Overdue for Change: 
Australian university libraries after World War II

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Abstract

The 1957 Murray Report on Australian Universities noted the growing necessity for new university facilities and made special mention of the ‘urgent need’ for substantial new library buildings. Following this report, and with support from the Commonwealth Government, a new era of university library building began, in line with the broader post-war expansion of the Australian education landscape. In this period of rapid growth, the library had two distinct roles. In the case of existing sandstone universities, new libraries were used as symbols of change, indicating modernity and the advance of technology in traditional settings. In new universities, the library often became the literal ‘heart’ of the new campus, providing a civic identity and gathering space.

In both instances, the library was a commanding presence in the changing campus landscape, exemplified by a wide variety of formal solutions that explored new expressions of monumentality. The key role that the library played in the post-war university building project in Australia has yet to be explored and this paper charts its shifting nature and the invocation of technology, or sometimes its complete absence, alongside the opportunity for integrating major works of public art. While the function of the library saw limited change during this period, its expression changed dramatically. From early experiments in light-weight, curtain walled structures to the monumental concrete libraries of the 1970s, the civic presence of the new university library was closely tied to its material expression. This paper will look at a range of key buildings including the University of Melbourne’s Baillieu Library (1959), University of New England’s Dixson Library (1961), University of Sydney’s Fisher Library (1962), Australian National University’s Menzies Library (1963), and the Eddie Koiko Mabo Library (1968) at James Cook University in Townsville.
Introduction: Expansion and Expertise

The postwar era in Australia saw significant expansion in the number of universities and in the size and complexity of their campuses. At the heart of the modern university, as in its historical antecedents, was the provision of a central library that was open to all students and academic staff. The library, as a building type, presents an encapsulation of many of the key aspirations and contradictions in the design and realisation of the modern university. Like the public library, the university library had to fulfill both symbolic and technical functions, which were translated through a varied range of architectural responses. This paper explores the provision of libraries on Australian university campuses from the 1950s to the 1970s as creating the core resource for scholarship and teaching, often expressed through monumental modern architectural language and, at the same time, having to respond to rapidly escalating functional and technological needs.

In 1935 the Munn-Pitt Report was released on the state of Australian libraries generally. Ralph Munn, Director of the Pittsburgh Public Library, was damning in his findings and noted: "Most Australians have had no contact with a progressive and complete library system and know nothing of its functions of facilities." The Munn-Pitt Report is often cited as a turning point in Australian library discourse, triggering a wave of changes to library systems. It was the suggestions of inferiority, particularly to the American system, that saw academics and administrators travelling extensively to visit and learn from elite American universities such as Yale and UCLA.

Postwar university libraries were shaped by professional librarians, many who were either recent émigrés or leading overseas librarians headhunted to fill positions created by a rapidly expanding tertiary sector. They brought with them significant knowledge and expertise in library design, planning and organisation. For example, Andrew Osborn, Deputy Librarian at Harvard University was appointed Head Librarian at the University of Sydney’s new Fisher Library in 1959. There, he dramatically shaped the plan for the new library. ANU Librarian J.J. Graneek was the former librarian at Queens University in Belfast and Dietrich Borchardt, University Librarian at the University of Tasmania from 1953 to 1965 and founding librarian at La Trobe University in 1965, had emigrated to Australia via New Zealand in 1939. The exchange between library personnel went both ways, and head librarians travelled frequently during this period. Borchardt initiated a series of exchanges with international librarians and frequently represented Australian libraries internationally, and Harrison Bryan, Head Librarian at the University of Queensland.
undertook a year-long study tour of Great Britain and the US, which exposed him to current best library practice that he subsequently implemented on his return.\textsuperscript{5}

One significant example of this new knowledge exchange, which directly affected the design of university libraries, came in 1951 when Dr. John Ely Burchard, founding Dean of the MIT School of Humanities and Social Sciences, undertook a four month tour of Australia, financed by the Smith-Mundt Act, to collect general information on Australian architecture.\textsuperscript{6} Burchard was a university library design expert, having recently published the significant book \textit{Planning the University Library Building},\textsuperscript{7} and the occasion of his visit – between Munn-Pitt Report and the lead up to 1957 Murray commission – was extremely timely. Burchard toured the country extensively, giving talks and consulting with institutions in most of the capital cities, including on new university libraries.\textsuperscript{8} During this time he was invited by National Librarian Harold White to provide advice on the plans for a future National Library in Canberra and Burchard made a series of suggestions to the planning committee, articulating what he saw as central to successful library design. In particular, he stressed the need for careful planning to allow for “long range utility”\textsuperscript{9} and “his preference for a more striking exterior, featuring an extensive use of glass on all elevations.”\textsuperscript{10} Burchard’s suggestions were adopted by the National Library, but his general advice, including the need for adaptive planning and ‘striking exteriors’ with the extensive use of glass, was to also affect the design of the first new university libraries in the 1950s.

