The New Zealand Parliamentary Library and the Wider Development of Parliamentary Libraries over 150 Years

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Abstract

This paper discusses the development of the New Zealand Parliamentary Library in the context of other significant parliamentary libraries in the English-speaking world. There are four phases of development in New Zealand's 150 years, which are also observable in other parliamentary libraries. The four phases are: getting established, building a strong library collection, supporting library functions, and focusing upon Parliament. This paper tells the story of one library's development, highlighting the influences, connections, and similarities with other well-known examples. Although the world's parliamentary libraries take varying paths because of the different cultures, parliamentary models, and national library frameworks in which they operate, comparisons can be fruitful.

Last year New Zealand's Parliamentary Library celebrated 150 years of service to New Zealand and its Parliament. This event provided an opportunity to look at the place of the library within the country's cultural development (Martin, 2008). It made us aware of how our library's development follows the pattern of global parliamentary library developments and how we are different.

As is the case for many parliamentary libraries, during our early years it was a struggle to create a stable base of operations and to establish enough credibility and value within Parliament to ensure an ongoing funding base. Once the library was established with fitting accommodation, a steady budget, and a growing collection, there was pressure to use these resources more widely than for parliamentarians alone. In our more recent history, we have been able to focus upon serving Parliament with a range of services that are aligned with the services provided in many other

LIBRARY TRENDS, Vol. 58, No. 4, Spring 2010 ("Changing Visions: Parliamentary Libraries, Past, Present, and Future," edited by Gro Sandgrind and Hermina G. B. Anghelescu), pp. 459–471 © 2010 The Board of Trustees, University of Illinois

parliamentary libraries around the world. We look at the future with confidence that our Parliament acknowledges the value of the support that we provide to parliamentary democracy.

Reflecting on our own 150 years and the development path of other parliamentary libraries with which we have been involved, progress has not been steady. Politics and personalities have added mystery and drama to our development story, as they do in most parliamentary libraries. Particularly in the early stages, when the need for a parliamentary library is not yet firmly established, the style of the political leaders and their governments may have a major influence. The parliamentary librarian and other senior staff will inevitably have an impact on where resources should be focused, which strategic influences to follow, and how to deliver services.

The community of parliamentary libraries is connected globally and provides a variety of development paths to observe and choose from. We listen to descriptions of our libraries and their services and to stories of innovation and try to understand what implications there may be for our own libraries. We are at many different stages of development around the world, working within different cultures, different political models, and different national library networks. The right path for one country is seldom a good map for another country, but it does help to identify the possibilities.

In this paper we outline four phases of development for New Zealand's Parliamentary Library, at the same time making comparisons with the evolution of other parliamentary libraries:

- Getting established
- Building a strong library collection
- Supporting wider library functions
- Focusing upon Parliament

In the work that we have done with Pacific parliamentary libraries, and in supporting attachments and visits from parliamentary library staff from the Asia-Pacific region and some African countries, we have observed similar phases of development, although they have lasted for different lengths of time and vary in detail. These dimensions or stages of library development are usually sequential, but not always. They also interact with each other in shaping the overall development of particular libraries.

The British House of Lords Library can be found at one end of the spectrum. Until relatively recently (the 1970s), it remained a small legal reference library with few staff and limited services. The reforms that brought in new members of the House of Lords have meant more sophisticated demands on reference and research services. At the other end of the spectrum is the Library of Congress, which became a national library long ago and which provided extensive reference and research services

from an early date. New Zealand's Parliamentary Library is an interesting case because it has moved through all the stages outlined and the interactions between stages have been important in its history.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES, AND AUSTRALIA

In the English-speaking world, the development paths of parliamentary libraries are often strongly influenced by the impact of the Westminster and American models of parliamentary democracy (Metcalfe, 1965). The Westminster approach had its roots in the early 1800s with the formation of libraries for the two Houses at a time when Britain's politics were elitist and nondemocratic. The House of Commons Library grew out of the specific needs of the legislature for a record of its official proceedings and papers, with the librarian soon providing a reference service (Menhennet, 2000). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, it developed its general collections and became more of a "club" library, but there was no consideration of public access or development of a national resource. A democratic or popular impulse was not associated with the library. Other library needs were catered to early on by other institutions. Britain had its Public Libraries Act (1850), which met the needs of the public, and scholars' needs were met by the British Museum.

The democratic temper of the United States led to a different direction for its legislative library. Prior to the destruction of the Library of Congress by the British in 1814, it was merely a small reference library serving the immediate purposes of the legislators (Goodrum, 1974). With the purchase of President Jefferson's library, it immediately became a broad collection, and by mid-century access to it was opening up and exchange relationships were strengthening the collections greatly. The appointment of Ainsworth Rand Spofford as librarian in 1864 set its longterm direction as a library for legislators and a national library.

