKay, Bruce Ibsen (University of Queensland Archives), Anni Turnbull (Powerhouse Museum, Sydney), Martin Kerby (Nudgee College) and staff of the Fryer Library at the University of Queensland.

85 Sunday Mail Color Magazine (Brisbane), December 2, 1973, 5.
87 I have benefited from discussing this topic with Dr Judith McKay.
88 Courier-Mail, November 17, 1951, 2.
Appendix: Attribution of the Great Court Stone Carvings at St Lucia

The revised edition of *A Guide to the Great Court*,\(^{89}\) published in 1992, is currently the best published guide to Muller's work at St Lucia.\(^{90}\) However, while the *Guide* gives detailed documentation of all work executed by Rhyl Hinwood between 1976 and 1992, records of the earlier sculptures are very incomplete, and the compilers of the *Guide* were often unable to attribute or date those works. The fire which destroyed Muller's home in 1952 also destroyed his personal records, so the precise dating and attribution of the carvings will always be problematic.

The following listing of the major sculptural works (with the exception of those executed by Rhyl Hinwood) attempts to identify the carvers responsible for them, based on contemporary photographs and descriptions.

No attempt has been made to attribute the smaller carvings (e.g. those on the column capitals and in the arches), although Muller was certainly responsible for many such carvings on the Forgan Smith, Duhig, Steele and Richards Buildings. The Parnell, Goddard and Michie Buildings were built after Muller's death, so none of the carvings on these buildings is the work of Muller, with the exception of the frog grotesque on the Parnell Building, which was relocated.

The attribution of the carvings is based on the following premises:

- All the pre-Hinwood grotesques are the work of Muller. This is clear from contemporary sources, such as the obituary by F.W. Robinson quoted above. They are not detailed below: full information can be obtained from the *Guide*.
- All the pre-Hinwood carving executed after work resumed in 1945 is by Muller, although he had assistants to do the roughing-out for him.
- Carving completed before the building work was suspended early in 1942 is likely to be the work either of Muller or of his partner, Frederick James McGowan. McGowan died in July 1942. The specific attribution of any of these works to Muller or McGowan is only possible where there is evidence provided by contemporary newspaper or magazine articles, and the reliability of these sources is uncertain. It will be obvious that photographs taken of the campus during the period from 1942 to 1944, when it was occupied by the Army, are important for identifying the sculptures which had been completed before work stopped early in 1942.

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\(^{89}\) Brian D. Pascoe, ed., *A Guide to the Great Court*, rev. ed. (Brisbane: Media and Information Services, University of Queensland, 1992). This work has been digitised and can be accessed online at http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/

\(^{90}\) Rhyl Hinwood and Hugh Lavery have compiled a comprehensive database of sculptural works at the University of Queensland, and there are plans to make it publicly available online. It will update and replace the *Guide to the Great Court*. 
The most debatable of these premises is the assumption that the assistant stone carvers employed at St Lucia were responsible only for roughing-out the work. It has been claimed that some of them fully executed certain of the carvings (FARRELL2007).

The parenthetical references are detailed in the list of sources, which will be found at the end of this document.

_Forgan Smith (Main) Building: Northern Frontage_

_Arts Entrance_

Agricultural frieze (left side). Dated by the Guide to ca. 1940. Attributed to McGowan (BUILD1941).

Agricultural frieze (right side). Dated by the Guide to ca. 1940. Attributed to McGowan (BUILD1941).

Aboriginal friezes above the entrance. Attributed to McGowan (BUILD1941).

Shakespeare statue. Executed post-war (AWM069401; S178b229). Attributed to Muller (SM1949).

Chaucer statue. Possibly commenced by McGowan (BUILD1941) but apparently not completed before work ceased in 1942 (AWM069401). Completed post-war (S178b229), presumably by Muller.

_Flanking the Tower_

Frieze of Cook, Oxley and Logan (left side). Executed before 1942 (AWM P00884.001). Dated by the Guide to ca. 1940. Possibly by Muller (SM1949).


_Law Entrance_


Manufacturing frieze (right side). Dated by the Guide to ca. 1941. Possibly by Muller (SM1949).
Aboriginal friezes above the entrance. Executed before 1942 (S178b46). Attribution uncertain.

Plato statue. Executed post-war (S178b46; S178b229). Attributed to Muller (SM1949).


**The Tower**

*Courtyard Frontage*

Frieze of the foundation of the University (left side). Dated by the *Guide* as ca. 1940. Attribution uncertain.

Frieze of the planting of the University Tree (right side). Dated by the *Guide* as ca. 1940. Attribution uncertain.

Statues of two figures symbolising Science and the Arts. Dated by the *Guide* as ca. 1945, and, if that date is correct, attributable to Muller. However it is possible that the statues were executed before 1942: the photographic evidence is inconclusive (AWM063223). If the earlier date is correct, an attribution to McGowan is plausible (FARRELL2007).

Pierced stone panels in window openings (later demolished). Attributed to Muller (CM1949).

*Western Frontage*

World War II frieze. Depicts events mainly from the North African campaign of 1940-41, including the figure of architect James Moore Henderson, who died in Syria in June 1941.Apparently much of this frieze was executed before 1942 (AWM P00884.001; S178b46). Elements depicting the war in Southeast Asia must have been added post-war. Attributed to Muller (CM1951).

Statues of three figures symbolising Dentistry, Medicine and Veterinary Science. Dated by the *Guide* as ca. 1945, and, if that date is correct, attributable to Muller. However it is possible that the statues were executed before 1942: the photographic evidence is inconclusive (AWM P00884.001). If the earlier date is correct, an attribution to McGowan is plausible (FARRELL2007).
Forgan Smith (Main) Building: Courtyard Frontage

Law Entrance

Aboriginal friezes above the entrance. Apparently executed post-war (AWM063223) and therefore attributable to Muller.

