

Sir Michael Cullen 1945 - 2021

Appreciation

Peter Miller and Stuart Strachan

Very seldom does a country's archives have such a powerful friend as Sir Michael Cullen, who died at Whakatane on 19 August last year. In power with two Labour governments, 1984–90 and 1999–2008, he rose to Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. By most he will be primarily remembered as the architect of three major policy initiatives that survive to this day: Working for Families, the New Zealand Super Fund, and KiwiSaver. Another, however, was the resurrection of our national archives and updated archives legislation. This has not survived so well, but was vital in its time, and Michael's tireless efforts will long be held in high regard by archives, records and historian communities.

Michael was born in London on 5 February 1945 to very modest circumstances: his father was a spectacle frame maker, his mother a private secretary. After initial primary schooling in London, a small inheritance enabled the family to emigrate in 1955 to New Zealand, where they settled in Christchurch. Here Michael attended Christchurch East Primary and Shirley Intermediate schools, before winning one of two entrance scholarships for state-school boys to elite Christ's College. This was not an easy fit for one not sports-mad, but he enjoyed the unusual mix of sciences and arts permitted in the seventh form.¹

In 1963 Michael entered Canterbury University, combining maths, applied maths and history courses, gaining A passes in all three majoring subjects. This earned him a Senior Scholarship. Choosing history to advance, a two-year MA followed. His thesis, 'Poverty in London, 1885-96', began his engagement with primary sources, drawing extensively on UK parliamentary papers and Charles Booth's nine-volume study, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1892–97). In 1968, having been awarded a prestigious UK Commonwealth scholarship, he travelled to Edinburgh for PhD study, following up a research gap he had identified in relation to Edwin Chadwick's 1842 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Populations of Great Britain.' His subsequent prize-winning thesis, 'Social Statistics in Britain, 1830-1956' not only made good use of his mathematical abilities, but also introduced him comprehensively to archives proper — in the Public Record Office (Physician General, Health of Towns Commission and Russell papers); the papers of Charles Babbage and Robert Peel in the British Museum; Protestant dissenting records in the Guildhall Library; Bentham and Chadwick papers at University College London; and statistical archives in Leeds and Manchester.² It led to his first book *The statistical movement in early Victorian Britain: the foundations of early empirical research*. Barnes and Noble, 1975.

An academic career awaited him, and in 1971 Michael moved to Dunedin where he had been appointed to a lectureship in history at the University of Otago, specialising in medieval and social and economic history. However, here his established research was limited by lack of access to relevant sources. His book *Lawfully Occupied: the centennial history of the Otago District Law Society* (1979) did expose him in a small way to New Zealand archives, but in the end this was not enough to keep him in the academy. Already, in 1974, he had joined the Labour Party, its Castle Street branch, home also to Stan Rodger and Pete Hodgson. By 1981 he was sufficiently involved to gain selection for the safe Labour seat of St Kilda. He won with an increased majority and so abandoned a career that would almost certainly have led to a university chair.³

When in 1982 Michael entered Parliament as an Opposition member, Muldoon's National government was in terminal decline, which ended in defeat at the snap election of July 1984. However, already he had found interesting things to do, including being placed on the special select committee to consider the Official Information Bill that subsequently became law in 1982.⁴ It was a valuable introduction to the complexities of government information that later was to hold him in good stead.

Simultaneously, there were major developments in New Zealand's archives world. In 1976 the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand (ARANZ) had been formed.⁵ A major concern was the arrested development of National Archives under the aegis of the Department of Internal Affairs: the lowly status of the Chief Archivist; outdated legislation; insufficient accommodation; and, perhaps above all, grossly inadequate staffing. There had been some small improvements in the early 1970s, but nothing compared to what was needed. As a first step, with departmental funding, ARANZ commissioned Dr Wilfred Smith, Dominion Archivist of Canada, to report comprehensively on the state of archives in New Zealand. His report, presented in 1978, proved not entirely comfortable reading for the Department, but as expected fully reflected ARANZ's concerns.⁶ Subsequently, under Secretaries for Internal Affairs Searle, Babe, Boag and Cameron, there was a more or less reservoir of goodwill in the Department, which was drawn on by Chief Archivists Ray Grover⁷ and then Kathryn Patterson⁸ yielding major improvements. More staffing was granted, funding improved, better accommodation secured, regional offices established, and updated draft legislation prepared. This last had been in preparation since 1974! So little was it regarded as a priority it was not until 13 June 1984 that it emerged in Parliament as an introduced Public Archives and Records Bill. Though he welcomed it on behalf of the Opposition as important legislation, Michael at the first reading

was nevertheless critical of its 'extremely clumsily' written access and deposit provisions, arguing that amendments would be needed at select committee stage.⁹ That never happened. Without a carry-over motion the bill automatically lapsed with the abruptly called snap election later the same day and the suspension of all parliamentary business.