Australia and New Zealand achieved parliamentary government in the same middle decade of the nineteenth century. Australia retained its federal structure and corresponding State Parliaments while New Zealand dispensed with its provincial legislatures fairly rapidly. The Australian States established parliamentary libraries in the 1850s and 1860s, about the same time as New Zealand (Gregory, 2001; Holgate, 1886a; Tillotson, 1990). In the early years some of these libraries were administered by the Clerk of the Parliament, and consisted of small collections devoted to reference services. In others, such as the Victorian and New South Wales parliamentary libraries, there were substantial collections for use by parliamentarians as well as good general collections that they could enjoy at their leisure.

The public libraries that developed in both countries were subscription libraries, particularly in the main centers. An absence of strong local government institutions prevented the emergence of free public libraries on the British model. This was especially accentuated in Australia with its highly concentrated urban populations in the capitals of the various states. State public libraries were strong and well resourced compared to the state parliamentary libraries.

ESTABLISHMENT PHASE

When the need for a parliamentary library to support the work of the legislature is identified, the primary concerns are with establishing and furnishing a space, finding a budget to build a library collection, and employing appropriately qualified staff. There may be a local champion who believes passionately in the value of libraries and who personally influences some aspects of the initial development toward his or her own views of what a parliamentary library should be. Once the library is created and the collection is growing, beautiful buildings are often purposefully designed and built. Library buildings, like those of the parliament, may demonstrate a sense of national identity and the best of local craftsmanship. The parliamentary libraries that were built in the nineteenth century often have formal reading rooms of considerable grandeur and dignity.

Along with suitable accommodation, the establishment phase includes securing an annual budget that will support a library collection and pay for appropriately qualified staff. Initially collection building is likely to be focused upon ensuring good access to the parliamentary information created by the legislature—the record of plenary proceedings and the stages of passing legislation. The collection may include legislation of other relevant jurisdictions, often obtained through exchanges. Among the parliamentary libraries of the world today, there are some that are in this establishment phase with uncertain budgets for staff and collections and relatively new facilities, and there are some parliaments that do not yet have a library.

In New Zealand during the nineteenth century, the first concern was to create and provide a reference library for legislative purposes (Martin, 2008). Initially the needs were straightforward. Members of Parliament (MPs) wanted to be able to refer to the legislation of other countries in their own lawmaking. As the work of Parliament created publications such as bills, acts, and the official records of House transactions, legislators required good access to these materials. As the work of Parliament grew to encompass the scrutiny of government activities, the demand for resources grew.

With very limited funds, Parliament explored the possibility of donations and exchanges of parliamentary papers and reports from other countries. Exchange arrangements were developed with the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, and Australia. It was often difficult to sustain these relationships, but they were vital to building up the collections. The international exchange arrangements continued to be critical into the

twentieth century. Today the library continues to maintain an international documents collection that is a national resource of such official materials, although it is now diminishing in importance as much of the material is available online.

BUILDING A STRONG LIBRARY COLLECTION IN NEW ZEALAND A refinement of the establishment phase occurred in New Zealand and can be observed in some other countries as well. Members of Parliament often remained at Parliament for long periods during sessions and sought

more general library resources such as travel, biography, history, philosophy, magazines, and even fiction for their recreational pleasure. They were able to fund growing libraries that together with other services provided an environment akin to a good private gentlemen's club.

With the move of Parliament from Auckland to Wellington in 1865 and its housing in more substantial buildings, the growing library had room to expand. It now employed a full-time librarian, and the library was increasingly integrated into wider library developments. By the 1880s the library, with 25,000 volumes, was the foremost in the country, although it had run out of room (Holgate, 1886b). It held a sprinkling of rare and early works, some beautiful large illustrated works, and a much admired collection of sixteenth and seventeenth century etchings, engravings, and other artworks.

A good library also needed a good home. After many years of report writing and discussion, a new library building, influenced by American thinking, was designed and built in the late 1890s. One important element was the fire-proofing that drew upon American practice for highrise buildings. The design made extensive use of iron girders, hollow terra cotta blocks, iron fire doors, special concrete flooring, and separate rooms. The building was tested during the first decade when a fire destroyed the adjacent wooden Parliamentary buildings. Its fittings also followed international thinking with the librarian gathering information on library "appliances," fittings, and supplies. Ultramodern modular steel shelving made by the American company Snead, as had recently been used in the Library of Congress, was used throughout the library. And on the decorative front, the main entrance foyer was laid with Minton encaustic tiles, as used in the Palace of Westminster and the U.S. Capitol. The tiled floors, molded plaster detailing, and large Gothic windows evoked the British Houses of Parliament. Today the Parliamentary Library still resides in this Gothic revival building, which was extensively renovated and strengthened in the 1990s.