At the time of Burchard’s visit, the majority of Australian university libraries were in an unsatisfactory condition as there had not been a major update or purpose-built library building constructed since 1940. In contrast to the central position occupied by the library in the contemporary campus, the early history of Australian university libraries typically saw collections camped temporarily in administration buildings, and in most cases, they remained without permanent buildings until the postwar funding boom. The focus of most libraries in the early twentieth century was, by necessity, on the collection of books and cataloguing systems rather than the physical building. Grand library spaces were envisaged from the beginning, but often, whatever limited funds became available were directed towards teaching spaces, particularly laboratories.\textsuperscript{11} The University of Sydney was an exception, establishing the Fisher Library, a fine Walter Vernon-designed Gothic edifice in 1909, some sixty years after the university was founded. Other major universities did not have such luxuries. The University of Western Australia placed its library in the administration block attached to the ceremonial Winthrop Hall (1932), where it remained in a “temporary” location until 1964.\textsuperscript{12} The University of Melbourne similarly planned for the library to be located in a wing of the main quadrangle but this did not eventuate, and was
instead shunted between locations before a permanent home was constructed in 1959. Until the University of Tasmania relocated to its new Sandy Bay site in 1961, the library occupied part of the main hall, doubling as a meeting room and a venue for student socials. The University of Adelaide did not receive a new library in the postwar years. It already had the gracious Walter H Bagot-designed and Classically-styled Barr-Smith Library, completed in 1932, and it remains the central library, though with a significant 1958 addition, which brought the library up to date. The University of Queensland had a purpose-built library building completed in 1940 but it was not occupied until 1949 and proved to be entirely inadequate for student needs. It was not until 1973 that the University received a satisfactory new library facility. The Munn-Pitt Report brought these deficiencies to the surface, which in 1965 led Harrison Bryan, Head Librarian at the Fisher, to conclude that “Australian university libraries were indeed in 1935, and for a long time to come, undistinguished in quality and indifferently conducted.”

Another major policy and governmental impetus that led to a wave of new campus library building was the influential Murray Report of 1957 that recognised the wide disparity in the standards of libraries and their services currently offered in Australian Universities. The report stated:

> It should be unnecessary to stress the importance of the library to the whole framework of university education... The library must be found by the student to be a place where he is welcomed and encouraged to pursue a personal and independent search for knowledge and understanding, where his capacities for independence of thought and judgment are enlarged, and where, above all, he is treated as a scholar, to be provided with the peaceful and uncrowded conditions conducive to scholarly work.

A special issue of *Vestes: The Australian University Review* in March 1960 followed up the Murray Report with a comprehensive audit of the state of libraries on campus, while also reinforcing their pivotal role in academic life and highlighting Australia’s lack of investment: “Quite generally Australian and New Zealand universities have yet to demonstrate their belief in this old-world and older-new-world philosophy of the library as the heart of the institution.” Andrew Osborn continued that, despite lack of resources:

> [T]he cost is worth the effort, for who will question the major part that the Bodleian and the Harvard University library play in the pre-eminence of Oxford
and Harvard? Libraries are indexes of a university's stature - just as they are of a city's or a country's.\textsuperscript{18}

Three years later, in 1963, the University of Western Australia Librarian Leonard Jolley contributed another emotive claim for the value of library learning to university life:

The library is the central organ of the university - not merely because, like the electric sub-station it is essential to the functioning of other departments, but because in itself it sums up all that is essential to the concept of a university… A university is not just a collection of books, but the collection of books is a dynamic part of a university. It is a third force.\textsuperscript{19}

However, despite such aspirations and clearly defined needs, by the beginning of the 1960s most existing university libraries were still housed in inadequate buildings, with outdated provision of supporting technologies, and outgrown capacity for storage, administration and teaching areas due to rapidly growing student numbers, and, importantly, the expanding range of courses and degrees beginning to be offered at many universities.