It was with this Bill that Michael first became politically engaged with the Association. His election, along with the change of government in 1984, prompted ARANZ to enlist him as a likely ally to remedy perceived deficiencies in the Bill. This had been adopted as a discussion document by Labour and circulated to external parties for comment. As member for St Kilda he was readily available to Dunedin-based representation from the Association. In a submission to the then Minister of Internal Affairs, Peter Tapsell, a persevering ARANZ in December 1985 identified two major lacunae in the Bill: an advisory council and an independent annual report to Parliament.¹⁰ Sensing no urgency in the Minister's response, the Association approached Michael directly in May of the following year to brief him on the issues and seek his help.¹¹ In July, at his request, he was sent copies of all thirty-six submissions by the Minister, also more recent communications from ARANZ.¹² The upshot was his detailed critique of the proposed legislation to Tapsell, in which he accepted the Association's views and



Fig 1. Michael Cullen 1982

added some of his own: removal of 'under the general direction of the Secretary' clause; provision of a separate annual report; establishment of an advisory committee; clearer access provisions; better provision for regional repositories; and disentanglement from the Official Information Act.¹³ While this was music to the Association's ears, Tapsell was slow to

move, though in October Michael could report a new Bill was still in the programme and could easily incorporate required changes.¹⁴

Sadly, significant progress was not forthcoming, with a period of confusion and stagnation for new archives legislation following. The Labour government was deeply riven between the competing politics of David Lange and Roger Douglas, and Michael himself now had major responsibilities within Cabinet as Minister of Social Welfare, Associate Minister of Finance and later Associate Minister of Health. These left him little time for the archives cause. In addition, the passing of the State-Owned Enterprises (1986) and State Sector (1988) Acts provided further complications. Mid-1987, however, saw fellow historian, Michael Bassett, who replaced Tapsell as Minister of Internal Affairs, looking to Michael (now Labour's pointsman on all matters archival) for his opinion on progress. Nothing further happened, except, as a result of a Cabinet Review Committee recommendation, National Archives from 1 July 1990 being made 'an autonomous stand-alone agency' within the Department of Internal Affairs, with its own separate funding and the Chief Archivist reporting directly to the Secretary.¹⁵ Michael must surely have had a hand in this. In retrospect, this can be seen as marking the high point to date in National Archives' fortunes.

With the return of National to power in 1990, the dynamic shifted, ushering in an era of reduced budgets, retrenchment and further divestment, with National Archives not immune to these chill winds. Two years later the new Minister, Graeme Lee, was sufficiently interested for another Bill to be drafted and circulated for comment, with submissions called for from interested parties. It, too, did not proceed. Michael appeared not to have received a copy.¹⁶ In July 1993 Lee was succeeded as Minister by Warren Cooper, who was to prove unsympathetic to National Archives.

In 1994, at the behest of a Treasury thoroughly imbued with new principles of public sector reform, the McDermott Miller consultancy was engaged to examine a proposed National Archives / National Library merger. With minimal external engagement, or consideration of recognised archives principles, and without any cost/benefit analysis, the review recommended instead that National Archives become a Crown Entity on a commercial basis, as a provider of services purchased through a separate Office of Chief Archivist which would remain in the Department as regulator and funder.¹⁷ Though not adopted, this approach later allowed recently appointed¹⁸ Internal Affairs Secretary Roger Blakeley to embark in 1995 on an ambitious restructuring of the Department based on business principles. Blakeley's plan was for all of National Archives to remain within the Department but split between policy, Office of Chief Archivist

and a National Archives 'Business'. The Secretary would instruct the Chief Archivist to delegate management powers to the general manager of the Business.¹⁹ As this meant National Archives' effective dismemberment, as well as substantive demotion of the position of Chief Archivist, the archives and historical communities were outraged.