Supporting Wider Library Functions

Once a good collection has been established with capable staff to manage it, parliamentary libraries in many countries come under pressure to

serve a wider role within their countries. A well-endowed parliamentary library may be a national resource or at least be similar to a public library in the city or town where the parliament is located. Parliamentary libraries that expand their general collections and implement additional library coordinating and archival functions may be the focus of these initiatives to create a national library with the goal of serving the whole country and coordinating library activities.

A key factor in whether the parliamentary library is subject to these pressures is whether there are other libraries providing good services to the public and to researchers. If the parliamentary library has the strongest collection and a wide scope, in addition to serving legislators it may choose to, or come under pressure to, serve the public and scholars and to coordinate activities across the country.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Parliamentary Library was the country's foremost library if not a "national" library in the making. It aspired to building up a special collection of materials published about and within its own country. By the 1880s the creation of a New Zealand collection had begun in earnest. Librarian James Collier published the first relatively complete bibliography of New Zealand publications in 1889. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the library was benefiting from legal deposit. This cemented its claim to be equivalent to a "national" library and greatly contributed to the expansion of its collections during the twentieth century. But this development, together with the library's responsibility for a national archive from the 1920s, meant that the library chose to provide greater public access to match these national roles. This was to prove a substantial tension in its development.

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the library had managed the issue of public use by allowing limited access during parliamentary recesses. As the collection strengthened, and in particular the New Zealand collection, the pressure for public access grew. Access expanded in the early twentieth century as the number of people granted research privileges increased, but this did not satisfy those who wanted it to become a publicly accessible national library.

The development path the library took in the second quarter of the twentieth century was influenced by the appointment of a historian as Parliamentary Librarian. That appointment led to responsibilities for a national archive of official and personal papers of politicians. The extent of public access to the library increased very substantially as a result.

Australia

It is useful at this point to look at the experience of Australia. There are certain parallels but also important differences. When the Federation of Australian States was formed in 1901, the Commonwealth Parliament was initially based in Melbourne. The Federal Commonwealth Parliamentary

Library, the Victoria Parliamentary Library, and the emergent National Library coexisted awkwardly along with the well-endowed Melbourne Public Library, which was the largest public library in Australia. The Commonwealth Parliament enjoyed good access to the State Parliamentary Library, but before long it sought to establish its own library modeled on the Library of Congress—a legislative and truly national library within the same institution.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Library grew fast and established a strong collection of Australian material. The federal government had moved to Canberra, along with the library, by 1927. It left the Victorian State Parliamentary Library in a relative backwater. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Library continued to serve the politicians in Canberra and also greatly developed its Australian collection, together with historical resources on Australian history (Cochrane, 2001). The 1935 Carnegie-funded survey report complimented the library and recommended that it become a truly national library. With the move to a separate location and with additional funding, it was able to develop its own identity. The growing collection of Australiana, which included historical papers, provided a focal point for its development as a national resource. The library became a de facto Commonwealth archives with a strengthening role in affirming Australia's nationhood (Macintyre, 2001). The library's major role in collecting politicians' papers continued until the 1980s.

HEADING TOWARD A NATIONAL LIBRARY FOR NEW ZEALAND

The debate over a national library was a central feature of the development of New Zealand's Parliamentary Library in the twentieth century, but its path was to be very different from Australia. Although New Zealand's Parliamentary Library was seen as a full-fledged national library and held many vital resources, eventually a national library was created outside the Parliamentary Library.

It took three decades of debate, report writing, and discussions with politicians to establish a National Library of New Zealand. There was strong influence from American librarianship as the Carnegie Corporation funded two New Zealand librarians to travel to the United States on study visits and an American to come to New Zealand. The American recommended a library along the lines of the Library of Congress with a legislative reference service. Similar reports and recommendations were delivered in Australia (Munn & Barr, 1934; Munn & Pitt, 1935).

The election of a Labor government late in 1935 brought a change to the political landscape and a wish to move ahead without Carnegie assistance. The Country Library Service was formed under the supervision of the Clerk of the House rather than the Parliamentary Librarian. The Service, which operated from Parliament initially, became the focus of library development under its dynamic and ambitious head, Geoffrey Alley. Soon

it moved away from Parliament, changed its name to the National Library Service, and operated under its own authority.