\textbf{Development of a Type: Function and Flexibility vs Expressive Monumentality}

Campus architects, planners and governing bodies worked with professional librarians to best respond to the inadequacies that had been starkly identified in the Murray Report and by the universities themselves. Between 1958 and 1978, more than twenty-five libraries were built across Australian university campuses. In that time, a loose set of types developed, in part according to architectural fashions of the day, in part according to perceived notions that the library deserved monumental status and was itself a place-making or locus point for the university, and in part, based on shifting notions as to what constituted flexibility in terms of growth.

In functional terms, the university library could be simply defined: catalogue, information, returns and processing; student reading and study spaces; and book collections. In spatial terms, this could be interpreted in similarly straightforward terms: undifferentiated floor spaces, which contained all these functions; catalogue and reading/study spaces in one block and book collections or book stacks housed in an architecturally differentiated tower or block. If there was to be a reading room of grand proportions, it could be created as a double height volume within generalised space or housed within the block that was...
separate from the stack block/tower. What this meant was that ‘technology’ as an idea in the architecture of the university library was reserved inevitably for dealing with the challenge of flexibility of internal arrangement and planning for expansion.

Library provision on the Australian campus was however rendered compromised by a lack of sufficient funding, which is not unusual in any public spending program. The question of economics was further complicated by the ever-escalating expansion of degree programs, which took the form of a seemingly insatiable appetite for growth in terms of book and journal acquisitions. The ensuing need for space and uncertainties about how the future of library and knowledge-organisation would take shape were at times daunting:

There were murmurings on some of the older campuses that the library’s building requirements appeared inexhaustible and only partially humorous suggestions that the whole site would eventually be covered by libraries. While academic librarians had no real answer to this charge, most assumed that the development of micrographic and computer technology and the cooperative planning, which has for so long been a source of conference papers and meetings, would in time lessen the need for further extensive buildings.20

Adrian Forty defines one fundamental expression of flexibility in architecture’s history as that of “flexibility by technical means”-21 meaning the use of moving parts, the design of flexible construction and planning systems and so on. In the case of the modern library, two kinds of technological responses to the problem of expansion arose: the first in the form of a faith in flexibility within building planning, programming, and constructional techniques as seen in many of the libraries discussed here; and the second in the form of the faith in and slow uptake of automated, computerised systems of book and storage organisation and retrieval systems within these architectural forms, which would streamline book accessibility and storage spaces.

Flexibility was a watchword of Modernism in the 1950s. As Peter Collins said in 1965; “Flexibility, is of course, in its own way a type of functionalism.”22 Forty writes: “Against the presumption that all parts of the building should be destined for specific uses, a recognition that not all uses could be foreseen at the moment of design made ‘flexibility’ a desirable architectural property.”23 Walter Gropius had earlier set out two prescient convictions in the early 1950s that: “i) the architect should conceive buildings not as monuments but as receptacles for the flow of life which they have to serve, and ii) that his conception should be flexible enough to create a background fit to absorb the dynamic features of our modern
The university library, conceived in a time of rapid university expansion, necessitated architectural acknowledgement that requirements were complex and changeable – in the immediate rather than far-off future.

![Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne (1959) – architect: J.F.D Scarborough. Source: Melbourne University Archives.](image)

**Figure 1.** Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne (1959) – architect: J.F.D Scarborough. Source: Melbourne University Archives.

### The Modular Skin

The first major university library to be constructed after World War II was the Baillieu Library at the University of Melbourne (1959, Ar: J.F.D. Scarborough). Axel Lodewycks, Head Librarian, recalled the planning process: “From the beginning … it was envisaged that the flexible design should allow for changes in layout at any stage before or after completion of the building”. Designed over three major levels and punctuated internally with occasional double height volumes, its glazed curtain wall façade signalled not just the University’s embrace of modernity but also acceptance that the building would be expandable to the north or even vertically. Lodewycks put his faith in allowing for: “complete adaptability to changing conditions of use and for alterations within the building or extensions at any level and in any direction over the site”.