The Blakeley proposals not only displayed a grossly diminished appreciation of National Archives' constitutional role, they were also contrary to clause 6 of the Archives Act, which unequivocally vested in the Chief Archivist sole responsibility for National Archives management. Following an opinion of Don Matheson QC forwarded to the Solicitor-General, the latter instructed Blakeley that he could not proceed with that model, that the Chief Archivist must have control of all facets of the institution.²⁰ Blakeley was then compelled to amend his original plan requiring forced delegation, by subsuming the whole of National Archives within a heritage group under a separate head, with the Chief Archivist's role heavily circumscribed.²¹ This could only be introduced temporarily when ARANZ and the New Zealand Society of Genealogists filed for a judicial review.

The years, 1995-99, were perhaps the most troubled in National Archives' history, with a protracted standoff between Blakeley, supported by Treasury, the State Services Commission and compliant National Ministers on the one hand, and the archives, genealogical and historical communities with the Labour Opposition on the other. At different times various solutions for National Archives vied for acceptance: merging with the National Library, incorporation into a heritage branch of Internal Affairs; an independent agency within Internal Affairs; a separate Crown entity; part of the recently created Ministry of Cultural Affairs (1991), an office of Parliament; and even an independent department of state.

Through all Michael, never afraid to mix it in the House, was at the centre of political opposition to the Blakeley plan. ARANZ together with the New Zealand Society of Genealogists continued to submit and argue against it publicly and when that failed, in 1997 launched a legal case against it that had partial success, blunting and delaying implementation. Michael, who as his files show, was kept very fully informed by ARANZ and other disaffected organisations such as the New Zealand Historical Association, continuing his own campaign within Parliament, had help from Helen Clark, Trevor Mallard (Labour's Internal Affairs spokesman), Margaret Austin, Marian Hobbs, Sandra Lee and Jim Sutton, as well as others. On National Radio, 23 August 1995, he labelled the Blakeley proposals 'an extreme and absurd application of fashionable theories of state organisation'.²² He followed up on 5 October with hostile questions to Cooper on the restructuring, lack of a cost/benefit analysis, and progress on an archives

bill, and then moved a reduction in the Internal Affairs vote of \$150,000, the estimated transitional cost. The motion was lost but the point made politically, as even Cooper found himself somewhat in sympathy.²³ Then, writing to Jim Traue, ARANZ Vice-President, Cullen remarked 'I look forward to further battles'.²⁴ A further draft archives bill did emerge in 1996 and Michael agreed to support it to Select Committee stage if introduced. To Peter Dunne, then Minister of Revenue in a National government, he wrote 'As someone who has been following this issue since 14 June 1984, I would be happy to help with any final input that may be required'.²⁵ The bid, however, failed to progress, once again the victim of low priority. The truth was that it would not have satisfied either camp.

In 1998 Kathryn Patterson's contract as Chief Archivist was not renewed; she had been insufficiently supportive of Blakeley's vision for Archives and indeed had done all she properly could to oppose it.²⁶ But by then public service restructuring of the kind so well exemplified by Blakeley's plan had begun to lose traction politically as its disadvantages became evident. Only ever fully supported by senior officials at Treasury and within the State Services Commission, it was now increasingly seen as elaborate nonsense. Blakeley's own star was waning with his failure to secure required funding and missteps elsewhere within his own Department, leading to unwelcome publicity, which included a judicial finding of misallocation of Archives funding towards restructuring costs.²⁷ This was later overturned on appeal.

By now Michael's files bulged with expert overseas opinions and standards on the proper placement of a national archives, as well as cautionary tales from Australia of how things could go wrong with insufficient protection from outside interference.²⁸ In particular, he came to accept completely the view and argument that the constitutional significance and role of a national archives and of its chief officer should be the decisive considerations above that of heritage, culminating in a trenchantly titled, highly influential address at the ARANZ annual conference in Dunedin, September 1998, 'New Zealand Archives Should Stay Separate'.²⁹

After some necessary backgrounding, he wasted little time roundly denouncing the public sector restructuring of the mid-1980s and 1990s based on neoclassical economics, particularly public choice theory, evidencing what had been proposed for National Archives - division into separate policy, purchaser and provider entities. Summing up its inappropriateness:

Where there are broad ongoing matters of policy development and debate of significance, and usually controversy, such a split can at times have a purpose.... Equally, it should often be approached with caution and ruled out

if the circumstances are not appropriate. This surely is the case with respect to National Archives. The policy issues involved are not, and should not be, matters of continuous revision and controversy. The underlying principles ... have considerable durability and permanency. It is, indeed, of the essence of the archival role that it is about permanence and solidity, a firm historical, legal, institutional and constitutional rock to which the record of government and public affairs can be tethered.³⁰

Further: "There is little question in my mind that the restructuring undertaken by the present chief executive [Dr Blakeley] was designed to give an air of dynamism and indispensability to the department."³¹ He went on, "Nevertheless, whatever the merits of the idea, which are few, these practical machinations were also still loaded up with ideological baggage." Then, administering the coup de grace, he summed up: "It is all pretentious nonsense, the product of third-rate minds struggling with second-rate ideas."³²

Needed instead was affirmation of the internationally accepted view of the purposes of a national archives, a consideration of what other existing



Fig 3. Michael Cullen Receives Honorary Membership of ARANZ in November 2006
L to R: Tiena Jordan (ARANZ President), the Hon. Marian Hobbs, the Hon. Michael Cullen and
the Hon. Judith Tizard

archives should be brought together with National Archives, new legislation, and crucially the separation of National Archives from the Department of Internal Affairs into a properly independent organisation.³³

Finally, at the core of his argument:

What in fact is clear is that the fundamental purpose of the National Archives is to preserve the record of government.... That fundamental purpose is a constitutional, not an academic one. It is about the accountability of governments to the people, now and in the future.³⁴

Coming from such a knowledgeable, senior and committed politician these very firm public statements were hugely important. Not only did they point the right way forward, they greatly boosted the morale of ARANZ and all who had the cause of National Archives at heart, just when most needed.

In November 1999 with the election of the 5th Labour government, Michael finally got the opportunity to put his sound thinking into action. Appointed Minister of Finance and strongly supported by the new Prime Minister, Helen Clark, he acted swiftly.³⁵ On 18 May 2000, Marian Hobbs, the first Minister Responsible for National Archives, as Cullen states in his autobiography, *"... was able to make an announcement that 'I had been very much involved in: the separation of the National Archives as an independent body....' "*³⁶ On 1 October, under the Archives, Culture, and Heritage Reform Act 2000, National Archives, renamed (but not in this Act), Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, came into existence as a separate government department. It is frequently suggested that Michael, not liking 'National' in its name, had it altered to Archives New Zealand! Marian, already well briefed by ARANZ and empathetic, had earlier 'met up with Michael and I think he was relieved that there was someone willing to take up this battle. But I could not have done it without Michael'. Further, 'the beauty was that I was probably given those responsibilities because I was the new Member for Wellington Central in which those two institutions³⁷ lived and Michael knew that I cared and understood.'^{38 39}

As Minister of Finance 1999–2008 Michael was well able to ensure that the fledgling department was properly set up and funded, responding favourably to requests for capital injections. One illustration of his support came in March 2003 at one of the usual bi-lateral Budget meetings of Ministers and officials. Lindsay Ferguson recalls what happened. It is worth telling in full:

The meeting involved Dr Cullen, as Minister of Finance, Trevor Mallard as Associate Minister of Finance, Marian Hobbs as Minister Responsible for Archives New Zealand, Dianne Macaskill as Chief Executive and Chief

Archivist of Archives New Zealand, Lindsay Ferguson, GM Business & Finance and two Treasury officers. Archives NZ had bids up for funding of three items, the main one of which was for a new owned archival repository in Auckland. The second item was an ongoing request for baseline funding to deal with backlog issues and the third was for an upgrade to a small IT findings aid system which would help external researchers access specific holdings. Treasury supported full funding for the first two items but opposed funding of the third item. While Dr Cullen supported funding the third item Minister Mallard supported the Treasury viewpoint. Dr Cullen then shelved further discussion of the third item and the conversation turned to the business case for the new Auckland building. A short time later Minister Mallard excused himself to visit the bathroom. As soon as he was out of the room Minister Cullen immediately resurrected the third item and told the Treasury officials that “we are not playing for sheep stations” and that he was approving the funding and that he was sure that Treasury could ‘find the money amongst the billions in the Crown accounts’.⁴⁰