When the pressure to create a full national library increased, it was the Parliamentary Library that was put on the defensive. The proposals suggested that the Parliamentary Library and the Alexander Turnbull Library, which was established as a research library with strong New Zealand and Pacific collections, should be merged into a national library based around the National Library Service. After protracted policy wrangles, the National Library Act 1965 achieved this.

SERVICES THAT FOCUS UPON PARLIAMENT

In the last phase of development, parliamentary libraries develop sophisticated legislative research and reference services focused upon the needs of parliamentarians. Some countries achieve this early on in their development, along with national or public library functions. In other countries the parliamentary library must shed other functions before the depth of service that characterizes a legislative reference and research service can be established.

Another feature that varies from country to country is whether research services are structurally part of the library or not. There are many variants in the organizational model. The existence of a research service is more important than how it is organized, and it is important that the research service and the library service work together to serve the legislature, however they are organized structurally.

LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH SERVICES IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States during the first decade of the twentieth century, a new concept of a legislative library began to flourish with the emergence of the Progressive Movement. Politics and social science became linked closer together as Progressives believed that impartial knowledge and expertise had the ability to solve political and social problems.

In 1890 Melvil Dewey appointed a legislative librarian in the New York State Library to prepare legal indexes (Goodrum, 1974; Putnam, 1911). In 1901, as the Progressives became more influential, the Wisconsin State Library established the Legislative Reference Bureau. Its services included

- legal and subject indexes,
- vertical files by subject,
- political literature,
- gathering of statistics,
- the use of clipping agencies,
- consultation with experts.

The service was fast and it established values that most of us adhere to today: succinctness, simplicity, impartiality, confidentiality, and accuracy.

Within a decade a great many states had adopted similar services. The Library of Congress introduced its own service in 1914 that has since become a model. For some time it had compiled bibliographies, provided assistance in drafting bills, and furnished materials for speeches. Librarian Herbert Putnam insisted that such a service had to be "scientific"; "that the force must be organized, appointed and administered as a force of scientific experts—whose only aim should be the pursuit of truth, exact and efficient" (Putnam, 1911, p. 78).

LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH SERVICES IN NEW ZEALAND

Despite the early introduction of a basic reference service, New Zealand's library was a relative latecomer in implementing one. From the beginning of the twentieth century, while the Parliamentary Library was forging ahead in creating a national institution, it was falling behind in its services to MPs. The librarians of the late nineteenth century had provided a rudimentary legislative reference service. This was probably in response to a new kind of Liberal representative MP, who came from a self-improving, self-educated, upwardly mobile background with a thirst for practical knowledge and the means to implement the reforms dear to his heart. One of the nineteenth-century Parliamentary Librarians dreamed of a time when "Well equipped and well managed, the Library might become a kind of intelligence-department, to which inquirers from all parts of the colony might resort" (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1886, p. 2).

Bibliographies on political issues of the day were prepared so that MPs would be better informed, but this development was constrained by the lack of staff. The political tide changed as the group of political leaders who had seen New Zealand become a much admired "social laboratory" was succeeded by a more populist movement. These politicians were relatively pragmatic in their approach and relied less upon study and research.

The appointment of a new librarian, Charles Wilson, brought a focus upon book collecting rather than reference services. He was far more willing to dispense advice to MPs on books they might like than to provide information on issues of the day. When he took a study trip overseas to look at libraries, his report concluded that New Zealand's legislators were well served. He emphasized the breadth of collections and the services to the public.

In the twentieth century, having a reference service became increasingly compelling, as legislative issues became more complex. Librarian Guy Hardy Scholefield pointed to the American examples that provided such services (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1929, pp. 1-2). In 1926 he introduced a rudimentary reference service by commencing a newspaper index and once again preparing bibliographies on issues of the day.

A reference service was formally established, led by Alister McIntosh, whose vision for the service was influenced by what he had seen in the United States. He argued for a service that would include the following:

- More training
- Dedicated staff
- Improved collections relating to law and science and technology
- Creation of a subject-indexed system
- Speedy provision of information based on in-depth research
- Anticipation of MPs' needs by the active compilation of materials

The library's reference function was gradually expanded, although not enough to achieve this vision. It was diluted by wider requests for information from the public. It catered not only to the needs of MPs themselves but also to the needs of government departments, students, researchers, and writers as a result of its archival and national library functions.