The adoption of a repetitive curtain wall system would be followed at the Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania (1961, Ar: J.F.D. Scarborough). Head Librarian, Dietrich Borchardt, oversaw its construction and held a clear intention to plan the building “from the inside out”, and that its design should not be a matter of “style or fad”. Scarborough concurred that there would be no need for a monumental reading room. Similarly, the Dixson Library, University of New England (1961, Ar: E.H. Farmer, NSW Government Architect) and the Hargrave Library at Monash University (1962, Ar: Bates, Smart &
McCutcheon) were both curtain walled buildings terminating in blank brick walls, seemingly poised for expansion at any moment. The taut skin of the buildings with their structural elements pushed out to the edges provided further flexibility within the floorplate. As Conrad Hamann observed of the Hargrave Library: “The openness, the thin lines and skin-like walling provide the barest interruption to a flow of space perceived as both universal and unifying.”

In their use of simple rectangular massing and extensive use of curtain wall glazing, these design solutions for the modern campus library were following commercial office building designs of the early 1950s, where, as Reinhold Martin has described:

> Modernist experiments with spatial flexibility through modular assembly were exhaustively reworked and redeployed. The universal space associated with the steel frame and the planning grid was assimilated into a finely modulated field. This modularity, and the flexibility that it implied, became the very image – and the instrument – of the organizational complex.

However, with libraries also being asked to be the heart and soul of the new university campus, there was a place for expressions of monumentality, rather than only designing over-scaled filing cabinets that would purely function as flexible receptacles for knowledge storage and retrieval. Even libraries like the Baillieu included art and sculpture (for example Norma Redpath’s sculptural relief in the foyer) as integral to their design and to add ornament to their functionality. This search for more expressive forms paralleled international dialogues, when by the 1960s modern architecture’s quest for total flexibility was beginning to be recognised as chimerical. Herman Hertzberger, for example, among others provided an early counter-argument to perceived bland modular functionalism, by arguing that flexibility can “never produce the best results for any given situation”: Hertzberger continues:

> Flexibility became the catch-word, it was to be the panacea to cure all the ills of architecture. So long as the design of buildings was neutral, it was thought, they could be put to different uses, and they could therefore, in theory at least, absorb and accommodate the influences of changing times and situations…but neutrality in fact consists of absence of identity, in other words, the lack of distinctive features. The problem of changeability, then, is not so much a matter of having to adapt and modify distinct features, but of having those distinct features in the first place!
Moves to monumental expression

A transitional design which signalled a move away from the curtain wall type was the Sulman Award-winning Fisher Library at the University of Sydney (1962, Ar: NSW Government Architect). There, a copper-clad stack tower was offset against a lower, symmetrically delineated glazed prism with floor plates which extended out to provide shading to the floors below, appearing as an elegant pavilion from the university lawns below. It was the first sign that the post-war university library might earn honorific status on campus, and act as a contemporary foil to the sandstone Gothic Revival Blacket buildings nearby.

![Figure 2. Fisher Library, University of Sydney (1962) – architect: NSW Government Architect. Source: Cross-Section Archive.](image)

At ANU, two libraries indicated aesthetic willingness for architects to explore contextual and historic reference as a way of imparting identity and monumentality to a new campus. The Menzies Library (1963, Ar: J.F.D. Scarborough with Collard Clarke & Jackson) had a stone-faced stack block as the backdrop to a separate lower concrete vaulted and parasol roofed volume that sat on a dramatically battered local rock-faced wall. Adding further to its ‘special’ status and master planner Grenfell Rudduck’s wish that the Menzies Library be the “academic focal point of the University” and be built almost as the geographical “centre of the campus,” was the insertion of dynamic steel and copper abstract art screens by artist Lyndon Dadswell beneath the flaring vaults of the parasol roof. Symbolic of its importance, the library was opened by Prime Minister Robert Menzies and Queen Elizabeth II to much fanfare (The Duke of Edinburgh likened the assembled be-gowned academics to a “rose garden”).
If the Menzies Library was a genuine attempt to realise an convincing language of monumentality for the ANU campus, then the Chifley Library (1963: Ar.: T.E. O’Mahoney with Bunning & Madden) went in the other direction. Encircled by an arcaded colonnade, its walls punctured by protruding tall oriel windows and topped by a mansard roof, the Chifley seemed effete by comparison. One of its only redeeming features was inside: the foyer had striped columns and a magnificent John Coburn painting terminating the entry axis. O’Mahoney’s classicizing design – a form of stylised palazzo – was in fact a provincial cousin of his much larger commission at the time, the vast marble-clad and colonnaded National Library of Australia (1964-8, with Bunning & Madden).