Michael’s next opportunity to stamp his mark on New Zealand’s archives came with the long-awaited and well overdue replacement for the Archives Act 1957, reform with which he had been engaged since the aborted 1984 Bill and three successive drafts, 1992, 1994 and 1996. Work had started on the Public Records Bill soon after the new department came into being, and it is notable how many of the ideas in his 1986 critique of the 1984 Bill and subsequent public submissions made it through to the new Act, passed in 2005. To mention but three: the provisions of the Official Information Act did not apply to Archives New Zealand’s holdings; access provisions and restrictions were clearly stated; and an advisory Archives Council was established. As a separate department an independent annual report, direct access to the responsible Minister, and its own Vote, were all now guaranteed. Modestly, Michael left it to Minister Hobbs to guide the bill’s passage through without himself speaking, it ultimately passing 83 votes for, 35 against on the third reading. Marian concluded her speech with this tribute to Michael:

I also want to pay special thanks to a colleague. Even as a history student, archives were not something that I was much aware of, but in the Deputy Prime Minister we have a friend of the archival community. When he entrusted this job to me, he helped me along the way as we sorted through the issues around archives. There are many in the archives community today who will join with me in thanking Dr Michael Cullen, who has finally—through me—been able to give birth to this legislation. I am very pleased to commend this bill to the House.⁴¹

Michael must have been very proud to see one of his main ambitions finally realised. The following year the Archives and Records Association was quick to recognise his outstanding contribution to the archives cause with the award of Honorary Life Membership, just the eighth in the thirty years of the Association's existence and the only one to a non-member.⁴²

The next few years for Archives New Zealand were amongst its best, but time was running out for the Labour government, the mood of the country turning in favour of National under the personable John Key. The defeat of Labour in the 2008 election saw Michael, after three terms in power, returned to the Opposition benches, where he was not at all happy, resigning from Parliament at the end of April 2009. In retirement he found other more rewarding employment, with New Zealand Post as deputy chair and then chair, chair of the Bay of Plenty District Health Board, chairing a review of our intelligence and security agencies, and leading a review of taxation. However, he gained most satisfaction from working very effectively with Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Tūwharetoa in their Treaty negotiations with the Crown, which doubtless gave him an added appreciation of the importance of the historical record.⁴³ Nor did he lose interest in archival matters generally, and almost until his death he continued to fret about the state of Archives New Zealand, following the National government's witless re-emerging of it into the Department of Internal Affairs in 2011.⁴⁴ The State Services Commission had never been reconciled to it as an independent department. As he lamented in his 2021 memoir 'Sadly, that independence was later reversed by National; the National Archives are not now in a good space at all ...'.⁴⁵ With the return of Labour to power in 2017 he readily lent his support to speak to Ministers in support of restoring Archives New Zealand's independence, also endorsing a proposal to have the Chief Archivist made an Officer of Parliament, not an idea he had previously favoured.⁴⁶

Despite the 2011 reversal, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of Michael Cullen's legacy for New Zealand's archives. It included the unprecedented high public profile he gave our national archives through his unrelenting political advocacy, an updated statute with comprehensive coverage, his unwavering emphasis on the essential constitutionality of public archives, the importance of continuity and stability in their ongoing preservation, and above all that archives were a cause worth fighting for. In short, he with Helen Clark, both quick to grasp the special character of Archives New Zealand, got it; a good case of enlightened politicians knowing better than obdurate senior public servants of warped vision. We will not easily see their like again. A more concrete gift is his very full set of political papers in the Hocken Collections, occupying some 185 linear

metres of shelving. Here, with those of his old friend and colleague, the late Stan Rodger, they document the remarkable story of the Fourth and Fifth Labour governments in which Michael had such a prominent part.

Michael died at Whakatane, close to his Ōhope home in the Bay of Plenty, aged 76, on 19 August 2021, during the Level 4 Covid-19 lockdown. No funeral was possible, but he was given a natural burial. A memorial celebration is planned for 13 August 2022, which will be co-hosted by Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. He is survived by his first wife Rowena Cullen and Anne Collins, his second, with four children between them: Louise, Reuben, Imogen and Rebecca, and their families.⁴⁷