By mid-century the reference section had expanded gradually to about half a dozen staff, but it proved hard to retain skilled staff. By the mid-1960s reference enquiries had doubled. Librarians were beginning to distill, analyze, and synthesize sources of information for MPs, and the library asked for its first specialist researcher to handle an increasing number of statistical requests. By this time a number of parliamentary libraries around the world, in addition to the Library of Congress, had begun to provide substantial reference and research services.

TOWARD RESEARCH IN ADDITION TO REFERENCE SERVICES

In 1980, a comparative survey of parliamentary libraries in the English-speaking world suggested that New Zealand was battling to introduce and strengthen its research capacity. It also acknowledged its internationally distinctive reputation for providing services to the public (Laundy, 1980). When measured by numbers of volumes, it was among the largest in the Commonwealth, ranking with Canada, three times the size of that for the House of Commons, and ten times that of the Canberra service. The report's author, Philip Laundy, considered that the experience of the library was not particularly encouraging despite "energetic leadership and a well-motivated staff."

New Zealand's Parliamentary Library was well aware of developments elsewhere, but as a unit of the National Library it was unable to make much advancement on expanding its reference service into research. To a large extent this was due to the national library roles it had acquired, which meant it was "more a national warehouse than a legislative powerhouse" (Spicer, 1965, p. 29). It provided expanding services to the public, access to book stocks during parliamentary recesses, an informal public information service, and public access to historical archives and historical newspapers. The library was burdened by the size of its collections.

A lengthy process of disentanglement and transfer of holdings was required before the Parliamentary Library could focus clearly on services to MPs. This took more than twenty years.

Canada and Australia separated their parliamentary libraries from their National Library sooner—ironically at the very moment that New Zealand was considering bringing together the Parliamentary Library and the National Library Service. This gave Canada and Australia the freedom to develop research services (MacLean, 1988).

New Zealand's Parliamentary Librarian Hillas MacLean took advantage of improved air travel in the 1970s to visit his colleagues in other parliamentary libraries, attend conferences, and participate in international linkages. His travels substantially shaped his ideas toward a stronger focus on tailoring information. MacLean was impressed with the Canberra library's current information system and was very interested in developing a research service. Similarly, the Canadian Library and the British House of Commons Library impressed him with their well-developed research services (Laundy, 1967). It took some years to convince the Library Committee, but New Zealand finally inaugurated a current awareness service late in 1979.

Comparing his observations of developments in other parliamentary libraries to the situation in New Zealand, where the needs of parliamentarians were not a high priority for the National Library, Librarian MacLean came to believe that the library should separate from the National Library. His successor, Ian Matheson, used a report upon his travels to reinforce the view that the library should focus more upon its services to Parliament, separate from the National Library, and transfer its nonessential holdings there. At last, more than two decades after it had been merged into the National Library, the Parliamentary Library "returned" to Parliament—its natural place and one that most others around the world occupied throughout their history.

With the return of the library to Parliament, a process of change accelerated as the funding, objectives, and staffing of the library were all focused more directly on the needs of Parliament. The employment of other subject specialists in addition to the statistician allowed further research services to be developed. Research papers began to be published, as well as bills digested.

From the mid-1990s a major driver of change was the development of new services that exploited new technologies. The library began to think more consciously of MPs and parliamentary staff as "clients," with programs to understand their needs and evaluate their level of satisfaction. This was particularly important as the adoption of new technology meant that clients had less need to visit the library in person. From 1997 onward, the library made its electronic services directly available to clients' desktops. The collection diversified into a wide range of formats, much of it electronic. The library now has significant responsibility for Parliament's

websites, both external and internal, and continues to add new services such as Alerts and Parliament TV Replay.

The twenty-first century has seen a steady development path toward a substantial research-based service with the move into multidisciplinary subject teams. The number of research analysts has increased from five to twelve. More proactive services have been developed to help MPs keep up to date, and a range of desktop research tools are available for MPs and staff to conduct their own research.

Conclusion

In this manner New Zealand's Parliamentary Library passed through the four stages outlined—getting established, building a strong collection, supporting wider library functions, and a focus on Parliament. The library's "national" functions—emerging from the 1880s and in full bloom in the early twentieth century—proved a key distinctive determinant in its development and still leave their mark today. The size of the collections, the remaining part of the newspaper collection, and the substantial New Zealand collection bear witness to the library's past.

The parallels with other parliamentary libraries are notable. The international influences felt by the library have been marked, and today it is an active participant in the international community of parliamentary libraries. It is hoped that this paper stimulates some comparisons with the ways that other parliamentary libraries have served their legislators and sometimes the wider public as well. And perhaps it includes some lessons from the past that could be useful for parliamentary libraries considering their direction for the future.

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