![Figure 3. Reid Library, University of Western Australia (1964) – architect: Cameron, Chisholm & Nicol. Source: Cross-Section Archive.](image)

Such grand gestures, especially a form of colonnaded Classicism would inform several 1960s libraries, including at the Robert Menzies Library, UNSW (1966, Ar.: Fowell, Mansfield, Jarvis & Maclurcan), the South Australian Institute of Technology, later the University of South Australia at Mawson Lakes (1970, Ar.: Peter Scrymgour), and La Trobe University (1967, Ar.: Yuncken Freeman). At La Trobe the library was, for example, regarded as a key formal gesture, sited at the heart of the new campus plan and used by all disparate departments. The second level contained the main entrance and all reader services were connected to the larger campus by an elevated walkway network:

…it was agreed that the Library should be at the centre of the academic building complex and that it should be possible for a healthy person to walk from any
academic area of the campus to the entrance of the Library within five minutes.\(^{35}\)

Despite several relocations of functional areas in the course of two major extensions, the overall design for the library building and its services has remained much as it was originally planned.

The most notable example of the monumental architectural expression was the Reid Library at the University of Western Australia (1964, Ar.: Cameron, Chisholm & Nicol), where the structural virtues of reinforced concrete were brought into full tectonic expression to define a grand floating roof and a generous balcony terrace. It was the complete palace of culture for the postwar Australian university, and at the same time, carefully modulated so that expansion could occur (and did in 1972) without damage to its heroic image of library as the home of classical learning. The materiality of concrete had, until the Reid Library, been little explored by university architects for its expressive potential. Thereafter, concrete became the material de-rigeur for university libraries in the late 1960s and 1970s, and these became invariably giant, shading bunkers for the collection of books.\(^{36}\) A transitional type from monument to bunker that deserves note was the University Library (later the Eddie Koiko Mabo Library) at James Cook University (JCU) (1968, Ar.: James Birrell). With its over-sized parasol roof, three-level high off-form concrete walls and almost primitive cut-out windows and semi-circular porch openings at the building’s corners that suggest deep shade and cool retreat from Townsville’s dry heat, Birrell’s library has a haunting sense of monumentality. Its very direct, even crude simplicity speaks to the undulations of the age-old landscape which surrounds the campus – big strokes for a big landscape – and it also echoes the form of Roy Grounds’s contemporaneous National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (1961-8). Inside, sections of the original carpet – big, broad orange and red stripes – are played off against a central terrazzo open stair graced by a burnt orange and brown ceramic mural by artist Peter Travers and complemented by a series of off-form concrete arches that leap elegantly, even delicately across the interior volume.
Moves to flexibility

If Birrell’s library at JCU was also a signature building at the centre of a new campus, so too was the library at Macquarie University (1967, Ar.: NSW Office of the Government Architect, Peter Hall project architect) where concrete as an expressive repetitive element became the language of the greater campus. At Macquarie, giant off-form in-situ concrete panels that housed bookshelves behind became signals of the building’s function. The concept of panels – but prefabricated and removable – would not only impart monumentality but also assist with the challenge of flexibility. This was the case with the University of Queensland Central Library (1973, Ar.: Robin Gibson) where:

The precast external elements have been designed for removal and re-use of two sides while on the remaining sides they have been designed as load bearing elements. The library has been designed as a complete modular building…To maintain maximum flexibility, there are no internal load bearing walls except two service cores.37
Some university architects were more sanguine about notions of change, preferring instead to recommend that the library did not require a purpose-built building and could instead simply take up generic space within an ever-expanding system of generic university buildings. Such was the case at Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology when Bates, Smart & McCutcheon inserted the library across a series of floors in its megastructural Casey Wing (Building 10) (1967-9), instead of locating it, as was originally planned, in its own building at ground level on a newly pedestrianized Bowen Street. So too did R.J. Ferguson at Murdoch University, where the library (1975), albeit centrally located, occupied two floors of Ferguson’s group of non-hierarchical and architecturally consistent forms. The library was ‘space’ within a larger context of the university as a whole where space was functionally flexible but aesthetically consistent. Thus, the perceived desire for the visibility and comprehensibility of the university library as a visual landmark on the Australian university campus alongside the need to cater for uncertain future growth and new ways of using the library produced necessary tensions between monumentality and flexibility.