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Endnotes

1. Michael Cullen, *Labour Saving. A Memoir*. Auckland, Allen & Unwin, 2021, pp.9-16
2. Email: Rowena Cullen to Stuart Strachan, 7 April 2022
3. *Labour Saving*, pp. 22-33
4. *Labour Saving*, p. 34
5. By far the best general and most detailed account of these years is Julienne Molineaux, 'New Zealand's National Archives: An Analysis of Machinery of Government Reform and Resistance, 1994-1999', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2009, on which we have relied heavily. The story can also be followed through Archifacts editorials, particularly 1995 on.
6. Wilfred I. Smith, *Archives in New Zealand: a report*. Wellington, Archives and Records Association of New Zealand, 1978
7. Appointed initially as Director at Assistant Secretary level 1981
8. Appointed initially as Director at Assistant Secretary level 1981
9. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 14 June 1984, pp. 364-365

10. Strachan, ARANZ President, to Tapsell, 10 December 1985. Cullen Papers MS 2700/119 Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hākena
11. Strachan to Cullen, 23 May 1986. Cullen Papers MS 2700/119 Hocken
12. Tapsell to Cullen, 23 July 1986. Cullen Papers MS 2700/119 Hocken
13. Cullen to Tapsell, 1 September 1986. Cullen Papers MS 2700/119 Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hākena
14. Cullen to Strachan, ARANZ, 8 October 1986. Cullen Papers MS 2700/119 Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hākena
15. M. R. Stoddart, 'National Archives—the Present and Future', *Archifacts* (April 1991), pp. 35–36
16. Molineaux, pp.269–270
17. McDermott Miller Ltd, 'National Archives: Independent Review', unpublished report, 25 November 1994. Molineaux , Chapter 4
18. April 1995
19. Molineaux, pp. 181–182
20. J. McGrath, Solicitor-General, to D. Bradshaw, State Services Commission, 5 December 1995. Molineaux, p. 194
21. Molineaux, pp. 199–201
22. Cullen, National Radio, Checkpoint, 23 August 1995. Molineaux, p. 192
23. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 5 October 1995, pp. 858–859.
24. Cullen to Traue, 6 November 1995. Cullen Papers MS 2772/069 Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hākena
25. Cullen to Dunne, 19 March 1996. Cullen Papers MS 2772/069 Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hāke
26. Kathryn Patterson, affidavit, 23 February 1998. Molineaux p. 218; Blakeley to Patterson, 16 July 1997. Molineaux pp. 254–255
27. Further Judgement of Ellis J. High Court, Wellington, 23 June 1999. Cullen Papers MS 2772/068 Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hākena
28. Notably Eric Ketelaar's 1985 RAMP UNESCO guidelines for archives and records management legislation, the International Council on Archives 1996 principles for archives and current records legislation, and the Australian Law Commission's 1996 review of that country's Archives Act 1983. Cullen Papers MS 2772 069 Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hākena
29. First published online by the Caldeson Consultancy, 13 October 1998, <http://caldeson.com/RIMOS/Cullen.html> Cullen Papers MS 2772/068. Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hākena. Later in *Archifacts* (April 1999), pp. 53–58.
30. *Ibid.* p. 55
31. *Ibid.* p. 54
32. *Ibid.* p. 56
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. This was foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne, 21 December 1999. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol.581, p.16
36. *Labour Saving*, p. 255
37. National Archives and the National Library of New Zealand
38. Email: Hobbs to Strachan, 25 April 2022
39. Considerable opposition was met with from the State Services Commission who pressed for a forestalling machinery of government review, forcibly faced down by

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40. Email: Ferguson to Peter Miller, 5 May 2022. A sum of \$11m was appropriated for a new Auckland Office building which was built in Richard Pearse Drive, Mangere. In the same email, Ferguson tells of a second encounter with Cullen in ca 2005, as follows – “I was walking over to a meeting at Treasury at the same time as Dr Cullen was leaving Archives House after being given a preview of Archway [then being developed as the new online finding aids system]. I struck up a conversation with him on the progress with Archway which he said had impressed him. He then told me that he had heard positive reports on how Archives NZ was progressing and said that he was confident that ‘the money being put into it in budget rounds was being well spent, something that he could not say in relation to very many other government agencies.’
41. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 12 April 2005. Vol.625, p. 20002
42. Email: Brad Patterson, who wrote the unpublished Citation for the Award, to John Timmins, ARANZ President, 7 August 2006. The award was made at a function held in Bowen House, Wellington, on 23 November.
43. Labour Saving, ‘Postscript Retirement’, pp. 412–422
44. Public Records Amendment Act 201
45. Labour Saving, p. 255
46. Archifacts (April 1999), p. 58
47. Email: Anne Collins to Strachan, 15 May 2022

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