Flanking the Tower

Frieze of Governor Bowen (left side). Dated by the Guide as ca. 1941, but may actually have been executed post-war (AWM063223). Attribution uncertain.

Frieze of the foundation of the Commonwealth (right side). Executed post-war (AWM063224) and therefore attributable to Muller.

Arts Entrance

Aboriginal friezes above the entrance. Executed post-war (AWM063224) and therefore attributable to Muller.

Steele (Chemistry) Building: Courtyard Frontage

Friezes of chemical procedures above the entrance. Executed post-war (S178b423) and therefore attributable to Muller. Dated by the Guide as ca. 1948.

Friezes of Mendeleev, Priestley and Pasteur. Executed post-war (S178b423). Dated by the Guide as ca. 1948. Attributed to Muller (CM1951).


Richards (Geology) Building: Courtyard Frontage

Dinosaur frieze. Certainly executed post-war, as the Geology Building was still in the early stages of construction when work was halted in 1942. Attributed to Muller (CM1951).
List of Sources

AWM063223
Photograph of the Tower and Law end of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building, from the courtyard, January 1944 (Australian War Memorial).
The photograph is not very clear, but it seems that the friezes over the courtyard Law Entrance had not been carved when work ceased in 1942; likewise the frieze on the Main Building at the left-hand side of the Tower. The friezes at the top of the Tower have been carved, but it is not entirely clear if the two symbolic figures have been fully carved or just blocked-out.

AWM063224
Photograph of the Arts end of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building, from the courtyard, January 1944 (Australian War Memorial).
Shows that no carving had been done over the courtyard Arts Entrance when work ceased in 1942. Also shows that the frieze on the Main Building on the right-hand side of the Tower had not been carved.

AWM069401
Photograph of the northern frontage of the Arts end of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building, September 1943 (Australian War Memorial).
The photograph is not very clear, but it appears that considerable progress had been made with the Chaucer figure before work ceased in 1942, but none with the Shakespeare figure.

AWM P00884.001
Photograph with distant view of the northern frontage of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building, October 1943 (Australian War Memorial).
Although this photograph is not very clear, it seems to confirm that the friezes flanking the Tower were completed pre-war. It also suggests that the World War II frieze on the western side of the Tower was at least commenced before work ceased in 1942. It is not entirely clear if the three symbolic figures at the top of the Tower on the western side have been fully carved or just blocked-out.

BUILD1941
Building (Sydney), June 24, 1941, page 17.
Photograph of the Arts Entrance on the northern frontage of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building, apparently taken in May 1941. Shows all the friezes above the entrance complete. The statue of Chaucer has been commenced but is not finished. No work has been done on the Shakespeare statue. The caption attributes the work to McGowan.

CM1949
Courier-Mail, October 5, 1949, page 5.
Article about Muller. "He has already finished 12 large friezes of Queensland's early settlement and various industries, busts of poets for the entrance hall, and of chemists for the
School of Chemistry, dozens of gargoyles and wall and window panels of animals, birds, and flowers … This week Mr. Muller is completing the 100th capital for the several hundred cloister columns."

CM1951
*Courier-Mail*, November 17, 1951, page 2.
This is Harold Summers' detailed profile of Muller and one of the most important contemporary sources. However his attributions seem unreliable, as he credits Muller with the friezes over the Arts Entrance on the northern frontage of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building (cf. BUILD1941). Some of the attributions are more detailed and therefore more credible: "In a North African war scene he has worked in, in incidental memorial, the features of Mr. James Henderson … His likeness of Justinian was worked from the picture of an obscure mosaic in Istanbul. Of the group work he has done, his personal fancy goes to the large sculptured figures of Dalton and Lavoisier flanking the entrance to the Chemistry building, and the accompanying panels portraying Mendeleef, Priestley, and Pasteur. A few yards away, in the frontage of the Geology building, he had followed the designs that have introduced forms of prehistoric life."

FARRELL2007
Correspondence between Rhyl Hinwood and Tom Farrell, June 2007 (Hinwood Papers, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL553, box 12, folder 7).
As a young man, Tom Farrell worked as a stonemason and carver with Muller at St Lucia. Sixty years later he provided Rhyl Hinwood with information on the carving work, but with the passage of time his memories had become unreliable and some of the information which he supplied is demonstrably incorrect.

S178b46
Wartime photograph of northern frontage of the Law end of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building, ca. 1942 (University of Queensland Archives).
Shows that the frieze on the Main Building flanking the Tower on the right-hand side, the frieze to the left of the Law Entrance and the aboriginal frieze above the Law Entrance had all been carved before work ceased in early 1942. Also shows that no work had been done on the Plato statue at that time.

S178b229
Photograph of the northern frontage of the Main (Forgan Smith) Building, ca. 1946 (University of Queensland Archives).
This high-quality photograph was previously dated to 1942, but as it shows recent tree plantings, as approved by the Buildings and Grounds Committee in September 1944, it probably dates from 1945 or 1946. From the colour of the stone, it can be seen that the statues of Shakespeare, Chaucer, Plato and Justinian have been recently carved. On the other hand, none of the cornice friezes on the northern frontage looks recently carved.
S178b423
Photograph of the courtyard frontage of the Chemistry (Steele) Building in 1947, and of the Geology (Richards) Building still under construction (University of Queensland Archives). Shows that none of the friezes on the Steele Building had been carved by that date.

SM1949
*Sunday Mail* (Brisbane), February 6, 1949, page 5.
Article about Muller. Attributes to him the figures of Shakespeare, Plato and Justinian (but there is no mention of the Chaucer figure), and twelve friezes "depicting Queensland's early settlement and various industries."