The 1970s and Beyond: Austerity and Technology

In 1975, the Australian Universities Commission issued its Sixth Report recommending ambitious federal support of the continued expansion of funding into 1976-78, with eleven major libraries proposed. However, these plans were hit by the general international economic downturn that year with the following Federal Budget halting public expenditure and consequently all the Commission’s recommendations. Thus expansiveness and expressive monumentality quickly gave way to austerity through the late 1970s. By 1981, only a handful of the promised eleven new libraries were completed in this period, including
the central library for the University of New South Wales; extensions to Macquarie University Library (expanded in the late 1970s with a further building staged as a series of interlinked rectangles in plan); and extensions to the University of New England's Dixson Library. At the University of New South Wales, a further ten-floor extension was built to expand book capacity from 300,000 to 1.25 million, and 3000 seats, with further room for expansion in the top two floors. The multi-storey addition was described as more like a large department store in arrangement and atmosphere: at the time, it housed the largest centralized collection of books in Australia.

Austerity years gave cause for prudence in terms of universities scrutinising more carefully what was the optimum size for a new library or extension, and how best to maximise the balance between storage and student spaces. With the capacity for storage intimately connected to library briefs, a paucity of funding enforced solutions other than new building programs and this included reducing and redistributing collections. Austerity and further professionalization of librarianship also affected design strategies and brief programming during the 1970s. Numerous reports were spawned on the calculation and optimization of spatial efficiencies. Other studies looked to international research, including the United Kingdom’s Atkinson Report (1976), and some case studies of new libraries were published in Australian and international journals that were instructive on how to spend expansion funds more wisely.

If future needs could not be catered for through new buildings, then other forms of technology became the hope of future organisational structures to cope with flexible expansion. From the early 1960s, Australian academic libraries looked to technical innovations from America, in particular the Library of Congress (with the introduction of the Machine-Readable Cataloguing (MARC) system). Partial automation began at ANU, for example, in 1964, but was not completed until some ten years later. And although computerised systems were of great interest, due to a number of factors, it wasn't until well into the 1970s that automation was convincingly implemented into many university libraries with, for example, the University of Sydney introducing computer cataloguing in 1971, electronic book detection in 1972, and searchable online databases in 1976. Others were slower to enact new systems, so the effects on the design of internal organisational systems and plans, book storage and retrieval systems and user areas did not have an impact until the 1980s.

With the much more profound uptake of digital services and digitisation programs and online accessibility in the last twenty years, the physical format of the book has been
challenged. Yet, as Lisa Petrides, a pioneering academic in the knowledge sharing education sector, comments, despite the ubiquitous availability of web-based information today, without traditional libraries “many students, faculty, and practitioners are not able to access a significant portion of valuable research, data, and resources that could inform and advance their practice.”

Today’s campus libraries still provide much needed student spaces for teaching and learning outside of disciplinary and faculty amenities. And with the rise of a massive international student market in Australia from the mid-1990s, these kinds of social, as well as learning spaces, are back in surprisingly high demand. This is evidenced by the construction of new libraries, ongoing retro-fitting of libraries, the building of new disciplinary satellites, the upgrading of exhibition spaces for historical archives within collections and so on. As such, the architecture of university libraries still reflects inherent tensions between the need for flexibility in an attempt to cater for the unpredictable impacts of future technology and the desire for expressive monumentality – whether symbolic of creative, entrepreneurial drive or the maintenance of long-held campus traditions.

Endnotes

8 ‘Library expert touring state’, Advocate 16 October 1951, 4.
11 Richard Davis, Open to Talent: The Centenary History of the University of Tasmania (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1990), 64.
12 Fred Alexander, Campus at Crawley: A Narrative and Critical Appreciation of the First Fifty Years of the University of Western Australia (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1963), 220.
14 Davis, Open to Talent, 64.
20 Fielding, ‘The Bubble Bursts’, 64.
32 Hertzberger, ‘Functionality, Flexibility and Polyvalence’, 146.
34 Vidot, *The History of the Australian National University Library*, 32.
36 These include the Auchmuty Library, University of Newcastle (1967, Ar.: Laurie & Heath); University of Wollongong Library (1971, Ar.: Laurie & Heath); T.L. Robertson Library, Curtin University (1972, Ar.: Public Works Department Western Australia).